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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
Xiphilinus

1a Κληρονομένων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων Ὀρτήσιος τὸν πρὸς Κρήτας ἠλαχιστοποιεῖ τὸν πόλεμον. ἄλλῳ ἤκεινος μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀστείῳ φιλοξενίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐν οίς πλείστοι τῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων μετὰ γε τὸν Κικέρωνα ἠδυνάθη, τῷ τε συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατείας ἐθελοντῆς ἔξεστί καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν· οὐ δὲ δὴ Μέτελλος ἐστείλατο τε ἐς Κρήτην...


Xiphilinus

1b Δοῦκουλλος δὲ Δοῦκιος κατὰ τοὺς καρποὺς τούτων τῶν Ἱσίας δυνάστας Μιχριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμενίων πολέμῳ υικήσας καὶ φυγομαχεῖν ἀναγκάσας τὰ Τιγρανοκέρτα ἐπολεμήσας. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαιροι τῇ τε τοξείᾳ καὶ τῇ νάφθῃ κατὰ τῶν μηχανῶν χειρισμὸν δεινῶς ἱκάκωσαν. ἀσφαλτῶδες δὲ τὸ φάρμακον τούτο, καὶ διάπνυσιν οὕτως ὃς ὧν ἄν προσμένη, πάντως αὐτὰ κατακαίειν, οὐδὲ ἀποσβέννυται ὑπὸ οὐθενὸς ὕγρου βαρύος. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης...
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BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

When\(^1\) the consuls drew lots, Hortensius obtained the war against the Cretans. But on account of his fondness for residence in the capital and on account of the courts, in which he had greater influence than any of his contemporaries with the exception of Cicero, he voluntarily relinquished the campaign in favour of his colleague and remained at home himself. Metellus accordingly set out for Crete . . .

Xiphilinus

Lucius Lucullus at this time had defeated in battle the lords of Asia, Mithridates and Tigranes the Armenian, and after forcing them to avoid battle was besieging Tigranocerta. But the barbarians did him serious injury by means of their archery as well as by the naphtha which they poured over his engines; this chemical is full of bitumen and is so fiery that it is sure to burn up whatever it touches, and it cannot easily be extinguished by any liquid. In consequence Tigranes recovered courage and

\(^1\) The beginning of this book is missing in the MSS. The gist of the lost portion is doubtless contained in the two following passages from Xiphilinus' Epitome.
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Xiphilinus

άναθαρρήσας τοσαύτη χειρί στρατοῦ ἦλασεν ὡστε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐκεῖσε παροντῶν καταγελάσαι· λέγεται δ’ οὖν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἦν μὲν πολεμήσοντες ἥκοιεν, ὅλγοι, εἰ δὲ πρεσβεύσοντες, πολλοὶ παρεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤσθῃ, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐξέμαθεν δόσον ἢ τε ἀρετῆ καὶ ἡ τέχνη παντὸς ὦμόλου κρατεῖ. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιάραν τὸ τε ἀνάδημα τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς εὑρόντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Δουκούλλῳ ἐδωκαν· δεῖσας γὰρ μὴ γνωσθεὶς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀλή, περιεσπάσατο αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέρριψεν.—Xiphil. p. 1, 20–2, 15 Dind.

1 ... καὶ ὅτι ἱσχυρὰ τῇ τύχῃ ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα ἐκέχρητο, ἐπέτρεψεν ὅτι τῆς τῆς γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἐλάττω καὶ στρατηγικῶτερος ἁπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεπίστευτο γεγονέναι. τοὺς τε οὖν ὡς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περίχωρους, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῶν Πάρθων, καὶ περὶ ἔχθρον τῷ Τιγράνῃ διὰ χάραν τινὰ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὄντα, 2 ἐπρεσβεύσοντο, καὶ ταύτης τε αὐτῷ ἀφίσταντο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέβαλλον λέγοντες ὅτι, ἃν μονοθέντων σφόν κρατήσωσι, καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπιστατεύσουσιν φύσει τε γὰρ πάν τὸ νυκτὸς ἀπληστὸν τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι καὶ μηδένα ὄρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτους, ὅτε καὶ ἐν κράτει πολλῶν δὴ γεγονότας, οὐκ ἔθελήσειν αὐτοῦ ἀποσχέσθαι.

1 as added by H. Steph.
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marched forth with an army of such strength that he even scoffed at the Romans present there. He is said, indeed, to have remarked that when they came on a campaign there were only a few of them, but when on an embassy there were a great many. His amusement, however, was of short duration, for he forthwith discovered how far courage and skill surpass any mere numbers. After his flight the soldiers found and gave to Lucullus his tiara and the band that went around it; for in his fear that these ornaments might lead to his recognition and capture he had torn them off and thrown them away.

... and since [Mithridates] had experienced both extremes of fortune, [Tigranes] entrusted [the supreme command to him (?)]. For after his many defeats and victories no fewer, he was believed to have become in consequence better versed in generalship. These two rulers, accordingly, not only set about making preparations themselves, as if they were then for the first time beginning the war, but also sent embassies to their various neighbours, including Arsaces the Parthian, although he was hostile to Tigranes on account of some disputed territory. This they offered to yield to him, and they also went to maligning the Romans, declaring that the latter, in case they conquered their present antagonists while these were left to fight single-handed, would immediately make a campaign against him. For every victorious force was inherently insatiate of success and set no bound to its greed; and the Romans, who had won the mastery over many, would not choose to leave him alone.
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2 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπραττόν, Δοῦκουλλος δὲ Τιγράνην μὲν οὐκ ἔπεδιώξεν ἄλλα καὶ πᾶν κατὰ σχολὴν σωθῆναι εἰςα, καὶ ἂπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰτλαν ὡς οὐκ ἔθελήσας τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρχῃ, καταλύσαι παρὰ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πολίταις ἐσχέ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸτε τε ἐσ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανήγαγον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ', ὡς καὶ αἰθίς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξεῖ, τὸν ὑπατον αὐτῷ τὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὑπνα διάδοχον ἐπεμψαν.

3 τὰ δὲ δὴ Τιγρανόκερτα στασιασάντων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους τῶν ἔνων τῶν συνοικούντων αὐτοῖς ἔπλαν. Κλικές τε γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀνάσπαστοι ποτὲ γεγονότες, καὶ ἐσήγαγον εἰςω νυκτὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διηρπάσθη πλῆν τῶν ἑκείνων ὑπαρχόντων, τὰς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκας τῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλὰς ἀλυσάς ἀνευ ύβρισμοῦ ὁ Δοῦκουλλος ἐφύλαξε, καὶ ἂπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας σφῶν προσεποίησατο. τὸν τε τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον (ὃ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὐτὴ τῆς Συρίας πρὸς τε τῷ Εὐφράτη καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ ἔστι) καὶ τινὰ Ἀραβίων δυνάστην Ἀλχαυδόνιον ἄλλοις τε ἐπικηρυκευσαμένους οἱ ἐδέξατο.

5 Καὶ μαθὼν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Τιγράνη καὶ τοῦ Μειριδάτου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρσάκην πεμφθείσαν, ἀνταπέστειλε τινὰς ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπειλάς τε ἄμα αὐτῷ, ἀν ἑκείνους ἐπικουρήσῃ, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, ἅν τὰ σφέτερα ἀνθέ-2 ληται, φέροντας. ὃ οὖν Ἀρσάκης τότε μὲν (ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ τε Τιγράνη ὀργῆν εἰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥω-1 τε added by Bk
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While they were thus engaged, Lucullus did not follow up Tigranes, but allowed him to reach safety quite at his leisure. Because of this he was charged by the citizens, as well as others, with refusing to end the war, in order that he might retain his command a longer time. Therefore they at this time restored the province of Asia to the praetors, and later, when he was believed to have acted in this same way again, they sent to him the consul of that year to relieve him. Nevertheless he did seize Tigranocerta when the foreigners living in the city revolted against the Armenians; for the most of them were Cilicians who had once been carried off from their own land, and these let in the Romans during the night. Thereupon everything was plundered, except what belonged to the Cilicians; but Lucullus saved from outrage many of the wives of the principal men, when they had been captured, and by this action won over their husbands also. He furthermore received Antiochus, king of Commagene (a part of Syria near the Euphrates and the Taurus), and Alchaudonius, an Arabian chieftain, and others who had made overtures to him.

Learning now from them of the embassy sent by Tigranes and Mithridates to Arsaces, he in his turn sent to him some of the allies with threats, in case he should aid the foe, and promises, if he should choose the Roman side instead. Arsaces at that time, since he was still angry with Tigranes and felt no suspicion toward the Romans, sent back envoys
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μαίως οὐδὲν ὑπώπτευε) πρόσβεσις τε οἱ ἀντέπεμψε καὶ φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἑστεάσατο. ῾Οστερον δὲ τὸν Σηκίλιον ἐλθόντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἤδεν ὑπετόπησε κατάσκοπον τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 αὐτοῦ παρεῖναι (τοῦτοι γὰρ ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ὀμολογίας ἤδη γεγενημένης, ἀνδρὰ ἐπιφανῆ τὰ πολεμικὰ πεμφθήναι), καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' αὐτῷ ὑπεθεῖναι ἐποίησατο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἦναντιόθη τι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου ἄμφοῖν ἔστη, μηδέτεροις, ἀστερέως, ἐκάκος, ἐθελήσας οὐδῆσαι τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἵσοπαλή ὅτα ἀσφάλειάν οἱ μεγίστην οἴσεων ἐνόμιζεν.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ταῦθ' ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐπραξε, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας συνάντησον προσηγάγετο. 4 ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Κυῖντου Μαρκίου (οὗτος γὰρ, καίτερ οὐ μόνος ἀποδειχθεῖς, μόνος ὑπάτευεν' ο τε γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ χειροτοινθεῖς Δούκιος Μέτελλος εὲν ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ ἐφαιρεθεὶς 2 πρὶν ἐπεβίωσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς μετήλλαξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' 2 οὔτε αὖτ' ἀπεδείχθη—ἐν ὑπὸ τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ Δούκουλλος μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ψύχους ἅδυνασ εὑρὲ τὴν πολεμίαν γῆν ἐσβαλεῖν) στρατεύεσθαι τινὰ τε τῆς γῆς ἐπόρθησεν, ὡς ἀμύνοντας αὐτῇ 3 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἢ μάχην ὑπαγάγεται, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦτο, ἐπ' 5 αὐτοῦ ἀφρίμησε. καὶ τοῦτῷ τοῖς μὲν ἰππεύσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων χαλεπὸι οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων ἰππῆς ἐγίγνοντο, τῷ δὲ πεζῷ οὖδεις αὐτῶν ἢ χεῖρας ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπότε ἡ ἀστίς τοῦ Δούκουλλου τῇ ἰππῷ

1 αὐτῷ Steph., αὐτῶν VP.
2 ἐφαιρεθεὶς Dind., ἀφιερωθεὶς V, ἀφιερωθεὶς P.
3 αὐτῇ Rk., αὐτὴν VP.
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to Lucullus, and established friendship and alliance. Later, when he saw Secilius [Sextilius], who had come to him, he began to suspect that he was there to spy out the country and his power; it was for this cause, he thought, and not on account of the compact which had already been made that a man distinguished in warfare had been sent. Hence he no longer gave him any aid. On the other hand, he offered no opposition, but stood aloof from both parties, naturally wishing to make neither side strong; for he thought that an evenly-balanced struggle between them would insure him the greatest safety.

Besides these achievements, Lucullus this year subdued many parts of Armenia; and in the year of Quintus Marcius—this man held office alone, although not the only consul appointed, since Lucius Metellus, elected with him, died in the early part of the year, and the man chosen in his stead died before entering upon office, in consequence of which no one else was appointed—in this year, I say, Lucullus entered upon his campaign when summer was already at its height, since in the spring it had been impossible to invade the enemy’s country because of the cold. He devastated a part of their land, purposing to draw the barbarians imperceptibly into battle while defending it; but when even then they made no move, he marched against them. In this engagement the opposing cavalry gave the Roman cavalry hard work, but none of the foe approached the infantry; indeed, whenever the foot-soldiers of Lucullus assisted the
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προσβοηθήσεις, ἐτρέποντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ δεινὸν
ti ἐπασχόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας σφας
ἐς τούτισσο τοξεύοντες πολλοὺς μὲν παραχρήμα
2 ἀπεκτίνυμοι, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἐτίτρωσκον. καὶ ἦν
τὰ τραύματα χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίατας ταῖς τε γὰρ
ἀκίνητα διπλαῖς ἐχρώντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐφάρμοσ-
tον αὐτάς, ὥστε τὰ βέλη, εἴτε ἐμένοις wake the tois
σάμασιν εἰτε καὶ ἐξέλκοντο, τάχιστα αὐτὰ διόλ-
λύναν: τὸ γὰρ ἔτερον ἐνδοῦ, αὐτε μηθε-
μίαν ἀνθολκήν ἔχον, ἐγκατελεῖπετο.

6 Ὁ όνον Δοῦκουλλος, ἐπειδῆ τε πολλοὶ ἐπραυ-
ματίζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐθνησκοῦν, οἱ δὲ ἀνάπτηρα
γοῦν ἐγλύνοντο, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτοὺς
ἐπέλιπον, εἰκείθεν τε ἀπεχώρησε καὶ ἔπλε τῆς ἴπώ
2 ὁμος. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτή ἐν τῇ Μεσσοποταμία
καλουμένη πεπόλισται (οὔτω γὰρ πάν τὸ μεταξὺ
τοῦ τε Τιγρίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὀνομάζεται)
καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀποικὸς ἡμῶν νομί-
ζεται, τότε δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης τῶν Πάρθων αὐτὴν
ἀφελὸμενος τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ τὰ
πλεῖστα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπετέθειτο, ὁ φιλακά οἳ τὸν
3 ἀδελφὸν προστάζας. πρὸς οὖν ταύτην ὁ Δοῦκουλ-
λος ἐλθὼν ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει, καίπερ μὴ παρέργος
τὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε: τὰ
γὰρ τείχη καὶ διπλὰ καὶ πλάνην ὄντα, τὴν τε
παχύτητα πολλὴν ἔχοντα καὶ τάφρος βαθείᾳ
dieilημένα, οὔτε κατασκευῆσάπα τῇ οὔτε διο-
ρυχθῆναι ἰδινήθη, διότερο οὖθ' ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήμυνε
7 σφίσειν ὅς δὲ τε τὴν χειμών ἐνέστη καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι

1 ἐφάρμοστον Rk., ἐφάρμοστον VP.
2 ἐμένοι St., ἐμένει V, ἐμένοι P.
3 τὸ γὰρ ἔτερον Bk., τὸ γὰρ ἔτερον τὸ δεύτερον VP. It is
horse, the enemy would turn to flight. Far from suffering any injury, however, they kept shooting back at those pursuing them, killing some instantly and wounding great numbers. Now these wounds were dangerous and hard to heal; for they used double arrow-points and moreover poisoned them, so that the missiles, whether they stuck fast anywhere in the body or even if they were drawn out, would very quickly destroy it, since the second iron point, not being firmly attached, would be left in the wound.

Since many, then, were getting wounded, of whom some died, and the others were in any case maimed, and since provisions at the same time were failing them, Lucullus retired from that place and marched against Nisibis. This city is built in the region called Mesopotamia (the name given to all the country between the Tigris and Euphrates) and now belongs to us, being considered a colony of ours. But at that time Tigranes, who had seized it from the Parthians, had deposited in it his treasures and most of his other possessions, and had stationed his brother as guard over it. Lucullus reached this city in the summer time, and although he directed his attacks upon it in no half-hearted fashion, he effected nothing. For the walls, being of brick, double, and of great thickness, with a deep moat intervening, could be neither battered down anywhere, nor undermined, and even Tigranes, therefore, was not assisting the besieged. But when winter set in, and the barbarians were very probable, however, that some words have been lost at this point.

\[ \text{kai Rk., kai } \text{t} \text{a } \text{k} \text{a} \text{l} \text{a VP.} \]

\[ \text{\acute{a}pet\acute{e}the} \text{to Rk., \acute{a}pet\acute{e}the} \text{to VP.} \]
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ραθυμότερον, ατε ἐπικρατοῦντες τοὺς τε Ὀρ-μαίους οὐκ ἀπαναστήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, διήγον, ἐπήρησε νῦκτα ἄσέληνον καὶ ὑπὸ λάβρῳ βρονταῖς τε χειμέριοιν, ὡστε μήτε τι προϊδέσθαι μήτε τι ἐπακούσαι αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν τε ἔξω περίβολον πλὴν ὀλυγών καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τάφρον ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ προσέμεξε πολλαχῆ τῷ τει-χει, καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ὁ χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ἐπέβη, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῷ ῥάδιοις ἄτε μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οὕτω τῆς τε τάφρου μέρος τι (τὰς γὰρ γεφύρας οἱ βάρβαροι προκατέρρησαν) συνέχωσαν (οὕτε γὰρ τῇ τοξείᾳ οὕτ' αὐ τῷ πυρὶ λυπείσθαι ἐν τῷ πολλαφῶ υπὲρ ἐδύνατο), καὶ διαβὰς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, οὐ πάνω ἵσχυροι τοῦ ἐνδον κύκλου πίστει τῶν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένων ὦντος, εὐθὺς εἰλε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀναφυγόντας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον τοῦ Τυγράνου, μετὰ τὸντο καθ' ὁμολογίαιν παρεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβε καὶ ἐκεῖ διεχείμασε. 

Τὴν μὲν οὖν Νίσιβιν οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο, τῆς δὲ Ἀρμενίας τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον συχνὰ ἀπέβαλεν. ὁ γὰρ Τυγράνης ἐκείνης μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἀλούσῃ οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ προει-ρημένα ὀρμησεν, εἰ πὼς ἀσχόλου περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν αὐτοῦ ὄντος φθάσειν αὐτὰ κομισάμενος. καὶ Μιθριδάτην μὲν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ Ἀρμενίαν ἦλθε, κάνταυθα

1 ῥαθυμότερον Xyl., ἄθυμότερον VP.
2 ἐπικρατοῦντες H. Steph., ἐπικρατοῦντας VP.
3 προκατέρρησαν Xyl., προσκατέρρησαν VP.
4 προβεβλημένων Leund., προβεβλημένων VP.

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behaving rather carelessly, inasmuch as they had the upper hand and were all but expecting the Romans to withdraw, Lucullus waited for a moonless night, when there was a violent storm of rain and thunder, so that the foe, not being able to see anything ahead or to hear any sound, left the outer circuit—all but a few of them—and the intervening moat. Then he approached the wall at many points, ascending it without difficulty from the mounds, and easily slew the guards who had been left behind upon it, since they were few in number. In this way he filled up a part of the moat, since the barbarians had broken down the bridges in advance, and got across, since in the downpour neither archery nor fire could harm him. Immediately he captured nearly everything, for the inner circuit was not very strong by reason of the confidence felt in the outer works beyond it. Some, however, fled to the citadel, among them the brother of Tigranes; but he later caused them to surrender. He also obtained much treasure, and passed the winter there.

Nisibis, then, he captured as described, but he lost many districts of Armenia and of the other countries around Pontus. For Tigranes had not aided Nisibanes, believing that it could not be captured, but had hurried to the places just mentioned to see if he could secure them ahead of Lucullus, while the latter was occupied around Nisibis. Then sending Mithridates back home, Tigranes himself entered his own district of Armenia. There he was opposed by
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Δοῦκιον Φάννιον ἀντιστάντα οἱ ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιάρκει, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Δοῦκουλλος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο ἑπεβοήθησεν αὐτῷ.

9 Ἔν ὁ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐγῆγνετο, Μιθριδάτης ἦς τε τὴν ἑτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐσβαλὼν πολλοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πλανῳμένους ἀπροσδόκητος σφίσι προσπεσὼν ἕφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μάχης κατέκοψε, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὰ πλείω διὰ ταχέων ἀνεκτῆσατο. οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐκεῖνον τε ἐξουσιαν ἐκ τοῦ ὀμοφύλου καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίου βασιλείας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μύσος διὰ τὸ ὁθνεῖον καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίσι κακογείονθαι ἐχόντες, προσεχώρησάν τε αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τὸν ἀρχοντὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων Μάρκον Φάβιον

3 ἐνίκησαν. οἱ τε γὰρ Ἐράκες οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μισθοφορόσαντες, τότε δὲ τῷ Φαβίῳ συνόντες, καὶ οἱ δούλοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Ρωμαῖκῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὠντες ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν. οἱ τε γὰρ Ἐράκες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου ἐς προσκοπὴν πεμφθέντες

4 οὔτε τι ὑγιὲς ἀνὴγγειλαν αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνον τε ἀφυλακτότερον προϊόντος καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξαιρήσει οἱ προσπεσόντος συνεπέθεντο τοῖς Ρωμαίοις, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ δούλοι ἕλευθεραν σφίζοντο τοῦ βαρβάρου κηρύγματος συνεπελάβοντο.

5 τοῦ ἐργοῦ. καὶ . . . ἀνάλωσαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μιθριδάτης . . . τοῖς πολεμίως ἀναστρεφόμενος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τα ἐπθεμίκουτα ἔτη γεγονός ἐμάχετο) λόθω τε ἐπιλήγη καὶ δέος τοῖς βαρβάροις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ παρέσχεν ἐπισχῶτον γὰρ σφων

1 καὶ οἱ δούλοι supplied by Reim.
2 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Bs., καὶ γὰρ VP.
Lucius Fannius, whom he surrounded, however, and besieged, until Lucullus learned of it and sent assistance.

Meanwhile Mithridates had invaded the other Armenia and the neighbouring districts. Here he fell upon and destroyed many of the Romans, to whom he appeared unexpectedly as they were wandering about the country, while others he killed in battle; and thereupon he promptly recovered most of the districts. For the people were well-disposed toward him because of kinship and because of his being hereditary monarch; and they likewise hated the Romans because these were foreigners and because they had been ill-treated by those set over them. Consequently they sided with Mithridates and later conquered Marcus Fabius, who was leader of the Romans there. For the Thracians, who had formerly served as mercenaries under Mithridates but were then with Fabius, and the slaves present in the Roman camp gave them valiant assistance. For the Thracians, when sent ahead by Fabius to reconnoitre, did not bring back to him any reliable report, and later, when he was proceeding in rather careless fashion and Mithridates suddenly fell upon him, they joined in the attack on the Romans; and at the same time the slaves, to whom the barbarian king had proclaimed freedom, took a hand in the affair. They would have destroyed [the Romans utterly] had not Mithridates, who, although over seventy years old, was in the battle, been struck by a stone while taking [a valiant?] part against the enemy. This caused the barbarians to fear that he might die; and while they halted battle on that
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dia touto t'yn makhyn hydunathsan alloi te kal o
Phabios es to asfalles apofugew.

10 Kai met' tout' es ta Kabeira katanakleistheis
epoliorkesth me'n, esosth de upp tou Triarion.
oitos gar ek teis 'Asias tausth prs ton Doukoul-
loyn diwov, kai gnoys ta peptragmena, dynami te
2 osen olyov te' hyn ek ton paronton hthrion, kai ton
Mithridatyn os kai 'Romaiko stratou plhe
prosion exeplhzen, osti anasthmai poishai prin
kai es ophin autou elthein. kai toouton epitarchhias
kai mekrh ton Komavn1 upofugonta autov upere-
diwxe, kantautha evikhesen. hylhseto men gar o Mith-
ridatyn epl thatera tou potamo h oi 'Romaioi
prosiesan, booutheis de sfisi kekemokosin ek teis
poreias sumixeib autous te, proasthntse kai etere-
rous di allhas geofras en t Tod tis makhis kairh
diavantas epithestai prosetaxe kai auton anghw-
mala epl pliesstov angwizomenon h geofra pol-
lwov te kai athroon ama d' auths epieugmenov...
tis te epitkourias apestereke kai prosdierazexe.

11 Kai oi men met' tout' (hde gar xeimov hyn)
apexhrihssan es ta eauton teichh amfoteiroi, kai
hguaxon t' de dhi Komana tis te noon Kapta-
dokiaas esti, kai edokei to te tis 'Artemidos
bretas to Taurikon kai to genos to 'Agamen-
novein deuro ai elchein. kai opws men es autous
tauta afikevo h dopws dieminein, ou dynamai to
2 safes pollwv leugomewn eurein d' de akribos

1 Komavn Anon. in Reim.'s ed., komagnwvn VP.
BOOK XXXVI

account Fabius and others were able to escape to B.C. 68 safety.

Fabius was subsequently shut up and besieged in Cabira, but was rescued by Triarius. The latter was in that vicinity on his way from Asia to Lucullus; and upon learning what had happened he collected as large a force as was possible in the circumstances and so alarmed Mithridates, who supposed he was advancing with the full strength of the Roman army, as to make him withdraw before ever he came in sight. At this Triarius took courage, and pursuing the king as far as Comana, whither he had retired, won a victory over him there. Mithridates was encamped on the opposite side of the river from the point which the Romans were approaching, and was anxious to join battle with them while they were worn out from the march. Accordingly, he advanced to meet them himself, and also directed that at the crisis of the battle others should cross by another bridge and attack them. But although he held his own in the struggle for a long time, he was not only deprived of the reinforcements but seriously embarrassed besides by [the collapse of] the bridge across which many were hastening and crowding all at once.

Later they both retreated to their own fortifications and rested, for it was now winter. Comana belongs to the present district of Cappadocia and was supposed to have possessed clear up to that time the Tauric statue of Artemis and the descendants of Agamemnon. As to how these reached them or how they remained there I cannot discover the truth, since there are various stories; but what I understand clearly I will
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ἐπίσταμαι, φράσω. δύο αὕται πόλεις ἐν τῇ Καπ-παδοκίᾳ ὁμόνυμοι ὤψε πάνυ πόρρω ἀπ’ ἄλληλων εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν περιέχονται. καὶ γὰρ μυθο- λογοῦσι καὶ δεικνύουσι τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ὄμοιον, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς Ἰφυγε-
νείας ὡς ἀμφότερα ἔχουσι.

12 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω τῷ ὑπὲρ ἐπιγυνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ τε Μανίου Ἀκιλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Γαλοῦ Πίσσωνος ὑπάτων, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τῷ Τριαρίῳ πρὸς Γαζιούροις ἀντεκάθητο, προκαλοῦν-μένος τε ἃμα αὐτόν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἔξοργίζων (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑπόνει τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαλῶν αὐτῶς τε ἢσκει καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ γυμνασίας ἐποιεῖτο), ὅπως πρίν τὸν Δούκουλλον ἐπελθεῖν ἐκεῖνον τε συμβαλλόν, ὡσπερ ἡλιτισε, κρατήσαται καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνασώσηται. ἔπει δ’ οὐκ ἐκνεύτο, πέρμπει τινὰς πρὸς Δάδασα φρούριοιν, ἐν ὃ τὰ σκεύη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέκειτο, ἐν ἐκείνοις γε.

3 ἐπαρμύνοντα αὐτὸν ἐς χεῖρας ὑπαγάγηται, καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. ὁ γὰρ Τριάριος τέως μὲν τὸ τε πλῆθος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φοβούμενος καὶ τὸν Δού-κουλλον (μετετέπεμπτο γὰρ αὐτόν) προσδεχό-μενος ἤσυχαι ἐξέρχεν ὡς δὲ τά τε Δάδασα πολι-ορκούμενα ἐπύθητο, καὶ οἱ στρατιώται δεῖσαντες περὶ αὐτοῖς ἑταράττοντο, καὶ ἐπηπείλουν, εἰ σφας μηδεις ἐξάγοι, καὶ αὐτοκέλευστοι βοηθήσειν σφίζοι, καὶ ἂκως ἔξανετη. καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι προ- χροσυνίτη ῥῆ ἔρντο πορισπεσοῦντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶ τῷ τε πλῆθει σφῶν περίεσχοι καὶ κατειργάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκφυγόντος ἀγνολα τοῦ

1 περιέχονται Bk., περιέχουσι VP. 2 ἐς Leuncl., τε VP. 3 μετετέπεμπτο Cobet, μετετέπεμπτο VP.
BOOK XXXVI

state. There are two cities of this same name in Cappadocia, not very far apart, and they covet the same honours; for the stories they tell, and likewise the relics they exhibit, are the same in every case, including the sword, which each possesses, supposed to be that which belonged to Iphigenia. So much for this matter.

The following year, in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Piso, Mithridates encamped opposite Triarius near Gaziura, with the purpose of challenging and provoking him to battle; in particular, he not only took his own exercise but also drilled the army in plain sight of the Romans. His hope was to engage and vanquish Triarius before Lucullus should come up, and thus recover the rest of his realm. But when the other did not stir, he sent some men to Dadasa, a stronghold where the Romans' baggage was deposited, in order that his opponent might at least go to its defence and so be drawn into conflict. And thus it came about. Triarius, who feared the numbers of Mithridates and was awaiting Lucullus, whom he had sent for, was remaining quiet for the time; but when news came of the siege of Dadasa, and the soldiers in their fear for the place were becoming excited and were threatening that if no one would lead them forth they would go to the rescue at their own bidding, he reluctantly left his position. As he was now moving forward, the barbarians fell upon him, surrounded and overwhelmed by their numbers those near at hand, and then riding around, killed those who had fled into
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tòν ποταμόν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκτετράφθαι περιελαύνοντες
13 ἐκτεινον. καὶ πασσυδί ἄν σφας διέθειραν, εἰ μὴ
τῶν Ῥωμαίων τις πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
Μιθριδάτου συμμαχίδος ὄν (ἐν γάρ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς
τρόπῳ συστρατευομένους, ὧσπερ εἶτον, οὐκ ὀλί-
γος εἴχε) προσήλθε τέ οἱ ὡς καὶ εἶπεῖν τι βουλό-
μενος, καὶ ἐτρωσεν αὐτὸν. οὔτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν
συλληφθεῖσς ἀπεσφάγη, ταραχθέντων δὲ πρὸς
τούτο τῶν βαρβάρων συχνὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δι-
2 ἐφυγον. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ τὸ τραύμα ἱᾶτο,
καὶ προσυποπτεύσας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πολε-
μίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εἶναι, ἐξέτασιν τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐποιήσατο, καὶ κελεύ-
σας σφᾶς ἐς τὰς ἑαυτῶν σκηνὰς ὡς ἐκάστους
κατὰ τάξος ἀναχωρῆσαι κατεφώρασε, καὶ τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους μονωθέντας διέθειρε.

14 Κάν τοῦτο ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπελθὼν δόξαν μὲν
τις παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου ραδίως κρατήσων
καὶ πάντα τὰ προειμένα δι’ ὀλίγον κομιούμενος,
2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξε τι. ὃ τε γὰρ Μιθριδάτης
ἐς τὰ μετέωρα τὰ ἕπρος Ταλαύρους οὔτα ἱδρυθεῖς
οὐκ ἀντεπῆξε αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ ἐτερος ὁ
ἐκ Μηδίας γαμβρός τοῦ Τυγράνου ἐσκεδασμένος
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐξαίφνησ προσπεσῶν συνχὸς ἀπε-
κτεινεν, ὃ τε Τυγράνης αὐτὸς προσιῶν ἡγγέλθη,
3 καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἑστασάσεσ. οἱ γὰρ ὸναλεῖειοι
οἱ τῆς τε στρατείας ἀφεθέντες καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’
ἀὕτης στρατευομένοι ἐκκυθήσαν μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ
Νισίβι ἐκ τῆς νίκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἰσυχίας, τοῦ

1 τὰ supplied by Bs. 2 ὃ inserted by Bk.
3 ὸναλεῖειοι Leuncl., ὸναλέιοι VP.
the plain not knowing that the river had been directed into it. They would have destroyed them utterly, had not one of the Romans, pretending to belong to the allied force of Mithridates (for, as I have related, he had many of his troops equipped in the same manner as the Romans), approached the king, as if wishing to communicate something, and wounded him. To be sure, the fellow was immediately seized and put to death; but the barbarians were so excited over the occurrence that many of the Romans escaped. Mithridates, accordingly, was having his wound cured; and suspecting that there were others also of the enemy in the camp, he held a review of the soldiers, as if for a different purpose, and then ordered them to retire hastily every man to his own tent. In this way he detected the Romans and cut them down while they were left there by themselves.

At this juncture Lucullus arrived, and gave some the impression that he would conquer Mithridates easily and soon recover all that had been let slip; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing. For Mithridates, entrenched on the high ground near Talaura, would not come out against him, and the other Mithridates from Media, the son-in-law of Tigranes, fell suddenly upon the Romans while they were scattered, and killed many of them; also the approach of Tigranes himself was announced, and there was mutiny in the army. The Valerians, who, after being discharged, had later entered the service again, had been restless even at Nisibis on account of their victory and ensuing idleness, and also

1 The Twentieth Legion was called the Valeria. (See Livy vi. 9.)
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te τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα ἄφθονα ἔχειν, καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ Λουκοῦλλου τὰ πολλά, διὰ τὸ πολλαχὸς ἐκδημεῖν
4 αὐτῶν, διαιτάσθαι, καὶ μᾶλισθ' ὅτι Πούπλιος τις Κλάδιος, διὸ Κλαύδιον τινὲς ἐκάλεσαν, συνεστασίας ὑπὲ ἐμφύτου νεωτεροποιιᾶς, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ Λουκοῦλλῳ συνοικούσης ἔταράχθησαν δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἀκίλλου τὸν ὑπατοῦ, δὲ τῷ Λουκοῦλλῳ διάδοχος δὴ ἄπερ εἰπὼν ἐξεπέμφθη, πλησιάζοντα ἐπύθοντο· ἐν γὰρ ὁλυγωρίᾳ αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύοντα ἦδη
15 ἐποιοῦντο. ὁ οὖν Λουκοῦλλος ἐκ τε τούτων, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου1 τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀκίλλου ὑπατεύσαντος, ἐς Κυφίταν ὑπὲ ἐξελέπθη παραίτητος, ἐπικουρίαν αἰτήσας οὐκ ἐτυχεῖν, ἐν ἀπόρρητο ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁκνήσας μὲν διὰ κενῆς ἀναστήναι, δεῖςας δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι, ἑτί τὸν Τιγράνην ὄρμηθεν, εἰ πως ἐκεῖνον τὲ ἀπροσδόκητὸν τὲ ἄμα καὶ κεκιμηκότα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τρέψαιτο, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τοῦτον παύσει στασιάζοντας. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτυχής οὐδετέροι
3 ἐγένετο· ἀκολουθήσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ στρατεύμα μέχρι τοῦ τινὸς ὅθεν ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκτραπεσθῇ ἦν, ἐκεῖσε πάντες ὄμοθυμαδόν, ἡμᾶς ἰθυματικοὶ τι, ἀπετράποντο. καὶ οὐ γε Ὅουλερέιοι, μαθόντες ὅτι τῆς στρατείας παρὰ τοὺς οἴκρη τέλεσιν ἀφεῖναι, παντελῶς ἀπεκφήρησαν.
16 Καὶ θαυμάσθη μηδεὶς ὅτι στρατηγικῶτατος2 ἀνδρῶν ὁ Λουκοῦλλος γενόμενος, καὶ πρῶτός τε Ἕλλην σὺν τοῖς Ταύροι πολέμῳ διαβᾶς καὶ δύο βασιλεῖς αὐτὸς ἀσθενεῖς

1 Μαρκίου Χυλ., μάρκου VP.
2 στρατηγικῶτατος Leunol. from Xiph., στρατηγικότερος VP.

22
because they had had provisions in abundance and
had been left to themselves much of the time, while
Lucullus was absent on numerous errands. But
it was largely a certain Publius Clodius (called
Claudius by some) who through innate love of revolu-
tion brought the mutiny to a head, although his
sister was married to Lucullus. At this time, how-
ever, they became turbulent again largely because
they heard that Acilius, the consul, who had
been sent out to relieve Lucullus for the reasons
mentioned, was drawing near, and they accordingly
regarded Lucullus with contempt, as being already a
mere private citizen. Lucullus, then, was in per-
plexity, both for these reasons and because Marcius
[Rex], Acilius' predecessor, who was on his way to
Cilicia, his destined province, had refused a request
of his for aid. He hesitated, on the one hand, to
strike camp with no purpose in view, and he feared,
on the other hand, to stand his ground; hence he
set out against Tigranes, to see if he could repulse
him while off his guard and tired from the march,
and at the same time put a stop somehow to the
mutiny of the soldiers. However, he attained
neither object. The army accompanied him to a
certain spot from which it was possible to turn aside
into Cappadocia, when all with one consent without
a word turned off in that direction. The Valerians,
indeed, learning that they had been discharged by
the authorities at home, withdrew altogether.

Let no one wonder that Lucullus, who had proved
himself most skilful of all men in generalship, who
was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army
for warfare, and who had vanquished two power-
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ἐπικρατήσας, ἑλών τ’ ἄν εἶπερ ταχέως διαπολεμήσαι ἐβεβούλητο, σὸν ἐδύνατο τῶν συστρατευμένων οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ τε ἐστασίαζον καὶ τέλος 2 ἐγκατέληπτον αὐτῶν. πολλά τε γὰρ σφυός προσέτατε, καὶ δυσπρόσοδος ἀκριβὴς τε ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἔργων ἀπαιτήσει καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ἄν ὁὐκ ἦπίστατο οὔτε λόγῳ τινὰ 1 προσαγαγόσθαι οὔτε ἑπιεικείᾳ ἀναρτήσασθαι, οὐ τιμᾶς, 2 οὐ χρημάτων μεταδόσει προσεταιρίσασθαι, ὅπειραν τῶν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πλήθει, καὶ μάλιστα 3 στρατευμομένω, δει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ οἰ στρατιώται, ἐς μὲν εὐ τε ἑφέροντο καὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀνταξίας τῶν κινδύνων εἰχον, ἥκρωντο αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔπταισαν καὶ ἐς φόβον ἀντὶ τῶν ἑλπίδων ἀντικατέστησαν, οὐδὲν ἐτι προετίμησαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὁ Πομπήιος Λαβὸς (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Οὐαλερείους αὐθίς κατελέξατο) οὐδ’ ὅπως οὖν στασιάζοντας ἔσχε. τοσοῦτον ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς διαφέρει.

17 Ὅσ’ ὁνὸ τοῦ οἱ στρατιώται ἐμπράξαν, πᾶσὰν τε ὀλίγου τὴν ἄρχῃν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Καρπαδόκιαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυμᾶτο, μὴ Λουκούλλου, προφάσει τοῦ τὸν Ἀκίλλου ἐγγὺς εἶναι, μὴ ἐκεῖνου προσαμύνοντος αὐτῇ. 3 ἐπειγόμενος γὰρ πρότερον ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου νίκην υφαρπάσων, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τῶν γεγονότων ἦσθετο, οὔτε πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἠλθε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βἰθυνίᾳ 2 ἐχρώνισε. Μάρκιος δὲ Λουκούλλῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπεκουρήσε, πρόσχημα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς οὐκ ἐθελησαντάς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαι ποιησάμενος, ἐς δὲ τὴν

1 τινὰ Oddey, τινὶ VP. 2 τιμᾶς Rk., τιμῆς VP. 3 αὐτῇ Reim., αὐτῆς VP.
ful kings and would have captured them if he had chosen to end the war quickly, was unable to control his men, and that they were always revolting and finally deserted him. For he required a great deal of them, was difficult of access, strict in his demands for work, and inexorable in his punishments; he did not understand how to win over a man by persuasion, or to attach him by mildness, or to make a friend of him by conferring honours or bestowing wealth—all of which means are necessary, especially with a large crowd, and most of all with a crowd on a campaign. Hence the soldiers, as long as they prospered and got booty that was a fair return for their dangers, obeyed him; but when they encountered trouble and fear took the place of their hopes, they no longer heeded him at all. The proof of this is that Pompey took these same men—for he enrolled the Valerians again—and kept them without the slightest show of revolt. So much does one man differ from another.

After this action of the soldiers Mithridates won back almost all his domain and caused great havoc in Cappadocia, since neither Lucullus defended it, on the ground that Acilius was near, nor yet Acilius himself. For the latter had been hurrying in the first place to rob Lucullus of the victory, and now, when he learned what had taken place, he did not come to the camp, but delayed in Bithynia. As for Marcius, the pretext which he gave for not assisting Lucullus was that his soldiers refused to follow him. Instead, he went to Cilicia,
Κιλκίαν ἀφικόμενος Μενέμαχον τινα ἀπαυτομολήσαντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀιγράνου ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἀποστάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουκούλλου δει τῶν ἐν τῇ Νισίβι γενομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέστησεν· ἀδελφὴν γὰρ τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνος 3 γυναῖκα εἶχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀλοὺς τε ἐς καταποντιστάς, καὶ ἀφεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβον, ἐς τὴν Ἅντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας ἠλθεν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίους, πρὸς ὅσ τὸτε διεφέροντο, συμμαχήσων σφίσι, κἀνταῦθα στασιάζων τινὰς ὁμοίως ὄλγου διεφθάρῃ.

Xiphilinus

17a Καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀπασαν ἐχειρώσατο μετὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου, ἢδη τῆς θαλάσσης εξυπηράγης ἀρχοντος καὶ τῆς ἤπειρου ὅσον ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν, ἐμποδιζόμενός τε καὶ κωλυόμενος ὡς αὐτῷ προσηκουσών καὶ τῶν νῆσων. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἂκοντος Πομπηίου τῷ Κρητικῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ὁ Μέτελλος ἐπιθεὶς θρίαμβον τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατήγαγε καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.—Xiphil. p. 1, 13–20 Dind.

18 . . . φείδεται. δυναστέλλας τε ἐρῶν καὶ τοῖς Κρησί τοῖς ὀμολογήσασιν αὐτῷ προσέβαλε, καὶ οὔτε τάς σπουδᾶς προτεινομένων σφῶν ἔφροντιζε, κακῶσαί τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίον ἐπέθεις ἠπείγετο. ὁ τε γὰρ Ὁκτάοιος ἀνευ δυνάμεως παρὼν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παραλήψει τῶν πόλεων ἐπέπεμπτο) ἠσχίαν ἤγε·

1 ἀπαυτομολήσαντα H. Steph., ἀπαυτομολήσαντα VP.
2 ἀπὸ τοῦ Bs., τοῦ VP.
3 ὑπ' St., ἀπ' VP.

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BOOK XXXVI

where he received one Menemachus, a deserter from Tigranes, and also Clodius, who had left Lucullus out of fear because of the occurrence at Nisibis; the latter he put in command of the fleet, for he, too, had married one of Clodius' sisters. Now Clodius, after being captured by the pirates and released by them in consequence of their fear of Pompey, came to Antioch in Syria, declaring that he would be their ally against the Arabians, with whom they were then at variance. There, likewise, he stirred up a sedition and all but lost his life.

Xiphilinus

And [Metellus] later subjugated the entire island, although he was hindered and restrained by Pompey the Great, who was now in command of the whole sea and of the mainland for a three-days' march from the coast; for Pompey asserted that the islands also belonged to him. Nevertheless in spite of Pompey's opposition Metellus put an end to the Cretan war, celebrated a triumph in honour thereof, and was given the title of Creticus.

... [Metellus] spared. In his eagerness for power he attacked even the Cretans who had come to terms with the other [Pompey], and heedless of their claim that there was a truce, hastened to do them injury before Pompey should come up. Octavius, who was there, had no troops and so kept quiet; in fact he had not been sent to do any fighting, but
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καὶ Κορυφήμος Σισέννας ὁ τῆς Ὑπάρχαι ἠρχών ἦλθε μὲν ἔς τῆς Κρήτην, ὡς ταύτ' ἔπεζεντο, καὶ παρῆπνεσε τῷ Μετέλλῳ φείσασθαι τῶν δήμων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀντέπραξε τι μὴ πείσας. Ἀλλοις τε οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐλμήματο, καὶ Ἀλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔλων ἡργυρολόγησεν. πύργῳ γάρ τινα οἱ προδιδόντες ἐκ τε πλωθῶν πεποιημένου καὶ μέγιστον δυσμαχώτατον τε ἄντα ἄξει συνεχῶς νυκτὸς διέβρεξαν, ὡστε θραυστὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ μετ' τοῦτο Λάμπαν, καίτοι τοῦ Ὀκταυοῦν αὐτὴν κατέχοντος, ἐκ προσβολῆς εἶλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ 

19 Κύκλας τοὺς συν αὐτῷ ὄντας ἐφθείρευν, ἀγανακτῆσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ὀκτάουον ὀφειλέτης ἐσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ τοῦ Σισέννου στρατῷ (νοσήμας γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐτεθνήκει) χρώμενος ἐπεβοηθεὶ τῇ τοῖς κακομενοῖς, ἐπειτὰ δ' ἀνακομσθέντων αὐτῶν πρὸς τε τῶν Ἀριστίων ἐς Ἰεράπυναι 1 ἦλθε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμει. οὕτος γὰρ ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνίας ἀπεχώρησε Λούκιον τέ τινα Βάσσον ἄνταναχθέντα οἱ ἐνίκησε καὶ 

2 τὰ Ἰεράπυναι 1 κατέλαβε. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐκαρτέρησαν, τοῦ δὲ ὁ Μετέλλος ἐπιόντος σφίζει τὸ τείχος ἐξέλισσον, καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες χειμῶνι τὸ ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὴν γην ἐκπεσόντες συνχούς ἀπέβαλον. κακὸς τούτος ὁ Μέτελλος πάσαν τὴν 

3 νῆσον ἐχειρώσατο. Κρήτες μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἐλέυθεροι τε πάντα τὸν ἐμπρόσθεν χρόνον γενόμενοι καὶ δεσπότην ὀδυνὸν μηδένα κτησάμενοι, κατεδουλώθησαν. Μετέλλος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπικλῆσαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, τὸν δὲ Ἡναρὴ τὸν τε Λασθένη

1 Ἰεράπυναι R. Steph., ierà πυνα and ierà πύνα L.
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to take over the cities. Cornelius Sisenna, the governor of Greece; did, to be sure, when he heard the news, come to Crete and advise Metellus to spare the towns, but on failing to persuade him offered no active opposition. Metellus in addition to many other injuries captured the city of Eleuthera by treachery and extorted money from it; for those who betrayed it had by night repeatedly saturated with vinegar a very large brick tower, most difficult of capture, so that it became brittle. Next he took Lappa by storm, in spite of Octavius’ occupancy of the place, and while he did the latter no harm, he put to death the Cilicians who were with him. Octavius, incensed at this, no longer remained quiet, but first used the army of Sisenna (that general had fallen sick and died) to aid here and there the victims of oppression, and then, when these troops had retired, proceeded to Aristion at Hierapydna and aided him in fighting. Aristion had just withdrawn from Cydonia, and after conquering one Lucius Bassus who sailed out to oppose him, had gained possession of Hierapydna. They held out for a time, but at the approach of Metellus left the stronghold and put to sea; they encountered a storm, however, and were driven ashore, losing many men. After this Metellus conquered the entire island. In this way the Cretans, who had been free through all preceding ages and had never had a foreign master, became enslaved; and from their subjugation Metellus obtained his title. He was, however, unable to have Panares and Lasthenes, whom he had
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(καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἔθελεν) οὐκ ἡδυνηθῇ πέμψαι ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίωσ. ο ἐκαὶ Πομπήιος ἀναπέδεισα τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ προαφείλετο αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὀμολογίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνο προσχωρήσατας.

20 Δέξω δὲ ἦδη καὶ τὰ κατὰ τούτον πῶς ἐγένετο. οἱ καταποντισται ἐλύπουν μὲν ἂεὶ τοὺς πλεόντας, ὡσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκούντας οἱ τὰς ληστεῖας ποιούμενοι. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οτὲ ταύτ’ οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ’ ἂν παύσατο ποτε ἔως δὲν ἢ αὐτὴ φύσις ἂνθρώπων γ. ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῖς καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ μόνη, κατ’ ὀλίγους, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐλήψετον. τότε δὲ, ἐξ οὐ πολλαχῇ τε ἀμα καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπολεμήθη, καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις ἀνάστατοι ἐγένετο, πάσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς δια- 

3 ποιεύσαις αὐτῶν οἱ τιμωροῦντες ἐπηρτώντω καὶ ἀδεές οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, πάμπολλοι πρὸς ληστείαν ἔτρα- 

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις ληστικὰ, ἀτε καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν δήμων μᾶλλον ὄντα, καὶ τὴν τε αἰσθησιν τῆς βλάβης ἔγγυθεν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπῆν ἔχοντα, ῥᾴδιν πως κατελύετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπηνεξῆθος. τῶν γὰρ Ὁρμαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἀντι- 

πολέμους ἀσχολίαν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ πολύ ἡκμασαν, πολλαχόσε τε περιπλέοντες καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὀμοίους σφίσι προστιθέμενοι, ὡστε τινὰς αὐτῶν 

καὶ ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ συγχως ἐπικουρῆσαι. καὶ εἰρηταὶ μὲν ὅσα μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων ἔπραξαν. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὗν καὶ ἐκεῖνα διελύθη, οὐκ ἔπαυσαντο, 

καὶ ἐαυτῷ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς τε Ὁρμαίοις καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους σφῶν ἐκακούργη- 

1 τὰ Leuncl., τὸ L. 2 ὥραρ Rk., ὥρα L. 3 ἀντιπολέμους Bernhardy, ἀντιπολεμίους L.
also captured, march in his triumph; for Pompey got them away beforehand by persuading one of the tribunes that it was to him they had submitted in the settlement and not to Metellus.

I will now relate the progress of Pompey's career. Pirates always used to harass those who sailed the sea, even as brigands did those who dwelt on land. There was never a time when these practices were unknown, nor will they ever cease probably so long as human nature remains the same. But formerly free-booting was limited to certain localities and small bands operating only during the summer on sea and on land; whereas at this time, ever since war had been carried on continuously in many different places at once, and many cities had been overthrown, while sentences hung over the heads of all the fugitives, and there was no freedom from fear for anyone anywhere, large numbers had turned to plundering. Now the operations of the bandits on land, being in better view of the towns, which could thus perceive the injury close at hand and capture the perpetrators with no great difficulty, would be broken up with a fair degree of ease; but those on the sea had grown to the greatest proportions. For while the Romans were busy with their antagonists, the pirates had gained great headway, sailing about to many quarters, and adding to their band all of like condition, to such an extent that some of them, after the manner of allies, assisted many others. Indeed, I have already related how much they accomplished in connection with others. When those wars had been ended, the pirates, instead of desisting, did much serious injury alone by themselves both to the Romans and to their
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σαν. οὔτε γὰρ κατ' ὄλιγος ἐτι ἀλλὰ στόλοις μεγάλοις ἐπλεον, καὶ στρατηγοῦς εἶχον, ὡστε καὶ 
2 ὄνομα αὐτοῦς μέγα κεκτήσθαι· ἤγον τε καὶ ἔφερον 
πρῶτοις μὲν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πλέοντας (οὔδε γὰρ 
τὴν χειμερνὴν ὥραν ἀσφαλὴ αὐτοῖς παρείχον, 
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τῆς τόλμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους τῆς 
τε εὐπραγίας καὶ τὸ τ' ἐπ' ἁδείας ταῖς ναυτιλίαις 
ἐχρώντω), ἕπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ὄντας.
3 καὶ γὰρ εἰ τις ἀνταναχθήναι σφιοῦ ἐτόλμησε, 
μάλιστα μὲν ἤττηθες ἀπόλετο, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνίκησεν, 
ἀλλ' ἐλείν γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ ταχυναντεῖν 
σφια ἔδυνατο, καὶ οὕτως ὑποστρέφοντες διὰ βρα-
χέως ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκότες, τὰ μὲν ἔτεμνον καὶ κατε-
πύρων, οὐχ δὲ τῷ χωρίᾳ καὶ ἄγρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πό-
λεις ὅλας, τὰ δὲ καὶ φιλεῖοντο, ὡστε καὶ χειμάδια 
καὶ ὀρμητήρια καθάπερ ἐν φιλίᾳ γῇ ποιεῖσθαι.

22 Προχωροῦντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτων καὶ ἐς τὴν 
ἡπειρον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοις τοὺς 
μηδὲ χρωμένους τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐλύτουν. καὶ ταῦτα 
οὐ τὴν ἔξω συμμαχία αὐτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
2 Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίουν· τὰ τε γὰρ κέρδη τὰ 
αὐτὸθεν μείζο ζηῆσειν καὶ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς 
ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκφοβῆσειν, ἀν μηδὲ ἐκεῖνης ἀπέχωνται, 
νομίζοντες, ἐς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ταύτης πόλεις καὶ 
ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ Ὀστια ἐσέπλεον καὶ τὰς τε ναῦς 
3 ἔκαιον καὶ πάνθ᾽ ἤρπαξον. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδεμία 
σφῶν ἐπιστροφῆ ἐγίγνετο, τὰς τε διατριβὰς ἐν 
τῇ γῇ ἐποιούντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσους μὴ 
διώλυσαν, τὰ τε σύλα, ὅσα ἐλάμβανον, ἀδεῶς 
4 ὡς γε καὶ ἐν οἰκεία διεστίθεντο. καὶ ἐληστευον
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allies. They no longer sailed in small force, but in great fleets; and they had generals, so that they had acquired a great reputation. First and foremost they robbed and pillaged those sailing the sea, no longer permitting them any safety even during the winter season, since as the result of their daring, practice, and success they made voyages in security even then; and next they despoiled even those in the harbours. For if any one ventured to put out against them, he would usually be defeated and perish; but even if he conquered, he would be unable to capture any of the enemy by reason of the speed of their ships. Accordingly, they would return after a little, as if victors, and would ravage and set in flames not only farms and fields, but also whole cities; some places, however, they conciliated, so as to gain naval stations and winter quarters in a friendly land as it were.

As these operations of theirs met with success it became customary for them to go into the interior, and they inflicted many injuries on those even who had nothing to do with the sea. This is the way they treated not only the distant allies of Rome, but even Italy itself. For, believing that they would obtain greater gains in that quarter and also that they would terrify all the others still more if they did not even keep their hands off that country, they sailed into the very harbour of Ostia as well as other cities in Italy, burning the ships and pillaging everything. Finally, as no attention was paid to them, they took up their abode on the land, disposing fearlessly of whatever men they did not kill, and of whatever spoils they took, just as if they were in their own land. And though

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μὲν ἄλλοι ἄλλοθι (οὗ γάρ που ἐν πάσῃ ἄμα τῇ
θαλάσσῃ οἱ αὐτοὶ κακουργεῖν ἐδύναντο), τοσαύτη
μέντοι φιλίᾳ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔχρωτο ὡστε σφᾶς
καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐπικουρίας καὶ τοῖς πάνυ ἄγνω-
5 σιν ὡς καὶ οἰκειοτάτοις πέμπειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
γε οὐχ ἦκιστα ἰσχύσαν, ὅτι τοὺς τε θεραπεύοντάς
τινας αὐτῶν πάντες ἐτίμων καὶ τοὺς προσκρού-
σαντάς τισι πάντες ἑλεηλάτουν.

23 Ἕσ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν
ήρθη ὡστε καὶ μέγαν καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ ἀπροφύ-
λακτόν καὶ ἀπιστόν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι:
οἱ δὲ δὴ Ρωμαίοι ἦκονοι μὲν πον αὐτά, καὶ τινα
καὶ ἑώρων (οὔτε γάρ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἑπακτῶν ἐφοίτα
σφίς καὶ ἡ σιτοπομπία παντελῶς ἀπεκέκλειτο),

2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλην, ὅτε γε ἐχρῆν, φροντίδα
αὐτῶν ἐποίήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμπον μὲν καὶ
ναυτικὰ καὶ στρατηγοὺς, ὡς που καθ' ἐκαστὸν
τῶν προσαγγελλομένων ἐκινήσαντο, ἐπραττόν δ' ὁ
ὀυδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω τοὺς συμμάχους δι' 
αὐτῶν ἑκεῖνων ἐταλαιπώρουν, μέχρις οὐ εἶν παντί
ἐγένοτο. τότε δὲ συνελθότες ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐπὶ
3 πολλὰς ἡμέρας δ̄ τι καὶ χρῆ πράξαι. τῇ τε γὰρ
συνεχεία τῶν κινδύνων τετρυχωμένων, καὶ μέγαν
καὶ πολὺν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ὀρῶντες
ὀντα, καὶ οὗθ' ἄμα πᾶσι σφίσιν οὔτ' αὐτ' καθ' ἐκάστους προσπόλεμήσαι δύνατον εἶναι νομίζοντες
(ἄλληλοι τε γὰρ συνεβοῆθον, καὶ πανταχοῦ
ἀμα ἀμήχανον ἢν αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι) ἐν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ
καὶ ἀνελπιστία τοῦ κατορθώσειν τὰ πολλὰ ἐγέ-
4 νοντο, πρὶν δὴ Αθλὸς τες Γαβίνιος ¹ δήμαρχος

¹ Γαβίνιος Βκ., γαουλίως Λ regularly.
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some plundered here and some there, since of b.c. 67 course it was not possible for the same persons to do harm throughout the whole length of the sea at once, they nevertheless showed such friendship one for another as to send money and assistance even to those entirely unknown, as if to their nearest of kin. In fact, this was one of the chief sources of their strength, that those who paid court to any of them were honoured by all, and those who came into collision with any of them were despoiled by all.

To such an extent did the power of the pirates grow that their hostility became a grave and constant menace, admitting of no precaution and knowing no truce. The Romans, of course, heard of these deeds from time to time, and even saw a little of what was going on, inasmuch as imports in general ceased coming in and the corn supply was shut off entirely; but they paid no serious attention to it at the proper time. Instead, they would send out fleets and generals only as they were stirred by individual reports, but accomplished nothing; on the contrary, they caused their allies all the greater distress by these very means, until they were finally reduced to the last extremity. Then at length they came together and deliberated for many days as to what really should be done. Wearied by the continued dangers and perceiving that the war against the pirates would be a great and extensive one, and believing, too, that it was impossible to assail them all at once or yet individually, inasmuch as they helped one another and there was no way of driving them back everywhere at once, the people fell into great perplexity and despair of making any successful move. In the end, however, one Aulus

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γνώμην ἔδωκεν, εἰτ' οὖν τοῦ Πομπηλίου καθέντως αὐτοῦ, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως χαρίσασθαί οἱ ἐθελήσας (οὐ γάρ ποι ὡς εὕνοιας αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐποίησεν κάκιστος γὰρ ἁνὴ ἤλω), στρατηγοῦν ἕνα αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἀπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευ-κότων ἔλεγον, τρισὶ τε ἔτεσιν ἄρξοντα καὶ δυνάμει παμπληθεὶς μεθ' ὑποστρατηγῶν πολλῶν

5 χρησίμονον. Ἀντικρω μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηλίου ὅνομα οὐκ ἔπεσεν εὐθύλον δὲ ἦν ὦτι, ἀν ἀπαξ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ ὅμιλος ἄκουσῃ, ἐκεῖνον αἰρήσεται.

24 Καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως τὴν τε γὰρ ἐσήγησον αὐτοῦ ἀπεδέχαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπηλίον παραχρῆμα πάντες πλὴν τῆς γεροστίας ἀπέκλιναν. αὕτη γὰρ πάν ὅσιον ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ τοσαύτῃ τηγμονίαν ἐγχειρίσαι ἴδρεῖτο καὶ ὅλου καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γαβίνιον ἐν αὐτῷ

2 τῷ συνεδρίῳ. ὑπεκδράντος δ' οὖν πη αὐτοῦ μαθόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τῶν βουλευτῶν γνώμην ἔθορόβησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἔπει αὐτοὺς συγκαθημένους ἐφορμῆσαι καὶ εἶ γε μὴ ἢξικεχωρῆσαν, πάν-3 τως ἀν αὐτοὺς διεφθάρκεσαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὐν ἄλλοι σκεδασθέντες διέλαθον, Πίσωνα δὲ τὸν Γαίον τὸν ὑπατον (ἐπὶ γάρ ἐκείνου τοῦ τε Ἀκιλλο-4 ττ' ἐγήγενε) συλληφθέντα καὶ μέλλοντα καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι ο Γαβίνιος ἔβρησ-5 σατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ δυνατοὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν τὴν ᾧνυχίαν ἤγων, ἀσμενίζοντες ἀν τίς σφας ξῆν ἔση, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους τοὺς ἐννέα ἀνέπεισαν ἐναντίω-

4 θήναι τῷ Γαβίνιῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὐδὲν ἀντείπουν, Λούκιος δὲ δὴ τῆς Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Λούκιος Ρώσκιος ἔτολμη-

1 μὲν added by Rk.
BOOK XXXVI

Gabinius, a tribune, set forth his plan. He had a.c. 67 either been prompted by Pompey or wished in any case to do him a favour; certainly he was not prompted by any love of the common welfare, for he was a most base fellow. His plan, then, was that they should choose from among the ex-consuls one general with full power against all the pirates, who should command for three years and have the use of a huge force, with many lieutenants. He did not directly utter Pompey’s name, but it was easy to see that if once the populace should hear of any such proposition, they would choose him.

And so it came about. They adopted his motion and immediately all except the senate turned to Pompey. But that body preferred to suffer anything whatever at the hands of the freebooters rather than put so great command into Pompey’s hands; in fact they came near slaying Gabinius in the very senate-house, but he eluded them somehow. When the people learned the feeling of the senators, they raised an uproar, even going so far as to rush upon them as they sat assembled; and if the senators had not gotten out of the way, they would certainly have killed them. So they all scattered and secreted themselves, except Gaius Piso the consul—for it was in the year of Piso and Acilius that these events took place; he was arrested and was about to perish for the others when Gabinius begged him off. After this the optimates themselves held their peace, happy if only they might be allowed to live, but tried to persuade the nine tribunes to oppose Gabinius. None of these, however, except one Lucius Trebellius and Lucius Roscius, would say a word in opposition, through fear of the multitude;
Διονομένος Ἱστός

5 Ὡς Πομπήιος ἐπιθυμοῦνε μὲν πάνυ ἄρξει, καὶ ἢδη γε οὐκ ὑπὸ τὰς ἐαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ υπὸ τῆς τοῦ δήμου σπουδῆς οὐδὲ τιμὴν ἔτι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ἀτιμῶν τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ νομίζων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀντίταξιν τῶν δυνατῶν ὀρῶν, ἡμυλήθη δοκεῖν

6 ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ὡς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς ἢκιστα προσποιοῦμενος ἐπιθυμεῖν ὡς ἠθέλε· τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπίθεθον, πᾶν θεωρεῖν τὸν ἔκων τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀντιποίησηται, καὶ διὰ τὸν εὐκλεῖας ἄν γε καὶ ἄκων ὡς γέ καὶ ἀξιοστρατηγότατος ὁν ἀποδεικνύει, ἐπιλάττετο.

25 Καὶ παρελθὼν ἔφη "χαίρω μὲν τιμώμενος υφ' ὑμῶν, ὡς Κυρίται· φύσει τε γὰρ πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ ἐγκαλλωπιζοῦνται ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐεργεσίαις, καὶ ἐγώ, ὅτε δὴ πολλάκις τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολελαυκώς, οὐκ ἔχω πῶς κατ' ἄξιαν ἤσθω τοῖς παρούσιοις οὐ μέντοι οὐθ' ὑμῶν νομίζω προσήκειν ἀπλῆστως οὕτω πρός με διακεῖσθαι, οὐτε ἐμοὶ διὰ παντὸς ἔν τινι ἥγεμονι εἶναι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων κέκμηκα, καὶ ὑμᾶς δεὶ καὶ περὶ

2 τοὺς ἄλλους σπουδάζειν. ἢ ὃ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅσα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Κίδναν πολέμῳ ἐταλαιπώρησα, καὶ τοι κομιδὴ νέος ὡς, ὅσα δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἔκαμον, μηδέποτε καθαρῶς ἐς ἐφήβους τελῶν, ὅσα δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἱβηρίᾳ ἐκυδύνευσα, μηδὲ βουλεύουν πω; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπασίω ς σοι ὅτι

1 τὸ Leunol., τοῦτο τὸ L.
2 ἀξιοστρατηγότατος Bk., ἀξιοστρατηγότατος L.
and those two men, who had the courage, were unable to fulfil any of their promises by either word or deed. For when the appointed day came on which the measure was to be ratified, things went as follows.

Pompey, who was very eager to command, and because of his own ambition and the zeal of the populace no longer now so much regarded this commission as an honour as the failure to win it a disgrace, when he saw the opposition of the optimates, desired to appear forced to accept. He was always in the habit of pretending as far as possible not to desire the things he really wished, and on this occasion did so more than ever, because of the jealousy that would follow, should he of his own accord lay claim to the leadership, and because of the glory, if he should be appointed against his will as the one most worthy to command.

He now came forward and said: "I rejoice, Quirites, in being honoured by you. All men naturally take pride in benefits conferred upon them by their fellow-citizens, and I, who have often enjoyed honours at your hands, scarcely know how to be properly pleased on the present occasion. Nevertheless, I do not think it fitting either that you should be so insatiable with regard to my services or that I myself should continually be in some position of command. For I have toiled since boyhood, and, as for you, you ought to be favouring others as well. Do you not recall how many hardships I underwent in the war against Cinna, though I was the veriest youth, and how many labours in Sicily and in Africa before I had as yet come fully of age, or how many dangers I encountered in Spain before I was even a senator? I will not
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3 ἀχάριστοι πρὸς με ἐγένεσθε ἔρωτικοι. πόθεν; πολλοὶ γε καὶ δεῖ. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παρ' ύμῶν ἤξιόθην, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πιστευ-θήναι με τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον στρατηγὸν, μηδενὸς ἄλλος μὴν ἐθελήσαντος μήτε δυνηθέντος αὐτὴν ὑποστήναι, τὸ τε ἐπινίκια καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνη παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον πέμψαι μεγίστην μοι τιμὴν.

4 ἤνεγκεν. ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλὰς μὲν φροντίδας πολλοὺς δὲ κινδύνους ύπεμείνα, κατατέρμασαν μὲν τὸ σῶμα, πεπόνησαν δὲ τὴν γνώμην. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι νέος ἐτείμη λογίζεσθε, μηδὲ ὅτι ἐτησὶ τὸ πάντα καὶ τὸ πάντα.

5 γέγονα ἅριθμεϊσθε. ἀν γὰρ τοῖς τὸ στρατεύεται ἵνα ἐστρατευμα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὐδεὶς κεκινδύνωσε τελεία, πολὺ γε πλείους αὐτῶς τῶν ἔτων ἐυρήσετε, καὶ μᾶλλον οὕτω πιστεύσετε ὅτι οὕτε πρὸς τοὺς πόνους οὔτε πρὸς τὰς φροντίδας καρπερεῖν ἔτι δύναμαι.

26 "Εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ πρὸς ταύτα ἀντέχου, ἀλλ' ὅρατε ὅτι καὶ ἐπίφθανα καὶ μισητὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἔτη. ἀπερ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οὐδεις λόγῳ τίθεσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει προσποιεῖσθαι τι νὰ μᾶς αὐτῶν), ἐμοὶ μὲν χτυπάτας ἣν γένοιτο.

2 καὶ ὁμολογώ γε μηδὲ ὅτι οὕτως οὖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις δεινῶν μήτε ἐκπαράττεσθαι μήτε λυπεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τις μὲν γὰρ ἄν εὑροῦν ἠδέως παρ' ἀνθρώποις φθονοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἡξόν, τίς δ' ἀν δημόσιον τὸ διουκάσαι προθυμηθεῖσα μέλλων, ἣν μὲν ἀποτύχει, δίκην ὑφέξειν, ἄν δὲ 3 κατορθώσῃ, ξηλοτυπήθησθαι; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν

1 ὅτι ἐτης Βσ., ὅτι Λ. Madvig had supplied ἐτη before γέγονα.

2 μηδὲ Βκ., μὴ Λ.
BOOK XXXVI

say that you have shown yourselves ungrateful toward me for all these labours. How could I? On the contrary, in addition to the many other important favours of which you have deemed me worthy, the very fact that I was entrusted with the command against Sertorius, when no one else was either willing or able to undertake it, and that I celebrated a triumph, contrary to custom, upon resigning it, brought me the greatest honour. But inasmuch as I have undergone many anxieties and many dangers, I am worn out in body and wearied in soul. Do not keep reckoning that I am still young, and do not calculate that I am so and so many years old. For if you will count up the campaigns that I have made as well as the dangers I have faced, you will find them far more in number than my years, and in this way you will more readily believe that I can no longer endure either the hardships or the anxieties.

"If any of you, now, should persist in your demand, in spite of all this, just observe that all such positions are causes of jealousy and hatred. This consideration you hold of no account—indeed, it is not fitting that you should pretend to regard it—but to me it would prove most grievous. And I confess that I am not so much disturbed or troubled by any danger to be encountered in the midst of wars as by such a position. For what person in his right mind could take pleasure in living among men who are jealous of him? And who would be eager to carry out any public business if destined in case of failure to stand trial, and in case of success to incur jealousy? In view, then, of these and other con-

1 Pompey was the first knight to celebrate a triumph.
27 Ταύτα αυτοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ὁ Γαβίνιος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν Ἡμντήμος μὲν, ὁ Κυρίται, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἠθῶν ποιεῖ, μὴ τε ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἁρχῆς μήτε διδομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἔξω ἐπιδρομῆς δεχόμενος. οῦτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἑστὶν ἁρχεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἑχεῖν ἑθέλειν καὶ τὸν τούτο προσήκει πάντα τὰ προστατόμενα μετ' ἐπισκέψεως υφίστασθαι, ἵν' αὐτὰ καὶ ἁσφάλει ὁμοίως πράξῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προπετές ἐν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, ἡγεῖτον καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξει τοῦ καυροῦ γιγνόμενον, πολλοὺς σφάλλει, τὸ δ' ἀκριβές ἀπ' ἁρχῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμοίων διατελεὶ ὅν καὶ πάντας οὐνίσθην.

3 ὡμᾶς δὲ δὴ χρῆ μη τὸ τούτῳ κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ἐλέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ποῦ τοὺς σπουδαρχοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους προστάτεως τοῖς πράγμασι προσήκει· ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ πάνω πολλοὺς, τοιοῦτον δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀλλων 4 οὐδένα εύρήσετε. μέμνησθε δὲ ὅσα καὶ οἷα

1 τὰ added by Bs.
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considerations allow me to remain undisturbed and to attend to my own business, so that now at last I may bestow some care upon my private affairs and may not perish from exhaustion. Against the pirates elect somebody else. There are many who are at once willing and able to serve as admirals, both young men and old, so that your choice from so many becomes easy. Surely I am not the only one who loves you, nor am I alone skilled in warfare; so also is this man, and the next man—not to seem to favour anybody by mentioning names."

When he had delivered this speech, Gabinius answered him, saying: “Pompey’s behaviour in this very matter, Quirites, is worthy of his character: he does not seek the leadership, nor does he accept it off-hand when offered to him. For a good man has no business, in any case, to desire to hold office and to manage public affairs; and in the present instance it is fitting that one should undertake all the tasks imposed only after due consideration, in order that he may accomplish them with corresponding safety. Rashness in making promises, which leads to inopportune haste also in carrying them out, causes the downfall of many; but sureness at the outset remains the same in action, and is to the advantage of all. You, however, must choose not what is pleasing to Pompey, but what is of benefit to the state. Not office-seekers, but those who are capable should be put in charge of affairs; the former are very numerous, but you will not find any other such man as Pompey. Recall, furthermore, how many reverses and how serious we
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επάθομεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ δεόμενοι, καὶ ὦτι οὐδένα ἔτερον οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων οὔτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρμόζοντα αὐτῷ εὐρομεν, ἀλλὰ¹ τούτον καὶ τότε μηδέπο μὴ ἥλικιάν ἔχοντα μὴτε βουλεύοντα καὶ αἵτι 5 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεπέμψαμεν. Βουλοίμεν μὲν γὰρ ἄν πολλοὺς ύμῶν ἁγαθοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι, καὶ εἰγε καὶ εὐξασθαι δεῖ, εὐξαίμην ἂν ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτ'² εὐχῆς³ τὸ πράγμα τούτῳ ἐστὶν οὔτ' αὐτόματον τῷ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ φύναι τινα πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδείως, καὶ μαθεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ ἀσκήσαι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἁγαθὴ τῆς χρήσεως, ἀπερ που σπανιώτατα ἀν τῷ 6 αὐτῷ ἄνδρι συμβαίνῃ, χρῆ πάντας ύμᾶς ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὅταν τις τοιούτος εὐρεθῇ, καὶ σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν καὶ καταχρησθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ μὴ βούληται, καλλίστη γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη βία καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι καὶ τῷ παθόντι γίγνεται, τῷ μὲν ὕπη εἰς αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ ὦτι σώσειν ἐν τοῖς πολέμισ, ὑπὲρ δὲ καὶ τῷ σῶμα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ὃ γε χρηστὸς καὶ φιλότολος ἐτοιμότατα ἀν ἐπιδιοίη.

28 "Ἡ οἶσθαι ὅτι Πομπήιος οὕτως ἐν μὲν μειρακίω καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν καὶ τὰ ύμετέρα αὐξεῖν καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων σώζειν τὰ ὑε τῶν αὐθισταμένων προσκτᾶσθαι εἰδώλαι, τὸν δὲ ἀκράζων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἥλικίᾳ ἄν ἐν ἑ ἀργής τοις ἀριστοσ τοις αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖται, καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλείστην ὦσθιν προσεἰληφός, οὐκ ἄν υἱῶν 2 χρησιμῶτατος γένοιτο; ἀλλ' ἐν ἐφηβοῦ οὕτως ἄρχειν εἰλεσθε, τούτον ἄνδρα γεγονότα ἀποδοκιμάσετε;

¹ ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰ καὶ L. ² οὐτ' Bk., οὐθ' L. ³ εὐχῆς Xyl., εὐχαῖς L. ⁴ αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
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experienced in the war against Sertorius through lack of a general, and that we found no one else equal to the task, either among the young or the old, except this man, and that we actually sent him out in place of both consuls, although at that time he neither had reached the proper age as yet nor was a member of the senate. I should be glad, of course, if you had a great many able men, and if I ought to pray for such, I would so pray; but since this ability is not a matter of prayer and does not come of its own accord to any one, but a man must be born with a natural bent for it, must learn what is pertinent and practise what is fitting and above everything must enjoy good fortune throughout,—all which would very rarely fall to the lot of the same man,—you must all with one accord, whenever such an one is found, both support him and make the fullest use of him, even if he does not wish it. Such compulsion proves most noble both in him who exerts it and in him who suffers it: to the former because he may be saved by it, and to the latter because he may thus save the citizens, in whose behalf the excellent and patriotic man would most readily give up both body and life.

"Or do you think that this Pompey who in his boyhood could make campaigns, lead armies, increase your possessions, preserve those of your allies, and acquire those of your adversaries, could not now, in the prime of life, when every man is at his best, and with a great fund of added experience gained from wars, prove most useful to you? Will you reject, now that he has reached man’s estate, him whom as a youth you chose as leader? Will you not confide
καὶ ὠφέλει ἐτε ὅντι τοὺς πολέμους ἐκεῖνους ἐνεχείρισατε, τοῦτος βουλής γεγονότι τὴν στρα- 3 τείαν ταύτην ὕπεισετε; καὶ ὁ καὶ ὁ πρὶν ἀκριβῶς πειραθήναι, μόνον πρὸς τὰ τότε κατ- επείξαντα ὑμᾶς ἐδεήθητε, τοῦτος νῦν, ἴκανώτατα αὐτοῦ πεπειραμένοι, τὰ παρόντα οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκείνων ἀναγκαία ὅντα οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε; καὶ δὲν υόδο ἄρχειν ἔτι πώ καὶ τότε δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον ἐχειροτονήσατε, τούτον ὑπατευκότα 4 ἡδη ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς οὐκ ἐκπέμψετε; ἀλλὰ μήθη ὑμεῖς ἄλλος πως ποιήσητε, καὶ σὺ, ὁ Πομπήιος, πείσθητι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. ταύτη γὰρ γεγένησαί καὶ ταύτη τέθραψαί· καὶ δεῖ σε τοὺς τὰς συμφέρουσιν αὐτῇ δουλεύειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε πόνον τω ἡμὴ κίνδυνον ἔξιςτασθαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη σοι γένηται, μὴ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἀναμεῖναι ἀλλὰ τῷ προστυ- χόντι θανάτῳ χρῆσθαι. γελοῖος δὲ δῆπονθεν εἰμι ταύτα ἐγὼ σοι παρανότοις, ὅστις ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πολέμους καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ 2 τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα εὔνοιαν ἐπιδειδεξίαν. πεί- σθητι οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτοις, μηδὲ ὅτι τινὲς φθονοῦσιν φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μᾶλλον σπούδασον, ὅστε πρὸς τε τὴν παρὰ τῶν πλείονον φιλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὴ πάσην ἡμῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τῶν βασκαινότων σε κατα- 3 φρόνει. καὶ εἴθε γα καὶ λυπῆσαι τί αὐτοὺς ἐθέλεις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρξουν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀνάσης παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν καὶ ἠγεμονεύσας καὶ εὔδοκι- μής, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιον σεαυτοῦ τέλος τοῖς προ- κατεργασμένοις ἐπαγάγης, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξας.” 46
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this campaign to the man, now become a member of the senate, to whom while still a knight you committed those wars? Will you not, now that you have most amply tested him, entrust the present emergency, no less pressing than the former ones, to him for whom alone you asked in the face of those urgent dangers, even before you had carefully tested him? Will you not send out against the pirates one, now an ex-consul, whom, before he could yet properly hold office, you chose against Sertorius? Nay, do not think of adopting any other course; and as for you, Pompey, do you heed me and your country. For her you were born, for her you were reared. You must serve her interests, shrinking from no hardship or danger to secure them; and should it become necessary for you to lose your life, you must in that case not await your appointed day but meet whatever death comes to you. But truly it is absurd for me to offer this advice to you who have in so many and so great conflicts exhibited both your bravery and your love for your country. Heed me, therefore, as well as these citizens here, and do not fear because some are envious. Rather press on all the more for this very reason, and in comparison with the friendship of the majority and the common advantage of us all, scorn your traducers. And, if you are willing even to grieve them a little, take command for this very reason, that you may vex them by conducting the war and winning applause contrary to their expectations, and that you may yourself set a crown worthy of yourself upon your former achievements, by ridding us of many great evils.”

B.C. 67

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30 Τοιαύτα δὴ τοῦ Γαβυνίου ἐπιτόντος ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐπειράθη μὲν ἀντεπείν, ὡς δ' οὔδενὸς λόγου ἔτυχεν, ἣναντίονος μὴ τὴν ψήφον δοθήναι. ὁ οὖν Γαβυνίος ἀγανακτήσας τὴν μὲν περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου διαψήφισεν ἐπέσχεν, ἐτέραν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀντεσθῇ καὶ ἐδοξεῖν ἐπτακαίδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς πρώταις χρηματισάσαις ἀδικεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέτι χρὴνα δημαρχεῖν. μελλούσης οὖν καὶ τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης τὰ αὐτὰ ψηφιεῖσθαι 3 μόλις ποτὲ ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐσιώπησεν. ἵδ' ὅποι ὁ Ρώσκιος φθέγγαθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησεν, τὴν δὲ δὴ χείρα ἀνατείνων δύο ἀνδρὰς ἐκέλευε σφας ἐλέσθαι, ὅπως ἐν γε τούτῳ τῆς δυναστείας τι 2 τῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου παρατέμενοτο. ταύτ' οὖν αὐτοῦ χειρονομοῦντος ὁ ὁμίλος μέγα καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἀνέκραγεν, ὥστε κόρακά τινα ὑπερπετόμενον σφας ἐκπλαγήναι καὶ πεσεῖν.

4 ὡστερ ἐμβρόνητον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος μὲν τὴν ἑσυχίαν οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ ἐτὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔγαγεν; ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτουλος ἄλλως μὲν ἐσωτερικῶς, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γαβυνίου προτρεπωμένου τι αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ τε πρώτα τῆς βουλῆς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵματον σφίσι (καὶ γὰρ ἠλπίζειν αὐτοὺς, ἢ δ' οὖν τοὺς δημάρχους πάσχοντας ἐιδόν, συνεπανάλημεν), λόγου τε ἐτυχεῖν, ἔπειθη καὶ ἠδούντο πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμων ὡς τὰ συμφέροντά σφίσι καὶ λέγοντα ἀεὶ καὶ πράττοντα, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοιάδε.

31 "Ὅτι μὲν ἐς ὑπερβολῆν, ὁ Κυρίται, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐσπεύδακα, πάντες που σαφῶς ἴση Bk., τὸ μὴ L. 2 τι added by St. from Xiph.
When Gabinius had thus expressed himself, Trebellius attempted to speak in opposition; but failing to receive leave to speak, he proceeded to oppose the taking of a vote. Gabinius was naturally incensed, and postponed the vote regarding Pompey, while he introduced a new motion concerning Trebellius himself. The first seventeen tribes to give their decision voted that Trebellius was at fault and ought no longer to be tribune. And not until the eighteenth was on the point of voting the same way was he with difficulty induced to maintain silence. Roscius, seeing this, did not dare to utter a word, but by a gesture of his raised hand urged them to choose two men, so that he might by so doing cut off a little of Pompey’s power. At this gesture of his the crowd gave a great threatening shout, whereat a crow flying above their heads was so startled that it fell as if struck by lightning. After that Roscius kept quiet not only with his tongue but with his hand as well. Catulus would have remained silent, but Gabinius urged him to make some speech, inasmuch as he was the foremost man in the senate and it seemed likely that through him the rest might be brought to the same way of thinking; for it was Gabinius’ expectation that he would join in approving the proposal as a result of the plight in which he saw the tribunes. Accordingly Catulus received permission to speak, since all respected and honoured him as one who at all times spoke and acted for their advantage, and he addressed them somewhat as follows:

“That I have been exceedingly zealous, Quirites, in behalf of you, the people, you all, no doubt, clearly
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επίστασθε τούτου δὲ δὴ οὗτος ἔχοντος ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι πάντα ἀπλῶς, ἀ γνωρίσκω συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει, μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὑμῖν προσήκον ἀκούσαί τε μεθ' ἡσυχίας αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ τούτο βουλεύσασθαι. Θορυβήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἵσως τι καὶ χρύσιμον δυνηθέντες ἀν μαθεῖν οὐχὶ λήψεσθε, προσέχοντες δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις πάντως τι τῶν συμφερόντων ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς εὐρήσετε. ἔγω τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μᾶλλον φημὶ δεῖν μηδενὶ ἐνὶ ἄνδριрус ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ ἐξής ἄρχας ἐπιτρέπειν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἁπηγόρευται καὶ πεῖρα σφαλερώτατον ἄν πεφώραται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Μάριον ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ἑποίησεν ἢ διὶ τοσοῦτος τε ἐν ὀλγίστῳ χρόνῳ πολέμους ἐνεχειρίσθη καὶ υπατος ἐξákis ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐγένετο, οὔτε τὸν Σύλλακ ἢ διὶ τοσοῦτος ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐσχε καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ δικτάτωρ, εἰθ' ὑπατος ἀπεδείχθη. οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει φυχὴν, μὴ ὡς νέαν ἄλλα καὶ πρεσβυτέραν, ἐν ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιατρίβασαν τοὺς πατρίους θεσιν ἐθέλεισιν ἐμ-32 μένευν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς καὶ κατεγραφώς τι τοῦ Πομπήιου λέγω, ἀλλ' ὡς μῆτ' ἄλλως συνενεγκών ποτέ ὑμῖν φαίνεται μήτε ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτετρατταί. καὶ γὰρ εἰτε τιμὴν τοῖς ἄξιοιμένοις αὐτοῦ φέρει, πᾶσιν αὐτῆς, ὥσ γε ἐπι-βάλλει, προσήκει τυγχάνειν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν ἢ δημοκρατία), εἰτε κάματον, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ μέρος πάντας μεταλαμβάνειν δει (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν ἢ ἱσομοιοία).

1 μηδενὶ ἐνὶ ἄνδρι RK, μηδενὶ ἄνδρι L. 2 θεσιν Turn., θεσιν L.

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understand. This being so, it is incumbent upon me to set forth in simple fashion and with frankness what I know to be for the good of the state; and it is only fair for you to listen calmly and then deliberate afterwards. For, if you raise an uproar, you will perhaps fail to receive some useful suggestion which you might have heard; but if you pay attention to what is said, you will be sure to discover something definitely to your advantage. I, for my part, assert first and foremost that it is not proper to entrust to any one man so many positions of command one after another. This has not only been forbidden by the laws, but has also been found by experience to be most perilous. What made Marius what he became was practically nothing else than being entrusted with so many wars in the shortest space of time and being made consul six times in the briefest period; and similarly Sulla became what he was because he held command of the armies so many years in succession, and later was appointed dictator, then consul. For it does not lie in human nature for a person—I speak not alone of the young but of the mature as well—after holding positions of authority for a long period to be willing to abide by ancestral customs. Now I do not say this in any disparagement of Pompey, but because it does not appear ever to have been of advantage to you in any way, and in particular because it is not permitted by the laws. Indeed, if the command brings honour to those deemed worthy of it, all whom it concerns ought to obtain that honour,—this is democracy,—and if it brings labour, all ought to share that labour proportionately—this is equality.
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2 "Ετι τούνυν ἐν μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ πολλοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐγγυμμαξέσθαι, καὶ ῥαδίαν ύμῖν τὴν αἱρεσιν τῶν πιστευθῆναι δυναμένων πρὸς πάντα τὰ πρακτέα ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας υπάρχειν συμβαίνειν, ἐκείνως δὲ δὴ πολλὴν τὴν σπάνιν καὶ τῶν ἀσκησόντων τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρα-
3 πησομένων ἀνάγκη πᾶσα γίγνεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο γε οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ ἡπορήσατε, ῥότῃ τὸν πρὸς τού-
τον χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐχρῆσθε. ὡστ' εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἄξιός ἐστὶ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τούς καταποντιστὰς χειροτονηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι
γε παρά τε τὰ διατεταγμένα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ
παρὰ τὰ διελθεκλεγμένα ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς αἱρεθείη ἂν,
ήκιστα καὶ ύμῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσήκει αὐτὸ πρα-
χῆναι.

33 "Πρώτου μὲν οὖν τούτο καὶ μάλιστα λέγω, δεύτε-
ρον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τεταγμένως ἐκ τῶν νόμων τὰς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας λαμβανόντων καὶ υπά-
των, οὕτω ἄλλως καλῶς ύμῖν ἐχει παριδόντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν 
2 συμφέρει. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα καὶ τούς ἐναν-
σίους ἄρχοντας χειροτονεῖτε, εὔγε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα χρῆσεσθε; οὐ γάρ ποιεῖ 
ἐν τοῖς πεπερατύροις ἰματίοις περινοστῶσιν, οὐδὲ 
ἔνα τὸ ὄνομα μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβεβλημένοι τοῦ
3 ἐργον αὐτῆς στέρωνται. τοῖς δὲ οὖχι καὶ τούτοις 
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ τοῖς τι πρᾶττειν τῶν πολι-

1 ἡπορήσατε R. Steph., ἡπορήσατο L. 2 τοῖς Xyl., ἐν τοῖς L.
3 υπάτων Reim., δυτῶν Λ. 4 παριδόντας Turn., παραδόντας Λ.
5 οὔτε added by R. Steph. 6 οὖ γάρ ποιεῖ inserted by Bk.

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"Now in such a course there is the further advantage that many individuals gain practical experience, so that your choice of those who can be entrusted with any needful business becomes easy as a result of your trial of them; but if you take the other course, it is quite inevitable that there should be a great scarcity of those who will give themselves the needful training and who will be entrusted with affairs. This is the chief reason why you were at a loss for a general in the war with Sertorius; for previous to that time you were accustomed to employ the same men for a long period. Consequently, even if in all other respects Pompey deserves to be elected against the pirates, still, inasmuch as he would be chosen contrary to the injunction of the laws and to the principles laid down by experience, it is anything but fitting for either you or him that this be done.

"This is the first and most important point I have to mention. Second, there is the consideration that so long as consuls and praetors and those serving in their places are receiving their offices and commands conformably to the laws it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, for you to overlook them and introduce some new office. To what end, indeed, do you elect the annual officials, if you are going to make no use of them for such occasions? Surely not that they may stalk about in purple-bordered togas, nor that, clothed with the name alone of the office, they may be deprived of its duties. How can you fail to arouse the enmity of these and all the rest who have a
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tikôn proaíroumenois ἀπεχθήσεσθε, ἂν τὰς μὲν
patríous ἀρχὰς καταλύητε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων
χειροτονουμένοις μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπητε, ξένην δὲ τινα
καὶ μηπώποτε γεγενημένην ἡγεμονίαν ἰδιώτη προσ-
84 τάξητε; εἰ γάρ τοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐπετησίους
ἀρχὰς ἀνάγκη τις εἰς ἐτέραν ἐλέσθαι, ἔστι καὶ
τούτου παράδειγμα ἀρχαῖον, λέγω δὲ τὸν δικτά-
tora. καὶ τούτου μέντοι1 τοιοῦτον οὖτε οὔτε ἔπι
πᾶσι ποτε τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν2 οὔτε
2 ἐπὶ πλεῖω χρόνον ἔξαμήνου κατεστήσαντο. ὡστ' εἰ
μὲν τοιοῦτον τινὸς δείσθε, ἐξεστὶν ὑμῖν, μήτε
παρανομήσασι μήτ' ὀλυγόρως υπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν
βουλευσαμένοις, δικτάτορα εἰτε Πομπῆιον εἰτὲ
καὶ άλλον τινὰ προχειρίσασθαι, ἐφ' ὡς μὴτε πλεῖω
τοῦ τεταγμένου χρόνου3 μὴτε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἄρξη. οὐ γάρ ποιν ἀγροεῖτε ὅτι καὶ τούτο δεινῶς
οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφυλάξαντο, καὶ οὐκ Ἀνεὑρεθεὶ
δικτάτωρ οὐδὲς ἄλλος4 πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐς Σικελίαν,
3 καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν πράξαντο, αἱρεθέασ. εἰ δ'5 οὔτε
δεῖται ἢ Ἰταλία τοιοῦτον τινός, οὔτ' ἂν ύμεῖς ὑπο-
μείνατε ἐτι οὖν ὅτι τὸ ἐργον τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα (ὅθλον δὲ ἔξω ἀν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἡγα-
νακτήσατε), πῶς δ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι καίνην ἡγεμονίαν,
καὶ ταύτην ἐς ἐτὴ τρία καὶ ἔπι τᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν
καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω πράγμασιν,
4 ἀποδειχθῆναι; ὡσα γάρ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον δεινὰ ταῖς
πόλεσιν συμβαίνει, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τὰς παρανόμους
φιλαρχίας τῶν τε δήμου ἡμῶν πολλάκις ἔταρξαν

1 μέντοι Turn., μὲν L. 2 ἡμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν L.
2 χρόνον Naber, χρόνον L. 3 ἄλλος Bk., ἄλλος L.
3 εἰ δ' Rk., ἃ L.
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purpose to enter public life at all, if you overthrow the ancient offices, and entrust nothing to those elected by law, but assign some strange and hitherto unheard-of command to a private individual? Yet if there should be any necessity of choosing another in addition to the annual officials, there is for this, too, an ancient precedent—I refer to the dictator. However, because this official held such power, our fathers did not appoint one on all occasions nor for a longer period than six months. Accordingly, if you require any such official, you may, without either transgressing the laws or forming plans in disregard of the common welfare, elect Pompey himself or any one else as dictator—on condition that he shall not hold office longer than the appointed time nor outside of Italy. For surely you are not unaware that this second limitation, too, was scrupulously observed by our forefathers, and no instance can be found of a dictator chosen for another country, except one who was sent to Sicily and who, moreover, accomplished nothing. But if Italy requires no such person, and you would no longer tolerate, I will not say the functions of the dictator; but even the name,—as is clear from your anger against Sulla,—how could it be right for a new position of command to be created, and that, too, for three years and embracing practically all interests both in Italy and outside? For you all alike understand what disasters come to cities from such a course, and how many men on account of their lawless lust for

1 Aulus Atilius Calatinus in B.C. 249.
καὶ αὐτὸι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν συμφέρει ὑμᾶς ἀξίω, ὅτι ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς μὴν οὐδὲν. 

καὶ ὅστε περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι λέγων· τίς γὰρ 

οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὐτὲ ἄλλως καλὸς ἔχει οὐτε συμφέρει ἐνὶ τινὶ τὰ πράγματα προστάσσεσθαι καὶ ἕνα 

τῶν πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν κύριοι γίγνεσθαι, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἀριστότερα τίς ἢ; αἰ τε 

γὰρ μηδὲν τιμᾶν καὶ αἰ ὑπέροροι ζῶσια καὶ 

tούς τοιούτους ἔπαιρον καὶ διαφθείροντο. 

2 ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξίω, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἶδον τὸ 

ἐστὶν ἔνα ἄλλο πάσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπάρξει καὶ 

πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τούτων ὅρθως διοικήσαι. δεὶ 

μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, εἰπέρ τι τῶν δεόντων ποιῆσθε, 

πανταχὺ ἁμα αὐτοῖς πολεμῆσαι, ἣν μὴ συνιστά- 

μενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μηδὴ 2 αὖ τὰς ἀναφυγάς 

πρὸς τοὺς οὐ πολεμομένους ἔχοντες, δύσλεπτοι 

3 γένωνται. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδένα ἀν τρόπον εἰς τὶς 

ἀρξας πρᾶξαι δυνηθείη. πῶς 3 γὰρ ἄν ὑπὸ τὰς 

αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κυπρίᾳ, 

τῇ τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ, τῇ τε Ἑλλάδι καὶ 

τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, τῷ τε Ἰούνι καὶ ταῖς νήσοις πολεμή- 

σεις; πολλοὺς μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατιώτας 

καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστήμην δεὶ τοὺς πράγμασιν. 

36 εἰπέρ τι ὁφελος αὐτῶν ἐσται: εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἐκεῖνω 

φήσων, ὅτι κἂν ἐν τῷ πάντω τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτρέ 

ψήτη, πάντως που καὶ νανάρχους καὶ ὑπάρχους 

πολλοὺς ἔξει, πῶς οὐ πολὺ δικαιότερον καὶ συμ- 

φορώτερον (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄν εἴποιμι) καὶ τὶ κωλύει 

τούτους αὐ τούς ὑπάρξειν ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοντας καὶ 

προχειρισθῆναι ὑφί μῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν 

2 ἡγεμονίαν παρ’ ὑμῶν αὐτοτελῆ λαβέων; οὕτω μὲν 

1 αὐτοὺς added by Rk. 2 μηδ’ Bk., μητ’ L. 3 πῶς Bk., ποῦ L.

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rule have often disturbed our populace and brought b.c. 67 upon themselves countless evils.

"About this, then, I shall say no more. For who does not realize that it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, to entrust affairs to any one man, or for any one man to be put in control of all the blessings we have, however excellent he may be? Great honours and excessive powers excite and ruin even such persons. And what is more, I ask you to consider this fact also, that it is not really possible for one man to hold sway over the whole sea and to manage the whole war properly. For you must, if you are going to accomplish any of the needful results, make war on them everywhere at once, so that they may not, either by uniting or by finding a refuge among those not involved in war, become hard to capture. But no one man in command could by any manner of means accomplish this. For how could he fight on the same days in Italy and in Cilicia, Egypt and Syria, Greece and Spain, in the Ionian Sea and the islands? Consequently it is necessary for many soldiers and generals also to be in command of affairs, if they are going to be of any use to you. And in case any one urges that, even if you confide the entire war to some one man, he will in any case have many admirals and lieutenants, my reply would be: Is it not much more just and advantageous that these men destined to serve under him be chosen by you beforehand for this very purpose and receive independent authority from you? What prevents such a course? By this plan they will pay better heed to the
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γάρ καὶ φροντιοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον, ἂτε καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν μερίδα πεπιστευμένος καὶ ἐς μηδένα ἔτερον τὴν ύπερ αὐτῆς ἀμέλειαν ἀνενεγκείν δυνάμεως, καὶ φιλοτιμήσουται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκριβέστερον, ἄτε καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς ὄντες καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὅν ἄν εργάσωσον αὐτοὶ κτησὸμενοί· ἐκεῖνος δὲ τίνα μὲν ὡμολογεῖ οἴεσθε ... ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑποκείμενῳ, τίνα δ' ἀπροφασίστως ὀτιοῦν ποιήσειν, μέλλοντα μὴ ἑαυτῷ ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ κρατήσειν;

3 "Ὡσ扵 ὅτι μὲν εἰς οὐδ' ἄν δύνασθαι τοσοῦτον ἀμα πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ Γαβρίων ὡμολογήται· πολλόν γοῦν τῷ χειροτονηθησομένῳ συνεργοῦσ' ἄξιοι δοθήσαι. λοιπὴ δὲ δὴ σκέψις ἐστὶ πότερον ποτε ἀρχοντας αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἢ ὑποστρατήγους,1 καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτοκράτορος τινὸς ἤγεμονίας ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνου μόνου ἐφ' ὑπηρεσία αὐτοῦ, πεμ- 4 φθήναι δεῖ. οὐκόν οὗτι μὲν καὶ νομιμώτερον καὶ συμφορώτερον2 καὶ πρὸς τὰλα πάντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τουσ ληστὰς τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ λέγω ἐστὶ, πᾶς ἂν τις ὧμοι ὡμολογήσει. χωρὶς δὲ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνο ὀρᾶτε οἷον ἐστί, τὸ πᾶσας ὧμῶν τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν καταποντιστῶν προ- φάσει καταλυθήσαι, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μῆτε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μῆτε ἐν τῇ ὑπηκόῳ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου . . .

1 ἢ ὑποστρατήγους supplied by Bs.
2 καὶ συμφορώτερον supplied by Reim.
3 The following two fragments would seem to belong here if the number of the book is correctly given:—

Δίων λς' βιβλίῳ· "οὔτε ἀνεπιθυμον ἢστα αὐτῷ πάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων μοναρχήσασα."—Bekk. Anecd. 157, 30.

Δίων λς' βιβλίῳ· "δεί δὲ δήποτε καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τῶν φρόνιμον ἄνθρα προνοεῖσθαι."—Ib. 166, 21.

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war, since each of them will be entrusted with his own
particular part in it and cannot lay upon any one else
the responsibility for neglect of it, and there will
be keener rivalry among them because they are
independent and will themselves get the glory for
whatever they achieve. But by the other plan what
man, do you think, subordinate to some one else,
will [show] the same [zeal], what man will perform
any duty readily, when he is going to win victories
not for himself but for another?

"That one man, now, could not at one time
carry on so great a war has been admitted on the
part of Gabinius himself; at any rate he asks for many
assistants to be given to the one who shall be elected.
The question remains, then, whether actual com-
manders or assistants should be sent, whether generals
or lieutenants, and whether they should be commis-
sioned by the entire populace with full authority, or by
the commander alone for his assistance. Surely every
one of you will admit that my proposal is more
in accordance with law and more advantageous with
reference to the freebooters themselves as well as
in all other respects. And apart from this, observe
how it looks for all your offices to be overthrown on
the pretext of the pirates, and for none of them
either in Italy or in subject territory during this
time . . ."  

1 The following two fragments are perhaps from the speech —
of Catulus:—

Dio, Book XXXVI. "Nor will his task as monarch over
all your possessions be free from envy."

Dio, Book XXXVI. "And naturally the prudent man
must take thought for such a contingency."
36 Κάτιλλον δὲ τινος τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰρηκότος πρὸς τὸν δήμον "ἐὰν ἔπι ταῦτα ἐκπεμφθεῖς σφαλῆ, οἶα ἐν γε ἁγῶσι πολλοῖς καὶ τούτοις θαλαττίοις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, τίνα ἄλλον ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαίωτερα εὑρήσετε;" ὁ δὲ μιλος σύμπας ὠσπερ ἀπὸ συγκεκιμένου τινὸς ἀνέβοησεν εἴποιν "σέ." καὶ οὕτω Πομπήιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν τε υψῶν καὶ τῆς ἤπειρου ἐς τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνω εἰλήφει.— Xiphil. p. 4, 2–11 Dind.

37 ... τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας ἀντὶ υπάτου ἐπὶ τρὶα ἐτη, προσεταξαν αὐτῷ ὑποστρατήγους τε πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας, τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὡσα ἄν ἐθελήση λαβεῖν ἐνεπίσκεψαντο. καὶ ἔκεινα τε καὶ ἡ γεροντία καὶ ἄκουσα ἐπεκύρωσε, καὶ τάλλα ὡσα πρόσφορα ἐς αὐτὰ ἣν

2 έκάστοτε ἐγνώρισεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπέιδη τοῦ Πίσσωνος μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῖς ὑπάρχοις καταλόγους ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Ναβαυησίᾳ, ἧς ἤρχε, ποιήσασθαι, δευτέρω δὲ μιλος ἡγανάκτησε καὶ εὐθὺς θ᾽ ἄν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήλασαν, εἰ μὴ ο

3 Πομπῆιος παρητήσατο. παρασκευασάμενος οὖν ὡς τὸ τε πράγμα καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ἀπῆτε, πάσαν ἀμα τῆς θάλασσαν, ὡςην οἱ καταποντεσταί ἔλυπον, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶς, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων περιέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτῆς

4 αὐτοτες ἦμερωσε. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῇ τε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀπλωτῶν ἐχρήτο, ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ

1 γε Bk., τε VC.  2 ἢν Bs., εἶναι ἢν L.
BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

Catulus, one of the aristocrats, had said to the people: "If he fails when sent out on this errand—as not infrequently happens in many contests, especially on the sea—what other man will you find to take his place for still more urgent tasks?" Thereupon the entire throng, as if by previous agreement, cried out and exclaimed: "You!" Thus Pompey secured command of the sea and of the islands and of the mainland for fifty miles\(^1\) inland from the sea.

... and of Italy in place of consul for three years; and they assigned to him fifteen lieutenants and voted all the ships, money and armaments that he might wish to take. The senate also, though quite reluctantly, ratified these measures and likewise passed such others from time to time as were necessary to their effectiveness. Its action was prompted more particularly by the fact that when Piso refused to allow the under-officers to hold enlistments in Gallia Narbonensis, of which he was governor, the populace was furiously enraged and would straightway have removed him from office, had not Pompey begged him off. So, after making preparations as the situation and as his judgment demanded, Pompey patrolled at one time the whole stretch of sea that the pirates were troubling, partly by himself and partly through his lieutenants; and he subdued the greater part of it that very year. For not alone was the force that he directed vast both in point of fleet and infantry, so that he was

\(^1\) Literally four hundred stades; here eight stades is taken as the equivalent of the Roman mile. Cf. p. 237 and note.
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὅμολογοντάς οί, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ 5 τοιούτου παμπόλλους προσποιήσασθαι, οἳ γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ ταῖς τε δυνάμεσιν ἦττόμενοι καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ πειρώμενοι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ προσεχόρουν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἀνθίζῃ ποτὲ ἐς ἀνάγκην ποιηρῶν ἔργων ὑπὸ πενίας ἀφίκωνται, καὶ χώρας σφέσιν ὅσας ἔρημους ἑώρα, καὶ πόλεις ὅσαι 1

6 ἑπόλκων ἐδέουντο, ἐδίδουν. καὶ ἄλλαι τε ἐκ τοῦτον συνοικίσθησαν καὶ ἡ Πομπηίστρης ἐπικληθείσα: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ τῇ παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ ἐπεπόρθητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡγράνου, Σόλοι πρὸτερον ὅνωμασμένη.

38 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀκιλλίου τοῦ τε Πίσσωνος ταυτά τε οὗτως ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δεκασμοῦ περὶ τὰς ἁρχὰς ἀλλοκομένων 2 ἐνομοθετήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων μητρίν ἁρχεῖν μήτε βουλεύειν σφῶν μηδένα, ἄλλα καὶ χρήματα προσφολυχ- 2 κάνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ τε τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία ἐς τὸ ἁρχαῖον ἐπανεληλύθη, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν 3 διαγεγραμμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τρόπον τινὰ τὰ τὴν βουλεύαν ἐσπούδαζον, συντάσσεις καὶ παρακελευσμοὶ παμπληθεὶς ἐφ’ ἀπάσαις ταῖς 3 ἁρχαῖς ἐγίγνοντο. ἐπραξαν δὲ τούθ’ οἱ ὑπατοὶ οὕχ ὃτι καὶ ξηροῦντο τῷ πράγματι (αὐτοῖ γὰρ διασπούδασαντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, καὶ ὅ γε Πίσσων καὶ γραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἔνδος καὶ πρὸς

1 διας R. Steph., δίας L.
2 ἀλησκομένων R. Steph., ἀναλησκομένων L.
3 τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν Χυλ., ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν τῶν L.
4 τρόπον τινὰ Naber, πρότερον τινὰ L.
BOOK XXXVI

irresistible both on sea and on land, but his leniency toward those who made terms with him was equally great, so that he won over large numbers by such a course; for those who were defeated by his troops and experienced his clemency went over to his side very readily. Besides other ways in which he took care of them he would give them any lands he saw vacant and cities that needed more inhabitants, in order that they might never again through poverty fall under the necessity of criminal deeds. Among the other cities settled at this time was the one called Pompeiopolis. It is on the coast of Cilicia and had been sacked by Tigranes; its former name was Soli.

Besides these events in the year of Acilius and Piso, a law directed at men convicted of bribery in seeking office was framed by the consuls themselves, to the effect that any such person should neither hold office nor be a senator, and should incur a fine besides. For now that the power of the tribunes had been restored to its ancient status, and many of those whose names had been stricken off the list by the censors were aspiring to regain the rank of senator by one means or another, a great many factions and cliques were being formed aiming at all the offices. Now the consuls did not take this course because they were displeased at the practice; in fact they themselves were shown to have conducted a vigorous canvass, and Piso had actually been indicted on this charge, but had escaped being
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ἐτέρου τινὸς ἐξετρίατο τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθῆναι)
4 ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤναγκάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας. αἰ-
τιον δὲ ὅτι Γαίος τις Κορνήλιος δημαρχῶν πικρό-
tata ἐπιτίμα τάξαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ
αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ ὁμιλὸς ἤρειτο. ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ συνι-
dούσα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τιμωρημάτων
ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐκπληξὶς τινὰ ἔχει, οὔτε δὲ
τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας οὔτε τοὺς καταψηφιο-
mένους τῶν ὑπαιτίων, ἀτε καὶ ἀνηκέστων αὐτῶν
5 ὁπῶν, ῥαδίως εὐρίσκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ μέτρον ἐς τέ τὰς
κατηγορίας συνχοῦσι προάγει καὶ τὰς καταψη-
φίσεις οὐκ ἀποτρέπει, μεταρρυθμίσαι τῇ τὴν
ἐσφήσῳν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους νομοθετήσαι
39 αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰτε ἀρχαιρεσίας
προσπενεγκελμῆναι ἦσαν, καί κατὰ τοῦτ' οὐδὲν
προνοομοθετηθῆναι πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔξην, καὶ οἱ σπουδ-
αρχιώντες πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ ἐν τῷ διακένω τοῦτῷ
1 ἔτοιον, ὡστε καὶ σφαγὸς γίγνεσθαι, τὸν τοῦ νόμον
ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πρὸ
2 ἐκείνων ἐσενεχθῆναι καὶ
2 φρουράν τοῖς ὑπάτους δοθήναι. ἀγανακτήσας
οὖν ἐπὶ τούτους ὁ Κορνήλιος γυνώμην ἐποίησατο
μὴ ἐξείναι τοῖς Bouleutaiς μήτε ἀρχήν tινι ἐξω
τῶν νόμων αἰτήσαντί διδόναι μήτε ἀλλὸ μηθὲν
tῶν τῷ δήμῳ προσηκόντων ψηφίζεσθαι; 3 τούτῳ
γὰρ ἐνενομοδέτητο μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάνω ἀρχαίου, οὐ
3 μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπηρεῖτο. θρούβου τοῦ ἐπ'
αὐτῷ 4 πολλῷ συμβάντος (καὶ 5 γὰρ ἀντε-
πρασον τῶν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας
συνχοῦ καὶ ὁ Πίσσων) τὰς τε ῥάβδους αὐτοῦ ὁ
ὄχλος συνέτρυχε καὶ αὐτῶν διασπάσασθαι ἐπε-
1 τοῦτῳ Βσ., τοῦτῳ χρόνῳ Λ. 2 πρὸ Τurn., πρὸς Λ.
3 ψηφίζεσθαι Turn., φημίζεσθαι Λ.
4 αὐτῷ St., αὐτοῦ Λ. 5 καὶ Xyl., οὐ Λ.

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BOOK XXXVI

brought to trial by bribing one man after another; it was rather because they were forced to it by the senate. The reason for this was that one Gaius Cornelius while tribune undertook to lay very severe penalties upon those guilty of bribery, and the populace adopted them. The senate, however, realizing that while excessive punishments have some deterrent force as threats, yet men are not then easily found to accuse or condemn those on trial, since the latter will be in desperate danger, whereas moderation encourages many to accusations and does not prevent condemnations, was desirous of modifying his proposition somehow, and bade the consuls frame it as a law. But since the elections had already been announced, and accordingly no law could be enacted till they were held, and the canvassers were doing much mischief in the meanwhile, to such an extent even that assassinations occurred, the senators voted that the law should be introduced before the elections and that a body-guard should be given to the consuls. Cornelius, angry at this, proposed that the senators should not be allowed to grant office to any one seeking it in a way not prescribed by law, nor to usurp the people’s right of decision in any other matter. This, indeed, had been the law from very early times, but it was not being observed in practice. When a great uproar arose at this, since Piso and a number of the senators opposed him, the crowd broke the consul’s fasces to pieces and threatened
4 χείρησεν. ἵδων οὖν τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Κορυήλιος τότε μὲν, πρὶν ἐπιψηφίσαι τι, διαφήκε τὸν σύλλογον, ύστερον δὲ προσέγραψε τῷ νόμῳ τὴν τε βουλὴν πάντως περὶ αὐτῶν προβούλευεν καὶ τὸν δήμον ἐπάναγκες ἐπικυρών τὸ προβούλευμα. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνον τε διενομοθέτησε καὶ ἔτερον τοιόνδε.

Οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες τὰ δίκαια καθ' ἀ δικάσεων ἐμέλλουν, αὐτοὶ 1 συγγράφοντες ἐξετίθεσαν οὐ γάρ πω πάντα τὰ 2 δικαιώματα τὰ περὶ τὰ συμβολαία διετέλακτο. ἐπεὶ οὖν 3 οὕτε ἐσάπαξ τοῦτο ἐπολούν οὕτε τὰ γραφέντα ἐτήρουν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις αὐτὰ μετέγραφον καὶ συχνὰ ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς χάριν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἕχθραν τινῶν, ὦσπερ εἰκός, ἐγίγνετο, ἐσηγήσατο κατ' ἀρχάς τε εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια ὅσ χρήσονται 4 προλέγειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' 3 αὐτῶν παρατρέπειν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπιμελεῖ τὸι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον τὸ μηδὲν δωροδοκεῖσθαι ἐγένετο ὦστε πρὸς τῷ τοὺς ἐλεγχομένους κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν ἐτίμων. τοῦ γοῦν Κόττου τοῦ Μάρκου τὸν μὲν ταμίαν Πούπλιον ὁππιον ἐπὶ τε δόροις καὶ ἐπὶ υποψία ἐπιβουλῆς ἀποπέμψαντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ 4 πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας χρηματισσαμένον, Γάμον Κάρβωνα τὸν κατηγορήσαντα αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς ὑπατικάς καὶ περὶ δεδημαρχηκότα μόνον ἐσέμνυσαν καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Βιθυνίας καὶ αὐτῶν ύστερον ἁρξας, καὶ μετριώτερον οὐδὲν τοῦ Κόττου πλημμελήσας, ἀντικατηγορήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νίεσα αὐτοῦ καὶ 5 ἄνθεάλω· πολλῷ γὰρ που ρᾷον ἄλλως ἐπιτιμῶσι

1 αὐτοὶ Leuncl., αὐτοῖς L. 2 τὰ Bk., & L.
3 ἐπεὶ οὖν Bk., ἐπολοῦν L.
4 χρήσονται R. Steph., χρήσωνται L.
BOOK XXXVI

to tear him limb from limb. Cornelius, accordingly, b.c. 67
seeing their violence, dismissed the assembly for the
time being before calling for any vote; later he
added to the law a provision that the senate should
invariably pass a preliminary decree concerning
these matters and that it should be necessary for
this decree to be ratified by the people. So he
secured the passage of both that law and another
now to be explained.

The praetors themselves had always compiled and
published the principles of law according to which
they intended to try cases; for the decrees regard-
ingen contracts had not all yet been laid down. Now
since they were not in the habit of doing this once
for all and did not observe the rules as written, but
often made changes in them, many of which were
introduced out of favour or out of hatred of some
one, he moved that they should at the very outset
announce the principles they would follow, and
not swerve from them at all. In fine, the Romans
were so concerned at that time to prevent bribery,
that in addition to punishing those convicted they
even honoured the accusers. For instance, after
Marcus Cotta had dismissed the quaestor Publius
Oppius because of bribery and suspicion of conspiracy,
though he himself had made great profit out of
Bithynia, they elevated Gaius Carbo, his accuser,
to consular honours, although he had served only as
tribune. But when Carbo himself later became
governor of Bithynia and erred no less than Cotta, he
was in his turn accused by Cotta's son and convicted.
Some persons, of course, can more easily censure
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tineis ἡ ἑαυτοῖς παραίνεσε, καὶ προχειρότατα γε ἐφ’ οίς τιμωρίας ἄξιοι τοὺς πέλας εἶναι νομίζου-σιν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦσιν, ὅστε μηδεμίαν πίστιν ἔχων ἐτέρους ἐγκαλουσίων, ὅτι καὶ μισοῦσιν αὐτά, λαμ-

41 βάνειν. Δούκιος δὲ δὴ Δούκοιλλος τὴν μὲν στρα-

τηγιάν τὴν οἰκοι διήρξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Σαρδοῦς ἀρξαί-

μετ’ αὐτὴν λαχῶν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μυσήσας τὸ πράγμα διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς οὐδὲν ὑγιεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δρῶντας. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπιεικῆς ἦν, ἰκανώτατα

2 διεδείξεν τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκιλλῶν συντριβήναι τὸν δι-

φρον αὐτοῦ, ἐφ’ οὐ ἐδίκαζε, κελεύσαντος ὅτι παρ-

ιῶντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἴδων οὐκ ἔξανεσθη, οὔτ᾽ ὀργῇ ἐχρήσατο καὶ ὀρθοστάδην μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐκεῖνον διεδίκασαν.

42 Ἐσήνεγκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ῥώσκιος νόμον, ἐσή-

νεγκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ὁ 1 Μάλλιος, ὅτε ἐδημάρχη-

σεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος μὲν (τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἵππεων τὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔδρας ἀκριβῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων

2 ἀφώρισε) καὶ ἔπαιναν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ 2 ἔλαβεν, ὅ δὲ δὴ

Μάλλιος καὶ δίκην ὄλγου ὑπέσχε. τῷ γὰρ ἔθνει τῷ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ ἐτους ἥμερα καὶ πρὸς ἐστέραν, παρασκευάσας τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὀμίλου, ψηφίσασθαι μετὰ τῶν ἔξελευθερω-

3 σάντων σφᾶς ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ βουλή εὐθὺς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ 3 ἐν ἡ 4 Δούκιος τε Τούλλιος καὶ Αἰμύλλιος Λέπιδος ὑπάτευει ἡρ-

ξαντο, τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ ἀπεψηφίσατο, 5 φοβηθείς,

1 ὁ inserted by Rk. 2 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῷν L.
3 νομηνία Bk., νομηνία ἐπόθετο L. 4 ἡ added by St.
5 ἀπεψηφίσατο Leuncl., ἀπεψηφίσαντο L.
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others than admonish themselves, and when it comes \textbf{B.C. 67} to their own case do very readily the things for which they think their neighbours deserving of punishment. Hence they cannot, from the mere fact that they accuse others, inspire confidence in their own hatred of the acts in question. Lucius Lucullus, on the other hand, after finishing his term of office as praetor urbanus, and being chosen by lot thereafter to serve as governor of Sardinia, declined the province, detesting the business because of the many whose administration of affairs in foreign lands was anything but honest. That he was of a mild disposition he had given the fullest proof. For when Acilius once commanded that the chair on which he sat while hearing cases should be broken in pieces because Lucullus, on seeing Acilius pass by, had not risen, the praetor not only did not give way to rage, but thereupon both he himself and his colleagues on his account gave their decision standing.

Roscius likewise introduced a law, and so did Gaius Manilius,\textsuperscript{1} at the time when the latter was tribune. The former received some praise for his, which marked off sharply the seats of the knights in the theatres from the other locations; but Manilius came near having to stand trial. He had granted the class of freedmen the right to vote with those who had freed them; this he did on the very last day of the year toward evening, after suborning some of the populace. The senate learned of it immediately \textbf{B.C. 66} on the following day, the first of the month, the day on which Lucius Tullus and Aemilius Lepidus entered upon their consulship, and it rejected his law.

\textsuperscript{1} Dio uses the form \textit{Mallius}, the Greek for Manlius or Mallius.
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ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλῆθος δεινῶς ἡγανάκτει, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσ τὸν Κράσσου καὶ ἐσ ἄλλους τινὰς τὴν γνώμην
4 ἀνήγειν, ὡς δ’ οὔδεὶς ἐπίστευεν οἱ, τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἄποντα 1 ἐκολάκευσεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν
Γαβίνιον πλείστον παρ’ αὐτῷ δυνάμενον ἤθετο·
tὸν τε γὰρ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου
πόλεμον, τὴν τε Βιθυνίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀμα
43 ἀρχῇ² αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. ἀγανάκτησις μὲν γὰρ
καὶ ἀντιλογία καὶ τὸτε παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, διὰ τὰ
τάλλα καὶ διότι ὃ τε Μάρκιος³ καὶ ὁ Ἀκίλλος
πρὶν⁴ τὸν χρόνον σφίσι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήκειν κατε-
2 λύσει, ἐγένετο· ὃ δὲ ομιλος, καὶ τοι μικρὸν
ἐμπροσθεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καταστήσατος τὰ
ἔαλκωτα, ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκὼς ἐξ ὧν σφίσιν ὁ
Δούκουλλος ἐπεστάλκη, πέμψας, βρως ἐφηφίσατο
αὐτά, ἐναγόντων σφᾶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ τε
Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου.
3 Οὕτω⁵ γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνηγωνισάντο ὅτι καὶ
συμβῆρειν αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει εὔμοιχον, οὐδ’ ὅτι τῷ
Πομπήιῳ χαρίσασθαι ἦθελον· ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ
ὡς γενότεθαι ἐμελλε, Καίσαρ μὲν τὸν τοῦ ὄχλου
ἄμα ἐθεράπευσεν ἀτε καὶ ὅρων δοφ ⁶ τῆς βουλής
4 ἐπικρατέστεροι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐαυτῷ τὸ τῶν ὀμοίων
ψηφισθήναι ποτὲ παρεσκεύασε, κάν τούτῳ καὶ τὸν
Πομπήιον καὶ ἐπιφθονώτερον καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον
ἐκ τῶν διδομένων οἱ ποιήσαι, ὅπως σφίσι πρὸς
κόρου θάνατον γένηται, ἡθέλησε, Κικέρων δὲ τὴν
τε πολιτείαι άγειν ἡξίου, καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο καὶ τῷ

1 ἄποντα Madvig, ἄκοντα L.
2 ἀρχὴν R. Steph., ἄρχειν L.
3 Μάρκιος R. Steph., μάρκος L.
4 πρὶν R. Steph., ὅς πρὶν L.
5 οὖτοι Bk., οὐτῶ L.
6 δοφ Bk., δοφ L.

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He, then, in fear because the plebs were terribly angry, at first ascribed the idea to Crassus and some others; but as no one believed him, he paid court to Pompey even in the latter's absence, especially because he knew that Gabinius had the greatest influence with him. He went so far as to offer him command of the war against Tigranes and that against Mithridates, and the governorship of Bithynia and Cilicia at the same time. Now indignation and opposition were manifest even then on the part of the optimates, particularly because Marcius and Acilius were being removed before the period of their command had expired. But the populace, although a little earlier it had sent the proper officials to establish a government over the conquered territory, regarding the war as at an end from the letters which Lucullus sent them, nevertheless voted to do as Manilius proposed. They were urged to this course very strongly by Caesar and Marcus Cicero.

These men supported the measure, not because they thought it advantageous to the state or because they wished to do Pompey a favour; but inasmuch as things were certain to turn out that way, Caesar not only courted the good-will of the multitude, observing how much stronger they were than the senate, but also at the same time paved the way for a similar vote to be passed some day in his own interest. Incidentally, also, he wished to render Pompey more envied and odious as a result of the honours conferred upon him, so that the people might get their fill of him more quickly. Cicero, on his part, was aspiring to leadership in the state, and was endeavouring to make it clear to both the
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πλήθει καὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ὅτι, ὀποτέροις ἂν σφων 5 πρόσθεται, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐπαυξησεὶ. ἐπημφο-
tέριζε τῇ γὰρ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τοῦτον ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων, ἵν' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζονται, ἔπραττε.² τοὺς γοῦν βελτίωσ ὑπὸ τοῦ κράτους προαρισ-
σθαι λέγων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀγορανομήσαι μᾶλ-
λον ἢ δημαρχήσαι ἐθελήσας, τότε πρὸς τοὺς 44 συρρετώδεις μετέστη. καὶ μετὰ τούτο δίκης τέ-
tινος τῷ Μαλλίῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευα-
σθείσης, καὶ ἐκείνου χρόνον τινὰ ἐμποίησαι αὐτῷ σπουδάζοντος, τά τέ ἄλλα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔπραττε, καὶ μόλις αὐτὸν (ἐστρατήγη ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμο-
νίαν τοῦ δικαστήριου ἐχένει) ἐστὶ τῆς ὕστεραίαν ἀνεβάλετο, πρόφασιν ἐπὶ ἔξοδο τὸ ἔτος εἶναι ποιη-
2 σάμενος. καὶ τούτω δυσχεράναντος τοῦ ὁμίλου ἐσῆλθε τέ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν, ἀναγκασθεὶς δήθεν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ κατὰ τῇ βουλῇ κατέδραμε καὶ συναγορεύσειν τῷ Μαλλίῳ ὑπε-
σχέτο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τά τέ ἄλλα κακῶς ἡκουε καὶ αὐτόμολος ἀνομάζετο, τάραγος δὲ τῶν εὐθυς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ δικαστήριον συν-
αχθῆναι.

3 Ποῦσιδοι τῇ γὰρ Παιτῶς καὶ Κορυήλιος Σύλ-
λας, ἄδελφοί διότι ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνω Σύλλου, ὑπατοὶ τε ἀποδειχθέντες καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀλώντες ἐπέβουλεν-
τος τοὺς κατηγορήσαντάς σφῶν Κότταν τε καὶ Τορκουάτον Λούκιον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπείδη αὐτοὶ 4 ἀνθρεθησαν,³ ἀποκτείναν. καὶ παρεσκευάζησαν μὲν ἄλλοι τέ καὶ Γναῖος Πίσσων καὶ Λούκιος Κατιλῖνας ἀνήρ θρασύτατος (ἡτήκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

1 ἵνα R. Steph., ἄν L.
2 ἔπραττε R. Steph., πράττειν L.
3 ἀνθρεθησαν Xyl., ἀνθρεθησαν L.

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plebs and the optimates that he was sure to make whichever side he should join preponderate. He was accustomed to play a double rôle and would espouse now the cause of one party and again that of the other, to the end that he might be courted by both. For example, a little while before he had said that he chose the side of the optimates and for that reason wished to be aedile rather than tribune; but now he went over to the side of the rabble. Soon after, when a suit was instituted by the optimates against Manilius and the latter was striving to gain some delay in the matter, Cicero tried in every way to thwart him, and only after obstinate objection did he put off his case till the following day, offering as an excuse that the year was drawing to a close. He was enabled to do this by the fact that he was praetor and president of the court. Thereupon, when the crowd showed their displeasure, he entered their assembly, compelled to do so, as he claimed, by the tribunes, and after inveighing against the senate, promised to speak in support of Manilius. For this he fell into ill repute generally, and was called "turn-coat;" but a tumult that immediately arose prevented the court from being convened.

Publius Paetus and Cornelius Sulla, a nephew of the great Sulla, who had been elected consuls and then convicted of bribery, had plotted to kill their accusers, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, especially after the latter had also been convicted. Among others who had been suborned were Gnaeus Piso and also Lucius Catiline, a man of great audacity, who had sought the office himself
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τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅργην ἐποιεῖτο, οὐ μὲν-τοι καὶ ἠδυνήθησαν τι δρᾶσαι διὰ τὸ τὴν τε ἐπιβουλὴν προμηνυθῆναι καὶ φρουρᾶν τῷ τε Κόττᾳ καὶ τῷ Τορκουάτῳ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δοθῆναι... δόγμα τι κατ' αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ δήμαρχὸς τις ἴμαντιώθη. ἔπει δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ὁ Πίσων ἑθρασύνετο, ἐφοβήθη τε ἡ γερονσία μὴ τι συνταράξῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχὴν τινα, ἀπεμψε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδίκης-45 σας τι αὐτούς, ἐσφάγη. Πομπήιος δὲ τοῦ μὲν πρῶ-τον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην τὸν τε Μέτελλον πλευσούμενος ἦτοιμαζότε, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα προσεποίητο μὲν ἀχθεσθαί ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τοῖς ἀντιστασίωτας ὡς καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἀεὶ ποτὲ αὐτῷ, του 1 καὶ πταῖσαι τι, παρέχουσιν ἐπεκαλεῖ, 2 ἀσμεναίτατα δὲ αὐτὰ ἀναδεξάμενος Κρήτην μὲν καὶ 2 τὰλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εἰ πού τι ἀδιοκητὸν κατελέειπτο, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἤγαγε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν βαρβάρον πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

Καὶ τοῦτο βουληθεῖς τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου διανοίας πειράσθαι, πέμπει τὸν Μητροφάνη 3 φιλίους 8 αὐτῷ λόγους φέροντα. καὶ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν ὀλυγωρία αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο (τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρσάκου τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτῳ Φραάτῃ τὸν διάδοχον αὐτοῦ προσε-δόκησεν οἰκεώσεθαι), ἔπει δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν φιλίαν τῷ Φραάτῃ διὰ ταχέων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσυνέθετο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ Τιγράνου προεμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε, πυθόμενος

1 τοῦ Rk., τοῦ L. 2 καὶ Rk., ἡ L. 3 φιλίους St., φίλους L.
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and was angry on this account. They were unable, however, to accomplish anything because the plot was revealed beforehand and a body-guard given to Cotta and Torquatus by the senate. Indeed, a decree [would have been] passed against them, had not one of the tribunes opposed it. And when Piso even then continued to display his audacity, the senate, fearing he would cause some riot, sent him at once to Spain, ostensibly to hold some command or other; there he met his death at the hands of the natives whom he had wronged.

Pompey was at first making ready to sail to Crete against Metellus, and when he learned of the decree that had been passed, pretended to be annoyed as before, and charged the members of the opposite faction with always loading tasks upon him so that he might meet with some reverse. In reality he received the news with the greatest joy, and no longer regarding as of any importance Crete or the other maritime points where things had been left unsettled, he made preparations for the war with the barbarians.

Meanwhile, wishing to test the disposition of Mithridates, he sent Metrophanes to him with friendly proposals. Now Mithridates at that time held him in contempt; for as Arsaces, king of the Parthians, had recently died, he expected to conciliate Phraates, his successor. But Pompey anticipated him by quickly establishing friendship with Phraates on the same terms and persuading the latter to invade promptly the part of Armenia belonging to Tigranes. When Mithridates ascen-
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τούτο κατέδεισε, καὶ πρεσβευσάμενος εὐθὺς
4 σύμβασιν ἔπραττε. κελεύσαντος δὲ ἀυτῷ τοῦ
Πομπήιον τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς
αὐτομολοὺς ἐκδοῦναι οὐκ ἔσχε καὶ ῥόν διοικισ-
σασθαι. ἀκούσαντες γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ αὐτοῦ ὄντες, καὶ φοβηθέντες οἱ τε αὐτομολοὺς
(πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) μὴ ἐκδοθῶσι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι
μὴ ἀνευ ἐκείνων πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶσιν, ἔθορυ-
5 βησαν.2 καὶ ἑξειργάσαντο τι τὸν Μιθριδάτην, εἰ
μὴ ψευσάμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἔπι σπονδᾶς ἄλλο ἐπὶ
κατασκοπὴ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρασκευῆς τοὺς
πρέσβεις ἐπεμψε, μόνοις αὐτοὺς κατέσχεν.

46 Ὅ οὖν Πομπῆιος ἐπειδὴ πολεμητέα οἱ ἕγινο
ἐίναι, τὰ τὲ ἄλλα παρεσκευάσατο καὶ τοὺς
Οὐαλερείους προσκατελέξατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ
Γαλατίᾳ ἦδη διώκοντο ὁ Δούκουλλος ἀπαντήσας
διαπεσελμῆσαι τε πάντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ μηδὲν ἐτι
στρατείας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας
τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν
2 περιθέντας ἦδη παρεῖναι. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείσθη
ἐπαναχωρήσαι, πρὸς λοιπὸν ἔτραπτεν, τὰ τὲ
ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ ψηφοτρόπομον καὶ
φιλαρχοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλὼν. ο οὖν Πομπῆιος
βραχύ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ἀπείπε μηδένα ἐτὶ αὐτῷ
πειθρῆσαι, καὶ ἔτι τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἢπείχθη,
σπουδὴν ἔχων ὅτι τάχιστά οἱ συμμίαξαν.

47 Καὶ δὴ τέως μὲν ἐφενεγε (ταῖς γὰρ δυνάμεσιν
ἐλαττοῦτο) καὶ τὴν τε ἐν ποσίν ἄει ἔκειρε, καὶ
ἐπλάνα τε αὐτῶν 3 ἀμα καὶ ἐπιδιέσθαι τῶν ἐπιτη-
δείων ἐποίει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνως ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διά

1 δὲ Bk., τε LU*. 2 ἔθορυγησαν v. Herw., ἔθορυβῆθησαν LU*. 3 αὐτῶν Xyl., αὐτῶν L.
tained this, he was alarmed and straightway sent an embassy and tried to arrange a truce. But when Pompey demanded that he lay down his arms and deliver up the deserters, he had no opportunity to deliberate; for the large number of deserters who were in his camp, hearing of it and fearing they should be delivered up, and likewise the barbarians, fearing that they should be compelled to fight without them, raised an uproar. And they would have done some harm to the king, had he not by pretending that he had sent the envoys, not for a truce, but to spy out the Roman strength, with difficulty held them in check.

Pompey, therefore, having decided that he must needs fight, was busy with his various preparations; among other things he reënlisted the Valerians. When he was now in Galatia, Lucullus met him and declared the whole conflict over, claiming there was no further need of an expedition, and that for this reason, in fact, the men sent by the senate to arrange for the government of the districts had arrived. Failing to persuade him to retire, Lucullus turned to abuse, stigmatizing him as officious, greedy for war, greedy for office, and so on. Pompey, paying him but slight attention, forbade anybody longer to obey his commands and pressed on against Mithridates, being eager to join issue with him as quickly as possible.

The king for a time kept fleeing, since his forces were inferior; he continually devastated the country before him, gave Pompey a long chase, and at the same time made him feel the want of provisions. But when his adversary invaded Armenia, both for
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te toûto kal òs ërêmhn aútìn aîrîsôn ënèbalev, 2 ouîn ðè deîsas ìôh prôkatakalîfôh ëlîxe te ës aútìn, kal lófôn aûntikatakalabôv ëkxûrov tìf ìnèn pautì stratô ëûxîazes, ëlpîxoz toûs ìnèn 'Roù-
mâion àpôrik tôn trôfôn èstètrixoses (aútûs 
gar ìte èn ùpîkôw ërôfà pollâkadoèn aútûn 
eûpórei), tûn de ðè ìppèwos ìeì tînas ës ës tî pedîon 
ùîlîû ìv kàtaâpûmpôi toûs te prôstînîkânonîtaî 
ôfísîn ëkâkou, kal èxautîmolòûntas èpî toûtî 
3 suhûnous èdèxeûto. ò ouîn Pumphioûs èntauûha ìnèn 
oûk ëthárosoûen aútûs suèmbaleîn, mëtàstrato-
pedevsàmènous ðè ètèrwsse, ðûen ùlwôdouîs tûn pêrî 
chôrûn ìntos ìttou ùpò te tû ìppîkûî ìal ùpì 
tûtî tûzikûî tûw ènàntîwò lûnthèssethai 
4 èmellèn, èlôxîseû ì èkairôs ìn, kal òlégoûs tisôû 
èk tû prôfânoûs tìf stratôpêdôf tûw barbûrâw 
prosûmîzax ètàràzè te aútûs, kal ùpàgagôn ìs 
è ëbouîlêto1 pollôus àpèketeûne. tharôûsas te 
èk toûtûn ìal kata tûn ërôfàn èllôn èllh èpî 
tà èpitîdëia èpèmpeûn.

48 'O ouîn Mîbrïdâtês, èpeîdh tauta te àsfalòs 
èporîzete, kal tûn 'Anaitin2 ërôfàn tûs te 'Ar- 
mênias ouûsan kal òheî tûi èpònwûmor ànakeûmënh 
2 dià tûwn ècheirôsastô, ëk tûtûn ìal èllôi 
sûkhoî pròs aútûn àpèklicoun, kal aútû ìal ìi 
tû Mârkîou stratîwtoî prôseqènuîto, èfôbîthè 
kal oukètî kata ërôfàn ëmeîn, ìll' aútûkà 
te tûs vûk tôs âras ëlathè, kal metà tauta vûkto-
3 porôv ìs tû fôz fôtî 'Atrêmîan prôhèi. kai 
oû i ouîn Pumphioûs èpitîkolouûthei ìnèn èpitînumôd ìa

1 èbouîlêto Reim., èbouîleûto L.
2 'Añaitin Fabr., ìanaitin L (tanaitiûi ch. 53, 5).
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this reason and because he expected to capture it while abandoned, Mithridates, fearing it would be occupied before his arrival, also entered that country. He seized a strong hill opposite the Romans and there rested with his entire army, hoping to exhaust them by the failure of their provisions, while he could secure an abundance from many quarters, being among his own subjects. But he kept sending down some of his cavalry into the plain, which was bare, and attacking those who fell in with them, as a result of which he was receiving large numbers of deserters. Pompey did not dare to assail them in that position, but moved his camp to another spot where the surrounding country was wooded and where he would be troubled less by the foe’s cavalry and archers, and there he set an ambuscade where an opportunity offered. Then with a few troops he openly approached the camp of the barbarians, threw them into disorder, and luring them to the point he wished, killed a large number. Encouraged by this success, he also sent men out in various directions over the country after provisions.

When Pompey continued to procure these in safety and through certain men’s help had become master of the land of Anaitis, which belongs to Armenia and is dedicated to a certain goddess of the same name, and many others as a result of this kept revolting to him, while the soldiers of Marcius were added to his force, Mithridates became frightened and no longer kept his position, but immediately set out unobserved in the night, and thereafter by night marches advanced into the Armenia of Tigranes. Pompey followed after him, eager to engage in battle; yet he
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μάχης ἔλθειν, οὗ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον ὄστε μεθ' ἡμέραν (οὐ γὰρ ἔξησαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου) ὄστε νύκτωρ ἐτὸλμησε τούτο ποιῆσαι (τὴν γὰρ ἄγνωσίαι τῶν χωρίων ἔδειξε) πρὶν σφας πρὸς τὴ μεθορία γενέσθαι τὸτε γὰρ εἰδὼς αὐτοὺς διαφεύγειν μέλλοντας ἡμαγκάσθη νυκτομαχῆσαι.

4 γνώσω οὖν τούτο προαπήρε, μεσημβριάζοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθῶν, ἢ πορεύεσθαι ἐμελλών καὶ ἐντυχὼν τῷ χωρίῳ κοίλῳ μεταξὺ γηλόφων τινῶν ὄντι, ἑνταῦθα τὸ τε στρατεύμα ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπέμεινεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ τε ἅδειας καὶ ἂνευ προφυλακῆς, ἄτε μῆτε ἐμπροσθε δεινῶν τι πεπονθότες καὶ τότε ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ὑδὴ προχωροῦντες ὡστε μηδὲ ἐφέσθαι σφισιν ἐτὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζειν, ἐς τὸ κοίλῳ ἑσῆλθον, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς ὑν τῷ σκότῳ ὄστε γὰρ ἄλλο τι φῶς εἶχον ὄστε ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τι ἐλαμμέν.

49 Ἔγενετο δὲ ἡ μάχη τοιάδε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ σαλπικταῖ πάντες ἀμα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀπὸ συνήματο ἐβόησαν, ἐπείτα δὲ οἱ τε στρατιῶται καὶ ὁ λουπὸς χλὸς πᾶς ἑτηλάξε, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ δόρατα πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίθους πρὸς τὰ ψαλίκας ἐφίστησεν. ὅτε ἦτο τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀνέβησαν καὶ μαθήσαντες τὸ ταύτα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ ὁµοφορωσίας ἐνεν τῇ χαλκῇ ταύτα ἐπέκπεισαν καὶ σφων την ἡχίν τὰ ὀργανοῖα ὄντα καὶ ὑπεδέχατο καὶ ἀνταπέδωκε φρικωδεστάτην, ὡστε τῶν βαρβάρων ἑξάπτωσις ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔρημῳ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντας δεινῶς ἐκπλαγηναι ὡς καὶ διαμνοῦσι τοπι πάθει περιπετειώστας. καὶ τούτῳ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πανταχόθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων λίθους τοξεύμασιν ἀκούσαντες βάλλοντες πάντως γε τινας

1 μῆτε Bk., μηδὲ L.
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did not venture to do so either by day, for they would not come out of their camp, or by night, since he feared his ignorance of the country, until they got near the frontier. Then, knowing that they were about to escape, he was compelled to fight by night. Having decided on this course, he eluded the barbarians while they were taking their noonday rest, and went on ahead by the road along which they were to march. And coming upon a defile between some hills, he stationed his army there on the higher ground and awaited the enemy. When the latter had entered the defile confidently and without any precaution, in view of the fact that they had suffered no injury previously and now at last were gaining safety, insomuch that they even expected the Romans would no longer follow them, he fell upon them in the darkness; for there was no illumination from the sky, and they had no kind of light with them.

The course of the battle was as follows: First, all the trumpeters together at a signal sounded the attack, then the soldiers and all the multitude raised a shout, while some clashed their spears against their shields and others struck stones against the bronze implements. The mountains surrounding the valley took up and gave back the din with most frightful effect, so that the barbarians, hearing them suddenly in the night and in the wilderness, were terribly alarmed, thinking they had encountered some supernatural phenomenon. Meanwhile the Romans from the heights were hurling stones, arrows, and javelins upon them from every side, inevitably wounding some by reason of their num-

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υπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐς πᾶν κακὸν σφας κατέστησαν· οὔτε γαρ ἐς παράταξιν ἀλλ’ ἐς πορείαν ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ τοῖς τε ἱπποῖς καὶ ταῖς καμῆλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς σκεύεσι· καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ γυναῖκες ἀναστρέφομεν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κελήτων, οἱ δὲ ἐφʼ ἀρμάτων τῶν τε καμαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἀναμίξ ὄχι- μενοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἢδε τιτρωσκόμενοι, οἱ δὲ προσ- δεχόμενοι τρωθῆσονται, ἑταράσσοντο, κἀκε τούτου ῥάον, ἀτε καὶ ἀλλήλης ἐμπελαζόμενοι, ἐφθεί- δροντο. καὶ ταύτα μὲν, ἐως ἀποθεθὲν ἐβάλλοντο, ἐπασχον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξαναλώσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόρρωθεν ἀλκήν ἑπικατέδραμον ἐφισω, ἑφονεύτου μὲν τὰ περίεσχατα (καὶ ἐξήρκει πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς μία πληγή ἄτε καὶ ψίλοις οὔσι τοῖς πλείοσι), συγγεπέζετο δὲ τὰ μέσα, πάντων ἐπὶ αὐτὰ· ὑπὸ τοῦ περίξ δέους χω- 6 ρούντων. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ὀθούμενοι καὶ συμπατούμενοι διώλλυντο, οὐδ’ εἰχον οὐδὲν οὕτε ἐαυτοῖς ἐπαρκέσαι οὔτε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τολμῆσαι· ἰττῆς γαρ καὶ τοξόται τὸ πλεῖστον οὔτε ἀποροὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προϊδέσθαι τι, ἀποροὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ μηχανήσασθαι ἐγνύνοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτειλεν, οἱ μὲν ἔχαριον ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ πάντως τινὰς 7 ἀμυνούμενοι. κἂν ὥφελθησάν τι, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥω- μαῖοι κατόπιν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες, πολλὴν σφισὶ πλά- νην, τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτε δὲ τῇ προσπίπτοντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁψι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐνεποίουν. πάμπολλοί

1 σκεύεσι: Naber, ὀðι L.  
2 ἑπικατέδραμον Leuncl., ἑπείτα κατέδραμον L.  
3 ἐν’ αὐτὰ Leuncl., ὑπ’ αὐτὰ L.  
4 τινὰs Bs., τινά L.
BOOK XXXVI

bers; and they reduced them to the direst ex-
tremity. For the barbarians were not drawn up for
battle, but for the march, and both men and women
were moving about in the same place with horses and
camels and all sorts of baggage; some were riding on
chargers, others in chariots or in the covered waggon
and carriages, in indiscriminate confusion; and as
some were being wounded already and others were
expecting to be wounded they were thrown into
confusion, and in consequence the more easily slain,
since they kept huddling together. This was what
they endured while they were still being assailed
from a distance. But when the Romans, after
exhausting their long-distance missiles, charged
down upon them, the outermost of the enemy were
slaughtered, one blow sufficing for their death,
since the majority were unarmed, and the centre
was crushed together, as all by reason of the
danger round about them moved thither. So they
perished, pushed about and trampled upon by one
another without being able to defend themselves
or show any daring against the enemy. For they
were horsemen and bowmen for the most part,
and were unable to see before them in the darkness
and unable to carry out any manœuvre in the narrow
space. When the moon rose, the barbarians rejoiced,
thinking that in the light they would certainly beat
back some of the foe. And they would have been
benefited somewhat, if the Romans had not had the
moon behind them and as they assailed them, now
on this side and now on that, caused much confusion
both to the eyes and hands of the others. For the
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te γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐπὶ βαθύτατον κοινὴ πάντες ὑποσκιάζοντες ἐσφάλλου αὐτούς, ἐν ᾧ γε 1 οὕτω 2 προσέμισσαν σφίσιν. ἐς γὰρ τὸ κενὸν οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν ὄντων, μάτην ἔπαιον, καὶ ὁμόσε χωρῆσαντες ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ μὴ προσδεχόμενοι ἐτιμρώσκοντο. καὶ οὕτως ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἐάλωσαν οὐκ ἔλαττος. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ διέφυγον, ἀλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης.

50. Καί τότε μὲν πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην ἦπεργετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ προπέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν φίλον εὑρετο, ὅτι τοῦ νεός αὐτῷ Τιγράνου στασίσαντος ἐκεῖνον μὲν πάππον αὐτοῦ ὄντα αἰτιών τῆς διαφορᾶς ὑπετόπησε γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδησε, διαμαρτῶν δὲν 3 ἡλπίσεν.

2 ἐς τῇ Κολχίδα ἀπετράπετο, καὶ ἐκείθεν πεζῇ πρὸς τῇ Μαιώτιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βόσπορον, τοὺς μὲν πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιασόμενος, ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῇ τε χώρᾳν ἐκομίσατο, τὸν Μαχάρην τὸν παίδα τὸν τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνθελόμενον καὶ τότε αὐτῆς κρατοῦντα καταπλήξας ὡστε μηδὲ ἐς ὅψειν αὐτῷ ἔλθειν, καὶ ἐκεῖνον διὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ, τὴν τε ἀδειάν σφίσι καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπὶ-3 σχονύμενος, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐγύγνετο, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπεμψε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας 5 αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφθη ὑπὲρ τῶν Φᾶσιν ἐκδράσας, πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν δὲ ἐνενικήκησε συνόκισε, τοῖς τραυματίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν

1 γε St., τε L. 2 οὕτω Rk., οὕτω L
3 ἐν Reim., οὖν δὲν L 4 μὲν added by Bk.
5 ἐπιδιώκοντας H. Steph., ἐπιδιώκοντας L.

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assailants, being very numerous, and all of them b.c. 66 together casting the deepest shadow, baffled their opponents before they had yet come into conflict with them. The barbarians, thinking them near, would strike vainly into the air, and when they did come to close quarters in the shadow, they would be wounded when not expecting it. Thus many of them were killed and no fewer taken captives. A considerable number also escaped, among them Mithridates.

The king then hastened toward Tigranes. But on sending couriers to him he found no friendship awaiting him, because the young Tigranes had risen against his father, and the latter suspected that Mithridates, the youth's grandfather, had really been responsible for the quarrel. For this reason, far from receiving him, Tigranes even arrested and threw into prison the men sent ahead by him. Failing, therefore, of the expected refuge, he turned aside into Colchis, and thence on foot reached Maeotis and the Bosporus, using persuasion with some and force with others. He also recovered that country, after so terrifying Machares, his son, who had espoused the cause of the Romans and was then ruling there, that he would not even come into his presence; and he likewise caused this son to be killed by his associates, to whom he promised to grant immunity and money. In the course of these events Pompey sent men to pursue him; but when he outstripped them by fleeing across the Phasis, the Roman leader colonized a city in the territory where he had been victorious, and gave it over to the wounded and superannuated soldiers.
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στρατιωτών αυτήν δούς. καὶ σφικὶ καὶ τῶν περιχώρων ἔθελον ταῖς πολλοὶ 1 συνώπησαν, 2 καὶ εἰςὶ καὶ νῦν, Νικοπολίται τε ὠνομασμένοι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καππαδοκίκου νομὸν συντελούντες.

51 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίει· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς παραλαβὼν τινὰς τῶν πρώτων, ἔπει οὐ 3 καθ᾽ ἱδονὴν αὐτῶν ὁ γέρων ἠρχε, πρὸς τέ τοῦ Φραάτην κατέφυγε, καὶ περισκοποῦντα αὐτὸν διὰ τὰς συνθῆκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον γενομένας ὁ τι χρῆ πράξαι, ἐς τὴν

2 'Αρμενίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε. καὶ ἠλθον μὲν μέχρι τῶν 'Αρταξάτων, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι, καὶ αὐτῶς ἐκεῖνος προσέβαλον ὁ γὰρ Τιγράνης ὁ γέρων ἐς τὰ ὄρη φοβηθεῖς σφας ἀνέφυγεν ἐπεὶ μεντοὶ χρόνου τε τῇ προσεδρείᾳ δεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Φραάτης μέρος τῷ τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀντεπήλθε τε ἐνταῦθα ὁ

3 πατὴρ αὐτῷ μονωθέντι καὶ ἐνίκησε. φυγών οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην τῶν πάππον ὀρμησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθὲς αὐτὸν ἡττημένου καὶ βοθείας μᾶλλον δεόμενον ἢ τινὶ ἐπικουρῆσαι δυνάμενον, προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἡγεμόνι χρησάμενος ἐς τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐστράτευσε.

52 Καὶ δὲ μαθὼν τούτο καὶ καταδείκτες ἔπεκηρυ-κεύσατό τε εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξέδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ τε, ἐναντίω-θέντος οἱ τοῦ νυέος, οὐδενὸς μετρίου ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ

1 πολλοὶ Rk., πολλοὶ καὶ L.
2 συνώπησαν R, Steph., συνώκισαν L.
3 οὐ added by Xyl.

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Many also of the neighbouring people voluntarily joined the settlement and later generations of them are in existence even now, being called Nicopolitans and belonging to the province of Cappadocia.

While Pompey was thus engaged, Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, fled to Phraates, taking with him some of the foremost men, because his father was not ruling to suit them; and though Phraates, in view of the treaty made with Pompey, hesitated about what he ought to do, he was persuaded to invade Armenia. So they came as far as Artaxata, subduing all the country before them, and even assailed that place too, for Tigranes the elder in fear of them had fled to the mountains. But when it appeared that time was required for the siege, Phraates left a part of the force with the young Tigranes and retired to his own land. Thereupon the father took the field against his son, who was now left alone, and conquered him. The latter, in his flight, set out at first to go to Mithridates, his grandfather; but when he learned that he had been defeated and was rather in need of aid than able to assist any one, he went over to the Romans. Pompey, employing him as a guide, made an expedition into Armenia against his father.

Tigranes, learning of this, and becoming alarmed, immediately made overtures to him and delivered up the envoys of Mithridates. And when, on account of the opposition of his son, he could gain no moderate

Nicopolis = "City of Victory."
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καὶ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν τε Ἀράξην διέβη καὶ
2 τοῖς Ἀρταξάτωι ἐπιθησίασεν, οὗτῳ δὴ τὴν τε
πόλιν αὐτῷ παρέδωκε καὶ ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῦ ἐθελουντὴς ἦκεν, ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτὸν ὅτι μά-
λιστα τοῦ τε προτέρου ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τότε
ταπεινότητος σκενάσας, ὅπως αἰδέσεως τε καὶ
3 ἑλέουν ἁμα αἶξίου αὐτῷ φανείς τὸν μὲν γὰρ χιτῶνα
τὸν μεσόλευκον καὶ τὸν κάνδυν τὸν ὀλοπόρφυρον
ἐξέδυ, τὴν δὲ δὴ τιάραν τὸ τε ἀνάδημα εἶχε.
Πομπήιος δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἡπποῦ κατεβίβασεν
αὐτὸν, ῥαβδοῦχον τινα πέμψας (προσήλαυσε
γὰρ ὡς καὶ ἐσ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρυμα κατὰ τὸ σφέτερον
ἐθος ἱππεύσων), ἐσελθόντα δὲ αὐτοποδία καὶ
τὸ τε διάδημα ἀπορρίφαντα καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν
4 πεσόντα προσκυνούντα τε ἰδῶν ἡλέσες, καὶ ἀνα-
πηδήσας ἐξανέστησέ τε αὐτῶν, καὶ ταυτώσας
τῷ ἀναδήματι ἐς τε τὴν πλησίαν ἔδραν ἐκάθισε
καὶ παρεμυθήσατο, εἱπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὴν
τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν ἀπολωλεκὼς ἄλλα καὶ
τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν προσειλήφως εἰς.
καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτοις τε αὐτὸν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ
53 δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν· ὁ δὲ νῦς (ἐκάθησε· δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Πομπήιον) οὐθ’ ὑπανέστη τῷ
πατρί οὐτ’ ἄλλο τι αὐτὸν ἐδεξιώσατο, ἄλλα καὶ
ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπήντησαν. ὦθεν ὑπὸ
γε 1 τοῦ Πομπήιον μᾶλιστα ἐμοσθῆναι.

2 Τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραὶ διακοῦσας αὐτῶν τοῦ μὲν
προσβυτέρῳ τὴν πατρῴαν πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκε·
τὰ γὰρ προσκυπτεόντα υπ’ αὐτοῦ (ἡν δὲ ἄλλα
τε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μέρη, ἢ

1 γε St., τε L.
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terms, but even as it was Pompey had crossed the Araxes and drawn near to Artaxata, then at last Tigranes surrendered the city to him and came voluntarily into his camp. He had arrayed himself so far as possible in a manner midway between his former dignity and his present humbled state, in order that he might seem to him worthy both of respect and pity; for he had put off his tunic shot with white and the candys of pure purple, but wore his tiara and head-band. Pompey, however, sent a lictor and made him dismount from his horse, since the king was riding up as if to enter the very fortification on horseback according to the custom of his people. But when he saw him enter on foot, cast aside his head-dress and prostrate himself on the ground to do him obeisance, he felt an impulse of pity; so springing up hastily, he raised him, bound on the head-band and seated him upon a chair close by, and spoke words of encouragement, telling him among other things that he had not lost the kingdom of Armenia, but had gained the friendship of the Romans. By these words Pompey restored his spirits, and then invited him to dinner. But the son, who sat on the other side of Pompey, did not rise at the approach of his father nor greet him in any other way, and furthermore, though invited to dinner, did not present himself, whence he incurred Pompey's most cordial hatred.

Now on the following day, when Pompey had heard the claims of both, he restored to the elder all his hereditary domain; but what he had acquired later (chiefly portions of Cappadocia and Syria, as

1 The outer garment of the Persians, provided with sleeves.
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3 τὴν Σωφαννῆν μόνην ἀπένειμε. καὶ ἔτυχον ὡς ὁ Θησαυρὸς ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντες, ἡμφεσθήτησε τε περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ ἀμαρτῶν (οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὁπόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰ ὁμολογημένα κομίσηται) ἡγανάκτησε καὶ δραμὸν ἐβουλεύσατο. τὸ ὁ ποιήσας προμαθῶν τούτο ἐκεῖνον τε ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἐποίησατο, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τούς τὰ χρήματα φυλάττοντας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα σφᾶς δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἢ ἐπειδὴ τῇ μῆθ' ὑπήκουσαν, λέγοντες τὸν νεανίσκον, οὕτε ἡ χώρα ἡ ἐνομίζετο, χρὴναι σφῶν τοῦτο προστάξαι, ἐπέμψεν ἀυτῶν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια. καὶ ὃς μὲν κεκλειμένα αὐτὰ εὑρὼν προσῆλθε τε ἐγνύ, καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἂκων αὐτὰ ἀνοιχθῆναι· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπείθοντο, προϊσχόμενοι ὁτι μὴ ἐκούσιος ἀλλ' ἀναγκαστὸς τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐχαλεπτόνυ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἔδησε τὸν Τιγράνην.

5. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε γέρων τοὺς θησαυροὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ 'Ἀνατίδι 3 καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κύρηφ τρίχη νείμας τὸν στρατὸν παρεχείμασε, τὰ τε ἄλλα παρὰ τοῦ Τιγράνου συγία καὶ χρήματα πολλοὶ πλείω τῶν ὀμολογηθέντων λαβών. ἀφ' οὕτε ὁχ' ἢκιστα καὶ ἐκείνου εὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ 4 πολλῶν ὑστερον ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ εὐ τὴν Ρώμην μετὰ φρουρᾶς ἐσήγαγεν.

1 νεωτέρος Bk., ৯৫ το ἔτεροι L.
2 ἐπέμψεν Turn., ἐπέμψαν L.
3 Ἀνατίδι Fabr., τανατίδι L. 4 οὐ added by Rk.
well as Phoenicia and the large district of Sophene (bordering on Armenia) he took away, and demanded money of him besides. To the younger he assigned Sophene only. And inasmuch as this was where the treasures were, the young man began a dispute about them, and not gaining his point, since Pompey had no other source from which to obtain the sums agreed upon, he became angry and planned to escape. Pompey, being informed of this in season, kept the youth in honourable confinement and sent to those who were guarding the money, bidding them give it all to his father. But they would not obey, stating that it was necessary for the young man, to whom the country was now held to belong, to give them this command. Then Pompey sent him to the forts. He, finding them all locked up, came near and reluctantly ordered that they be opened. When the keepers obeyed no more than before, claiming that he issued the command not of his own free will, but under compulsion, Pompey was vexed and put Tigranes in chains.

Thus the old king secured the treasures, and Pompey passed the winter in the land of Anaïtis and near the river Cyrbus, after making three divisions of his army. From Tigranes he received plenty of everything and far more money than had been agreed upon. It was for this reason particularly that he shortly afterward enrolled the king among the friends and allies of the Roman people and brought his son to Rome under guard.
54 Ού μέντοι καὶ ἐν ἁσυχίᾳ διεχείμασεν. Ὅροισις γαρ Ἀλβανῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κύρνου οἴκοντων βασιλεύσει, τὸ 1 μὲν τι καὶ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ νεωτέρῳ φίλῳ οἱ ὀντὶ χαρίσασθαι βουλήθεις, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον δεῖσας μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐσβάλωσι, καὶ νομίσας ὃτι, ἐν ἐν τῷ χειμῶν ἁδοκήτως σφίσι καὶ μὴ καθ' ἐν στρατοπεδευμένοις προσπέσῃ, πάντως τι ἐξεργάσεται, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνια, 2 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον Κέλερα, παρ' ὅ τι Τιγράνης ἦν, ἡλισεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπὶ Δούκιον Φλάκκον τὸν τῆς τριτημορίδος ἁρχοντα ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως πάντες ἀμα 3 ταραχθέντες μὴ συμβοηθήσωσιν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ μὴν καὶ διεπράξατο οὐδαμόθεν οὐδένες εκεῖνον τε γὰρ ὁ Κέλερ ἱσχυρὸς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἐπειδὴ πολὺν τὸν περίβολον τῆς ταφρείας ὅτα ἀδύνατος ἦν ὅποι τοῦ μεγέθους σώσαι, ἐτέραν ἐνδοθεν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἑναντίοις ὡς καὶ φοβηθεῖς ἐμβαλὼν, ἐπε- 4 στάσατο αὐτοὺς εἰςο τῆς ἐξωθεν τάφρου, κἀν- ταῦθα μὴ προσδεχομένοις σφίσιν ἐπεκδραμών πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσί, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας ἑφόνευσε. καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πομπήιος προμαθῶν τε τὴν 2 πείρασιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεπόντῳ, προαπήνητη τοῖς ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν ἐπι- ούσιν 3 ἀπορεσόκητος, καὶ κρατήσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄροισθην εὖθες ὅπερ εἶχεν ἡπείχθη. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐ κατέλαβεν (ἀπωσθείς τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κέλερος καὶ μαθῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πταίσματα

1 τὸ Xyl., τῷ L.  2 τῇ Bk., τὴν τῇ L.  3 ἐπιούσιν R. Steph., ἀπιούσιν I.
BOOK XXXVI

The quiet of his winter quarters, however, was not unbroken. Oroeses, king of the Albanians dwelling beyond the Cyrrus,\textsuperscript{1} made an expedition against them just at the time of the Saturnalia. He was impelled partly by the desire to do a favour to Tigranes the younger, who was a friend of his, but chiefly by the fear that the Romans would invade Albania; and he cherished the idea that if he should fall upon them in the winter, when they were not expecting hostilities and were not encamped in one body, he would surely achieve some success. Oroeses himself marched against Metellus Celer, in whose charge Tigranes was, and sent some against Pompey and others against Lucius Flaccus, the commander of a third of the army, in order that all might be thrown into confusion at once, and so might not assist one another. And yet, in spite of all, he accomplished nothing at any point. Celer vigorously repulsed Oroeses. Flaccus, being unable to save the whole circuit of his entrenchments by reason of their size, constructed another line inside. This fixed in his opponents’ minds the impression that he was afraid, and so he was able to entice them inside of the outer trench, where by making an unexpected charge upon them he slaughtered many in the conflict and many in flight. Meanwhile Pompey, having already learned of the attempt which the barbarians had made on the others, came, much to their surprise, to meet the detachment that was proceeding against him, conquered it, and at once hurried on just as he was against Oroeses. He did not overtake him, however, since Oroeses had fled after being repulsed by Celer and learning of the failures of the others; but he

\textsuperscript{1} This river is called the Cyrus by other writers.
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5 ἔφυγε), τῶν μέντοι Ἀλβανῶν συχνοὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κύρνου διάβασιν συλλαβῶν ἔφθειρε. κἂν τούτου δεηθείσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσπείσατο· ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀντεμβαλεῖν, διὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν χειμῶνα ἡδέως τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεβάλετο.
BOOK XXXVI

seized and destroyed many of the Albanians near the crossing of the Čyrnus. He then made a truce at their request; for although on other accounts he was extremely anxious to invade their country out of revenge, he was glad to postpone the war because of the winter.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔβδομῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίκῶν
α. Ὡς ὁ Πομπήιος πρὸς Ἰδραμα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπολέμησεν.
β. Ὡς Πομπήιος τῶν Πόντων τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προσένειμεν.
γ. Ὡς Πομπήιος τὴν τῇ Σωσίαν καὶ τῆν Φοινίκην ὑπηγάγετο.
δ. Ὡς Μιδριδᾶτης ἀπέθανεν.
e. Περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
ζ. Ὡς Πομπήιος καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐτανάλτησεν.
η. Περὶ Κικέρων καὶ Κατηλίνος καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραξάθεντων.
η. Περὶ Καίσαρος καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσου καὶ τῆς συνωμοσίας αὐτῶν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἦτη ἦς, ἐν οἷς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδα
ἐγένοντο

Λ. Αὐρήλιος Μ. νυ. Κόττας ὑπ.
Λ. Μάλλιος Λ. νυ. Τορκοβατός ὑπ.
Λ. Ἰούλιος Λ. νυ. Καίσαρ ὑπ.
Γ. Μάρκιος Γ. νυ. Φίλιουλος ὑπ.
Μ. Τούλιλιος Μ. νυ. Κικέρων ὑπ.
Γ. 'Αντώνιος Μ. νυ.
Δέκιμος 'Ιούλιος Μ. νυ. Σιλανός ὑπ.
Λ. Δικίνινιος Λ. νυ. Μουρήνας ὑπ.
Μ. Ποῦτιος Μ. νυ. Πίσσων ὑπ.
Μ. Οὐδελέριος Μ. νυ. Μεσσάλας Νιγρός ὑπ.
Λ. Ἀφράνιος Ἀδλ. νυ.
Κ. Καικιλίος Κ. νυ. Μέτελλος Κέλερ ὑπ.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δ' ἐπιγυμνομένῳ ἦτε, τοῦ τε Κόττοτο τοῦ Δουκίου καὶ τοῦ Τορ-
κοβατοῦ τοῦ 6 Δουκίου ὑπατευόντων, ἐπολέμησε
μὲν καὶ τοῖς 'Αλβανοῖς, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς

1 Τορκοβατός Δ. Ἰούλιος Λ. νυ. supplied by Palm.
2 Ποῦτιος Palm., ποῦτιοι L.
BOOK XXXVII

The following is contained in the Thirty-seventh of Dio's Rome:—

How Pompey fought against the Asiatic Iberians (chaps. 1–5).
How Pompey annexed Pontus to Bithynia [lost between chaps. 7 and 8].
How Pompey brought Syria and Phoenicia under his sway [lost between chaps. 7 and 8].
How Mithridates died (chaps. 10–14).
About the Jews (chaps. 15–19).
How Pompey after settling affairs in Asia returned to Rome (chaps. 20–23).
About Cicero and Catiline and their doings (chaps. 24–42).
About Caesar and Pompey and Crassus and their league (chaps. 43–58).

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

B.C. 65 L. Aurelius M. F. Cotta, L. Manlius L. F. Torquatus.
64 L. Julius L. F. Caesar, C. Marcius C. F. Figulus.
63 M. Tullius M. F. Cicero, C. Antonius M. F.
61 M. Pupius M. F. Piso, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Niger.
60 L. Afranius A. F., C. Caecilius C. F. Metellus Celer.

The year following these exploits, in the consulship of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, Pompey engaged in warfare with both the Albanians and the

3 ὀβαλέριος R. Steph., γαλερίος L. 4 Νιγρὸς Palm., νιγρὸς L.
5 Α. added by H. Steph., space left in L.
6 τοῦ added by Bk.
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"Ἰβηρσι. καὶ προτέρους γε τούτους καὶ παρὰ
2 γνώμῃν ἡναγκάσθη συνενεχθῆναι: 'Ἀρτώκης γὰρ
ὁ βασιλεύς αὐτῶν (νέμονται δὲ ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα τοῦ
Κύρνου, τῇ μὲν τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, τῇ δὲ τοῖς Ἀρ-
μενίοις πρόσοροι) φοβήθησις μὴ καὶ ἐφ’ ἐαυτὸν
τράπηται, πρέσβεις μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φίλα πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐπεμψε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπως ἐν τῇ
θαρσοῦντι καὶ διὸ τούτῳ ἀνελπίστω οἱ ἐπίθηται.
3 προμαθῶν οὖν καὶ τούτο ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν
χώραν αὐτοῦ προενέβαλε, πρὸς ἰκανὸς τε αὐτὸν
ἐτοιμάσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἑσβολὴν δυσχερεστάτην
οὕσαν προκατασχεῖν, καὶ ἐφθαὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ὄνομασμένην προχρήσας,
4 πρὸς καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Ἀρτώκην ὅτι παρείπ. ἤ
δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς διὸ στενοῖς, ἐνθεῖν μὲν 1 . . . τοῦ
Καυκάσου παρατείνοντος, οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ
tῶν ἑσβολῶν ψυχῆς. ὅ τε οὖν Ἀρτώκης
ἐκπληγείς οὐδένα καίρον ὡστε συντάξασθαι
ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν γέφυραν
5 κατέπρησε, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ τείχει πρὸς τε τὴν
φυ-
γήν 2 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀμα καὶ μάχη νικηθέντες, ἐνέδοσαν.κρατήσας οὖν τῶν διόδων ὁ Πομπήιος φοροῦ,
tε ἐπ’ αὐταῖς κατεστήσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος
πάσαν τὴν ἑντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεστρέψατο.

2 Μέλλοντος δ’ αὐ καὶ τὸν Κύρνον διαβῆσεθαι,
πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρτώκης εἰρήνην τε αὐτῶν,
καὶ γέφυραν τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια ἔκων οἱ παρέξειν
2 ύπογυμνοῦμενος. καὶ ἐποίησε μὲν ἐκάτερον ὡς καὶ
συμβησοῦμενος, δεῖσας δὲ, ἐπείδη εἴδεν αὐτὸν
diaβεβηκότα, πρὸς τὸν Πέλλωρον, ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ καὶ

1 Bk. supplied τοῦ Κύρνου παραρρέωντος, ἐνθεῖ δὲ, adopted in
the translation.
2 φυγήν Leuncl., φυλακὴν L.
BOOK XXXVII

Iberians. Now it was with the Iberians that he was compelled to fight first and quite contrary to his purpose. They dwell on both sides of the Cynrum, adjoining the Albanians on the one hand and the Armenians on the other; and Artoces, their king, fearing that Pompey would direct his course against him, too, sent envoys to him on a pretence of peace, but prepared to attack him at a time when he should be feeling secure and therefore be off his guard. Pompey, learning of this also in good season, invaded the territory of Artoces before the other had made sufficient preparations or had secured the pass on the frontier, which was well-nigh impregnable. In fact he had advanced as far as the city called Acropolis 1 before Artoces became aware that he was at hand. This fortress was right at the narrowest point, where [the Cynrum flows on the one side and] the Caucasus extends [on the other], and had been built there in order to guard the pass. Thus Artoces, panic-stricken, had no chance to array his forces, but crossed the river, burning down the bridge; and those within the fortress, in view of his flight and also of a defeat they sustained in battle, surrendered. Pompey, after making himself master of the pass, left a garrison in charge of it, and advancing from that point, subjugated all the territory this side of the river.

But when he was on the point of crossing the Cynrum also, Artoces sent to him requesting peace and promising to yield the bridge to him voluntarily and to furnish him with provisions. Both of these promises the king fulfilled as if he intended to come to terms, but becoming afraid when he saw his enemy already across, he fled away to the Pelorus,

1 Armastica ("Citadel of Armaz") is meant.

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ἐκεῖνον τῇ αὐτοῦ ῥέοντα, ἀπέφυγεν· διὸ γὰρ ἔξην αὐτῷ κωλύσας διαβήναι, τούτου ἐπισπασάμενος
3 ἀπεδίδρασκεν. ἵδιν οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπεδίωξε τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐνίκησε· δρόμῳ γὰρ, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς τοξότας αὐτοῦ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τέχνῃ χρήσασθαι, ὁμόσε σφίσων ἐχώρησε καὶ δι'
4 ἐλαχίστου αὐτοῦς ἔτρεψατο. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Ἄρτωκης μὲν τὸν τε Πέλωρον διαβᾶς καὶ τὴν
gέφυραν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου καύσας ἐφυγε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐν χερσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
5 πεζῇ περαιούμενοι ἀπέθανον· συνχωλ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὕλας σκεδασθέντες ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ἀπὸ τῶν
dένδρων ὑπερυψώθων οὕτων ἀποτοξεύοντες διεγένωντο, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποτμηθέντων τῶν
dένδρων ἐφβάρησαν. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἄρτωκης ἐπεκερκυρεύσατο μὲν αὐθίς τῷ Πομπήῳ καὶ δόρα
6 ἐπεμψεν· ἐκείνον δὲ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅπως τὰς σπονδάς ποιήσασθαι ἔλπισας μὴ περαιτέρω ποι
προχωρήσῃ, λαβώντος, τὴν δ' εἰρήνην οὐχ ὀμολογήσαντο δώσειν ἀν μὴ τοὺς 2 παῖδας οἱ ὦμήρους
7 προαποστείλῃ, χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε, μέχρις οὐ οἱ Ἁρμαῖοι καὶ τὸν Πέλωρον διαβατὸν πῇ τοῦ
θέρους γενόμενον οὐ χαλέπως, ἄλλως τε καὶ 
μηδενὸς κωλύοντος, ἐπεραιώθησαν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ
tοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῷ ἐπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ
συνηλλάγῃ.
8 Καὶ τούτου μαθὼν ὁ Πομπήιος οὐ πόρρω τῶν
Φάσιν ὄντα, καὶ νομίσας ἐς τῇ τὴν Κολχιδὰ παρ'
αὐτὸν καταβήσεσθαι καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιδρι-
dάτην ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον πορεύσεσθαι, 3 προῆι

1 ποιήσεσθαι Turn., ποιήσασθαι LUo. 2 τοὺς Rk., τοὺς τε LUo. 3 πορεύσεσθαι Η. Steph., πορεύσεσθαι L.

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another river that flowed through his domain. Thus he first drew on, and then ran away from, the enemy whom he might have hindered from crossing. Upon perceiving this Pompey pursued, overtook, and conquered him. By a charge he came to close quarters with the enemy's bowmen before they could show their skill, and very promptly routed them. Thereupon Artoces crossed the Pelorus and fled, burning the bridge over that stream too; of the rest some were killed in conflict, and some while fording the river. Many others scattered through the woods and survived for a few days, while they shot their arrows from the trees, which were exceedingly tall; but soon the trees were cut down under them and they also were slain. So Artoces again made overtures to Pompey, and sent gifts. These the other accepted, in order that the king in the hope of securing a truce might not proceed any farther; but he would not agree to grant peace till the petitioner should first send to him his children as hostages. Artoces, however, delayed for a time, until in the course of the summer the Pelorus became fordable in places, and the Romans crossed over without any difficulty, particularly since no one hindered them; then at last he sent his children to Pompey and concluded a treaty.

Pompey, learning now that the Phasis was not far distant, decided to descend along its course to Colchis and thence to march to Bosporus against Mithridates. He advanced as he intended, traversing
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2 μὲν ἦ διενοεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς τε Κόλχους καὶ τοὺς προσχώρους σφύσι, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκφοβῶν, διῆλθε: αἰσθόμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἦ τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἥπειρου κομβὴ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγνώστων καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔθνων, καὶ ἦ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης χαλεπώτερα διὰ τε τὸ ἀλίμενον τὴς

3 χώρας καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν εἰη, τῷ μὲν Μιθριδάτῃ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔφορμεν ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε ἐκεῖνον τῇ τηρήσαι μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεύσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν autou τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφελέσθαι, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς οὗ τὴν συντομωτάτην, ὅπως σφᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πρὸς ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀνεπλίστους καταλάβῃ, ἀλλ' ἐσ

4 τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπανελθὼν ἐτράπετο. καὶ τὸν τε Κύρνου, ἢ πορεύσιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐγεγόνει, πεζῇ διέβη, τὴν τῇ ἦπην κατὰ τῶν ῥοῶν καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἤξεῖ, εἴτε τοὺς πεζοὺς διεναι κελεύσαι, ἢν οὗ τε ἦπην τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι σφῶν διαχέωσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶ ποι τι καὶ ὑπὶ περιτραπεῖ, ἐσ τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα παρακολουθοῦντας ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω κατα

5 φέρηται καὶ τεθεὶ οἰκίᾳ πρὸς τὴν Καμβύσην πορευόμενος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμιῶν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐπαθεὶ, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καύματος καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τοῦ δίψου ἵσχυρός μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καίτοι ἔνεστο τὸ πολυ τῆς ὁδοῦ διελθών, ἐταλαιπώρησεν οἷς γαρ ἄγανοι σφῶν, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὕτως, ὅρα τὴν ἐπιτηδειοτάτην αὐτοῦ ἡγαγόν. οὐ μὴν οὖδ' ὁ πολιμός ἐν δέοντι σφῶιν ἐγένετο. ψυχρό

1 τηρήσαι Rk., τηρείσασθαι L.; perhaps Rk. should be followed further in reading μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεύσαι.
2 ἐπαγωγὴν Reim., ἐπαγωγὴν L.

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BOOK XXXVII

the territory of the Colchians and their neighbours, B.C. 65 using persuasion in some quarters and fear in others. But, perceiving at this point that the route on land led through many unknown and hostile tribes, and that the voyage by sea was still more difficult on account of the lack of harbours in the country and on account of the people inhabiting the region, he ordered the fleet to blockade Mithridates so as to see that he did not sail away anywhere and to prevent his importing provisions, while he himself directed his course against the Albanians. He did not take the most direct route, but first turned back into Armenia, in order that by such a course, taken in connection with the truce, he might find them off their guard. He forded the Cyrmus at a point where the summer had made it passable, ordering the cavalry to cross down stream, with the baggage animals next, and then the infantry. His object was that the horses should break the violence of the current with their bodies, and if even so any one of the pack-animals should be swept off its feet it might collide with the men crossing on the lower side and not be carried farther down. From there he marched to the Cambyses, without suffering any injury at the hands of the enemy; but as a result of the heat and consequent thirst both he and the whole army suffered severely, notwithstanding the greater part of the march was covered at night. For their guides, who were from among the captives, did not lead them by the most suitable route, nor indeed was the river of any advantage to them; for the water, of
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tatón te γὰρ τὸ ὦδωρ ὀν, καὶ ἀθρόου ὑπ' αὐτῶν ποθέν, συχνὸς ἔλυμηνατο. ὡς δ' ὦν οὐδὲ ἐν-
taύθα αντίπαλον τι αὐτοῖς ὁφθη, πρὸς τὸν Ἀβαντα προσεχώρησαν, ὦδωρ μόνον ἐπιφερό-
μενον· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐλάμβανον, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐδὲ ἐκακούργουν οὐδὲν.

4. Καὶ σφισι διαβεβηκόσιν ἦδη τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ Ὀροίσης προσώπων ἤγγελθη. ὁ οὖν Πομπῆιος βουλήθηκες αὐτὸν, πρὶν τὸ τῶν Ἡρωμαίων πλῆθος γυνώναι, ἐς¹ μάχην ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ καὶ αἰσθό-

2 μενος αὐτὸν ἀναχωρήσῃ, τοὺς τε ἱππεάς προέταξε, προειπών σφισιν ἵ ποιήσουσι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπίσθεν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ τὰ γόνατα κεκλιμένους καὶ
tαις ἀσπίσι συγκεκαλυμμένους ἔχων ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπείσθεν, ὡστε τὸν Ὀροίσην μὴ πρότερον μαθεῖν

3 αὐτοὺς παρόντας πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι. κάκ
tǒτοι έκεινος τε τῶν ἱππέων ὡς καὶ μόνῳν ὄντων
cataφρονήσας συνέμιζε σφισι, καὶ ὑ' ὀλόγον
trapéntas ἐξεπίτηδες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπεδίωξε καὶ
ti πεζοὶ ἀναστάντες ἐξαιφης καὶ διαστάντες
tois mēn σφετέρως ἀσφαλῆ τὴν φυγήν διὰ μέσου
sφῶν παρέσχου, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀπερισκέπτως
ti diώξει χρωμένους ἐσθεδέμενους συχνοὺς ἐκυκλώ-
sanū. καὶ οὔτοι τε τοὺς ἐνδον ἐκοπτοῦν, καὶ τι
tiπῆς, oi mēn ἐπὶ δεξιά, oi δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν
περιελθόντες, κατὰ νῶτον τοὺς ἐξω τῆς κυκλώ-
sos prospépsoen. καὶ εἰκεὶ τε πολλούς ἐφόνευσαν
ekάτεροι, καὶ ἐτέρους² ἐς τὰς ὅλας καταφυγόντας

¹ ἐς Ba., πρὸς L. ² ἐτέρους Rk., ἐκατέρους L.
which they drank great quantities, was very cold and proved injurious to many. When no resistance was offered to them at this place either, they marched on to the Abas, carrying supplies of water only; for they received everything else by the free gift of the natives, and for this reason they committed no depredations.

After they had already got across the river it was announced that Oroeses was coming up. Now Pompey was anxious to lead him into conflict before he should find out the number of the Romans, for fear that when he learned it he might retreat. Accordingly he marshalled his cavalry in front, giving them notice beforehand what they should do; and he kept the rest behind them in a kneeling position and covered with their shields, causing them to remain motionless, so that Oroeses should not ascertain their presence until he came to close quarters. Thereupon the barbarian, in contempt for the cavalry, whom he supposed to be alone, joined battle with them, and when after a little they purposely turned to flight, he pursued them at full speed. Then the foot-soldiers suddenly rose and by extending their front not only afforded their own men a safe means of escape through their ranks but also received within their lines the enemy, who were heedlessly bent on pursuit, and surrounded a number of them. So these troops cut down those caught inside the circle; and the cavalry, some of whom went around on the right and some on the other side of them, assailed from the rear those who were on the outside. Each force slaughtered many there, and burned to death others who had fled into the woods, crying out the while,
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κατέπρησαν, "ιώ 1 Κρόνια 2" πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν σφων τὴν τότε γενομένην ἐπιλέγοντες. 3

5 Πράξας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς τε Ἀλβανοῖς ἐιρήνην ἔδωκε, καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Καύκασον μέχρι τῆς Καυσίας θαλάσσης, ἐς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ ὀρος ἀρξάμενον τελευτά, κατοικούσων ἐπικηρυ-κανεινοῖς ἐσπείσατο. Φραάτης δὲ ἐπεμψε μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνανεώσασθαι τὰς συνθῆκας ἐθέλων· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τε οὗτω φερόμενον ἔφη, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τοῦ τε Πόντου τοῦ 4 ταὐτί οἳ ὑποστράτηγοι αὐτοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεστρέφοντο, οὐ τε Γαβίνιοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Εὐφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Τιγρί-δος προεχώρησεν, ἐφοβῆθη τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν σύμβασιν βεβαιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησεν· οὐ μένοι καὶ

3 διεπράξατο τι. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος πρὸς τα τα παράντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς εἰς αὐτῶν ἐπίδας κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρόνως τοῖς πρόσβεσιν ἐλάλησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Κορδούνην, ὑπὲρ ἦς πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην διεφέρετο,

4 ἀπήττησεν. ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνοι μηδὲν, ἀτε μηδὲ ἐπεσταλμένοι τι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀπεκρίνατο, ἔγραψε μὲν τινα τῷ Φραάτη, οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν δὲ ἀντιπεμφθήναι τι, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὸν Ἀφράνιον παραχρήμα ἐστείλε, καὶ κατασχῶν αὐτὴν ἀμαχεῖ 5 τῷ Τιγράνη ἔδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀφράνιος διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν παρὰ τὰ συνγεκέμενα πρὸς τὸν Πάρθουν κομιζόμενος ἐπιλανθήθη, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπάνεως τῶν τροφῶν ἐκακώθη· καὶ ἀπόλυτον, εἰ μὴ

1 iω Rk., 2 L. 2 Κρόνια Cobet, Κρόνια Κρόνια L.
3 ἐπιλέγοντες Xyl., ἐπιλέγοντας L. 4 τοῦ supplied by Reim.

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“Ah, the Saturnalia!” with reference to the attack made on that occasion by the Albanians.

After accomplishing this and overrunning the country, Pompey granted peace to the Albanians, and on the arrival of heralds concluded a truce with some of the other tribes that dwell along the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea, where the mountains, which begin at Pontus, come to an end. Phraates likewise sent to him, desiring to renew the treaty with him. For the sight of Pompey’s success, and the fact that his lieutenants were also subjugating the rest of Armenia and that part of Pontus, and that Gabinius had even advanced across the Euphrates as far as the Tigris, filled him with fear of them, and he was anxious to have the truce confirmed. He accomplished nothing, however; for Pompey, in view of the present situation and the hopes which it inspired, held him in contempt and replied haughtily to the ambassadors, among other things demanding back the territory of Corduene,¹ concerning which Phraates was quarrelling with Tigranes. When the envoys made no answer, inasmuch as they had received no instructions on this point, he wrote a few words to Phraates, but instead of waiting for a reply sent Afranius into the territory at once, and having occupied it without a battle, gave it to Tigranes. Afranius, returning through Mesopotamia to Syria, contrary to the agreement made with the Parthian, wandered from the way and encountered many hardships by reason of the winter and the lack of supplies. Indeed, his troops would have perished, had not the Carrhaeans,

¹ Called Gordyene by most writers.
Καρραῖοι, Μακεδόνων τε ἀποικοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐν- 
ταὐθὰ που οἰκούντες, ὑπέλαβόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ 
παρέπεμψαν.

6 Ταῦτα τε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης 
οἱ δυνάμεως ἔπραξε, σαφέστατα τοῖς πλειονεκτεῖν 
βουλομένοις ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάντα ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων ἡρτηται, καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς κρατῶν νομοθέτης δὲν 
βούλεται ἀναγκαῖοι γίγνεται, καὶ προσέπτει καὶ 
πρὸς τὴν ἑπικλησίαν αὐτοῦ ὑβρίσειν, ἦπερ πρὸς 
τὸν ἄλλους πάντας ἁγάλλετο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς 
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὕτω τε αὐτὸ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀεὶ ποτε 
2 ἐκέχρηστο. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως κα- 
λομένου, τὸ τὸν βασιλέων ὄνομα περιέκοψε 
καὶ βασιλεῖ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπιστέλλων ἔγραψε, 
καὶ τῷ Τυγράνῃ τῷ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ τούτῳ παρὰ 
τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτὸς ὅσι, ὅτε τὰ ἑπτάκια αὐτοῦ 
3 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ ὥν Φραάτης καίπερ 
δεδώσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπεύων, ἡγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ 
τούτῳ ὡς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐστηρημένος, καὶ 
πέμψας πρέσβεις πάντα τε ὅσα ἠδίκητο ἐπε- 
κάλει οἱ, καὶ τοῦ Ἐιφράτην ἀπηγόρευε μὴ 

diabaienov.

4 Ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίνατο, εὐθὺς 
ἐπὶ τοῦ Τυγράνου μετὰ τοῦ νεός αὐτοῦ, ὁ τὴν 
θυγατέρα ἐδεδωκει, ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τῷ ἤρι ἐν ὧ 
Δοῦκίδος τοῦ Καίσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλος ὑπάτευον. 
καὶ νικηθῆς μάχῃ ἐπειδ’ ὑστερον ἀντεπεκράτησε.

1 αὐτὸς Bs., αὐτοῖς L.
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Macedonian colonists who dwelt somewhere in that vicinity, received him and helped him forward.

This was the treatment which Pompey in the fulness of his power accorded to Phraates, thereby indicating very clearly to those desiring to indulge their greed that everything depends on armed force, and that he who is victorious by its aid wins inevitably the right to lay down whatever laws he pleases. Furthermore, he showed contempt for the title of Phraates, in which that ruler delighted before all the world and before the Romans themselves, and by which the latter had always addressed him. For whereas he was called "King of Kings," Pompey clipped off the phrase "of Kings" and addressed his demands merely "to the King" when writing; and yet he later, of his own accord and contrary to custom, gave this title to the captive Tigranes, when he celebrated his triumph over him in Rome. Phraates, consequently, although he feared and paid court to him, was vexed at this, feeling that he had actually been deprived of his kingdom; and he sent ambassadors, reproaching him with all the wrongs he had suffered, and forbidding him to cross the Euphrates.

When Pompey gave him no conciliatory reply, Phraates immediately began a campaign in the spring against Tigranes, being accompanied by the latter's son, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. This was in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus. In the first battle Phraates was beaten, but later was victorious. And

1 Dio here records as a fresh event what he has already described at length as one of the occurrences of the year 66 (Book XXXVI. 51). This was probably due to the use of a second authority; cf. Intr. to vol. i. p. xvi.
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5 τοῦ τε Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα ἐπικαλεσαμένου, πρέσβεις τε αὐτός πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἑκείνου κατηγόρησε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἡρωμάιους ὑπεσήμηνεν, ὡστε τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ αἰσχυνθῆραι καὶ καταπλαγῇν. οὐκομον οὓτε τῷ Τιγράνῃ ἐπεκούρησεν οὐτε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην πολέμιον τι ἐτ' ἐπραξε, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος τὸ μήτε ἑκείνην οἱ τὴν στρατείαν προστετάχθαι καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἔτ' εἶναι. ἀρκεῖσθαι τε τοῖς κατειργασμένοις ἔφασκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο . . ., μὴ πλειόνων ὄρεγόμενος καὶ περὶ ἑκείνους, ὥσπερ πον καὶ

2 ὁ Δοῦκουλλος, πταῖσθη. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐφιλοσόφει, καὶ τὸ τε πλευνεκτεῖν δεινὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλότριῶν ἐφίσσαθαι ἄδικον εἶναι τότε ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκέτα ἀυτοῖς χρῆσθαι ἐδύνατο. τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρθου δυνάμεις δείσας, καὶ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθεῖς, οὔτε τὸν πόλεμον καίτοι πολλὰν ἑναγόντων ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα

3 τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔφωνον, ἀντειπὼν μὲν οὔδεν, φήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὀρίων τινῶν τὴν διαφοράν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην εἶναι, περὶ δὲ δικάσειν σφίσιν ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οὐς καὶ ἐπεμψεν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὅσον ἀληθῶς ἑκείνοι διαιτητὰς ἐπιγραφαίμενοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα διελύσαντο, ὀργιζόμενοι μὲν ὁ Τιγράνης ὅτι τῆς ἐπικουρίας οὐκ

4 ἑτυχε, βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Φραάτης περιεῖναι τοῦ Ἀρμένων, ὅπως καὶ συμμάχῳ ποτὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ δειθεῖν, κατὰ τῶν Ἡρωμάιων χρήσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ εὑ ἡπίσταντο ἀμφότεροι ὅτι, ὀπότερος ἀν αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου κρατήσῃ, τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς

1 κρατήσῃ Bs., κρατήσει L.
when Tigranes invoked the assistance of Pompey, who was in Syria, Phraates again sent ambassadors to the Roman commander, bringing many charges against Tigranes, and making many insinuations against the Romans, so that Pompey was both ashamed and alarmed. As a result he lent no aid to Tigranes and no longer took any hostile measures against Phraates, offering the excuse that no such expedition had been assigned to him and that Mithridates was still in arms. He declared himself satisfied with what had been accomplished and did not wish [to undertake further risks], lest in striving for additional results he might impair the successes already won by some reverse, as Lucullus had done. Such was his philosophy, and he maintained that covetousness was a dangerous thing, and to aim at the possessions of others unjust,—now that he was no longer able to make use of them. For he feared the forces of the Parthian and dreaded the uncertain issue of events, and so did not undertake this war, although many urged him to do so. As for the barbarian's complaints, he made light of them, offering no answer, but asserting that the dispute which the prince had with Tigranes concerned some boundaries, and that three men should decide the case for them. These he actually sent, and they were enrolled as bona fide arbitrators by the two kings, who then settled all their mutual complaints. For Tigranes was angry at not having obtained the desired aid, and Phraates wished the Armenian ruler to survive, so that in case of need he might some day have him as an ally against the Romans. For they both well understood that whichever of them should conquer the other would simply help along matters for the Romans
Γ΄ Ρωμαίοις προκόψει 1 καὶ αὐτὸς εὐχειρωτότερός 2 σφικτε ἐγένησεται.
5 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα κατηλλάγησαν, Πομ-πῆιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι καὶ τότε ἐχείμασε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ 3 ἐτ' ἀνθιστάμενα προσηγάγετο, καὶ Συμφόρουν τείχος Στρατούνικης οἱ προδοῦσις ἔλαβεν. αὐτὴ δὲ γυνὴ τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου οὖσα, καὶ ὄργην αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθη ἐχοῦσα, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς ἐς παρασκευὴν δὴ τροφῆς ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐδέξατο, καίτοι παιδὸς αὐτῆς παρὰ . . .

Xiphilinus

7α Ἡποστρέψας δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεύσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις τοῖς προσιούσιν αὐτῷ διαιτήσας καὶ χρηματίσας, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς βασιλείας βεβαιώσας, τοῖς δὲ τὰς δυναστείας ἐπαυξήσας, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κολούσας 4 καὶ ταπεινώσας, τὴν τε κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἄρτι τε 5 βασιλέων ἀπῆλλαγμένας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀραβῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου κεκακωμένας συνεστήσατο. ἔτολμησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπαιτήσαι αὐτάς, οὐκ ἀπέλαβε δὲ, ἀλλὰ ἐς τε ἀρχὴν μίαν συνετάχθησαν καὶ νόμους ἔλαβον ὡστε τὸν τῶν Ρωμαίων τρόπον πολυτεύσθαι.— Xiphil. p. 6, 26—7, 5 Dind.

8 . . . τούτῳ μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ ἐπηνέθη, ἀλλὰ ὅτι καὶ τὰ Ρωμαία καὶ τὰ Μεγαλήσια πολυτελε-στατα ἐποίησεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μονομάχου ἀγώνας

1 προκόψει Bk., προσκόψει L.
2 εὐχειρωτότερος Leuncl., εὐχειρότερος L.
3 τά added by Bk.
4 κολούσας Leuncl., κολύσας VC.
5 τε Dind., γε VC.
6 δε Dind., τε L.

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and would himself become easier for them to subdue. B.C. 65
For these reasons, then, they were reconciled.

Pompey passed this winter likewise in Aspis,\(^1\) winning over the districts that were still resisting, and taking also Symphorion,\(^2\) a fort which Stratonice betrayed to him. She was the wife of Mithridates, and in her anger against him because she had been left there she sent out the garrison, ostensibly to collect supplies, and then let the Romans in, although her child was with . . .

Xiphilinus

Returning from Armenia [Pompey] arbitrated B.C. 64 disputes and managed other business for kings and potentates who came to him. He confirmed some in possession of their kingdoms, added to the principalities of others, and curtailed and humbled the excessive powers of a few. Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, which had lately rid themselves of their kings and had been ravaged by the Arabians and Tigranes, were united by him. Antiochus had dared to ask them back, but did not secure them; instead, they were combined into one province and received laws so that they were governed in the Roman fashion.

. . . [Not] for this alone did [Caesar] receive B.C. 65 praise during his aedileship, but also because he exhibited both the Ludi Romani and the Mega-jenses on the most expensive scale and furthermore arranged gladiatorial contests in his father's honour

\(^1\) A place otherwise unknown; Fabricius suggested reading Anaitis in place of Aspis.  \(^2\) Properly called Sinoria.

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έπι τῷ πατρί μεγαλοφρονέστατα διέθηκεν. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ τῶν δαπανηθέντων ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ μὲν κοινὰ αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα Μάρκον Βί-
2 θουλον, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἰδία τουσίτουν δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις ὑπερήφει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ἐκείνως δόξαν σφετερίσασθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπαντά αὐτὸς ἀνή-
λωκέναι. οὐν Βίθουλος αὐτὸς ἐπισκόπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Πολυδεύκει τετουθὼς ἐξῆ πόρο τοῦ ναοῦ κοινοῦ οἱ πρὸς τὸν ἁδέλφον τοῦ Κάστορα ὄντος, ἐπὶ ἐκείνων μόνον ἡ ἐπωνυμία αὐτοῦ γίγνεται.

9 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτος ἔχαρον ὁ Ρωμαῖοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τέρατα καὶ πάνυ αὐτῶς ἠθορύβει. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχονεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλατ τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἰδρυμένον, εἰκόνι τῆς λυκαίνης σὺν τε
2 τῷ Ρώμῷ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ρωμύλῳ ἰδρυμένη ἐπεσε, τά τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐσὶ ὅσι νόμοι ἐσεγαρφοῦ-
το συνεχύθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο. 1 τὰ τε οὖν ἄλλα ἐξεθύνοντο τοῖς μάντεσι πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἀγαλμα μεῖζον, πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολάς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπον, ὅπως ἀι συνωμοσία ύπ' ὧν ἐταραττότω ἐκφαινεῖν, ἰδρυθήμαι ἐψηφίσαντο.

3 Ταῦτα τε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει συνέβη, καὶ οἱ τιμηταὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡριδανῶν οἰκούντων διενεχθέντες (τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶς ἐσάγειν ἐδοκεί, τῷ δὲ οὗ) οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων
4 ἐπραξαν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν ἀπείτουν. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρφ ἐτεί οὐδὲν 3 ἐποίησαν, ἐμποδισάντων σφάς τῶν

1 ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοτο L. 2 αὐτοῦς H. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
3 οὐδὲν supplied by R. Steph.
in the most magnificent manner. For, although the cost of these entertainments was in part shared jointly with his colleague Marcus Bibulus, and only in part borne by him individually, yet he so far excelled in the funeral contests as to gain for himself the credit for the others too, and was thought to have borne the whole cost himself. Even Bibulus accordingly joked about it, saying that he had suffered the same fate as Pollux; for, although that hero possessed a temple in common with his brother Castor, it was named after the latter only.  

Over these successes the Romans naturally rejoiced, but the portents that occurred thoroughly disquieted them. On the Capitol many statues and images were melted by thunderbolts, among others one of Jupiter, set upon a pillar; and a likeness of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, mounted on a pedestal, fell down; also the letters of the columns on which the laws were inscribed became blurred and indistinct. Accordingly, on the advice of the soothsayers they offered many expiatory sacrifices and voted that a larger statue of Jupiter should be set up, looking toward the east and the Forum, in order that the conspiracies by which they were disturbed might come to light.

Such were the occurrences of that year. The censors also became involved in a dispute about the people living beyond the Po, one believing it wise to admit them to citizenship, while the other did not; so they did not even perform any of their other duties, but resigned their office. And for the same reason their successors, too, did nothing in the following year, inasmuch as the tribunes hindered

1 Aedes Castoris (or Castorum) was the usual name; yet in Suet. Calig. 22 we read aede Castoris et Pollucis.
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δημάρχων πρὸς τὸν τὴς βουλῆς καταλόγου, δέει
5 τοῦ μὴ τῆς γερουσίας αὐτούς ἐκπεσεῖν. κἂν τούτων πάντων οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντες, πλὴν τῶν τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων, ἔξεταν Γαίου τινὸς Παπίου δημάρχου γυνώμη, ἑπειδὴ ἐπεπόλαξον καὶ οὐκ ἔδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι σφίσιν εἶναι συνοικεῖν.

10 Τῷ δὲ ἔχομεν ἔτει, τοῦ τε Φυγούλου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Δονίου ἄρχωντων, βραχεὰ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ οὖν ἄξια πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπεῖων πραγμάτων παραλόγους συνυμέχθη. οὗ τε γὰρ τοῦ Δουκρήτου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Σύλλου προστάξεως ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἔτερος τις συνχων τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ φονεύσας, καὶ κατηγόρηθησαν ἐπὶ ταῖς σφαγαῖς καὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου τοῦθεν ὦτι μάλιστα παρασκευάσατο. οὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς πάνω ποτὲ δυνηθέντας ἀσθενεστάτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πολλάκις ποιοῦσι, τοῦτο τε οὖν παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς πολλοῖς ἐχώρησε, καὶ ὃτι καὶ ὁ Κατιλίνας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους αἰτίαν (πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπεκτόνει) λαβὼν ἀπελύθη. καὶ δὴ καὶ Καίσαρ τοῦ χείρων τε πολὺ ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀπώλετο· τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου μετὰ Γαίου Ἀντωνίου ὑπατεύσατο, ὃτε Μιθριδάτης οὐδέν ἔπει δεινῶν τούς Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσατο ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν διέφθειρεν, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκείνως τὴν τε πολιτείαν νεωτερίζειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ αὐτὴν συνιστάς ἐς φόβον σφᾶς οὐ σμικροῦ πολέμου ἑνέβαλεν. ἐπάρχθη δὲ ὅδε ἐκάτερον.

11 Ὁ Μιθριδάτης αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὑπείκε ταῖς
1 δὲ Turn., τε L.
them in regard to the senatorial list, fearing that they themselves might be expelled from that body. Meanwhile all those who were resident [aliens] in Rome, except inhabitants of what is now Italy, were banished on the motion of one Gaius Papius, a tribune, because they were coming to be too numerous and were not thought fit persons to dwell with the citizens.

In the following year, when Figulus and Lucius Caesar were in office, the events were few, but worthy of remembrance in view of the contradictions in human affairs. For the man who had slain Lucretius at the instance of Sulla, and another who had slain many of the persons proscribed by him, were tried for the murders and punished, Julius Caesar being most instrumental in bringing this about. Thus changing circumstances often render very weak even those once exceedingly powerful. This matter, then, turned out contrary to most people’s expectation, as did also the case of Catiline, who, although charged with the same crimes as the others (for he, too, had killed many of the proscribed), was acquitted. And from this very circumstance he became far worse and even lost his life as a result. For, when Marcus Cicero had become consul with Gaius Antonius, and Mithridates no longer caused any injury to the Romans, but had destroyed himself, Catiline undertook to set up a new government, and by banding together the allies against the state threw the people into fear of a mighty conflict. Now these two events came about as follows.

Mithridates did not give way himself under his

1 L. Annius Bellienus. 2 Q. Lucretius Ofella. 3 L. Luscius.
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συμφοράς, ἀλλὰ τῇ βουλήσει πλέον ἡ τῇ δυνάμει νέμων ἐνενόει, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβε, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰστρόν διὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐλθεῖν, κἀντεύθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

2 ἐσβαλεῖν· φύσει τε γὰρ μεγαλοπράγμων ὁ, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν πταισμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ εὐτυχείς ἐπειραμένος, οὔδεν οὔτε ἀτόλμητον οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον οἴειν ἐνόμιζεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ σφαλεῖν, συναπολέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ μετὰ ἀκεραιοῦ τοῦ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἢ στερηθείς αὐτῆς ἐν τε ταπεινότητι καὶ ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ ξῆν ἤθελεν.

3 αὐτῶς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτως ἔρρωτο· ὅσοι γὰρ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἀπεμαραίνετο, τοσοῦτο ἡ τῆς γνώμης ῥώμη ἰσχυρίζετο, ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρρωστίαν τὸς ταύτης λογισμοῖς ἀναλαβάνειν· οἱ δ' ἅλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ, ὡς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότερα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἀσθενέστερα ἴσον ἠγίσκετο (τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ σεισμὸς μέγιστος δὴ τῶν πόλεων ἐφθαρεν), ἡλλοιούντο, καὶ τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἐκινητο, καὶ παίδας τινας αὐτοῦ συναρπάσαντες τινες πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐκόμισαν.

4 Ἐπ' οὖν τούτως τοὺς μὲν ἑφώρα καὶ ἐκόλαξε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας ὁργῆ προκατέλαμβανε, καὶ ἢν πρὸς οὐδένα ἐτί πιστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τέκνων ὑποτοπῆς τινὰ ἀπέσφαξεν. ίδὼν οὖν ταύτα νῦν τις αὐτοῦ Φαρνάκης, καὶ ἐκείνων τε ἀμα φοβηθείς καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν (καὶ γὰρ ἄνηρ ἡδῆ ἤν) λήψεθαι 2 προσδοκήσας, ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ. φωραθέες δὲ (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λάβρα πάντα τὰ

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misfortunes, but relying more on his will than on his power, he planned, especially as Pompey was now tarrying in Syria, to reach the Ister through Scythia, and from there to invade Italy. For, inasmuch as he was by nature given to great projects and had met with many successes as well as many failures, he felt there was nothing which might not be ventured or hoped for. And if he was to fail, he preferred to perish along with his kingdom, with pride undiminished, rather than live deprived of it in humility and disgrace. On this idea, then, he himself grew strong; for in proportion as he wasted away through weakness of body, the more steadfast did he grow in strength of mind, so that he even offset the infirmity of the former by the reasonings of the latter. But his associates, on the other hand, became estranged, as the position of the Romans was ever growing more secure and that of Mithridates weaker. Among other things the greatest earthquake ever experienced destroyed many of their cities; the soldiery also mutinied, and some of Mithridates’ sons were kidnapped and conveyed to Pompey.

Thereupon he detected and chastised some, while others he punished on mere suspicion, before they could accomplish anything; he no longer trusted anybody, but even put to death some of his remaining children who incurred his suspicion. Seeing this, one of his sons, Pharnaces, impelled at once by fear of the king and the expectation of receiving the kingdom from the Romans, as he had now reached manhood, plotted against him. He was detected, for many both openly and secretly were concerning themselves with all that he was doing; and if the body-
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πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολυπραγμόνου) εὐθὺς ἀν, εἰτερ τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον εὐνοίας οἱ δορυφόροι τῷ γέροντι εἶχον, ἔδικαιώθη νῦν δὲ καίτοι σοφώτατος οἱ Μιθριδάτης ἐς πάντα τὰ βασιλικὰ γενόμενοι, οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔδενι οὔτε τὰ ὅπλα οὔτε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀνευ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλίας ἵσχυει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον τις ἀν πλεῖω, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πιστὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει, χαλε-

πώτερα αὐτῷ γίγνεται. ὁ γοῦν Φαρνάκης μετὰ τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων (ῥάστα γὰρ αὐτῶν φιλεωσατο) καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀντικρὺς τὸν πατέρα ἥπειρον ἑπείραθη. πυθόμενος δὲ τούτῳ ὁ γέρων (ὅτι δὲ ἐν Παντικαπαιί) στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νιόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφεψόμενος σφισθὲν.

προεπεμψὲ, καὶ τούτους τε ἐκεῖνος διὰ βραχέος, ἀτε μηδ' αὐτοὺς φιλούντας τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀπετρέψατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκονομάν ἑλάβε, τὸν τε πατέρα ἐς τὸ βασίλειον καταφυγόντα ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἑπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τους λουποὺς φαρμάκων προαπαλλάξας τὸ λουπὸν ἐξέπεσεν, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε δ' ἐκείουν οὔτε διὰ εἴφοις αὐτο-

2 χειρία ἀποφθαρήναι ἡδυνήθη. τὸ τε γὰρ φάρμακον, καὶ τοῖς θανατίμιον ὅν, οὐ συνείλεν αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ πολλῇ καθ' ἐκάστην ἥμεραν προφυλακὴ ἀλεξιφαρμάκων ἐκεκράτυντο καὶ ἡ τοῦ εἴφοις πληγὴ διὰ τε τὴν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἥλικίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιεσθηκότων ἀσθένειαν

1 ἀπετρέψατο Plugk., ἐκετρέψατο L. 2 οὔτε Bk., οὔτε L. 3 δ' ἐκείουν R. Steph., δ' ἐκείουν L.

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guard had had even the slightest good-will toward their aged sovereign, the son would have been punished immediately. But as it was, Mithridates, who had proved himself most wise in all matters pertaining to his royal office, did not recognize the fact that neither arms nor a multitude of subjects is of any real strength to any one without their friendship; on the contrary, the more subjects a ruler has, the greater burden they are to him, unless he holds them faithful. At any rate, Pharnaces, followed both by the men he had made ready and by those whom his father had sent to arrest him,—for he won these over very easily,—hastened directly against his father himself. The old king was in Panticapaeum when he learned this, and sent ahead some soldiers against his son intimating that he himself would soon follow them. These also Pharnaces quickly diverted from their purpose, inasmuch as they too did not love Mithridates, and after receiving the voluntary submission of the city, he put to death his father, who had fled for refuge into the palace.

Mithridates had tried to make away with himself, and after first removing his wives and remaining children by poison, he had swallowed all that was left; yet neither by that means nor by the sword was he able to perish by his own hands. For the poison, although deadly, did not prevail over him, since he had inured his constitution to it, taking precautionary antidotes in large doses every day; and the force of the sword blow was lessened on account of the weakness of his hand, caused by his age and present misfortunes, and as a result of
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καὶ διὰ τὴν φαρμάκου ὅποιουδηποτοῦν εἶχε
3 ἀπημελύλθη. ὡς οὖν οὔτε διὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνηλίκετο
καὶ πέρα τοῦ καίρου χρονίζειν ἔδοκε, προσέπεσόν
τε αὐτῷ ἐκείνων οὐς ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπετύμβας, καὶ
συνετάχθην τοὺς ξίφεσι καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις τὸν
4 ὀλέθρον. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ ποικιλωτάτη ἀεὶ
cαι μεγίστη τῇ τύχῃ χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν τελευ-
tὴν τοῦ βίου ἀπλῆν ἔσχεν· ἐπεθύμησε τε γὰρ
ἀποθανεῖν μὴ βουλόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπο-
cτείναι σπουδάσας οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν
φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ξίφει αὐθέντης τε ἀμα
14 ἔμενε τοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπεσφάγη. Φαρνάκης
dὲ τὸ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῷ Πομπήῳ ταραχεύσας,
ἐλεγχον τοῦ πεπραγμένου, ἐπέμψε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν
τὴν τῇ ἁρχῆν παρέδωκε. καὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν Μιθρι-
dάτῃ οὐδὲν ἐλυμήνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρῴοις
ἡμέριοις ταφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε το γὰρ πολέμων
αὐτοῦ συναποσβηκέναι τῇ ψυχῇ νομίζων οὔδὲν
2 ἔτι τῷ νεκρῷ μάτην ὀργίζετο· τὴν μὲν τοῖς βασι-
λείαι τοῦ Βοσπόρου μισθὸν τῷ Φαρνάκη τῆς
μαιψονίας ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἔς γε τοὺς φίλους τοὺς
te συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψεν.
3 Ὡς οὖν ἐκείνος τε ἀπωλάλει καὶ τὰ τῆς ἁρχῆς
αὐτοῦ πάντα πλὴν ὀλίγων κατέστραπτο (τείχι
gὰρ τινα φρουρὸν ἔξω τοῦ Βοσπόρου ἔτι καὶ τὸ
τε ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐθὺς ὁμολόγησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
ἀνθίστασθαι οἱ διενούντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ
tὰ χρήματι, δὲ ἐφύλασσαν, προδιαρπάσαντες
tινες ἐκείνοις τὴν αἰτίαν προσθώσας, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ
ἀνέμενον, αὐτῷ βουλόμενοι τῷ Πομπήῳ πάντα
15 ἐπιδείξαι), ὡς οὖν τὰ τε ἐνταῦθα κατείργαστο καὶ
1 ὅποιουδηποτοῦν R. Steph., διοι δὴ ποτ' οὖν L.
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taking the poison, whatever it was. When, therefore, he failed to take his life through his own efforts and seemed to linger beyond the proper time, those whom he had sent against his son fell upon him and hastened his end with their swords and spears. Thus Mithridates, who had experienced the most varied and remarkable fortune, had not even an ordinary end to his life. For he desired to die, albeit unwillingly, and though eager to kill himself was unable to do so; but partly by poison and partly by the sword he was at once self-slain and murdered by his foes. Pharnaces embalmed his body and sent it to Pompey as a proof of what had been done, and surrendered himself and his dominions. The Roman showed Mithridates no indignity, but, on the contrary, commanded that he be buried among the tombs of his ancestors; for, feeling that his foe's enmity had been extinguished with his life, he now indulged in, no vain rage against his dead body. Nevertheless he granted the kingdom of Bosporus to Pharnaces as the wages of his bloody deed, and enrolled him as a friend and ally.

After the death of Mithridates all portions of his dominion except a few were subjugated. A few garrisons which at that time were still holding forts outside of Bosporus, did not immediately come to terms, not so much because they were minded to resist Pompey as because they were afraid that others might seize the money which they were guarding and lay the blame upon them; hence they waited, wishing to show everything to Pompey himself. When, then, the regions in that quarter had been subdued, and Phraates
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ὁ Φραάτης ἦσυχιαν ἦγεν, ἦ τε Συρία καὶ ἦ Φοινίκη καθειστήκει, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀρέταν. οὗτος δὲ Ἀραβίων μὲν τῶν νῦν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις δουλεύοντων μέχρι τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐβασίλευε, πλείστα δὲ δὴ τὴν Συρίαν πρότερον λιπήσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάχη πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀμυνόντων αὐτῆς νικηθέος, ὅμως καὶ τότε ἐτ' ἐπολέμει. ἐπ' οὖν τούτου τούς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλάσας ἀκοινίτε τε αὐτοὺς προσηγάγετο καὶ φρουρᾷ παρέδωκε.

Κἀντεύθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην ὡς καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κακώσαντας, ὄρμησεν. ἤρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Ῥκανόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλου ἄδελφοί, καὶ ἐτύγχανον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σφέτερον θεοῦ, ὡσις ποτὲ οὕτως ἑστώ, ιεροσύνης (οὗτο γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν σφῶν ὁ νόμαξον) αὐτοῖ τε δια-

3 φερόμενοι καὶ τὰς πόλεις στασιάζοντες. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος Ῥκανόν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἄξιοχρεων ἱσχύν ἔχοντα ἀμαχεῖ εὐθὺς προσέθετο, Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ ἐς χωρίον τι κατακλίσας ὁμολογήσα τι ἦνάγκασε, καὶ ἐπειδῆ μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τὸ φρούριον παρεδίδου, ἔδησεν αὐτὸν. κακὸ τούτου τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅρουν προσεποιήσατο, τα δὲ Ἰεροσόλυμα πολιορκῶν πράγματα ἔσχε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήν πόλιν, ἐσδεξαμένους αὐτοὺ τῶν τὸ τοῦ Ῥκανοῦ φρουρώτων, ἀπαγιμὸνος ἐλαβεν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱέρων προκατασχόντων τῶν ἐτέρων ὅπως ἀπόν ὡς εἶλεν.

16 ἔπι τε γὰρ μετεώρον ἦν καὶ περιβόλῳ ἰδίῳ ὁχύρωτο. καὶ εἴ γε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ὁμοίως ἡμύνοντο, οὐκ ἄν αὐτὸ ἐχειρώσατο, νῦν δὲ τὰς τοῦ Κρόνου δὴ ὀνομασμένας διαλείποντες, καὶ

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remained quiet, while Syria and Phoenicia had become tranquil, Pompey turned against Aretas. The latter was king of the Arabians, now subjects of the Romans, as far as the Red Sea. Previously he had done the greatest injury to Syria and had on this account become involved in a battle with the Romans who were defending it; he was defeated by them, but nevertheless continued the war at that time. Pompey accordingly marched against him and his neighbours, and, overcoming them without effort, left them in charge of a garrison.

Thence he proceeded against Syria Palaestina, because its inhabitants had ravaged Phoenicia. Their rulers were two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling themselves, as it chanced, and were creating factions in the cities on account of the priesthood (for so they called their kingdom) of their god, whoever he is. Pompey immediately won over Hyrcanus without a battle, since the latter had no force worthy of note; and by shutting up Aristobulus in a certain place he compelled him to come to terms, and when he would surrender neither the money nor the garrison, he threw him into chains. After this he more easily overcame the rest, but had trouble in besieging Jerusalem. Most of the city, to be sure, he took without any trouble, as he was received by the party of Hyrcanus; but the temple itself, which the other party had occupied, he captured only with difficulty. For it was on high ground and was fortified by a wall of its own, and if they had continued defending it on all days alike, he could not have got possession of it. As it was, they made an exception of what are called the days of Saturn, and by doing
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οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν αὐταῖς δρῶντες, παρέδωκαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καίρον ἐν τῷ διακέφαλῳ τούτῳ τὸ 3 τεῖχος διασείσαι. μαθόντες γὰρ τὴν πτώσιν 1 αὐτῶν ταύτην τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐδὲν σπουδὴ ἔπραττον, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ὅποτε ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἐπέλθουσιν, ἐντονώτατά 4 οἱ προσεβάλλον. καὶ οὕτως ἐάλωσάν τε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρα μηδὲ ἀμωμένοι, καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα διηρπάσθη. ἦ δὲ τε βασιλεία τῷ Ῥκανῷ ἐδόθη, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοβουλοῦ ἀνηνέχθη.

5 Ταύτα μὲν τότε ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἐγένετο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σύμπαν ξένος, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης μέχρι τῆς Ἀιγύπτου παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἔσω παρῆκεί, ἀπὸ ταῦτα κέκληται. ἔχοντι δὲ καὶ ἐτερον ὄνομα ἐπίκτητον· ἦ τε γὰρ χώρα

17 Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτὸι Ἰουδαίοι ὄνομάδαται· ἦ δὲ ἐπίκλησις αὐτὴ ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ οἷον οἷὸς ὄθεν ἤρξατο γενέσθαι, φέρει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄνθρωπους ὅσοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλοί ἄλλοις ὄντες, ξηλοῦσι. καὶ ἔστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος τούτο, κολουσθὲν μὲν 2 τολμάκις, αὑριζθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὡςτε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν τῆς

2 νομίσως ἐκνικήσας. κεχωρίδαται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐστὶ τὰ λάλα τῇ περὶ τὴν διάιταν πάνθ’ ὡς εἰπείν, καὶ μάλιστ’ ὅτι τὼν μὲν ἄλλων θεῶν οὐδένα τιμῶσιν, ένα δὲ τὼν ἱσχυρῶς σέβουσιν. οὐδ’ ἀγαλμα οὐδὲν οὐδ’ 3 ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον, ἀρρητοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀείδῃ αὐτῶν νομίζουτε εἶναι περισσότερα ἀν-

3 θρόπων ἡσαχεύσουσι. καὶ αὐτῷ νεών τε μέγιστον

1 πτώσιν Madvig, ἐμπλογὴν L. 2 μὲν supplied by R. Steph. 3 οὐδ’ added by v. Herw.

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no work at all on those days afforded the Romans an opportunity in this interval to batter down the wall. The latter, on learning of this superstitious awe of theirs, made no serious attempts the rest of the time, but on those days, when they came round in succession, assaulted most vigorously. Thus the defenders were captured on the day of Saturn, without making any defence, and all the wealth was plundered. The kingdom was given to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus was carried away.

This was the course of events at that time in Palestine; for this is the name that has been given from of old to the whole country extending from Phoenicia to Egypt along the inner sea. They have also another name that they have acquired: the country has been named Judaea, and the people themselves Jews. I do not know how this title came to be given them, but it applies also to all the rest of mankind, although of alien race, who affect their customs. This class exists even among the Romans, and though often repressed has increased to a very great extent and has won its way to the right of freedom in its observances. They are distinguished from the rest of mankind in practically every detail of life, and especially by the fact that they do not honour any of the usual gods, but show extreme reverence for one particular divinity. They never had any statue of him even in Jerusalem itself, but believing him to be unnamable and invisible, they worship him in the most extravagant fashion on earth. They built to him a temple
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καὶ περικαλλέστατον, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον ἀχανής τε καὶ ἀνώροφος ἦν, ἐξεποίησαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου καλουμένην ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδιαίτερα πολλὰ ἰπούσι, καὶ ἐργον οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου προσάπτονται.

4 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐκείνου, τίς τε ἔστι καὶ ὅθεν οὕτως ἑταμῇ, ὡς τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτόημετα, πολλοὶς τε εἰρήναι καὶ οὐδὲν τὴδε τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσήκει· τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐς τοὺς ἄστερας τοὺς ἐπτὰ τοὺς πλάνητας ὄνομασμένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακεῖσθαι κατέστησεν ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενον· οἱ γοῦν ἄρχαιοι Ἑλληνες

18 οὐδαμῇ αὐτῷ, οὐκε γε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, ἥπισταντο. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάνω νῦν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐπιχωριάζει, καὶ ηδὴ καὶ τούτῳ σφισὶ πάτριον τρόπον τινά ἔστι, βραχὺ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλεχθῆναι βούλομαι, πῶς τε καὶ τίνα τρόπον οὕτω τετακταί. ἦκουσα δὲ δύο λόγους, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ χαλεποὺς γνωσθῆναι, θεωρίας δὲ

2 τινὸς ἐχομένους. εἰ γὰρ τις τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων καλουμένην, ἢπερ ποι ἄκρος τῆς μουσικῆς συνέχειας πεπίστευται, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄστερας τούτους, ὑφ’ ὅλ’ οῦ πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κόσμος διείλθηται, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καθ’ ἥν ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν περιπορεύεται ἐπαγάγοι, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω περιφορᾶς τῆς τῷ Κρόνῳ δεδομένης,

3 έπειτα διαλεπῶν δύο τὰς ἐχομένας τῶν τῆς τετάρτης δεσπότην ὑμομάεσει, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὴν δύο αὐτ’ ἐτέρας υπερβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἀφίκουσι, κὰν

1 πολλὰ Rk., πολλὰ & L. 2 δὲ added by Xyl. from Xiph. 3 αὐτὴν Bs., αὐτὸν L.
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that was extremely large and beautiful, except in so far as it was open and roofless,\(^1\) and likewise dedicated to him the day called the day of Saturn, on which, among many other most peculiar observances, they undertake no serious occupation.

Now as for him, who he is and why he has been so honoured, and how they got their superstitious awe of him, accounts have been given by many, and moreover these matters have naught to do with this history. The custom, however, of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was instituted by the Egyptians, but is now found among all mankind, though its adoption has been comparatively recent; at any rate the ancient Greeks never understood it, so far as I am aware. But since it is now quite the fashion with mankind generally and even with the Romans themselves, and is to them already in a way an ancestral tradition, I wish to write briefly of it, telling how and in what way it has been so arranged. I have heard two explanations, which are not difficult of comprehension, it is true, though they involve certain theories. For if you apply the so-called “principle of the tetrachord” (which is believed to constitute the basis of music) to these stars, by which the whole universe of heaven is divided into regular intervals, in the order in which each of them revolves, and beginning at the outer orbit assigned to Saturn, then omitting the next two name the lord of the fourth, and after this passing over two others reach the seventh, and you then go back and repeat the process with the

\(^1\) This statement would seem to rest upon a confusion of the court (or courts) with the temple itself.
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tὸ αὐτῷ τοῦτῷ τρόπῳ αὐτὰς τε ἐπαινῶν \(^1\) καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους σφῶν θεοὺς ἀνακυκλών ἐπιλέγοι ταῖς ἡμέραῖς, εὐρήσει πάσας αὐτὰς μουσικῶς πὼς
19 τῇ τοῦ οὖρανοῦ διακοσμήσει προσηκούσας. εἰς μὲν δὴ οὕτως λέγεται λόγος, ἔτερος δὲ ὄδε. τὰς ὀρας τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενος ἀριθμεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τῷ Κρόνῳ δίδον, την δὲ ἔπειτα τῷ Διῷ, καὶ τρίτην Ἀρει, τε- τάρτην ἡλίῳ, πέμπτην Ἀφροδίτη, ἐκτην Ἰερώμα, καὶ
2 ἐβδομήν σελήνη, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν κύκλων καθ' ἦν οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι αὐτὴν νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις ποιήσας, πάσας τε \(^2\) οὕτως τάς τέσσαρας καὶ εἰκοσιῶν ὀρας περιελθῶν, εὐρήσεις τῆς πρώτης τῆς ἐπιουσίας ἡμέρας ὧραν ἐς τὸν ἠλιον ἀφικουμένην.
3 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν τέσσαρων καὶ εἰκοσιων ὀρῶν κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς πρόσθε λόγου πράξας, τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς πρώτης τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ὧραν ἀναθήσεις, καὶ οὕτως καὶ διὰ τῶν λυπῶν πορεύῃ, τὸν προσήκοιτα ἐαυτῇ θεῖον ἐκάστη ἡμέρα λήψεται.

20 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω παραδεδοται. Πομπήιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέπραξεν, πρὸς τε τὸν Πόντον αὐθις ἤλθε, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ τείχη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἐς Ἰταλίαν 
2 ἐκομισθη. πολλὰς μὲν δὴ οὕν μάχας ἐνίκησε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δυνάστας καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς μὲν προσεπολεμώσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία προσ-

\(^{1}\) αὐτὰς τε ἐπαινῶν Leunol., αὐτὸς τε ἐπαινῶν L (corrected to ἐπὶ ὡν).
\(^{2}\) τοῦ B עו., γὰρ L.
orbits and their presiding divinities in this same manner, assigning them to the several days, you will find all the days to be in a kind of musical connection with the arrangement of the heavens. This is one of the explanations given; the other is as follows. If you begin at the first hour to count the hours of the day and of the night, assigning the first to Saturn, the next to Jupiter, the third to Mars, the fourth to the Sun, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, and the seventh to the Moon, according to the order of the cycles which the Egyptians observe, and if you repeat the process, covering thus the whole twenty-four hours, you will find that the first hour of the following day comes to the Sun. And if you carry on the operation throughout the next twenty-four hours in the same manner as with the others, you will dedicate the first hour of the third day to the Moon, and if you proceed similarly through the rest, each day will receive its appropriate god. This, then, is the tradition.

Pompey, when he had accomplished what has been related, proceeded again to Pontus and after taking over the forts returned to Asia and thence to Greece and Italy. Thus he had won many battles, had brought into subjection many potentates and kings, some by war and some by treaty, he had

1 The order of the planets assumed in both these explanations is determined by their relative distances from the earth, according to the Ptolemaic system, viz.: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The custom of naming the days may then have arisen, Dio says, (1) by regarding the gods as originally presiding over separate days assigned by the principle of the tetrachord, so that we get this order: the day of Saturn, of the Sun, of the Moon, of Mars, of Mercury, of Jupiter, of Venus; or (2) by regarding the gods as proper gods of the hours, which are assigned
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εποίησάτο, πόλεις τε ὁκτώ ἀπόφεισε, καὶ χώρας προσόδους τε συχνὰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέδειξε, τὰ τε πλεῖον ἔθνη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἄσιᾳ τῇ ἡπείρῳ τότε αὐτοῖς ὄντων νόμοις τε ἰδίοις καὶ πολιτείας κατεστήσατο καὶ διεκόσμησεν, ὅστε καὶ δεύορ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου νομισθεῖσι χρήσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν, καίσερ μεγάλα τε ὄντα καὶ μηδὲν τῶν πρόσθε Ῥωμαίων πρακτέντα, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς συστρατευσάμενοι οἱ ἀναθεὶ εἰς τις· ὅ δὲ ὅ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔργων ἐγένετο καὶ θαυμάσαι διὰ πάντων ἄξιόν ἐστι, τούτῳ

4 νῦν ἤδη φράσω. πλεῖστην μὲν γὰρ ἵσχυν καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐχῶν, πλείστα δὲ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πεπορισμένος, δυνάσταις τε καὶ βασιλεύσι συχνὸι φιλευμένοι, τούς τε δήμους δὲ ἆρε πάντας ὡς εἰσεῖν δι᾿

5 εὐνοιάς εὐεργεσίαις κεκτημένος, δυνηθεὶς τ’ ἀν δ’ αὐτῶν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος πὰν περιποίησασθαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἔθελοντ’ ἄν αὐτῶν δεξαμενοί, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέστησάν τινες, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας γε πάντως ἀν ὀμολογησάντων, οὐκ ἤβουλήθη τούτῳ

6 ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτῶν ἐπάγγελτος, μήτ’ τῆς βουλῆς μήτ’ τοῦ δήμου ψηφισμένοι τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἄφθικεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐστὶ τὰ πανηκτήρια αὐταῖς χρήσασθαι φροντίσσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡπίστατο ὄντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησε φόβον τινὰ αὐτοῖς οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ὁλίγας

1 ὑπ’ St., ἀν’ L. 2 ἡπείρω R. Steph., ἡπείρων L. 3 αὐτῶν H. St., αὐτῶν L. 4 τὸ Bk., τε τὸ L. 5 γὰρ inserted by Rk.

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colonized eight cities, had opened up many lands and sources of revenue to the Romans, and had established and organized most of the nations in the continent of Asia then belonging to them with their own laws and constitutions, so that even to this day they use the laws that he laid down. Yet, great as these achievements were and unrivalled by those of any earlier Roman, one might ascribe them both to his good fortune and to his troops; but the act for which credit particularly attaches to Pompey himself—a deed forever worthy of admiration—I will now relate. He had enormous power both on sea and on land; he had supplied himself with vast wealth from the captives; he had made numerous potentates and kings his friends; and he had kept practically all the communities which he ruled well disposed through benefits conferred; and although by these means he might have occupied Italy and gained for himself the whole Roman power, since the majority would have accepted him voluntarily, and if any had resisted, they would certainly have capitulated through weakness, yet he did not choose to do this. Instead, as soon as he had crossed to Brundisium, he dismissed all his forces on his own initiative, without waiting for any vote to be passed in the matter by the senate or the people, and without concerning himself at all even about their use in the triumph. For since he understood that men held the careers of Marius and Sulla in abomination, he did not wish to cause them any fear even for a few days that they should undergo any similar

in order, beginning with Saturn, as in the list above, and allowing it to be understood that that god who is found by this system to preside over the first hour of each day shall also give his name to that day.

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ἡμέρας, ὃτι τι τῶν ὀμοίων πείσονται, παρασχεῖν.
1 οὐκοψαν οὖδ᾽ ὄνομα οὐδέν, καίτοι πολλά ἀπὸ τῶν κατειργασμένων λαβεῖν ἄν δυνηθεῖ, προσεκτήσατο.

Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπινίκια, λέγω δὴ τὰ μείζω νομιζόμενα, καίτερ οὐχ ὅσιον ὃκ γε τῶν πάνω πατρίων ἀνευ τῶν συννησάντων τινὶ πέμφθηναι,
2 ὂμως ψηφισθέντα ἐδέξατο. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἀπαξ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πολέμων ἤγαγε, τρόπαια δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὸς κεκοσμημένα καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐπεμψε, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐν μέγα, πολυτελῶς τε κεκοσμημένοι καὶ γραφὴν ἔχουν ὃτι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔστιν.

3 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν τινὰ προσεπέθετο, ἄλλα καὶ μόνη τῇ τοῦ Μάγγου, ἦπερ ποὺ καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων τῶν ἔργων ἐκέκτητο, ἡρκέσθη. οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἄλλην τινὰ τιμὴν ὑπέροχὸν λαβεῖν διεπράξατο, ἢ τοῖς γε ψηφισθέσιν ἀπόντι οἱ πλὴν
4 ἀπαξ ἐχρήσατο. ἢν δὲ ταῦτα δαφνηφορεῖν τε αὐτὸν κατὰ πᾶσας ἀεὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὴν στολὴν τῇ μὲν ἄρχικήν ἐν πάσαις αὐταῖς, τῇ δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἱππῶν ἄγωσιν ἐνδύουσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ, συμπράσσοντος ἐστὶ τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Μάρκου γνώμην, ἐδόθη.

22 Καὶ περὶ μὲν ἑκείνου, ὅστις τε ἦν καὶ ὃτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐθεράπευε, τὸν τε Πομπήιον ἄλλως μὲν καθῆρει, ὅν ὅν δὲ δὴ τῷ τε ὑμῖν χαριεῖσθαι καὶ

1 τι inserted by Turn. 2 δαφνηφορεῖν Dind., δαφνοφορεῖν L.
3 ἐσ Rk., ἐσ αὐτὰ L. 4 μὲν Rk., τε L.

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experiences. Consequently he did not so much as assume any additional name from his exploits, although he might have taken many.

As for the triumph,—I refer to the one regarded as the great event,—although according to strict precedent it was not lawful for it to be held without the presence of those who aided in winning the victory, he nevertheless accepted it when voted to him. He celebrated the triumph in honour of all his wars at once, including in it many trophies beautifully decked out to represent each of his achievements, even the smallest; and after them all came one huge one, decked out in costly fashion and bearing an inscription stating that it was a trophy of the inhabited world. He did not, however, add any other title to his name, but was satisfied with that of Magnus alone, which, of course, he had gained even before these achievements. Nor did he contrive to receive any other extravagant honour, or even accept such as had been voted him in his absence, except on a single occasion. These consisted in the privilege of always wearing the laurel wreath at all public games, and arraying himself in the cloak of a general at all of them, as well as in the triumphal garb at the horse-races. They had been granted him chiefly through the coöperation of Caesar, and contrary to the advice of Marcus Cato.

As regards the former, I have already stated who he was, and how, while paying court to the populace, and while generally striving to destroy Pompey's power, he nevertheless made a friend of him in

1 A singular expression, especially at this point, but due to the fact that Dio uses ἐπινίκια also for the ovation (in lix. 16, 11 and lix. 23, 2 τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ συμιρώτερα, "the lesser triumph").
2 xxxvi. 43.
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αὐτὸς ἱσχύσειν ἐμέλλε/ προσεποιεῖτο, προείρηται· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὗτος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πορκίων γένους καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν πάνυ ἐξήλου, πλῆ/ καθ' ὅσον παιδεῖα Ἐλληνικὴ μάλλον αὐτοῦ

2 ἐκέχρητο. ἦσκει δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἔνα μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἑθαύμαζε, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ὑπερηγάτα, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους πεφυκὸς ὑποψία δυναστείας ἐμίσει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δήμοτικόν ἐλέφ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐφίλει.

3 καὶ δημεραστής 1 τε ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐγύνητο, 2 καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου παρρησίαν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ταύτα μέντοι πάντα οὕτε πρὸς ἵσχυν ὑπετέ πρὸς δόξαν ἢ τιμὴν τινα, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ ὡμού καὶ τῆς ἄπωραν.

4 νεότου διαίτης ἐξπράττε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὅπως ἦσ τε τὸ κοινὸν τότε πρωτον παρῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψηφιξόμενα, καί περὶ μηδεμίαν τῷ Πομπήῳ ἔχθραν ἔχων, ἀλλ' οτι γε ἐξω τῶν πατρίων ἦν, ἀντείπειν.

23 Ἀπόντι μὲν δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ταύτ' ἐδοσαν, ἐλθόντι δὲ οὐδέν, πάντως ἂν που καὶ ἔτερα προσθέτετε, ἐπερ ἠθελήκει· ἄλλος γοῦν τισιν ἐν ἐλάττουν αὐτοῦ κράτει γενομένοις πολλά καὶ ὑπέροχα πολλάκις ἔνειμαν. καὶ οτι γε καὶ ἐκείνα ἀκοντες

2 ἐπραξαν, δηλόν ἔστων. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος εὐ οἶδος ὡστὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῖς ἱσχύσεί τι παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γίγνεται, τὴν τε ὑπόνοιαν, κὰν τὰ μάλιστα ἐθελούσιοι τῇ ψηφίσωσι, ὡς καὶ κατὰ βίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρατοῦντος παρα- σκευής διδόμενα ἐχεῖν, καὶ δόξαν οὐδεμίαν τοῖς

1 δημεραστής Naber, δήμου ἱσχύσεις L.
2 ἐγύνητο R. Steph., ἐγένετο L.

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cases where he would thereby please the populace and gain strength himself. But this Cato belonged to the family of the Porcii and emulated the great Cato, except that he had enjoyed a better Greek education than the former. He diligently promoted the interests of the plebs, and admired no one man, but was thoroughly devoted to the common weal. Suspicious of unlimited power, he hated any one who had grown above his fellows, but loved any one of the common people through pity for his weakness. He was becoming the friend of the people such as no one else, and indulged in outspokenness in behalf of the right, even when it involved danger. Yet he did all this not with a view to power or glory or any honour, but solely for the sake of a life of independence, free from the dictation of tyrants. Such was the nature of the man who now for the first time came forward and opposed the measures under consideration, not out of any hostility to Pompey, but because they were contrary to precedent.

These honours, then, they granted Pompey in his absence, but none when he had come home, though they would certainly have added others, had he wished it. At any rate they had often bestowed many extravagant distinctions upon other men who had possessed less authority than he, but it is clear that they had done so unwillingly. Now Pompey knew well that all the gifts granted by the multitude to the powerful who are in positions of authority contain the suggestion, no matter how willingly they are voted, of being forcibly granted at the instigation of the strong; and that they bring no glory to those who receive them, because
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λαβοῦσιν αὐτά, ὡς καὶ μὴ παρ’ ἐκόντων ἄλλα ἀναγκασθέντων, μηδ’ ἀπ’ εὐνοίας ἄλλ’ ἐκ κολακείας ὑπάρξαντα σφίσι φέρει, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐμὲν γὰρ τῷ μίσος τε ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ υφ’ ἦς ἐγκυνόσκετο, καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ὑβρίν τῷ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα παρὰ τῶν κρείττονων δῆθεν ἢ πάντως γε τῶν ὀμοίων ἐνείναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ δημοτικῷ ὄντως καὶ ὀνόμα καὶ ἔργον, οὐκ ἀπ’ ἐνδείξεως ἄλλ’ ἐξ ἀληθείας, ὑπάρχειν. τὰς γὰρ τοίς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐξώ τῶν πατρίων ὀλίγων πάσας λαβών, τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐξ δὲν μήτε ὦφελῶν τινα μήτε ὄφελομενος φθόνον ἄλλως καὶ μίσος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων αὐτὰ σχήσειν ἐμελλεν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο.

24  Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνων ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμοι ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ ἑτος χρόνου ἐσχον, ὡστε καὶ τὸ οἰόνιμα τὸ τῆς ὑγείας ὀνομασμένων διὰ πάνω πολλοῦ ποιήσαι. τούτο δὲ δὴ μαντείας τῶς τρόπους ἐστί, πῦστιν τινὰ ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ὑγειαῖν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτήσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον ὅν 1 οὐδὲ αἰτήσων αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχαρηθήναι, γενέσθαι.

2 καὶ ἐτελείτο κατ’ ἑτος ἡμέραν, ἐν ἡ 2 μηδὲν στρατόπεδου μήτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῆκε μήτ’ ἀντιπαρετάττετό τις 3 μήτε ἐμάχετο. καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι κυνόνοις, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις, οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· ἄλλως τε γὰρ παγχά-

1 ὅν inserted by St. 2 ἡμέρα ἐν Ἡ Rk., ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν Ἡ L. 3 τις Ἡ Rk., τις Ἡ L.
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it is believed that they have been obtained, not from willing donors, but under compulsion, and not from good will, but as a result of flattery. Hence he did not permit any one to propose any measure whatever. This course he declared to be far better than to reject what has once been voted you: the one course arouses hatred for the high position that led to such measures being passed, and argues arrogance and insolence in not accepting what is granted you by those who think themselves your superiors or at any rate your equals; whereas by the other course you are truly democratic both in name and in fact, not merely by way of display, but in very truth. Thus Pompey, after having received practically all the offices and positions of command contrary to precedent, was now unwilling to accept any other such honours that were liable to bring him merely envy and hatred, even from the very givers, without enabling him to benefit any one or to be benefited.

All this took place in the course of time. Temporarily the Romans had a respite from war for the remainder of the year, so that they even held the so-called augurium salutis after a very long interval. This is a kind of augury, which is in the nature of an inquiry whether the god permits them to ask for prosperity for the people, as if it were unholy even to ask for it until permission is granted. It was observed on that day of each year on which no army was going out to war, or was preparing itself against any foes, or was fighting a battle. For this reason, amid the constant perils, especially those of civil strife, it was not observed. For it was very difficult
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λεπόν σφισιν ἦν καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν
3 ἡμέραν ἀκριβῶς τηρῆσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀτο-
πῶτατον, κακὰ αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἐκοισίους
ἀμύθητα ἀλλήλοις παρέχοντας, καὶ μέλλοντας,
ἀν τε ἡπτηθῶσιν ἄν τε καὶ νικήσωσι, κακοῦσθαι,
ἔπευσε σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ θείου προσατείνη.
25 ἀμέλεια καὶ τότε ἡδυνήθη μὲν πως τὸ οὐώνσιμα
ἐκεῖνο ποιηθῆναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ καθαρὸν ἐγένετο.
ἐξέδροι γὰρ τινες ὀρνίθες ἐπέπταντο, καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο ἄνεμαντεύσαντο. καὶ ἄλλα τε¹ αὐτοῖς
2 σημεῖα οὐκ αἰσθανάσκειν κεραυνοῖ τε γὰρ
ἐν αἰθρίᾳ πολλοῖ ἐπεσον, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἢσχυρὸς
ἔσείσθης, εἰδολά τε πολλαχόθι ἀνθρώπων ἐφαντά-
σθη, καὶ λαμπάδες ἀνεκάς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ
tῶν δυσμῶν ἄνεδραμον, ὡστε πάντα τινὰ καὶ
ἰδιώτην τὰ σημαίνομενα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προγυνῶναι.
3 οἱ γὰρ δήμαρχοι τῶν Ἀντώνιον τὸν ὑπατὸν ὀμοιο-
τροπωτάτον σφισιν ὅντα προσλαβόντες, ο μέν
τις τοὺς παιδας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐκπεσόντων
πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἤγεν, ὁ δὲ τῷ τῷ Παίτῳ τῷ
Πουπλίῳ καὶ τῷ Σύλλῳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ τῷ μετ’
αὐτοῦ ἀλώτι τοῦ το τὸ βουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἁρχεῖν
4 ἐξείναι ἔδιδον. ἄλλοις χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς, ἄλλοις
κληρονομίας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕπηκοῳ
γεννᾶσθαι ἔσηγεῖτο.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τε τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ
πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὀμογνωμονοῦντων οἱ προ-
καταληφθέντα, πρὶν ἔρχον τι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν συμβη-
26 ναι, ἐπαινθὴ Τίτος δὲ δὴ Δαβιδῆς Γάμων Ῥαβί-
ριον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σατούρνίου ψόνῳ γραφύμενος
πλείστον σφισι τάραχον παρέσχεν. ο τε γὰρ
¹ ἄλλα τε Dind., ἄλλα δὲ L.
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for them in any case to determine accurately upon a day free from all such disturbances, and furthermore it would be most absurd, when they were voluntarily causing one another unspeakable woes through party strife and were destined to suffer ills whether they were defeated or victorious, that they should still ask Heaven for safety. Nevertheless, it was in some way possible at that time for the divination to be held; but it did not prove to be regular, since some birds flew up from an unlucky quarter, and so it was repeated. Other unlucky omens, too, occurred. Many thunderbolts fell from a clear sky, the earth was mightily shaken, and human apparitions were visible in many places, and in the west flashes of fire darted up into heaven, so that any one, even a layman, was bound to know in advance what was signified by them. For the tribunes united with Antonius, the consul, who was very much like themselves in character, and one of them supported for office the sons of those exiled by Sulla, while a second wished to grant to Publius Paetus and to Cornelius Sulla, who had been convicted with him, the right to be members of the senate and to hold office; another made a motion for a cancelling of debts, and yet another for allotments of land to be made both in Italy and in the subject territory.

These motions were taken in hand betimes by Cicero and those who were of the same mind as he, and were suppressed before any action resulted from them. Titus Labienus, however, by indicting Gaius Rabirius for the murder of Saturninus caused the greatest disorder. Saturninus had been killed some
Σατούρνίνος πρὸ ἑξ ποι καὶ τριάκοντα ἑτῶν ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ὑπατοὶ τότε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς προσετέχατο, ὥστε ἡ γερουσία ἄκυρος ἐκ τοῦ δικαστήριον ἐκεῖ-2 νου τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. κάκ τοῦτον πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας ἐταράττετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἅρβιρος οὔδ᾽ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν φόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπαρνότας ἦν· οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι τὴν τε ἱσχύν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς βουλῆς καταλήκαν παντελῶς ἐσπουδάζον, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐαυτοῖς τοῦ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα βούλοιντο
3 ποιεῖν προπαρεσκεύαζον· διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ 1 τὰ τὲ τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξαντα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοσούτων ἑτῶν πραχθέντα εὐθύνεσθαι τοῖς τὲ τὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιχειροῦσι ἀδεια ἐδίδοτο καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι αὐτῶν ἐκολούθησαν. ἡ δὲ γερουσία δεινῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ἐνομίζειν εἶναι ἄνδρα 2 βουλευτὴν μὴ ἀδικοῦντα τι καὶ ἐς γῆρας ᾗ ἡ προεληλυθότα ἀπολείπεσθαι, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἡγανάκτει ὧτι τὸ τὲ πρόορισμα τῆς πολιτείας διεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πράγματα 27 τοῖς φαιλοτάτοις ἐπετρέπετο. σπουδαῖ τὸν ταραχῶντας καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀφ᾽ ἐκατέρων περὶ τὸ τοῦ δικαστήριον, τῶν μὲν ὃποις μὴ συναχθῆν, τῶν δὲ ἱνα καθιζήσῃ δικαιοῦνταν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ τοῦ Κάισαρα καὶ δι᾽ ἄλλους τυχός ἐνίκησε, περὶ γε 3 τῆς κρίσεως αὕτης συνέβησαν.

2 καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑκείνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Δουκεῖου δικάζων (οὐ γὰρ ἄπλως, ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον περιδουλλῶνος ὁ Ἅρβιρος ἐκρίθη), κατεψηφίζοντα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοιὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατη-

1 τοῦ Leuncl., τοῦτον L. 2 ἄνδρα Bk., καὶ ἄνδρα L. 3 γε Bk., τε L.
thirty-six years earlier, and the fight waged against him by the consuls of the period had been at the direction of the senate. Hence, as a result of the proposed trial, the senate would lose the authority to enforce its decrees. In consequence the whole order of the state was being disturbed; for Rabirius did not even admit the murder, but denied it. The tribunes, however, were eager to overthrow completely the power and the dignity of the senate and were first preparing for themselves authority to do whatever they pleased. For the investigation of acts which had received the approval of the senate and had been committed so many years before tended to give immunity to those who might attempt to imitate Saturninus' conduct, and to render ineffective the punishments for such deeds. Now the senate thought it outrageous in any case that a man of senatorial rank, guilty of no crime and now well advanced in years, should perish, and was all the more enraged because the dignity of the state was being attacked and control of affairs was being entrusted to the vilest men. Hence there arose turbulent factions and contentions about the court, the one party demanding that it should not be convened and the other that it should. When the latter party won, because of Caesar and some others, there was another clash regarding the character of the trial. Caesar himself was judge together with Lucius Caesar, for the charge against Rabirius was no ordinary one, but that of perduellio, as it was called; and they condemned him, although they had not been chosen according to precedent by the people, but by the praetor himself, which was not
3 γούν οὐκ ἔξον αἱρεθέντες. καὶ ἐφῆκε μὲν ὁ Ραβίριος, πάντως δὲ ἄν καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐάλω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ οἰωνιστὴς τε ἄν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνεπόδισεν ἐπειδή γὰρ οὔτε ἄλλως ἐπείθοντό οἱ, οὐθ' ὅτι παρὰ τὰ γενομένα ἥ κρίσις ἔγεγον ἐνεθυμοῦντο, ἀνέδραμεν ἕν τῷ Ιανίκουλον πρὶν καὶ οἰκίων σφας ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέσπασεν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐτ' αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι διαγρώναι.

28 Τούτο δέ, τὸ κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον, τοιώνδε τί ἐστιν πολλῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολεμῶν τῇ πόλει προσοκούντων, φοβούμενοι μὴ ποτὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων σφῶν κατὰ τοὺς λόχους ἐπίθωνται τινες τῇ πόλει τῷ Ιανίκουλον καταλαβόντες, ἐνόμισαν μὴ πάντες ἅμα ψηφίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τινας ἀεὶ ἐνόπλους τὸ 2 χωρίον ἐκείνο ἐκ διαδοχῆς φυλάττειν. καὶ αὐτὸ, ἔως μὲν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἦν, ἐφρούρουν, ὅποτε δὲ διαλυθήσεσθαι ἐμελλε, τὸ τε σημεῖον καθηρεῖτο καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀπηλλάσσοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔξον μὴ φρουρουμένου τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἐτι χρή.

3 ματισθῆναι· τούτο δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς λόχους ἀθροιζομέναις ἐκκλησίαις ἐγίγνετο, ὅτι τε ἔξω τοῦ τεῖχους, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὰ ὁπλά ἔχοντες ἀνάγκην εἴχον ἐς αὐτὰς συνιέναι· καὶ ἐτι 1 καὶ νῦν ὁσίας ἐνεκα ποιεῖται.

4 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἢ τε ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθέντος τοῦ σημείου διελύθη καὶ ὁ Ραβίριος ἐσώθη· ἔξον μὲν γὰρ τῷ Λαβίνηφι καὶ αὐθεὶς δικάσασθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κατιλίνας ὁδὲ τε καὶ διὰ τάδε ἄπωλεν.

"Εδοξέ τῇ βουλῇ, ἅτιν' τὲ ὑπατείαν καὶ τότε

1 ἐτι Bk., ἐτι τε L.
lawful. Rabirius appealed, and would certainly have been convicted by the people also, had not Metellus Celer, who was an augur and praetor, prevented it. When nothing else would cause them to heed him and they were unconcerned by the fact that the trial had been held in a manner contrary to custom, he ran up to the Janiculum before they took any vote at all, and pulled down the military flag, so that it was no longer lawful for them to reach a decision.

Now this matter of the flag is as follows. In ancient times there were many enemies dwelling near the city, and the Romans, fearing that while they were holding a centurie assembly by centuries foes might occupy the Janiculum and attack the city, decided that not all should vote at once, but that some men under arms should by turns always guard that position. So they guarded it as long as the assembly lasted, but when this was about to be adjourned, the flag was pulled down and the guards departed; for no further business could be transacted when the post was not guarded. This practice was observed only in the case of the centurie assemblies, for these were held outside the wall and all who bore arms were obliged to attend them. Even to this day it is done as a matter of form.

So on that occasion, when the signal was pulled down, the assembly was adjourned and Rabirius was saved. Labienus, indeed, had the right to bring suit again, but he did not do so.

As for Catiline, his ruin was brought about in the manner and for the reasons which I shall now narrate. When he was again seeking the consulship at this
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aιτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶν ὀτιδήποτε ἐνεδέχετο ὅπως ἀποδειχθῇ μηχανωμένου, δέκα ἐτῶν φυγήν, τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐστὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος, τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκασάμῳ τεταγμένοις προσ-νομοθετῆσαι. τούτῳ οὖν καὶ ἐκείνος δι’ ἑαυτόν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν, ἐγνώσθαι νομίσας ἐπε-χείρησε μὲν, χειρὰ τινα παρασκευάσας, τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πρῶτων ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀρχαίρεσισίαις, ἰὼ ὑπάτου εὐθὺς χειροτονηθῇ.

3 φονεύσαι, οὐκ ἤδυνήθη δέ. ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων προ-μαθῶν τὸ ἐπιβουλευμα τῇ τε γερονσίᾳ ἐμήνυσεν αὐτὸ καὶ κατηγόριαν αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποιήσατο: ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἔπεισε σφας ψηφίσασθαι τι διὶ ἡξίου (οὔτε γὰρ πιθανὰ ἐξηγγελκέναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐχθρὰν καταψεύδεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπωπτεύδη), ἐφοβήθη ἄτε καὶ προσπαραξυγκός τὸν Κατιλίναν, καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἀπλῶς ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθεῖν ὡσπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐπιτηδείους συνεπηγάγετο παρεσκευασμένους ἀμύναλ οἱ εἰ τῇ δεινῷ γένοιτο, καὶ θώρακα, τῆς τε ἐαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων διαβολῆς ἐνεκα, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα, παραφαίων δ’ αὐτῶν 5 ἐξεπιτήδες, ἐνεδύσατο. ἐκ τε οὖν τούτου, καὶ οὕτι καὶ ἄλλως φήμη τις ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύεται, ὅ τε δήμος δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησε καὶ οἱ συνομωμο-κότες τῷ Κατιλίνα φοβηθέντες αὐτὸν ἠσύχασαν.

30 Καὶ οὕτως ὑπάτοι τε ἔτεροι ἱρέθησαν, καὶ ἐκείνος οὐκέτι λάθρᾳ, οὔδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τοὺς τε σὺν αὐτῷ μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ 2 κοινὸν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν συνίστῃ. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς

1 αὐτοῦ supplied by Bs. 2 γένοιτο Bk., γέγονετο L.
time and contriving in every way possible to be elected, the senate decreed, chiefly at the instance of Cicero, that banishment for ten years should be added by law to the penalties established for bribery. Catiline, accordingly, believed that this decree had been passed on his account, as was indeed the case; and so, after collecting a small band, he attempted to slay Cicero and some others of the foremost men on the very day of the election, in order that he might immediately be chosen consul. But he was unable to carry out his plot; for Cicero learned of it in season, and informed the senate of it, delivering a severe arraignment of Catiline. Being unsuccessful, however, in persuading them to vote any of the measures he asked, since his announcement was not regarded as credible and he was suspected of having uttered false charges against the men because of personal enmity, Cicero became frightened, now that he had given Catiline additional provocation. He did not venture to enter the assembly alone, as had been his custom, but took his friends along prepared to defend him if any danger threatened; and partly for his own safety and partly to arouse prejudice against his foes, he wore beneath his clothing a breastplate, which he was careful to allow people to see. For this reason and because in other ways, too, some report had spread of a plot against him, the people became very indignant and the fellow-conspirators of Catiline in their fear of Cicero kept quiet.

In this way new consuls were chosen, and Catiline no longer directed his plot in secret or against Cicero and his adherents only, but against the whole commonwealth. He assembled from Rome itself
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'Ῥώμης αὐτῆς τοὺς τε κακίστους καὶ καίνων ἀεὶ ποτὲ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμητάς, κὰκ τῶν συμμάχων ὡς ὅτι πλείστους, χρεὼν τε ἀποκοπᾶς καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμοῦς, ἄλλα τε ἐξ ὧν μᾶλιστα δελεάσειν αὐ-

3 τοὺς ἡμελλεν, ὑπισχυόμενος σφισὶ συνῆγε. καὶ τοὺς γε πρῶτοις αὐτῶν καὶ δυνατώτατος (ἡσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὁ ὑπατος) καὶ ἐς ἄθεμτον ὀρκωμοσίων ἀνάγκην προήγαγε 3 παῖδα γὰρ τινα καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅρκια ποιήσας, ἐπειτ' ἐσπλάγχνουσεν αὐτὰ μετὰ 4 τῶν ἄλλων. συνέπραττον δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ὁ τε ὑπατος καὶ ὁ Ἀγαθωνος ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἐκπεσόν (ἐστρατηγεὶ γὰρ ὅπως τὴν βουλεύσεις ἀναλάβῃ), τὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Φαισούλαις, ἐς ἀς ὁι 5 στασιῶταί αὐτοῦ συνελέγοντο, Γάιός τε τῆς Μάλλιος, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρότατος (μετὰ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου λοχαγῶν ἐστράτευτο) καὶ πολυδα-

πανώτατος ὃν τό σύμπαντα γοῦν ὡς τότε ἐκτή-

σατο, καὶ πάση πάμπολλα ὄντα, κακῶς κατανα-

λώσας ἐτέρων ἔργων ὀμοίων ἐπεθύμει.

31 Παρασκευαζόμενον ὅπω ταῦτα αὐτῶν, μηνύεται τῷ Κικέρωνι πρότερα μὲν τα ἐν τῷ ἁστεί γεγο-

νεά διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν, ὁ τὸν μὲν γράψαντα ὅπω ἔδηλον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ-

τῶν δυνατῶν ἐδόθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, ταραχὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ξητήσιν τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῆς 2 γενέσθαι: δεύτερα δὲ τά ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος, καὶ προσεφώσαντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις τήν φυλάκην τῆς

1 te Xyl., te kal L. 2 kal added by Xyl.
3 προήγαγε Rk., προσήγαγεν L. 4 és R. Steph., als L.
5 ἐστράτευτο Turn., ἐστρατεύετο L.

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the lowest characters and such as were always eager for a revolution and as many as possible of the allies, by promising them the cancelling of debts, distribution of lands, and everything else by which he was most likely to tempt them. Upon the foremost and most powerful of them, including Antonius the consul, he imposed the obligation of taking a monstrous oath. For he sacrificed a boy, and after administering the oath over his vitals, ate these in company with the others. Those who coöperated with him most closely were: in Rome, the consul and Publius Lentulus, who, after his consulship, had been expelled from the senate and was now serving as praetor, in order to gain senatorial rank again; at Faesulae, where the men of his party were collecting, one Gaius Manlius, who was well-versed in warfare, having served among Sulla’s centurions, and also the greatest possible spendthrift. Certain it was that he had run through all that he had gained at that epoch, although a vast sum, by his evil practices, and was now eager for other similar exploits.

While they were making these preparations information came to Cicero, first, of what was occurring in the city, through some letters which did not indicate the writer but were given to Crassus and certain others of the optimates; and upon their publication a decree was passed that a state of disorder existed and that a search should be made for those responsible for it. Next came the news from Etruria, whereupon they further voted to the consuls the custody of the
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τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὅλων αὐτῆς πραγμάτων, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ δώγματι προσεγράφη τὸ διὰ φροντίδος αὐτοῦς σχεῖν ὡστε 3 μηδεμίαν ἀποτριβήν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμβηκεί. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτο καὶ φουράς πολλαχθὲ τακαστάσης τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί οὐκέτι ἐνεστερίσθη, ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ συκοφάντια τῶν Κικέρωνα διαβληθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀγγελλόμενα τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἐπιστώσατο καὶ βλαζ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς γραφὴν τῷ Κατιλῖνα παρεσκεύασε.

32 Καὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνω αὐτὴν ἔτοιμος, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ χρηστοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος, ἐδέξατο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίκην δήθεν ἠτοιμάζετο, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι αὐτῷ τηρεῖν ἑαυτόν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ φύγῃ ποι, 2 παρεδίδου. μὴ προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τὴν φουράν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν δίαιταν ἐκούσιος ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς ἡ κιστα ὑποτευθῇ νεωτερίζειν τι, μέχρις ἃν καὶ ἐκ τῶν 3 αὐτοῦθε συνωμοτῶν ἱσχυόν τι προσλάβῃ. ὡς δ' οὔδεν οἱ προεχώρει (ὁ τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεῖς ὑπεστέλλετο καὶ ὁ Δευτούλος ἡ κιστὰ δραστήριος ἦν), προείπεν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συλλεγήσαι, καὶ λαθῶν τὸν Μέτελλον ἠλθεῖ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπετίμησε σφισὶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτομλία 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μαλακλία. κακὸ τοῦτο διεξελθὼν ὅσα τε πείσοιντο φωραθέντες καὶ ὅσων τεῦχοντο κατορθώσαντες, ὅπως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπέρρωσε καὶ παρὼξεννῳ ὅσθ' ὑποσχέσθαι δύο τινὰς ἐς τῆς τοῦ Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσάξειν 1 33 καὶ ταῦθα αὐτῶν φονεύσεων. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεμπνύθη (ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων τοιυ ὅνουμένοι, 1 ἔσφειν Dind., ἔσφειν L.

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city and of all its interests, as was their custom; for to this decree was added the command that they should take care that no harm came to the state. When this had been done and garrisons had been stationed at many points, there was no further sign of revolution in the city, insomuch that Cicero was even falsely charged with blackmail; but the messages from the Etruscans confirmed the accusation, and led to the indictment of Catiline for violence.

Catiline at first welcomed this heartily, as if supported by a good conscience, and pretended to make ready for the trial, even offering to surrender himself to Cicero, so that the latter, as he put it, could watch and see that he did not escape anywhere. As Cicero, however, refused to take charge of him, he voluntarily took up his residence at the house of Metellus the praetor, in order that he might be as free as possible from the suspicion of promoting a revolution until he should gain some additional strength from the conspirators there in the city. But he made no headway at all, since Antonius shrank back through fear and Lentulus was anything but energetic. Accordingly, he gave them notice to assemble by night at a certain house, where he met them without Metellus' knowledge and upbraided them for their timidity and weakness. Next he set forth in detail the many penalties they would suffer if they were detected and the many advantages they would obtain if successful, and by this means encouraged and incited them to such a point that two men promised to rush into Cicero's house at daybreak and murder him there. This plot, too, was divulged, since Cicero, being a man of great influence,
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συχνοῦσ τε ἐκ τῶν συνηγορημάτων τούς μὲν οἰκειούμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκτούσων, πολλοὺς τοὺς διαγελλοντάς οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσχε), μεταστήναι ἡ γερουσία τοῦ Κατιλίναν ἐψηφίσατο.

2 Καὶ δὲ ἀσχένως τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἐλθὼν τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀντικρυς ἀνέβλετο, καὶ τὸ ὅνομα καὶ τὴν σκέυην τῶν ὑπάτων λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς προσυνειλεγμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου συνεκρότει, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἀλλούς τινάς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δούλων, προσεποιεῖτο. θενπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τε βιὰν αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀγνοούντες ποι τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν, ἑστειλαν, αὐτοὶ τε τὴν ἐσθήτα μετέβαλον. καὶ διὰ ταύτα

4 καὶ ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ χώραν ἐμεῖνεν εἰλήχει γὰρ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀρξαί, οὔτε δὲ ἐς ἐκείνην (τῷ γὰρ συνάρχοντι αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν περὶ τᾶς δίκας σπουδὴν ἐξέστη) οὔτε ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν πλησίον, ἣν ἀντέλαβε, διὰ τὰ παρόντα ἐξῆλασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶς μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, ἐς δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὅπως μὴ καὶ ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὴν σφητρίσηται, ἐπεμψε.

34 Καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέμεινε. παρασκευαζόμενον γὰρ τοῦ Δευτούλου καταπρῆσαλ τε τινάς καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι μετὰ τέ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνομομοκλώτων καὶ μετὰ Ἀλλοβρίτων, οὕς κατὰ πρεσβείαν παρόντας

1 καὶ R. Steph., καὶ L.

2 τινάς is probably corrupt, though Rk. supplied συνοικίας ("blocks of houses"). Bk. suggested τὸ ἄστυ ("the city") in place of τινάς.

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and one who gained many followers through his speeches, either by conciliation or by intimidation, had many men to report such occurrences to him; and the senate voted that Catiline should leave the city.

He gladly withdrew on this excuse, and went to Faesulae, where he took up the war openly. Assuming the name and dress of the consuls, he proceeded to organize the men previously collected by Manlius, meanwhile gaining accessions, first of freemen, and then even of slaves. The Romans accordingly convicted him of violence, and sent Antonius to the war,—being ignorant, of course, of his part in the conspiracy,—while they themselves changed their apparel.\(^1\) Cicero, too, remained on the spot because of this crisis. For although he had drawn the province of Macedonia, he neither set out for that country—retiring in favour of his colleague because of his interest in the prosecutions—nor yet for Hither Gaul, which he had obtained in its place, in view of the existing situation. Instead, he charged himself with the protection of the city, but sent Metellus to Gaul to prevent Catiline from securing it.

It was extremely opportune for the Romans that he remained. For Lentulus made preparations to burn down [the city?] and commit murder with the aid of his fellow-conspirators and of Allobroges, who while present on an embassy were persuaded to join

\(^1\) The well-known practice on the occasion of a public calamity. Cf. ch. 40, 2; also xxxviii. 14, 7 and xl. 46, 1.
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2 ἀνέπεισε συμφρονήσατε αὐτῷ . . . καὶ συλλαβῶν τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν σταλέντας ἦς τοῦ βουλευτήριον μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἔσήγαγε, καὶ ἀδειαν αὐτοῖς δοὺς πᾶσαν οὕτω τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἤλεγξε. κακὸς τούτων ὁ Δευτούλιος ἀπείπειν τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐν φοινῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συλληφθέντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
3 ἀνεξητούντο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ ὁμοίως ἔρεσε, καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐπειδὴ, τοῦ Κικέρωνος δημηγο- ρῶντός τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἦς τοῦ Καπιτόλιου παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν καιρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναράθη καὶ κατὰ τὴν υφήγησιν τῶν μάντεων πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁγο- ρὰν βλέπον ἀνετέθη. ἐπειδή γὰρ ἔκεινοι τε συνωμοσίαν τινὰ ἕξελεγχθῆσθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγάλματος στάσεως 1 εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωραθεῖσι συνεβαίνε, τὸ τε θείον ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ τοὺς τήν αἰτίαν λαβόντας δι’ ὀρ- γής μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο.

4 Ἀρηίδη μὲν οὖν λόγος δι’ αὐτὸς ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτῶι εἶη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμίνυσεν, οὗ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχην οὐδ’ ἤξιον τοιοῦτο τι ἐσ αὐτῶν ὑπ-
2 στάσεως Γροζ, στάσεως Λ. 2 ἀπόλεσαι Ρκ., ἀπόλεσθαι Λ. 154
him . . . [Cicero] arrested the men sent to carry it out (?) and brought them with their letters into the senate-chamber, where, by granting them immunity, he showed up the whole conspiracy. As a consequence Lentulus was forced by the senate to resign the praetorship, and was kept under guard along with the others arrested while the other conspirators were being sought. These measures were equally pleasing to the people, especially so, because while Cicero was addressing them on the subject the statue of Jupiter was set up on the Capitol, at the very time of the assembly, and by instructions of the soothsayers was placed so as to face the east and the Forum. For these seers had decided that some conspiracy would be brought to light by the erection of the statue, and when its setting up coincided with the discovery of the conspirators, the people magnified the divine power and were the more angry at the accused.

Now a report spread that Crassus was also among them, and even one of the men arrested gave this information; nevertheless, few believed it. Some thought they had no right to suspect him of such a thing for a moment; others regarded it as a story trumped up by the accused, in order that they might thereby receive some aid from him, because he possessed the greatest influence. And if it did seem credible to some, at least they did not see fit to ruin one of their foremost men and to disquiet the city still further. Consequently this charge fell through utterly.

Now many slaves and freemen as well, some
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ἐλευθέρων, τῶν μὲν ἕπο δέους, τῶν δὲ καὶ οἰκτροφ τοῦ τε Δεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἡμερτάσας αὐτούς ὑποθάνωσι, προπυθόμενοι τοῦ ὁ Κικέρων τὸ τε Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν ἀγο-

4 ῥαν τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρᾶ προκατέσχε, καὶ τίνα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου χρηστῆν ἐλπίδα ἀμα τῇ ἑρ λαβών, ὅτι ἑρῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ὅπερ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἤρθη, τὸν μὲν δήμου τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὀρκῶσα εἰς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δὴ τῆς χρείας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῇ βουλῇ ἤθροισε, καὶ σφας συν-

ταράξας τε καὶ ἐκφοβήσας ἐπεείσε ἡματον τῶν συνειλημένων καταγνώσαι.

36 Ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίβολοι, καὶ παρ’ ὄλγον αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσαν. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ, πάντων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένων ἀποθανεῖν σφας, γνῶμην ἐδώκε δήσας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς πόλεις ἅλλους ἅλλη

2 καταθέσας, τῶν οὐσίων ἐστερημένους, ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε περὶ ἄδειας ἐτὶ αὐτῶν χρηματισθῆναι τί ποτε, κἂν διαδρά ἡ τις, ἐν πολεμίων μοίρα τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἢς ἀν φύγη εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποφηγνάµενοι μέχρι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐφηγισαντο, ὡστε καὶ τῶν προτέρων τινᾶς

3 μεταγνώναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως αὐτός τε τὸν ἥματο τῶν αὐτῶν κατείκασε καὶ τοῦς λοιποὺς πάντας ὀμοψήφους ἐποιήσατο, οὕτω δὴ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκ τῆς νικώσις ἔκολασθήσαν, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ θυσία

1 διαδρά Dind., διαδράσση L.
2 μεταγνώναι Turner., καταγνώναι L.

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through fear and others out of pity for Lentulus and the rest, made preparations to deliver them all forcibly and rescue them from death. Cicero learned of this beforehand and occupied the Capitol and the Forum by night with a garrison. At dawn he received some divine inspiration to hope for the best; for in the course of sacrifices conducted in his house by the Vestals in behalf of the populace, the fire, contrary to custom, shot up to a very great height. Accordingly, he ordered the praetors to administer the oath of enlistment to the populace, in case there should be any need of soldiers; meanwhile he himself convened the senate, and by exciting and terrifying the members, he persuaded them to condemn to death those who had been arrested.

Now the senators had been at variance, and had come near setting them free. For while all before Caesar had voted that they should be put to death, he expressed the opinion that they should be imprisoned and placed in various cities after having their property confiscated, on the condition that there should never be any further deliberation concerning their pardon, and that if any one of them should escape, the city from which he fled should be considered in the light of an enemy. Then all who subsequently made known their views, until it came to Cato, voted this same way, so that some of the first also changed their minds. But the fact that Cato gave sentence of death against them caused all the rest to vote similarly. So the conspirators were punished by the decision of the majority, and a sacrifice and period of festival over
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καὶ ἱερομνημία ἐψηφίσθη, οἱ μηπώποτε ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ
τινὶ ἐγεγόνει· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηνυθέντες ἐξη-
τοῦντο, καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μελλόσαι συμ-
4 φρονήσεως αὐτοῖς ὑποπτευθέντες εὐθύνοντο. καὶ
tὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὑπατοὶ διώκουν, Αὔλων δὲ Φούλ-
οιον ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν,
οὔτε γε καὶ μόνος, ὡς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, τοῦτ' ἐν
ιδιωτείᾳ ποιήσας· συνχαὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐχ
οὔτε ὑπατοὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἱδιώται, παῖδας σφων
ἀπέκτειναν.

87 Τότε μὲν δὴ τόδε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν
ἱερέων, γράψαντος μὲν τοῦ Δαβιδῆνου, σπουδά-
σαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὸν δήμον αὐθίς ὁ
ἀμιλος παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Σύλλου νόμον ἐπανήγαγεν,
ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸν τοῦ Δομιτίου. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ
τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς τελευτήσαντος τῆς
te ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, καίτοι καὶ νέος καὶ μηδέπω
2 ἐστρατηγικῶς, ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῆθει
tῆς ἐπίθεσι αὐτῆς, διὰ τὰ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ τῇ
Δαβιδήῳ κατὰ τὸν Ραβιρίῳ συνηγώνιστοι 1 καὶ
tὸν Δεύτουλον ἄποθανεν οὐκ ἐψήφιστο, λαβὼν
τούτῳ τε ἐπραξε, καὶ ἀρχιέρειος τῶν ποινικῶν,
καίτερ ἄλλων τε τῆς τιμῆς πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ
Κατούλου μᾶλστα ἀντιποιουμένων, ἀπεδεῖχθη.
3 καὶ γὰρ θεραπεύει καὶ κολακεύσαι πάντα τινὰ
cαὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἐτοιμότατος ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐτὲ
λόγου οὔτε ἔργου οὐδενός ἐς τὸ κατατυχεῖν ὅπω
ἐσπούδαζεν 2 ἐξὶστατο· οὔδὲ ἐμελέν οἱ τῆς αὐτίκα
ταπεινότητος πρὸς τὴν έκ τοῦ ἐπειτα ἰσχύν, ἀλλ'

1 συνηγώνιστο Bk., συνηγώνιστο L.
2 ἐσπούδαζεν R. Steph., ἐσπούδαζον L.

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them was decreed—a thing that had never before happened from any such cause. Others also against whom information was lodged were sought out, and some incurred suspicion and were called to account for merely intending to join the conspiracy. The consuls conducted most of the investigations, but Aulus Fulvius, a senator, was slain by his own father; and the latter was not the only private individual, as some think, who ever acted thus. There were many others, that is to say, not only consuls, but private individuals as well, who slew their sons. This was the course of affairs at that time.

The priestly elections, on motion of Labienus supported by Caesar, were again referred by the plebs to the people, contrary to the law of Sulla, but by a renewal of the law of Domitius. For Caesar at the death of Metellus Pius was eager for his priesthood, although he was young and had not yet served as praetor. Basing his hopes of it upon the multitude, therefore, especially because he had helped Labienus against Rabirius and had not voted for the death of Lentulus, he accomplished his purpose and was elected pontifex maximus, in spite of the fact that many others, and Catulus in particular, were his rivals for the honour. This was because he showed himself perfectly ready to serve and flatter everybody, even ordinary persons, and shrank from no speech or action in order to get possession of the objects for which he strove. He did not mind temporary grovelling when weighed against subsequent power, and he cringed as before superiors.
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δυν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύσαι, τούτων ὡς καὶ κρείτ-
τους υπήρχετο.

38 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι διὰ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ πολλοὶ προσ-
φίλεις ἦσαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ
tῷ τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ ποιοῦμενοι τά τε ἄλλα
ηχθαίρων, καὶ τέλος ἀπολογείσθαι τε καὶ κατα-
λέξαι πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπεποίηκε τῇ
2 τελευταίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρα ἐθελήσαντα (πάνυ
γάρ πον ἴδεως οὐχ ὅπως υφ᾽ ἐτέρων ἐπηνείτο,
ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτόν ἐνεκωμίαζεν) ἔσγασαν,
οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ἔξω τι τοῦ ὄρκου φθέγ-
ξασθαι, συναγωνιστῇ Μέτελλῳ Νέπωτι δημαρ-
χούντι χρησάμενοι, πλὴν καθ᾽ ὃσον ἀντιφι-
λονεικήσας προσεπώμοσεν ὅτι σεσωκὼς τὴν
πόλιν εῖτη.

39 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμωρθήθη,
Κατιλίνας δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν φ'],['
Ἰούνιός τε Σιλανός καὶ Δούκιος Δικάνιος ἦρξαν
ἀπεφθάργη. τέως. μὲν γὰρ καῖτερ δύναμιν οὐκ
ὁλίγην ἔχων ἐκαραδόκει τα τοῦ Δεκτοῦλου καὶ
dιέμελλεν ἐπίτζων, ἀν φθάσωσιν ὃ τοῦ Κικέρων
καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ σφαγέντες, ῥαδίως τὰ λοιπὰ
2 προσκατεργάσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνου τα ἄπολω-
λότα ἐπύθετο καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ συχνοὶ μεθι-
σταμένους διὰ τοῦτο ἤσθετο, ὃ τοῦ Ἀντώνιος καὶ
ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ πρὸς ταῖς Φαισούλαις προσ-
eδρεύσατε οὐδαμῇ προελθείν ἀυτῷ ἐπέτρεπον,
ἅπακινδυνεύσαι ἤναγκάσθη, καὶ (ἡσαν γὰρ δίχα
ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι) πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτράπετο,

1 Ἰούνιός Xyl., Ἰούλιός L.
2 προσκατεργάσεσθαι Dind., προσκατεργάσασθαι L.
3 προελθεῖν Leuncl., προελθεῖν L.

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to the very men whom he was endeavouring to dominate.

Toward Caesar, accordingly, the masses were well disposed, for the reasons given, but they were angry at Cicero for the death of the citizens, and displayed their enmity in many ways. Finally, when on the last day of his office he desired to present his account and defence of all that he had done in his consulship,—for he certainly did take great pleasure not only in being praised by others but also in extolling himself,—they made him keep silent and did not allow him to utter a word outside of his oath; in this they had Metellus Nepos, the tribune, to aid them. Nevertheless, Cicero, doing his best to resist them, added to his oath the statement that he had saved the city; and for this he incurred much greater hatred.

Catiline perished at the very opening of the year in which Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius held office. B.C. 62 For a while, although he had no small force, he had watched the movements of Lentulus and delayed, in the hope that if Cicero and his adherents should be slain in time he could easily carry out his remaining plans. But when he ascertained that Lentulus had perished and that many of his followers had deserted for that reason, he was compelled to risk all on a battle, especially since Antonius and Metellus Celer, who were besieging Faesulae, did not allow him to advance anywhere. As the two were encamped separately, he proceeded against Antonius,
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μπερ τῷ ἀξιώματί προέχοντα τοῦ Μετέλλουν
αἱ δύναμιν πλείω περιβεβλημένων. αὐτὸν δὲ
τι ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ συνώμοτον ἑθελοκα-
χήσειν ἔσχεν. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τούτ’ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ
μήτε δι’ εὐνοίας ἔτ’ αὐτῷ ἄτε ἀσθενεῖ ὅτι ὃν
(πρὸς τε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις τιων καὶ πρὸς τὰ
ἐαυτῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τὰς ἐχθρὰς τὰς τε φίλιας
4 οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦνται), καὶ προσκαταδείσας μὴ
πτως προθύμως σφᾶς ἀγωνιζόμενος ἴδὼν ἕξονει-
δίσῃ τι καὶ προσένεκη οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, αὐτὸς
μὲν νοσεῖν προεφασίσατο, Μάρκῳ δὲ Πετρείῳ τὴν
40 μάχην ἑπέτρεψε. συμβαλὼν οὖν οὕτος σφικὶ
tὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ ἄλλους τρισχίλιους προθυ-
μότατα ἀγωνιζόμενους οὐκ ἀναμωτὶ κατέκοψεν
οὔτε γὰρ ἐφυγεν αὐτῶν οὔδεὶς, καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ πάντες
ἐπεσοῦν, ὡστε καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν κρατήσατας πολὺ
tῶν κοινῶν ὀδύρασθαι, ὡστε καὶ τοιούτους καὶ
tοσοῦτους, εἰ καὶ δικαῖος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας
2 τε καὶ συμμάχους ἀπωλωλέκεσαν. ὡ δ’ οὖν
Ἀντώνιος τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἔτ’ ἀστυν,
ὅπως πιστεύσασας αὐτὸν τετελευτηκεῖν μηδὲν
ἔτ’ δεδίωσιν, ἐπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῇ
ύξῃ, καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν 1 πεφονευμένων
ἐλάττων παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον ὄντος, ἐπεκλήθη.
βουθυτθῆναι τε ἐνθείσθη, καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα ὡς
καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένους μετέβαλων. 2
41 οὐ μὴν ο’ γε σύμμαχοι οἱ μετασχόντες τῷ Κατι-
λίνα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τότε ἔτ’ περιότερες ἴσοῦ-
χαζοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐταράττοντο.

1 τῶν Gros, τῶν te L.
2 μετέβαλον R. Steph., μετέβαλλον L.

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in spite of the fact that this leader was superior to Metellus in rank and was accompanied by a larger force. He did this because he had hopes that Antonius would let himself be beaten in view of his part in the conspiracy. The latter, who suspected this, no longer felt kindly toward Catiline, because he was weak; for most men form both friendships and enmities with reference to others' influence and their own advantage. Furthermore, being afraid that Catiline, when he saw them fighting with a will, might utter some reproach and reveal some of their secrets, he pretended to be ill, and entrusted the conduct of the battle to Marcus Petreius.¹ This commander joined battle with the rebels and in a very bloody contest cut down Catiline and three thousand others as they fought most bravely; for not one of them fled, but every man fell at his post. Even the victors mourned the common loss, inasmuch as they had destroyed, however justly, so many and such brave men, who were citizens and allies in spite of all. Antonius sent Catiline's head to the city in order that the people might be assured of his death and have no further fear. He himself was acclaimed imperator for the victory, although the slain fell below the required number.¹ Sacrifices were also decreed, and the people changed their raiment to signify their deliverance from all dangers.²

Nevertheless, the allies who had shared in the undertaking with Catiline and still survived did not remain quiet, but through fear of punishment proceeded to stir up rebellion. Against each division

¹ Appian (B.C. ii. 44) gives the number as 10,000; Diodorus (quoted by Photius Bibl. 638 H) as 6,000.
² See chapter 33, 3 above.
καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν στρατηγοὶ καθ’ ἐκάστους πεμ-θέντες προκατέλαβον τρόπον τινὰ ἐσκεδασμένους
2 καὶ ἐτιμωρήσατο· ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν λανθανόντων μη-νύσει Λουκίου Οὐεττίου ἀνδρὸς ἵππεως, συγκοινο-νύσαντος μὲν σφισὶ τῆς συνωμοσίας, τότε δὲ ἐπ’ ἀδελθα ἀυτῶν ἐκφαινόντος, ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐδικαι-ούντο, μέχρις οὗ ἐσαγγείλας τινὰς τὰ τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐς δελτίον ἐγγράψας ἕντερον καὶ ἄλλοις
3 συχνῶς προσεγγιράψας ἥθελησεν. ὑποπτεύοντο- 
tes γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ Βουλευταί μὴ δὲν ὕμις πράττειν, 
tὸ μὲν γραμματεῖον οὐκέτ’ αὐτῷ ἐδωκαν, μὴ καὶ ἀπαλέψῃ τινὰς, εἰτεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσῃ ἐκέ- 
λευσαν ὅσους παραλελοιποῦν ἐφασε. καὶ οὕτως αἰδεσθεὶς καὶ φοβηθεὶς οὐκέτ’ πολλοῦς
4 ἐνέδεεξε. θωρύβου δ’ οὖν καὶ ὅς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἄγνωστα, τῶν ἀνομο- 
σμένων ὁντος, καὶ τῶν μὲν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς 
μάτην θορυβομένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐστερώσ 
οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑποπτευόντων, ἐδοξε τῇ γέφυρᾳ τὰ 
ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκτεθήναι. καὶ τοῦτον οἶ 
τε ἀναίτιοι κατέστησαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπενθύνοις δίκαιο- 
τεντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παρόντες, οἳ δὲ καὶ ἐρήμην ὄφλον. 42

Κατιλίνας μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐποίησε καὶ οὗτος κατε- 
λύθη, καὶ ἔπι πλείον γε τῆς τῶν πραχθέντων 
ἀξίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος δόξαν καὶ 
πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν λεχθέντας ἐσχε. 
Κικέρων δὲ ὅλον μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τῇ 
τοῦ Δευτοῦλου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν δεθέντων 
2 σφαγῆ ἐκρίθη. τὸ δὲ ἔγκλημα τούτῳ λόγῳ μὲν 
ἐκείνῳ ἐπεφέρετο, ἐργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ κατε-

1 ἐγγράψας B. ἐγγράψας L. 2 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L. 
3 kal inserted by Bk. 4 γε St., τε L.
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of them praetors were sent, who overcame them promptly, while they were still more or less scattered, and punished them. Others who had been avoiding observation were convicted and condemned on information furnished by Lucius Vettius, a knight, who had taken part in the conspiracy but now on promise of immunity revealed the participants. This went on until, after having accused some men and written their names on a tablet, he desired the privilege of adding various others. The senators suspected that he was up to some mischief and would not give him the document again for fear he should erase some of the names, but bade him mention orally all he claimed to have omitted. Then in shame and fear he named only a few others. Since even then there was excitement in the city and among the allies through ignorance of the persons named, and some were needlessly troubled about themselves, while some incorrectly suspected others, the senate decreed that the names should be published. As a result the innocent regained their composure and the accused were brought to trial; the latter were condemned, some being present and others letting their cases go by default.

Such was the career of Catiline and such his downfall; but he gained a greater name than his deeds deserved, owing to the reputation of Cicero and the speeches he delivered against him. Cicero, on his side, came near being tried then and there for the killing of Lentulus and the other prisoners. This charge, though technically brought against him, was
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σκε νάζετο: ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχον σφισιν ἄνευ τοῦ
dήμου θάνατον πολίτου τινὸς καταψηφίσασθαι,
pολλὴν καταβοθὴν ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ πρὸς τοῦ Μετέλ-
λον τοῦ Νέπωτος ὃτι μάλιστα εἶχον. οὐ μὴν καὶ
ἀφλε τὸτε οὐδὲν τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας ἀδειαν πᾶσι
τοῖς διαχειρίσασι τὰ τότε πραγμένα δούσης, καὶ
προσετὶ καὶ προεπούσης ὃτι, κἂν αὐθις τις
εὐθύναι τινα αὐτῶν τολμῆσῃ, ἐν τε ἔχθρου καὶ
ἐν πολεμίῳ μοῖρα ἐσται, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Νέπως
καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτῇ ἐκκήνησεν.

43 Ὑπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ὑπὸ τὸν Πομπήλιον τοῦ Νέπωτος μετα-
pεμφθήναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι (ἐν γὰρ τῇ
'Ασίᾳ ἐτῇ ἦν) προφάσει μὲν τοῦ τὰ παρόντα
κατασταθήναι, ἐλπίδι δὲ τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἀτε τὰ
τῶν πλῆθος φρονούντος, ἵσχυσεν ἐν οἷς ἔταρσ-
σεν, ἐσηγησαμένου, διεκόλυταν αὐτὸ κυρωθήναι.

2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὁ τε Κάτων καὶ Κύντος
Μινούκιος δημαρχοῦντες ἀντέλεγον τοὺς γραφεῖσι,
καὶ τὸν τε γραμματέα τὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα τὴν
γνώμην ἐπέσχον, καὶ τοῦ Νέπωτος τὸ γραμμα-
τείου, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀναλέξῃ, λαβόντος ἐξήρπασαν,
ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ γλώσσης τινα εἰπεῖν

3 ἐπεχείρησε, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπέλαβον. μάχης
dὲ ἐκ τοῦτοι καὶ ἑκεῖνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν
ἐκατέρωθι βοηθῆσάντων ξύλως καὶ λίθως, ἔτι δὲ
καὶ ἡφεσι γενομένης, οἱ βουλευταὶ συνήθησαν
αὐθημεροῦ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τὰ τε ἰμάτια
ἐκλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς

1 προεπούσης Rk., προεπούσης L.
2 ἐν ἐκείνῳ Rk., εν' ἐκείνῳ L.
3 τε placed after τὸν by Rk., after τὴν by L.
really directed against the senate. For its members were violently denounced before the populace, especially by Metellus Nepos, on the ground that they had no right to condemn any citizen to death without the consent of the people. Nevertheless, Cicero escaped on this occasion. For the senate granted immunity to all those who had administered affairs during that period, and further proclaimed that if any one should dare to call one of them to account later, he should be regarded as a personal and public enemy; so that Nepos was afraid and made no further trouble.

This was not the senate's only victory. Nepos had moved that Pompey, who was still in Asia, be summoned with his army, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing order out of the existing confusion, but really in the hope that he himself might through him gain power amid the disturbances he was causing, because Pompey favoured the multitude; but the senators prevented this motion from being adopted. In the first place, Cato and Quintus Minucius, the tribunes, vetoed the proposition and stopped the clerk who was reading the motion. Then when Nepos took the document to read it himself, they took it away, and when even then he undertook to speak extempore, they stopped his mouth. The result was that a battle waged with clubs and stones and even swords took place between them, in which some others joined, assisting one side or the other. Therefore the senators met in the senate-house that very day, changed their raiment and gave the consuls charge of the
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πόλεως, ὡστε ἦδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι,
4 ἐπέτρεψαν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν καὶ τότε ὁ Νέπτως ἐκ
tε τοῦ μέσου εὔθυς ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
gραφήν τινα κατὰ τῆς Βουλῆς ἐκθεὶς πρὸς τὸν
Πομπήιον ἀφώρισε, καίτοι μηδεμῶν αὐτῷ
νύκτα ἀπαυλισθῆναι1 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξω.

44 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ (ἐστρατήγη
dὲ) οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐνεωτέρισεν. ἔπραττε μὲν γὰρ ὅπως
τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κατολου οἶνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ
Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτώλιου ἀφαιρεθεὶς (κλοπῆς τε γὰρ
αὐτῶν ἡθούνε, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπέων
χρημάτων ἀπέτηει), τὸ δὲ δὴ Πομπήιῳ τὰ λοιπὰ
2 προσεξεργάσασθαι ἐπιτραπεῖθ. ἦν γὰρ τινα,
ὡς ἐν τῆλικοῦτῳ καὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἔργῳ, ἡμιτέλεστα·
ἡ ἐκεῖνος γε ἐπλάττητο εἶναι, ὅπως ὁ Πομπήιος
τὴν τε δόξαν τῆς ἐκποίησες αὐτοῦ λάβῃ καὶ τὸ
αὐτοῦ ὦνομα ἀντεπιγράψῃ. οὐ μὴν οὖν γε
χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἠθελεν ὅστε καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ διὰ
τὸ τοῦ ἡφισθήναι τὶ2 τοιοῦτον, οἶνον ἐπὶ τὸ
Νέπτωτε ἔδεδοκτο,3 ὑπομείναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ
ἐκεῖνον ἑνεκα ταῦτ' ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ
3 τοῦτον τοῖς πλῆθος σφετερίσηται καὶ ποὺ ὀντὸς
πάντες τῶν Πομπήίων ἔρεισθαν4 (οὐδὲτο γὰρ τὰ
στρατεύματα ἀφήσων δῆλον ἦν); ὡστε, ἐπεὶ
Μάρκον Πίσωνα ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἰτήσεων
ὑπατείας προὔπεμψε, τάς τὲ ἀρχαιεσίας, ὅπως
ἀπαντήσῃ ἐς αὐτᾶς, ἀναβαλέσθαι, καὶ παρόντα
αὐτῶν ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἀποδείξει. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι
οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλ' καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
συνέστησεν αὐτῶν.

1 ἀπαυλισθῆναι Jacoby, ἀπολισθῆναι L. 2 τι R. Steph., ἐτι L.
3 ἔδεδοκτο Ba., ἔδεδοκται L. 4 ἔφεδον St., ἔφεδεν L.

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city, that it might suffer no harm. Then Nepos once more became afraid and immediately retired from their midst; subsequently, after publishing some piece of writing against the senate, he set out to join Pompey, although he had no right to be absent from the city for a single night.

After this occurrence not even Caesar, who was now praetor, ventured any further innovation. He had been endeavouring to secure the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, charging him with embezzlement and demanding an account of the expenditures he had made, and to have Pompey entrusted with the construction of the remainder of the edifice; for many parts, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished, or at any rate Caesar pretended this was the case, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his own name instead. Caesar was not so anxious, however, to do him a favour that he would run the risk of having passed against himself any such decree as that concerning Nepos. For it was not really for Pompey’s sake that he was doing this, but in order that he himself might win over the populace even by this means. And yet all stood in such fear of Pompey, seeing that it was not yet clear whether he would give up his legions, that when he sent ahead Marcus Piso, his lieutenant, to seek the consulship, they postponed the elections so that he might attend them; and on his arrival they elected him unanimously. For Pompey had recommended the man not only to his friends, but also to his enemies.
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45 Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Ποντίου τοῦ Βιβλίου 1 τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀπερ αἰ ἀειπαρθένοι παρὰ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐσ πᾶν τὸ ἁρέμεν ἔπετέλουν, αἰσχύναντος, ἐκεῖνη μὲν οὖν ἐνεκάλεσεν (καὶ γὰρ εὐ ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐχ ἀλώσεται διὰ τὴν ἑταυρεῖαν), τὴν δὲ δὴ γυναίκα ἀπεπέμψατο, εἶτ' ἐπὶ ἄλλοις μὲν μὴ πιστεύειν τῷ λεγομένῳ, μὴ μέντοι καὶ συνοικήσαι 2 ἐτ' αὐτῇ δύνασθαι, διότι καὶ ὑπωππυτεύθη ἄρχην μεμοιχεύθηκαί τὴν γὰρ σῶφρονα χρήναι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὑποψίαν αἰσχρὰν ἀφευνείσθαι.

3 Τότε μὲν ταῦτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ γέφυρα ἡ λιθίνη ἡ 3 ἐς τὸ νησίδιον τὸ 4 ἑν τῷ Τιβέρειδι ὅπερ ρουσά κατεσκευάσθη, Φαβρεία κληθεῖσα. τῷ δὲ ἔξης ἐτεί 5 ἐπὶ τῷ Πίσσωνος καὶ ἐπὶ Μύρκου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων μισοῦντές τε ἄλλως οἱ δυνατοί τὸν Κλώδιον, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὸ μίσσαμα αὐτοῦ ἀποδιοππούμενοι, ἔπεεδὴ οἱ ποτίφικες ἀνατυθήμα τα ἱερὰ ὡς οὖν ὀσίως διὰ τοῦτο τελεσθέντα

2 ἐγνωσαν, διακαστηρίῳ αὐτῶν παρέδωκαν, καὶ κατηγορήθη μὲν τῆς τε μοιχείας, καίπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος σιωπώντος, καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς περὶ Νίσιβιν, 6 καὶ προσέτη καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ συγγένοιτο, ἀφείθη δὲ, καίτοι τῶν διακοστῶν φρονών παρὰ τῆς Βουλῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν κακῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάθωσαι, καὶ αἰτησάντων καὶ λαβόντων.

3 ἔφ' ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Κάτουλος ἐπισκόπτων ἐλέγειν

1 Pontiio R. Steph., pontiio L.
2 συνοικήσαι Bs., συνοικήσαι L.
3 ἡ inserted by St.
4 τὸ Leuncl., τότε L.
5 ἐτεί supplied by Bk.
6 Nisibin R. Steph., nisibi L.

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It was at this time that Publius Clodius debauched Caesar's wife in Caesar's own house and during the performance of the rites which according to ancestral custom the Vestals carried out at the residences of consuls and praetors out of sight of the whole male population. Caesar brought no charge against him, understanding well that on account of his associates he would not be convicted; but he divorced his wife, telling her that he did not really believe the story, but that he could no longer live with her inasmuch as she had once been suspected of committing adultery; for a chaste wife not only must not err, but must not even incur any evil suspicion.

Following these events the stone bridge, called the Fabrician, leading to the little island in the Tiber, was constructed. The next year, in the consulship of Piso and Marcus Messalla, the optimates showed their hatred of Clodius and at the same time made expiation for his crime by bringing him to trial, since the pontifices had decided that in view of his act the rites had not been duly performed and should be repeated. He was accused of adultery, in spite of Caesar's silence, and of mutiny at Nisibis, and furthermore of holding guilty relations with his sister; yet he was acquitted, although the jurymen had requested and obtained of the senate a guard to prevent their suffering any harm at his hands. With reference to this Catulus jestingly remarked
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ὅτι τὴν φυλακὴν ἠτησαν οὐχ ἵνα ἄσφαλῶς τοῦ Κλαδίου καταψηφίσωσαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀ ἐδεωροδοκήκεσαν διασώσωσιν. καὶ ο μὲν διαφανέστατα τῶν πώποτε τὸ δημόσιον άεί πρὸ παντὸς προτιμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῷ ὦστερον ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ έτει έκείνῳ οἳ τε τιμηταὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γεγομένους ἐσ τὸ βουλευτικόν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγγραψαν, καὶ ο δῆμος ἀπαντᾶ μέχρι τότε τὰς ὀπλομαχίας θεώμενος ἐξανέστη τε μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀρίστου εἶλετο. καὶ τούτ’ ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ νῦν, ὅσἀκις ἄν ο τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἀγωνοθετῇ, γίγνεται.

47 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτ’ οὕτως ἐπράξῃ, τῶν δὲ Ἀλλοβρώγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν περὶ Νάρβανα πορθοῦντων Γάιος Πομπῖνος ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῆς τοὺς μὲν ὑποστρατήγους ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἔπεμψε, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐν ἐπιτηδείᾳ ἱδρυθεὶς ἐπετήρει τὰ γυνόμενα, ὅπως κατὰ καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ άεὶ χρῆσιμον καὶ γνώμην σφίζει διδόναι καὶ 2 ἐπαμύνειν δύνηται. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν Δεντίνος ἐπὶ Οὐαλεντίαν 1 πόλιν στρατεύσας οὕτως αὐτοῦ κατέπληξεν 2 ὡστε τοὺς πλείους ἐκδρᾶναι καὶ τοὺς λυποὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης προσβεβεύσασθαι. καὶ τοῦτω συμβοηθησάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις ὄντων καὶ προσπεσόντων αἰφνιδίως τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεώσθη, 3 τὴν δὲ δὴ χώραν ἄδεως ἐλεηλατεί, 3 μέχρις οὗ ο τε Κατούγνατος 4 ο τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῶν ἔθνους στρατηγὸς καὶ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παρὰ

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1 Oualentiai Heller, Ouentiai L.
2 κατέπληξεν Rk., κατέπτηξεν L.
3 ἀπεώσθη St., ἀπώσθη L.
4 Κατούγνατος R. Steph., καὶ τοῦ γνατος L.
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that they had asked for the guard, not in order to condemn Clodius with safety, but in order to save for themselves the money which they had received in bribes. Now Catulus died shortly afterward; he was a man who always, more conspicuously than any one who ever lived, preferred the common weal to everything else. That year the censors enrolled in the senatorial body all who had attained office, even beyond the legal number. At this time, too, the populace, which hitherto had watched the gladiatorial contests without any intermission, went out for lunch in the course of the entertainment. This practice, which began at that time, is continued even now, whenever the person in charge exhibits games. This was the course of affairs in the city.

The Allobroges were devastating Gallia Narbonensis, and Gaius Pomptinus, the governor, sent his lieutenants against the enemy, while he himself took up his quarters at a convenient spot for keeping watch of what occurred, so that he might be able to give them opportune advice and assistance, as their advantage might from time to time dictate. Manlius Lentinus made a campaign against the city of Valentia and so terrified the inhabitants that the majority ran away and the rest sent ambassadors regarding peace. Just then the country population coming to their aid suddenly fell upon him; and he was repulsed from the wall, but ravaged the land with impunity until Catugnatus, the leader of their whole tribe, with some of those dwelling along the
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τὸν Ἰσαρα οἰκούντων ἐπεκούρησάν σφίσι. τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμησε μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν πλοίων περαιώθηναι κωλύσαι, μὴ καὶ συν-
stραφῶσιν ἱδόντες σφᾶς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους,

4 ὑλόδους δὲ τοῦ χωρίου μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐθὺς ὄντος, ἐνέδρας ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησατο, καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ διαβαλόντας ὑπολαμβάνων ἔφθειρε. φεύγοναι τῷ τοὺς ἐπισπόμενος περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ Κατο-

γάτῳ καὶ πασοῦδι διώλετο, εἰ μὴ χειμών σφοδρὸς ἔξαφνης ἐπυγενόμενος ἐπέσχε τοὺς βαρ-

βάρους τῆς διωξέως. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τούτο, τοῦ Κατογνάτου πόρρω ποι ἀφορμήσαντος, τῆν τε χώραν αὕτης κατέδραμε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος παρ’ ὃ ἐδυστύχησαν ἔξειλε: Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Μάριος καὶ 

Σέρους Γάλβας τὸν τε Ῥοδανὸν ἐπεραιώθησαν, 

καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων λυμνάμενοι τέλος πρὸς

2 Σολώνιου πόλιν ἦλθον, καὶ χωρίων μὲν τι 1 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἵσχυρὸν κατέλαβον, μάχη τε τοὺς ἀντι-

στάντας σφῆνα ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῶν καὶ τοῦ πολίσματος ἐξυλίσαν τὴ ὄντος ἐνέπρησαν, οὐ 

μέντοι καὶ εἶλον αὐτῷ: ὁ γὰρ Κατογνάτος ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε. μαθὼν οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Πομπηῖ-

νος ἐπεστράτευσε τῇ ἐπ’ αὐτὸ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, 

καὶ πολυρκήσας σφᾶς ἐχειρώσατο πλὴν τοῦ Κατογνάτου.

49 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥάου ἐκ τούτων προσ-

κατεστρέψατο, Πομπῆιος δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀφράνιο 

τὸν Λούκιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν Κέλερα ὑπά-

τους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ἐπὶ σας δι’ αὐτῶν 

2 μάτην πάνθ’ ὥσα ἐβουλεῖτο καταπράξειν. ἦθελε

1 μὲν τι R. Steph., μέντοι L.
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Isara came to their aid. For the time being he did not dare to hinder them from crossing, by reason of the number of their boats, for fear they might gather in a body on seeing the Romans arrayed against them. As the country was wooded, however, right down to the river bank, he planted ambuscades there, and captured and destroyed the men as fast as they crossed. While following up some fugitives he fell in with Catugnatus himself, and would have perished with all his force, had not a violent storm suddenly come up and prevented the barbarians from pursuing. Later, when Catugnatus had retired to some distant point, Lentinus overran the country again and destroyed the town before which he had met with his reverse. Lucius Marius and Servius Galba crossed the Rhone and after ravaging the possessions of the Allobroges finally reached the city of Solonium and occupied a strong position commanding it. They conquered their opponents in battle and also set fire to portions of the town, which was partly constructed of wood; they did not capture it, however, being prevented by the arrival of Catugnatus. Pomptinus, on learning of this, proceeded against the place with his entire army, besieged it, and got possession of the defenders, with the exception of Catugnatus. After that he more easily subjugated the remaining districts.

At this time Pompey entered Italy and had Lucius Afranius and Metellus Celer appointed consuls, vainly hoping that through them he could effect whatever he desired. He wished in particular to have some
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μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μᾶλιστᾳ χώραν τέ τινα τοῖς συνεστρατευμένοις οἱ δοθήμεν καὶ τὰ πετραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντε ἐπικυρωθῆναι, διήμαρτε δὲ σφων τότε. οἳ τε γὰρ δυνατοί, μηδὲ 1 ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν αὐτῷ ἀρεσκόμενοι, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὰ ψηφι- σθῆναι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων Ἀφράνως μὲν (ὄρχείσθαι γὰρ βέλτιον ἢ τι διαπράσσειν ἡπί- στατο) πρὸς οὖνδεν αὐτῷ συνήρατο, Μέτελλος δὲ ὄργη, ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων, ἀπετέπεμπτο, 2 καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα 4 ἀντέπραξεν. ὁ τε Δούκουλλος ὁ Δούκιος, δὴ ποτε ἐν τῇ Γαλατία ὁ Πομπήιος ἐντυχῶν ὑπερφρόνως ἐκέχρητο, πολὺς τε αὐτῷ ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκελεύσειν αὐτὸν ἱδία καὶ καθ' ἐκαστὸν δὲν ἐπραξεν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ μὴ πάσιν ἀμα αὐτοὺς τὴν κύρωσιν 5 αἰτεῖν. ἄλλος τε γὰρ δίκαιον εἶμαι ἔλεγε μὴ πάντα ἀπλῶς ὡσα ἐπετοιήκει, καὶ ἢ μηδείς σφων ἡπίστατο ὡποῖα ἦν, 3 βεβαιωθήμεν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δεσπότου τινὸς γεγενημένα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων κατελελύκει τινά, ἥξιον ἐξετασμὸν ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενέσθαι, ἢν ὀπότερ ἂν 4 αὐτοῖς ἄρεσῃ κυρώσωσι. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κάτων ὁ τε Μέτελλος οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ σφισί βουλομένοι ἵσχυρὸς συνεμάχουν. τοῦ γοῦν δημάρχου, τοῦ τὴν γην τοῖς τῷ Πομπήιῳ συνεξητασμένοις κατανεῖμαι ἐσηγούμενον, προσγράψαυτος τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ καὶ πάσι τοῖς πολίταις, ὅπως τούτο τε αὐτῷ βρῶν ψηφίσωται καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ βεβαιώσωσι, κλήρους τινὰς δοθήμεν, ἐπὶ πάν τὸν ὁ Μέτελλος ἀνθυστάμενος ἐπεξήλθεν, ὡστε

1 μηδὲ Rk., μήτε L. 2 ἀπετέπεμπτο Melber, ἀπετέπεμπτο L. 3 ἢν v. Herw., εἶναι L. 4 ὀπότερ ἂν Pflugk, ὀπότερα L.

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land given to his soldiers and to have all his acts approved; but he failed of these objects at that time. For, in the first place, the optimates, who even before this had not been pleased with him, prevented the questions from being brought to vote. And as for the consuls themselves, Afranius, who understood how to dance better than to transact any business, did not assist him at all, and Metellus, in anger that Pompey had divorced his sister in spite of having had children by her, vigorously opposed him in everything. Moreover, Lucius Lucullus, whom Pompey had once treated with contempt when he met him in Galatia, was very bitter against him, demanding that he render an account individually and separately of everything that he had done instead of asking for the approval of all his acts at once. He maintained that it was only fair, in any case, that Pompey's acts, as to the character of which no one knew anything, should not all be confirmed by a single vote, as if they were the acts of a master. And since Pompey had furthermore set aside some of Lucullus' own arrangements, he demanded that an investigation of the acts of each should be made in the senate, in order that they might ratify whichever suited them. He was strongly supported by Cato and Metellus and the rest, who were of the same mind with them. Accordingly, when the tribune who moved that land be assigned to the followers of Pompey added to the measure a provision that grants should be made to all the citizens likewise, in order that they might more readily accept this particular feature and also ratify Pompey's acts, Metellus contested every point.
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καὶ ἔσ τὸ οἴκημα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθήναι καὶ τὴν
2 γερουσίαν ἐνταῦθα ἀθρόισαι ἑθελῆσαι. ἔπει τε
ἐκεῖνος (Δούκιος δὲ δὴ Φλάουιος ὄνομάξετο) τὸ τε
βάθρον τὸ δημαρχικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐσόδῳ αὐτοῦ
ἔθηκε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καθεξόμενος ἐμπυκῶν ὡστε
μηδένα ἐσιέναι ἐγίγνετο, τὸν τε τοῖχον τοῦ δεσμο-
τηρίου διακοπὴν ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως δὲ αὐτοῦ ἢ
βουλή ἑσέλθη, καὶ ὡς νυκτερεύσων κατὰ χώραν
3 παρεσκευάζετο. μαθῶν οὖν τοῦ ο Πομπήιος,
καὶ αἰσχυνθεῖς τε ἀμα καὶ δείσας μὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος
ἀγανακτήσῃ, προσέταξε τῷ Φλαουίῳ ἀπαναστή-
ναι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὃς τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦτ'
ἀξιώσαντος, οὐ μὴν ἐπιστεύετο τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα
4 αὐτοῦ κατάδηλον πάσιν ἦν. ἀμέλει τῶν ἄλλων
dημάρχων ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν βουληθέντων οὐκ ἡθέ-
λησεν. οὐκοινον οὐδ' αὖθις ἀπειλήσαντι τῷ Φλα-
ούιῳ μηδὲ ἐς τὸ ἔθνος ὅ ἐπεκεκλήρωτο ἐπιτρέψειν
αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ συγχωρήσειν οἱ διανομοθετήσαι,
ἐξελθεῖν, ὑπείξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνι ἄσμενος ἐν τῇ
πόλει κατέμεινεν.

5 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἑπειδὴ μηδὲν διὰ τε τῶν
Μετέλλου καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διεπράξατο, ἐφ' ἐν
μὲν φθονεῖσαί τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τοῦτο
δηλώσειν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διαμαρτῶν
μείζω αἰσχύνην ὁφλῆ, ἑκατέβαλε τὴν ἄξιοσιν.
6 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτω ᾧκας ὃτι μηδὲν ὄντως ἱσχυεν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οὖνομα καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐφ' ὅ τις ἠδυ-
νήθη ποτὲ εἶχεν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώ-
νητο, μετεμέλετο ὅτι τὰ τε στρατόπεδα προαφήκε
51 καὶ ἐαυτὸν τοὺς ἑχθροῖς ἐξέδωκε. Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπε-

1 ὁφλὴ Dind., ὁφλῆση L. 2 ὄντως Rk., οὗτος L. 3 ἐφ' Pflugk, ἐν L.

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with him and attacked him so persistently that the latter had him put in prison. Then Metellus wished to assemble the senate there. When the other, whose name was Lucius Flavius, set the tribune's bench at the very entrance of the cell, and sitting upon it, offered an obstacle to any one's entrance, Metellus ordered the wall of the prison to be cut through so that the senate might gain entrance through it, and made preparations to pass the night on the spot. When Pompey learned of this, he was ashamed as well as afraid that the people might take offence, and so directed Flavius to withdraw. He spoke as if this were a request from Metellus, but was not believed; for the latter's pride was well known to all. Indeed, Metellus would not give his consent when the other tribunes wished to set him free. Nor would he yield even when Flavius later threatened that he would not allow him to go out to the province which he had drawn unless he would permit the law to be passed; on the contrary, he was very glad to remain in the city.

Pompey, therefore, when he could accomplish nothing because of Metellus and the rest, declared that they were jealous of him and that he would make this clear to the plebs. Fearing, however, that he might fail of their support also, and so incur still greater shame, he abandoned his demands. Thus he learned that he did not possess any real power, but merely the name and envy resulting from his former authority, while in point of fact he received no benefit from it; and he repented of having let his legions go so soon and of having put himself in the power of his enemies.
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θύμησε μὲν διὰ ... τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ δη-μαρχήσαι, καὶ τινὰς τῶν δημαρχοῦντων προκαθ-ηκεν ἐσηγήσασθαι τὸ¹ καὶ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταδίδοσθαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισε, τὴν τε εὐ-γένειαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους δικαιώματα, ἐς αὐτῶν σφῶν τὸν σύλλογον ἐσελ-θὼν, μετέστη. καὶ ἤτησε μὲν εὖθὺς τὴν δη-μαρχίαν, οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ Μετέλλου· ἐν γένει τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἤρεσκετο. πρόφασιν δὲ ἐποιήσατο ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡ ἐκποίησις αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσφορᾷ τοῦ φρατρια-τικοῦ νόμου μόνως ἐξῆν τούτο γίγνεσθαι.

3 Ταῦτα τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράξῃ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη δεινῶς τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἔλυπε, ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ καταλύσας αὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἀρεστός ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐσενεγκώτι αὐτὸν ἀχθομενοί οἱ βουλευταί (ὁ γὰρ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ἦν) ἠθέλησαν τὸ τε ὅνομα αὐτοῦ ἀπα-λεῖψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔτερον ἀντεγγράψαι. καὶ οὖν ἐπράξῃ μὲν τοῦτο, καταφανὲς μὲντοι πᾶσιν ἐγένετο ὡς μηδέ τάς ἐνεργεσίας παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀνδρῶν ἥδεως ἐδέχοντο. καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Φαύστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἀγώνα τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν δή-μον λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε, τὰ τε λουτρὰ καὶ τὸ² ἔλαιον προῖκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.

4 Εν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτα ἐγγύνετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῦσαρ τῆς τε Δυσσινίας μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἤρξε, καὶ δυνηθεῖς ἄν τὰ ληστικά, ἀπερ που ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν, ἀνευ μεγάλου τινὸς πόνου

1 τὸ Leuncl., τι L. ² τὸ added by Rk.

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Clodius' [hatred] of the optimates led him after the trial to desire to be tribune, and he induced some of those who held that office to move that the patricians also be given a share in it. As he could not bring this about, he abjured his patrician rank and assumed instead the status of the plebs, and even entered their assembly. He immediately sought the tribuneship, but was not elected, owing to the opposition of Metellus, who was related to him and did not like his actions. The excuse that Metellus gave was that the transfer of Clodius had not been in accordance with tradition; for this change might be made only after the introduction of a lex curiata. Thus ended this episode.

Since the taxes were proving oppressive to the city and the rest of Italy, the law that abolished them was acceptable to all. The senators, however, were angry at the praetor who proposed it (Metellus Nepos) and wished to erase his name from the law, entering another one instead. And although this plan was not carried out, it was still made clear to all that they received not even benefits gladly from base men. About this same time Faustus, the son of Sulla, gave a gladiatorial contest in memory of his father and entertained the people brilliantly, furnishing them with baths and oil gratis.

While these things were happening in the city, Caesar had obtained the government of Lusitania after his praetorship; and though he might without any great labour have cleared the land of brigandage, which probably always existed there, and then

1 Compare Cicero's words (ad. Att. ii. 16, 1) in 59 B.C.: portoriiis (duties on exports and imports) Italiae sublatis.
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καθήρας ἠσυχίαν ἔχειν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δόξης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦν, καὶ τὸν Πομπῆιον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέγα ποτὲ δυνηθέντας

2 ξηλῶν, οὐδὲν ὅλιγον ἑφρόνει, ἀλλ' ἠλπίζειν, ἂν τι τότε κατεργάσηται, ὑπατός τε εὐθὺς αἱρεθῆσεθαι καὶ ὑπερφυὰ ἔργα ἀποδείξεσθαι, διὰ τε τάλλα καὶ ὁτι ἐν τοῖς Γαδεῖροις, ὁτε ἔταμενε, τῇ μητρί συγγύγνωσθαι ὄναρ ἔδοξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντεων ἐμαθὲν ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἔσται. ὃθενπερ καὶ εἰκόνα 'Αλεξάνδρου ἔταυθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεόων ἀνακειμένην ἰδῶν ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο ὅτι μιθέν πω μέγα ἔργων ἔπετοικήθη.

3 Ἀπ' οὖν τούτων, ἐξόν αὐτῷ εἰρηνεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰπον, πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἐρμίνιον ἐτράπετο καὶ ἐκεῖ ηευσετε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ πεδινὰ μεταστήματι, προφασίν μὲν ὅπως μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρμινῶν ὁρμώμενοι ληστεύσωσιν, ἔργῳ δὲ εὑρεῖ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτῷ ποιήσειαν, κὰκ τούτου πολέμου τινὰ ἀφορμὴν λήψεται. οὐ καὶ ἐγένετο. τούτους τε οὖν ἐς ὅπλα ἐλθόντας ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ἔτη εἴδη τῶν πλησιοχώρων τινές, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὀρμήσῃ, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμώτατα ὑπὲρ τῶν Δώριον ὑπεξέθεντο, τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἐν γὰ τούτ ἐπραττὼν προκατέσχε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνους προσ- ἐμίζε. προβαλλομένων τε τὰς ἀγέλας αὐτῶν, ὅπως σκεδάσθεισι τοῖς Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἀρπαγὴν ἐπίθωνται, τὰ τετράποδα τὸν παρῆκε καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβὼν ἐνίκησε. κὰν τούτῳ

1 καθήρας Ρκ., καθήραι Λ.
2 τὰ τετράποδα Ρκ., τὰ τε στρατόπεδα Λ.

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have kept quiet, he was unwilling to do so. He was eager for glory, emulating Pompey and his other predecessors who at one time or another had had great power, and his aspirations were anything but small; in fact, he hoped, if he should at this time accomplish something, to be chosen consul immediately and to display mighty achievements. He was especially encouraged in this hope by the fact that while at Gades, when quaestor, he had dreamed of intercourse with his mother, and had learned from the seers that he should enjoy great power. Hence, on beholding there a likeness of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Hercules, he had groaned aloud, lamenting that he had performed no great deed as yet.

Accordingly, though he might have been at peace, as I have said, he proceeded to the Herminian Mountains and ordered the inhabitants to move into the plain, in order, as he claimed, that they might not use their fastnesses as a base for marauding expeditions, but really because he well knew that they would never do what he asked, and that as a result he should have some ground for war. This was exactly what happened. After these men, then, had taken up arms, he overcame them. When some of their neighbours, fearing that he would march against them too, carried off their children and wives and most valuable possessions out of the way across the Durius, he first occupied their cities, while they were thus engaged, and next joined battle with the men themselves. They put their herds in front of them, with the intention of attacking the Romans when the latter should scatter to seize the cattle; but Caesar, neglecting the animals, attacked the men and conquered them. Meanwhile he learned
μαθὼν τούς τὸ Ἑρμύνιον οἰκούντας ἀφεστηκέναι
tε καὶ ἐπανώντα αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύειν μέλλειν, τότε
μὲν ἔτέραν ἀνεχώρησεν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπεστράτευσέ
σφισιν, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὸν ἀκεανὸν φεύγοντας
2 αὐτῶν κατεδίωξεν. ἔπειδὴ τε τὴν ἦπερον ἐκλε-
pόντες ἐς νῆσον τινα ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν
(οὗ1 γὰρ που πλοίων εὐπόρει) κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε,
σχεδὸς δὲ συμπήξας μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ
dι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ συνχων ἅπεβαλε· χηλῆ2
gάρ των πρὸς τῇ νῆσῳ οὕσῃ προσσκῶν3 ὅ τὴν
Ηγεμονίαν σφῶν ἔχον, καὶ ὃς4 καὶ πεζῆ διαβαδί-
σοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκβιβάσας, ἐπείτα αὐτὸς τε ὑπὸ5
tῆς ἀναρροίας ἐκβιβασθῆς ἐξανηχθῆ καὶ ἐκεῖνος
3 ἐγκατέληπτε, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γενναῖως
ἀμυνόμενοι ἔπεσον, Ποῦπλιος δὲ δὴ Σκαίνιους
μόνον τε περιλειφθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος στερηθεὶς
πολλά τε τραματισθεὶς ἐς τὸ τὸ ὑδρὸς ἐσπετήσει
4 καὶ διενήξατο. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτῃ ἐγένετο· ὑστε-
ρον δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ πλοῖα ἀπὸ Γαδείρων μεταπεμψά-
μενος ἐς τὴν νῆσον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεραιῶθη,
καὶ ἀκοινὶ αὐτοὺς, κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἔχοντας,
pαρεστήσατο. καντεύθεν ἐς Βριγάντιον πόλιν
Καλλακίας παραπλεύσας τῷ τε ῥοθίῳ6 σφᾶς
τοῦ πρόσπλου, οὐπώποτε ναυτικὸν ἑρακτότας,
ἐξεφόβησε καὶ κατεστρέψατο.

54. Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νομίσας Ἰκανὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν
ἐπιβασίαι7 πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν εἰληφέναι σπουδὴ
tρος τὰς ἀρχαιεσίας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διάδοχον
ἐλθεῖν, ὀρμήσε, καὶ ἥξιον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πέμψαι τὰ

1 οὗ inserted by Bs.
2 χηλῆ Schenkl, γῆ L.
3 προσσχῶn Bk., προσχῶn L.
4 ὡς Rk., ἀπε ὡς L.
5 ὑπὸ St., ἀπὸ L.
6 ῥοθίφ Turn., ῥθῆφ L.
7 ἐπιβασίαι St., ἐπὶ βασιλείαν L.
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that the inhabitants of the Herminian Mountains had withdrawn and were intending to ambush him as he returned. So for the time being he withdrew by another road, but later marched against them and, being victorious, pursued them in flight to the ocean. When, however, they abandoned the mainland and crossed over to an island, he stayed where he was, for his supply of boats was not large; but he put together some rafts, by means of which he sent on a part of his army, and lost a number of men. For the man in command of them landed at a breakwater near the island and disembarked the troops, thinking they could cross over on foot, when he was forced off by the returning tide and put out to sea, leaving them in the lurch. All but one of them died bravely defending themselves; Publius Scaevius, the only one to survive, after losing his shield and receiving many wounds, leaped into the water and escaped by swimming. Such was the result of that attempt; later, Caesar sent for boats from Gades, crossed over to the island with his whole army, and reduced the people there without a blow, as they were hard pressed for want of food. Thence sailing along to Brigantium, a city of Callaecia, he alarmed the people, who had never before seen a fleet, by the breakers which his approach to land caused, and subjugated them.

On accomplishing this he thought he had gained thereby a sufficient stepping-stone to the consulship and set out hastily for the elections even before his successor arrived. He decided to seek the office even before holding his triumph, since
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ἐπινίκια, ἐπειδὴ μη οία τε προδιεορτασθήναι ἦν, 2 αἰτήσαι αὐτὴν. μη τυχὼν δὲ, τοῦ Κάτωνος ὅτι μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντος, ἐκεῖνα μὲν εἰσάε· καὶ γὰρ ἠλπιζε πολὺ πλείω καὶ μεῖζον ὑπατος ἀποδειχθείς καὶ ἔργα πράξεως καὶ ἐπινίκια πέμψειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἐφ’ οἷς μέγα ἂεί ποτε ἐφρόνει, ἱππος τις αὐτῷ διαφυγὼς ἐν ταῖς τῶν προσθέων ποδῶν ὀπλαῖς ἐχθὸν ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν γαυρούμενος ἐφερεν, ἀλλον δὲ ἀναβάτην οὐδένα 3 ἀνεδέχετο. ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου μικρὸν οὐδὲν προσδοκῶν τὰ μὲν νικητήρια ἐκὼν ἀφήκεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν τε Κράσσον ἐκεθέραπευσεν, ὡστε δ’ ἐχθρας ἀλλήλους ἔτι καὶ τὸτε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας ἕχοντας, καὶ πρὸς πάνθ’ ὥσα ὁ ἐτερος τὸν ἐτερον ἐθέλοντα αἰσθουτο ἀντιστασιάζοντας, προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ὀμοθυμαδὸν 4 ἀποδειχθῆναι. καίτοι τούτο τὴν σοφίαν ἄς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν τεκμηριωθοῦν, ὅτι τὸν τε καιρὸν καὶ τὸ μέτρον τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν καὶ ἔγνω καὶ διέθετο οὕτως ὅστ’ ἀμφοτέρους ἀμα καίτερ 2 ἀντιπράττοντας σφης προσθέσαθαι.

55 Καὶ οὐδὲ τούτ’ αὐτῷ ἀπέχρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους συνήλλαξεν, οὐχ ὅτι συνενεχθῆναι σφας ἦθελεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι δυνατώτατον τε ἐώρα ὅντας, καὶ εὖ ἦπιστατο ὅτι οὗτε χωρὶς τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνων ἀμφοτέρων ἢ καὶ θατέρου βοηθείας μέγα τι ἰσχύει,3 καὶ τὸν ἐτερον ὀποτερονοῦν ἀντὸν προσεταιρίστηται, ἀνταγωνιστὴν τε διὰ τοῦτο τὸν

1 ὀπλαῖς R. Steph., ὀπλας L. 2 καίτερ Reim., καθάτερ L. 3 ἰσχύει Bk., ἰσχύειε L.
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it was not possible to celebrate this beforehand. But being refused a triumph, since Cato opposed him with might and main, he let that pass, hoping to perform many more and greater exploits and celebrate corresponding triumphs, if elected consul. For besides the omens previously related, which always gave him great confidence, was the fact that a horse of his had been born with clefts in the hoofs of its fore feet, and carried him proudly, whereas it would not endure any other rider. Consequently his expectations were of no slight magnitude, so that he willingly gave up the triumph and entered the city to canvass for office. Here he courted Pompey and Crassus and the rest so skilfully that though they were still at enmity with each other, and had their political clubs, and though each opposed everything that he saw the other wished, he won them over and was unanimously elected by them all. And yet this argues the greatest shrewdness on his part that he should have known and arranged the occasions and the amount of his services to them so well as to attach them both to himself when they were working against each other.

He was not even content with this, but actually reconciled the men themselves, not because he was desirous that they should agree, but because he saw that they were most powerful. He understood well that without the aid of both, or at least of one, he could never come to any great power; and if he made a friend of either one of them alone, he would by that very fact have the other as his opponent and
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ἐτερον ἐξει καὶ πλέον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σφαλήσεται ἢ
2 ὑπὸ τοῦ συναιρομένου οἱ κατεργάσεται. τούτο
μὲν γὰρ προθυμότερον ἔδοκοιν αὐτῷ πάντες
ἀνθρωποί τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντιπράττειν ἢ συναγω-
νίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι
ἡ τε ῥήγη καὶ τὸ μίσος σφοδροτέρας τὰς σπουδὰς
πάσης φιλίας ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὑπὲρ
ἐαυτοῦ ὁ δὲ ὑπέρ ἐτέρου πράττων τὴν τε ἡδονὴν
κατορθώσας καὶ τὴν λύπην σφαλεῖς ὅμως ὁμοῖας
3 ἔχουσιν τούτο δὲ προχειρότερον ἐμποδίζειν τέ
τινας καὶ κοιλίειν μηδεμίαν αὐξησιν λαβεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ
μέγα προάγειν ἔθελεν, διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὁκ ἐὼν τινα αὐξηθήναι τοῖς τε ἄλλως
ἀμα καὶ ἐαυτῷ χαρίζεται, ὁ δὲ ἐξαίρων τινὰ
ἐπαγχθὲ αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι σφίς ποιεῖ.

56 Τούτων δὴ οὖν ἔνεκα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε τε
1 αὐτοὺς ὑπῆλθε καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἄλληλους κατήλ-
λαξεν. οὔτε γὰρ δίχα τούτων δυνῆσεσθαι τι ἄει
καὶ οὐκ ἀν θατέρῳ ποτὲ αὐτῶν προσκροῦσαι ἐνό-
μιζεν, οὔτ' αὖ ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ συμφρονησάντες
κρείττους αὐτοῦ ὑπάνωνται. πάνω γὰρ εὐ ἡπίστατο
ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλοιν εὔθυς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου φιλίας,
αὐτῶν δ' οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον δ' ἄλληλων κρατήσοι.
2 καὶ ἔσχεν οὔτως. 3 καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος ὦ τε
Κράσσος ὦς ἀπ' οἰκείας καὶ αὐτοῦ αἰτίας πρὸς τε
ἄλληλους, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ώρμησαν, κατελύσαντο
καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραγμάτων
3 προσέλαβον. Πομπήιος 4 μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' αὐτοῦ

1 te added by Rk. 2 aυτοῦ Bs., aυτοῦ L.
3 There follows in L, τούτων μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα καὶ συνεβίβασεν
αὐτοὺς καὶ προσεποίησαν, rejected by Bk. as due to a copyist.
4 Πομπήιος Bk., ὁ πομπήιος L.
would meet with more failures through him than successes through the support of the other. For, on the one hand, it seemed to him that all men work more zealously against their enemies than they coöperate with their friends, not merely on the principle that anger and hatred impel more earnest endeavours than any friendship, but also because, when one man is working for himself, and a second for another, success does not involve the same degree of pleasure, or failure of pain, in the two cases. On the other hand, he reflected that it was easier to stand in people's way and prevent their reaching any prominence than to be willing to lead them to great power, owing to the circumstance that he who keeps another from becoming great pleases others as well as himself, whereas he who exalts another renders him burdensome to both sides.

These considerations led Caesar at that time to court their favour and later to reconcile them with each other. For he did not believe that without them he could ever gain any power or fail to offend one of them some time, nor did he have any fear, on the other hand, of their harmonizing their plans and so becoming stronger than he. For he understood perfectly that he would master others at once through their friendship, and a little later master them through each other. And so it came about.¹ Pompey and Crassus, the moment they really set about it, made peace with each other, for reasons of their own, and they took Caesar into partnership in their plans. For Pompey, on his side, was not

¹ There follows in the Ms. the sentence, "For these reasons, then, he both united them and won them over," probably the addition of some copyist.
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ὅσον ἦλπισεν ἵσχύων, καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν
dυνάμει ὄντα τὸν τε Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον ὅρῶν,
cal ἔδεισε μὴ παντάπασιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταλυθῆ,
cai ἐπήλπισε, προσκομισμαίας σφίξοι τῶν παρόν-
tων, τὴν ἄρχαίαν δι' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀναλή-
ψεσθαι. Κράσσος δὲ ἦξιον τε πάντων ἀπὸ τε τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου περιεῖναι, καὶ
ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τε Πομπήλου παρὰ πολὺ ἠλαττοῦτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζεν,
ἐς ἀντίπαλον αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλους καταστῆσαι ἡθέλη-
σεν, ὅπως μηδέτερος ἀφοῦ ὑπέραχη, προσδοκή-
σας ἐκείνους τε ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἰσοκρατεῖς ἔσεσθαι,
cai aútòs eν τούτῳ τῇ τοῦ ἐκατέρου φιλίαν ἐκκαρπώσεσθαι καὶ ἔπερ ἀμφότεροις τιμηθήσε-
5 σθαι. ἀκριβῶς μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους
όυτε τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπολίτηνες, τῆς δὲ ἰδίας
αὐτοῦ δυναστείας ἕνακα πάντ' ἐπράττε, καὶ διὰ
tοῦθ' ὑπήρχετο τε ἀμφότερος σφᾶς ὀμοίως καὶ
τῇ πρὸς ἐκατέρως ἔχθραν ἐξέκλινεν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦ-
tου ἐν τῷ μέρει κεχαρισμένα ἀμφοῖν σπουδάζων
ἔφ' ὅσον ἠμέλλε τοῦ μὲν καταθυμίου παντὸς ἐκατέρως αὐτιάθησεσθαι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων
μὴ μεταλήψεσθαι.

57 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἱ τρεῖς τὴν τε
φιλίαν συνέδεντο, καὶ ὄρκοις αὐτήν πιστωσάμενοι
tά τε κοινά δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαντο, κακὸ τούτον
καὶ ἀντεδίδοσαν σφίσι καὶ ἀντελάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων ὁσα ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἰχον καὶ πρὸς τὰ
2 παρόντα ἤμορττεν αὐτοὶ πράττεσθαι. 

1 αὐτὸς ὅσον Bk., ἄδ τοσοῦτον L.
2 μηδέτερος Bk., μηδὲ ἐτέρος L.
3 δυσχερεστέρων Rk., δυστυχεστέρων L.
4 πράττεσθαι Dind., παρατάττεσθαι L.
so strong as he had hoped to be, and seeing that Crassus was in power and that Caesar’s influence was growing, feared that he should be utterly overthrown by them; and he hoped that if he made them sharers in present advantages, he should win back his old authority through them. Crassus thought he ought to surpass all by reason of his family as well as his wealth; and since he was far inferior to Pompey, and thought that Caesar was going to rise to great heights, he desired to set them in opposition to each other, in order that neither of them should get the upper hand. He expected that they would be well-matched antagonists, and that in this event he would get the benefit of the friendship of both and gain honours beyond either of them. For without supporting in all respects either the cause of the populace or that of the senate he did everything to advance his own power. Accordingly he paid court to both alike and avoided enmity with either, promoting in turn whatever measures pleased either one to such an extent as was likely to give him the credit for everything that went to the liking of one or the other, without any share in more unpleasant issues.

Thus the three for these reasons formed their friendship and ratified it with oaths, and then managed public affairs among themselves. Next they gave to each other and received in turn one from another, whatever they set their hearts on and whatever it suited them to do in view of the circumstances.
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φρονησάντων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ ἔταιρικὰ σφῶν ὁμολόγησαν, καὶ ἐποίουν καὶ οὗτοι μετὰ ἀδελας ὡσα ἦθελον, ἡγεμόσι πρὸς πάντα αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ὡστε τὸ σωφρονοῦν ὄλγον ἐν τε τῷ Κάτωνι, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν
3 ἔβουλετο,¹ καταλειφθῆναι. καθαρῶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἱδιας πλεονεξίας οὔδεις τῶν τότε τὰ κοινὰ πλήν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἔπραττεν ἀἱσχυνόμενοι δὲ τινὲς τοῖς δραμένοις, καὶ ἔτεροι καὶ ξηλοῦν αὐτοὶ ἐφιέμενοι, προσήπτοντο μὲν πη τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τι τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ διεδείκνυτο, οὐ μὴν καὶ διαρκεῖς,² ἀτε ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου ὀρμώμενοι, ἦσαν.

58 Ἔσ τούτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι προῆγαγον, ἐπὶ πλείστου ὅσον τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν ἀποκρυψάμενοι. ἐποίουν μὲν γὰρ ὡσα ἐδεδοκτό σφισιν, ἐσχηματίζοντο δὲ καὶ προεβάλλοντο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ὅπως ἔτ' ἔπι μακρότατον διαλάθωσε, μέχρις ἄν ἰκανῶς παρα-
2 σκευάσωνται. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ δαμόνιον τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤγνωει, ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ τοῖς τι συνείσαι τῶν τοιούτων δυναμένοις εὐθὺς τότε πάντα τὰ ἔπειτα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐσόμενα ἐξέφηνε· χειμῶν τε γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἐξαίρεσις τῆς τε πόλιν
3 ὄλην καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν κατέσχεν ὡστε πάμπολλα μὲν δένδρα πρόρριζα ἀνατραπῆναι, πολλὰς δὲ οἰκίας καταραγὴναι, τὰ τε πλοῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ³ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς αὐτοῦ ναυλοχούντα βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γέφυραν

1 ἔβουλετο Rk., ἐβούλευτο L.
2 διαρκεῖς R. Steph., ἀδιαρκεῖς L.
3 τῷ ἄστυ R. Steph., τῷ ἄστει L.

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BOOK XXXVII

Their harmony caused an agreement also on the part b.c. 60 of their followers; these, too, did with impunity whatever they wished, following the leadership of their chiefs in everything, so that very little moderation was longer in evidence, and that only in Cato and a few others who desired to seem to hold the same opinions as he did. For no man of that day took part in public life from pure motives and free from any desire of personal gain except Cato. Some, to be sure, were ashamed of the things done, and others who strove to imitate him took a hand in affairs now and then, and displayed some deeds similar to his; but they did not persevere, since their efforts sprang from cultivation of an attitude and not from innate virtue.

This was the condition into which these men brought the affairs of Rome at that time, after concealing their alliance as long as possible. For they did whatever they had decided on, while feigning and putting forward utterly opposite motives, in order that they might still remain undiscovered for a long period, until they should have made sufficient preparations. Yet Heaven was not ignorant of their doings, but then and there revealed very plainly to those who could understand any such signs all that was to result later because of them. For of a sudden such a storm descended upon the whole city and all the country that quantities of trees were torn up by the roots, many houses were shattered, the boats moored in the Tiber both near the city and at its mouth were sunk, and the wooden bridge destroyed,
4 τὴν ἐυλίνην διαφθαρῆναι, καὶ τὰ καὶ θέατρον πρὸς
πανήγυριν τινα ἐκ θυρῶν ἀφετέρων ἀνε-
τράπη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ πάντα ταὐτα παμ-
πληθείς ἀπώλοντο. ἔκεινα μὲν δὴ οὐν καθάπερ
εἰκών τῶν μελλόντων σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν
τῷ ὑδατι συμβῆσεσθαι προεδείχθη.

1 θυρῶν Jacoby, σὺρων Ι.
BOOK XXXVII

and a theatre built of timbers for some festival B.C. 60 collapsed, and in the midst of all this great numbers of human beings perished. These signs were revealed in advance, as an image of what should befall the people both on land and on water.
BOOK XXXVIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ὁγδόῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαιῶν

α. Ὅς ἐστασάσασαν Καίσαρ καὶ Βίβουλος.
β. Ὅς Κίκέρων ἐφυγεν.
γ. Ὅς Κικέρων ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ Φιλίσκος παρεμιθήσατο.
δ. Ὅς Καίσαρ Ἔλονην καὶ Ἀριωύνιστῳ ἐπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἦτη δύο, ἐν ὑἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε
ἐγένοντο

Γ. Ἰουλίος Γ. νῦ. Καίσαρ
Μ. Καλπούρνιος Γ. νῦ. 1 Βίβουλος ὅπ.
Δ. Καλπούρνιος Δ. νῦ. Πίσων ὅπ.
Ἀβλ. Γαβίνιος Ἀβλ. νῦ.

Πῷ δὲ ἔξης ἔτει ὁ Καίσαρ τὸ σύμπαν θερα-
πεύσαι πλήθος ἤθελησεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ἔτε καὶ
μᾶλλον σφαίρα ὅτε καὶ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἦτο ὑπερήφανος ὁ βασιλιάς αὐτῆς
διάτητο, πρὸς καὶ ἐντολῖς πολλάκις ὅτι αὐτὸ
2 γράψαρν τι καὶ ἐκείνους συνοίλες καὶ δὴ
γνῶσιν τινὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅσα παντὶ τῷ ὀμίλῳ
caténeimeno, οὕτω συνεγραφεῖ οὕτῳ μηδὲ μικρόν
ti αὐτῆς αἰτιαθήναι καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην μένοιο
ἐσοίσειν, εἰ μὴ βουλομένους σφισίν εἰς, ἐπλάτ-
tetos. τοῦ μὲν δὴ οὖν νόμου ένεκα οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ
οὐδὲν ἐπικαλέσαι ἐδύνατο· τὸ τε γὰρ πλήθος τῶν
3 πολιτῶν ὑπέροχον ὅν, ἀφ' οὔπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα

1 Γ. νῦ. supplied by Ba.
2 Βίβουλος and Δ. Καλπούρνιος supplied by Palm.

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BOOK XXXVIII

The following is contained in the Thirty-eighth of Dio's

Rome:—

1. How Caesar and Bibulus quarrelled (chaps. 1–8).
2. How Cicero was exiled (chaps. 9–17).
3. How Philiscus consoled Cicero in the matter of his exile
   (chaps. 18–30).
4. How Caesar fought the Helvetii and Ariovistus (chaps.
   31–50).

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

b.c.
59 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, M. Calpurnius C. F. Bibulus.
58 L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso, A. Gabinius A. F.

The following year Caesar wished to gain the
favour of the whole multitude, that he might make
them his own to an even greater degree. But since
he was anxious to seem to be advancing the interests
also of the optimates, in order to avoid incurring
their enmity, he often told them that he would
propose no measure which should not also be to
their advantage. And, indeed, he so framed a
certain measure concerning the land, which he
wished to assign to the whole populace, as not to
incur the least censure for it; yet he pretended he
would not introduce even this measure, unless it
should be according to their wishes. So far as this
law went, therefore, no one could find any fault with
him. The swollen population of the city, which
was chiefly responsible for the frequent rioting, would
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ἔστασίαζον, πρὸς τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ πρὸς γεωργίας ἑτρέπτεο, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἡρμωμένα αὐθίς συνφικέτο, ὡστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις τεταλαιπωρημένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀπαντάς διαρκῆ τὴν τροφῆν ἔχειν μήτε τῆς πόλεως οἰκοθέν τι δαπανωμένης μήτε τῶν δυνατῶν ξημουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆν καὶ

4 ἀρχὴν πολλῶν προσλαμβανόντων. τὴν δὲ χάραν τὴν τε κωνὴν ἀπασαν πλὴν τῆς Καμπανίδος ἐνεμε (ταύτην γὰρ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἕξαλπτον διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν συνεβοῦλευσεν εἰναι), καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὔτε παρὰ ἀκοντὸς τινὸς οὔτε ἀν ὅσον ἄν οἱ γεωνόμοι βουληθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν παρ’ ἐκόντων, ἐπειτὰ δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀπο-

5 γραφαῖς ἔτετεμητο, ἀγορασθῆναι ἐκείνῳ. χρή-ματα τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπό τε τῆς λελας ἢν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰλήφει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν προσκαταστάτων περείναι σφι-σιν ἔλεγε, καὶ χρήναι αὐτά, ἀτε καὶ τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κινδύνοις πεπορισμένα, ἐς αὐτοῖς

6 ἐκείνως ἀναλωθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς γεω-νόμους οὔτ’ ὅλιγοι, ὡστε καὶ δυναστεία τοῖς ἐωικέναι, οὔτε ἐξ ὑπευθύνων, ὡστε τινὰ δύσχε-ραναι, καθίστη, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ συνχοῦ τῆς τιμῆς μετασχέιν εἴκοσιν,3 ἐπειτὰ δὲ τοὺς

7 ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, πλὴν ἑαυτοῦ. πάνω γὰρ τι τοῦτο προδιομολογήσατο, ὅπως μὴ δὲ ἑαυτὸν τι 4 γράφειν νομισθεῖν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τῇ τε εὑρήσει

1 ἑτρέπτεο Cobet, ἑτράπετο L. 2 οὔτ’ Bk., μητ’ L.
3 τοῦ συνχοῦ τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἴκοσιν Reim., τοῦ συνχοῦ τῆς τιμῆς εἴκοσιν μετασχεῖν L. 4 τι Bk., τοι L.

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thus be turned toward labour and agriculture; and the greater part of Italy, now desolate, would be colonized afresh, so that not only those who had toiled in the campaigns, but all the rest as well, would have ample subsistence. And this would be accomplished without any expense on the part of the city itself or any loss to the optimates; on the contrary, many of them would gain both rank and office. He not only wished to distribute all the public land except Campania (which he advised them to keep distinct as the property of the state, because of its excellence), but he also bade them purchase the remainder from no one who was unwilling to sell nor yet for whatever price the land commissioners might wish, but, in the first place, from people who were willing to sell, and secondly, for the same price at which it had been assessed in the tax-lists. For they had a great deal of surplus money, he asserted, as a result of the booty which Pompey had captured, as well as from the new tributes and taxes just established, and they ought, inasmuch as it had been provided by the dangers that citizens had incurred, to expend it upon those same persons. Furthermore, he proposed that the land commission should not consist of a few members only, so as to seem like an oligarchy, or of men who were under indictment, lest somebody might be displeased, but that there should be, in the first place, twenty of them, so that many might share the honour, and secondly, that they should be the most suitable men. But he excepted himself from consideration, a point on which he strenuously insisted at the outset, in order that he might not be thought to be proposing a measure in his own interest. As for himself, he
καὶ τῇ ἐσθηγῆσει τοῦ πράγματος ἦρκεῖτο, ὡς γε ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δή Πομπηίῳ καὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φανερῶς ἐχαρίζετο.

2 Ἔνεκα μὲν οὖν τῶν γραφέντων ἀναίτιος ἦν, ὡστε μηδὲν διάραι τὸ στόμα ὑπεναντίον οἱ μηδένα τολμῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ προανέγρω αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ, καὶ ὅνομαστὶ ἐνα ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἄνακαλῶν ἐπηρώτησε μὴ τις αἰτιᾶται, μεταγράψειν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλεῖψει, εἴ γέ τῳ μὴ ἄρεσεί τι,

2 ύποσχόμενος. τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαν καὶ πάνυ πάντας οἱ δύνατοι οἱ γε ἔξω τῆς συνωμοσίας ὄντες ἐδυσχέραιν. καὶ αὐτὸ γε τούτῳ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐλύτη, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγεγραφῶς ἦν ὥστε μῆτε τινὰ διά τις αἰτιῶν δύνασθαι λαβεῖν καὶ

3 πάντας σφάς βαρύνειν· ὑπόστευνον γὰρ αὐτῶν, ἐφ’ ωπέρ ποι καὶ ἐγκύνητο, τὸ τε πλῆθος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναρτήσεσθαι καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ῥοξύν καὶ ἑπὶ πάντας ἄνθρώπους ἐξει. καὶ διὰ τούτο, εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς οἱ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλὰ οὖντι γε καὶ 4 συνέπον. τοῖς μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλοις ἐξήρκει τούτῳ, καὶ ἐπηγγέλλοντο μὲν ἅπλοὶ προβουλεύσειν, ἔτοιον δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ διατριβὰ καὶ ἀναβολὴ τὴν

3 ἄλλος ἐγκύνοντο· ὃ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος 5 (やは δὲ ἄλλος μὲν ἐπιεικῆς καὶ οὔδεν ἑνεχμῷ ἄρεσκόμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ῥώμην τινὰ οὔτε ἕκ φύσεως οὔτε ἕκ παίδειας ἑχων) τοῖς μὲν γεγραμμένοις οὐδέν οὐδ’ αὐτῶς ἑπέκαλε, τὸ δ’ ὅλον ἡξίου τῇ τε παρούσῃ σφᾶς καταστάσει χρήσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω αὐτῆς

2 ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐμέλλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ

1 μηδὲ ν. Ηέρω., μὴ L.
2 μῆτε τινὰ Bk., μηδένα L.
3 οὕτω γε καὶ Dind., οὕτω καὶ L.
4 ἐπηγγέλλοντο H. Steph., ἐπηγγέλλετο L.
5 Μᾶρκος Reim., Μᾶρκος ὁ δικαίως L.

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BOOK XXXVIII

was satisfied with originating and proposing the matter; at least he said so, but clearly he was doing a favour to Pompey and Crassus and the rest.

So far as his measure went, then, he could not be censured, and, indeed, no one ventured to open his mouth in opposition; for he had read it beforehand in the senate, and calling upon each one of the senators by name, had inquired whether he had any criticism to offer; and he promised to alter or even to strike out entirely any clause which might displease anybody. Nevertheless, practically all the optimates who were outside the league were greatly irritated; and they were grieved especially by the very fact that Caesar had drawn up such a measure as would admit of no censure, even while it embarrassed them all. For they suspected that by this measure he would attach the multitude to him and gain fame and power over all men; and this was, in fact, his very purpose. For this reason, even though no one spoke against him, no one expressed approval either. This sufficed for the majority, and while they kept promising him that they would pass the decree, they did nothing; on the contrary, fruitless delays and postponements kept arising. Marcus Cato, however, even though he had no fault to find with the measure, nevertheless urged them on general principles to abide by the existing system and to take no steps beyond it. He was a thoroughly upright man and disapproved of any innovation; yet he had no influence either as the result of natural gift or training. At this Caesar was
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ες το δεσμωτήριον των Κάτωνα ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐξελκύσας ἐμβαλεῖν· ἔπει δὲ ἐκείνος τε ἐτοιμότατα ἐαυτὸν ἀπάγεσθαι ἐπέδωκε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὄλγοι οἱ ἐφέσποντο, καὶ τις αὐτῶν Μάρκος Πετρέως ἐπιτιμηθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι μηδέπω διαφειμένης τῆς θουλῆς ἀπαλλάττοιτο, ἐφ' ὅτι μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ 
3 σοῦ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι βούλομαι, κατηδέσθη, καὶ τόν τε Κάτωνα ἀφῆκε καὶ τήν γερουσίαν ἀπῆλλαξε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὡμῆς καὶ δικαστὰς τοῦ νόμου καὶ κυρίους ἐποιησάμην, ὅπως, εἰ τι μὴ ἀρέσειν ὡμῆς, μηδὲ ἐστὶν τὸν ἰήμον ἐσενεχθείη· ἔπει δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλετε προβούλευσαι, ἐκεῖνοι αὐτὸς αἱρήσεται.

4 Καὶ τοῦτον οὐδ' ἀλλο τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ταύτη ἐπεκοινώνησε, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν τὸν ἰήμον
2 ἀντικρυς πάντ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐσέφερεν. ἐθελήσας δ' οὐν καὶ δὸς ὁμογνώμονας τῶν πρῶτων τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἥπιος μετεγνωκέναι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ καὶ τῷ πλῆθος φοβηθῆσθαι) ἢρξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος, καὶ ἐπίθετο αὐτοῦ
3 εἰ τα τοῦ νόμου μέμφοιτο. ἔπει τ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ νεωτερισθήναι τι, αὐτὸς τε πρὸς ἱκετεῖαν αὐτοῦ ἐτράπετο καὶ τὸν ὁμιλίον συνδεδη-
θήναι οἱ ἔπεισαν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἔξετε τὸν νόμον ἄν οὕτως ἐθελήσῃ. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος μέγα ἀναβοήσας “οὐχ ἔξετε,” ἔφη, “τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτω, οὔτ' ἂν πάντες ἐθελήσητε.”

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάγη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς οὐντων
1 ἀπάγεσθαι Reim. and Xiph., ἐπάγεσθαι L.
on the point of dragging Cato out of the very senate-house and casting him into prison. But the other offered himself with the greatest readiness to be led away, and not a few of the rest followed him; and one of them, Marcus Petreius, upon being rebuked by Caesar because he was taking his departure before the senate was yet dismissed, replied: “I prefer to be with Cato in prison rather than here with you.” Abashed at this reply, Caesar let Cato go and adjourned the senate, merely remarking: “I have made you judges and masters of this law, so that if anything did not suit you, it should not be brought before the people; but since you are not willing to pass a preliminary decree, they shall decide for themselves.”

After that he communicated nothing further to the senate during his year of office, but brought directly before the people whatever he desired. However, as he wished even under these circumstances to secure some of the foremost men as supporters in the assembly, hoping that they had now changed their minds and would have some fear of the plebs, he made a beginning with his colleague and asked him if he disapproved of the provisions of the law. When the other gave him no answer beyond saying that he would tolerate no innovations during his year of office, Caesar proceeded to entreat him and persuaded the multitude to join him in his request, saying: “You shall have the law, if only he wishes it.” Bibulus in a loud voice replied: “You shall not have this law this year, not even if you all wish it.” And having spoken thus he took his departure.

Caesar did not address his inquiries to any other magistrates, fearing that some one of them also
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οὐδένα ἔτι διήρετο, δείσας μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνων τις ἐναντιωθῇ οἱ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πομπήιον τὸν τε Κράσσον καίπερ ἑιδωτεύοντας παραγαγών ἐκέλευε γνώμην
5 περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποφήμασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἦπίστατο τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν (σύμπαντα γὰρ κοινῆ ἔπραττον) ἀλλ’ ἵνα αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνως τιμῆν, ὁτι καίτοι μηδεμίαν ἄρχην ἐχουσίν συμβούλους περὶ τοῦ νόμου χρῆτο, προσθείη, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσκαταπλήξῃ, ὁμογόμονας τῶν πρῶτων τε ὁμολογουμένων ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντας καὶ μέγιστον παρὰ πάντας δυναμένους
6 λαβὼν, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαρίσατο, τεκμηριῶν ὅτι μήτ’ ἀτόπου μήτ’ ἀδίκου τινὸς ὀρέγοντο, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνοι καὶ δοκιμασταί καὶ ἐπαινέται γέγονοντο.

5 “Ο τε οὖν Πομπήιος μάλα ἄσμενως “οὐκ ἔγω,” ἔφη, “μόνος, ὃ Κυρίται, τὰ γεγραμμένα δοκιμάζω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη θυσία πᾶσα, δι’ ὅν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου συστρατευσαμένοις ποτὲ γῆν δοθήκαί ἔψη-
2 φίσατο. τότε μὲν οὖν (οὐ γὰρ ἡπτὰρετο τὸ δη-
μόσιον) εἰκότως ἢ δόσις αὐτῆς ἀνεβλήθη. ἐν δὲ
dὲ τῷ παρόντι (παμπλούσιον γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ γέγονε) προσήκει καὶ ἐκείνως την ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τοῖς
3 ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τῶν κοινῶν πόνων ἀποδο-
θῆκαί.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐπεξηλθέ τε καθ’ ἐκαστὸν
tῶν γεγραμμένων, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπήνευσεν, ὡστε
tὸν ὃμιλον ἑαυτός ἤσθηκαί. ἢ οὖν Καίσαρ ἰδὼν
tούτο ἐκείνον τε ἐπήρετο εἰ βοηθήσοι οἱ προ-
thύμοις ἐπὶ τοὺς τάναντια σφίσι πράττοντας, καὶ
tῷ πλήθει παρῆνεσε προσδεηθήναι πρὸς τοῦτο
4 αὐτοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐπαρθεῖς ὃ Πομ-
might oppose him; but he brought forward Pompey and Crassus, though they were private citizens, and bade them express their views concerning the measure. This was not because he was not acquainted with their view, for all their undertakings were in common; but he purposed both to honour these men, by calling them in as advisers about the law although they were holding no office, and also to frighten the others by securing the adherence of men who were admittedly the foremost in the city at that time and had the greatest influence with all. By this very move, also, he would please the populace, by giving proof that they were not striving for any unnatural or unjust end, but for objects which those leaders were willing both to approve and to praise.

Pompey, accordingly, very gladly addressed them as follows: "It is not I alone, Quirites, who approve this measure, but the whole senate as well, inasmuch as it has voted for land to be given not only to my soldiers but to those also who once fought with Metellus. On the former occasion, to be sure, since the treasury had no great means, the granting of the land was naturally postponed; but at present, since it has become exceedingly rich through my efforts, it is but right that the promise made to the soldiers be fulfilled and that the rest also reap the fruit of the common toils." After this preamble he went over in detail every feature of the measure and approved them all, so that the crowd was mightily pleased. Seeing this, Caesar asked him if he would willingly assist him against those who were working in opposition, and he also urged the populace to join in asking his aid for this purpose. When they had done so, Pompey felt
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

πήμος, ὅτι τῆς παρ’ έαυτοῦ ἐπικουρίας, καὶ περ ἠδεμίαν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχουτος, καὶ ο ὕπατος καὶ ο ὤμολος ἔχρηξεν, ἀλλα τῃ πολλα ἀνατιμών τε καὶ ἀποσεμμύνων ἐαυτοῦ διελέξατο, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι, ἂν τις τολμήῃ εἴφος ἀνελέσθαι, 5 καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναλήψωμαι. ταῦθ’ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου λεχθέντα καὶ Κράσσους ἐπήνευσεν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ τοι τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ἤρεσκεν, . . . οἱ ἄλλως τε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ νομίζομενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καύσαρα ἐχθρῶς, ὡς γε καὶ ἐδόκοιιν σφίσιν, ἔχουτες (οὐ γὰρ πω ἡ καταλλαγὴ αὐτῶν ἐκδῆλος ἢ) συνήνουν οἷς ἐγεγράφει, πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νόμου κύρωσιν ἐγένοντο. 6 ὁ μέντοι καὶ ο Βίβουλος ένεδίδου, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς δημάρχους συναγωνιστὰς προσθέμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ νομοθέτημα, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ μηκέτ’ αὐτῶ μηδεμία ἄλλη σκῆψις ἀναβολής ὑπελείπετο, ἱερομηνίαν ἐς πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οὐδ’ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δήμος ἐκ τῶν 2 νόμων συνελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, προηγόρευσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ δ’ τε Καύσαρ βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ῥητήν τινα ἡμέραν προεῖπεν ἵν’ ἐν αὐτῇ νομοθετήσῃ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος νυκτὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατέλαβεν, ἐπήλθε μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ Διοσκόρειον, ἀφ’ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐδημηγόρει, διέστησεσ, τὰ μὲν αἰδόι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπεικόνων 3 οί, τὰ δ’ καὶ νομίζοντων αὐτῶν μὴ καὶ ἐναντιωθήσεθαι σφίσιν, ὡς δὲ ἄνω τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀντιλέγειν ἐπειράτο, αὐτὸς τε κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν
elated over the fact that both the consul and the multitude had desired his help, although he was holding no position of command, and so, with an added opinion of his own worth, and assuming much dignity, he spoke at some length, finally declaring: "If any one dares to raise a sword, I also will snatch up my shield." These words of Pompey were approved by Crassus too. Consequently, even if some of the rest were not pleased, they nevertheless favoured the passage of the law [when these men,] who were not only accounted good citizens in general but were also, as they supposed, hostile to Caesar, (for their reconciliation was not yet manifest,) joined in approving his measure.

Bibulus, however, would not yield, but having gained the support of three tribunes, hindered the enactment of the law. Finally, when no other excuse for delay was any longer left him, he proclaimed a sacred period for all the remaining days of the year alike, during which the people could not legally even meet in their assembly. Caesar paid but slight attention to him and appointed a fixed day for the passage of the law. And when the populace had already occupied the Forum by night, Bibulus came up with the following he had got together and succeeded in forcing his way through to the temple of Castor, from which Caesar was delivering his speech. The men fell back before him, partly out of respect and partly because they thought he would not actually oppose them. But when he appeared above and attempted to speak in opposition to Caesar he was thrust down

¹ Literally, the temple of the Dioscuri. Officially it was called aedes Castoris; cf. xxxvii. 8, 2.
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ἐώσθη καὶ αἱ ῥάβδοι αὐτοῦ συνετρίβησαν, πληγάς τε καὶ τραύματα ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἔλαβον.

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, Βίσιονος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἔσωθη, τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπείρασε μὲν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτοῦ λύσαι, ἐπέρανε δ’ οὐδέν τῇ γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους σπουδὴ δεδομένη.
5 μένοι πάντες ἡσύχαζον. ἀνεχώρησε τε οὐν οἰκαδε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας παρήλθε, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καταμένων ἀεὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ὅσακις γε ἐνεστῇ ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπηρέτου ὑποτασσόμενος τῷ ἱερομνημία τῇ ἐν καὶ οὐδέν ὁσίως ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐν
6 αὐτῷ δύνατο δρᾶσθαι. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτοι Πούπλιος Οὔατίνος δὴ-μαρχός ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα καταθέσθαι, τῶν δὲ συναρ-χόντων οἱ ἐναντιωθέντων οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔξεσθη καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι οἱ συνεξετασθέντες αὐτῷ οὐκέτ’ οὐδὲν δημόσιον ἔπραξαν.

7 Ὁ δ’ οὖν Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ ὃ τε Κάτων, καὶ Μάρκος τις δὲ αὐτὸν Φαυνώνιος, ξηλωτῆς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ὄν, τεὼς μὲν οὔτ’ ὁμοσαν 3 περὶ τοῦ νόμου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρξαμένου ποτε, ὡσπερ εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν ἀτόπων ἐγκύνετο) καὶ ἀπευθυρῆσοντο, ἀλλ’ οἱ τε καὶ ὁ Μέ-τελλος ἐς τὸν Νομιδικὸν ἀναφέρων, μηδέποτε
2 αὐτῶν συνεπαινέσθειν· ὃς μέντοι . . . ἡμέρα ἥ καὶ ἐμελλον τὰ 4 τεταγμένα ἑπτάμηνα ὀφλήσειν,

1 αἱ supplied by Rk.  2 Οὔατίνος Fabricius, άτίνος L.  
3 ὁμοσαν Rk., ἀμοσαν τι L.  4 τὰ added by St.
BOOK XXXVIII

the steps, his fasces were broken to pieces, and the tribunes as well as others received blows and wounds.

Thus the law was passed. Bibulus was for the moment satisfied to escape with his life, but on the next day tried in the senate to annul the act; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing, since all were under the spell of the multitude's enthusiasm and would do nothing. Accordingly he retired to his home and did not appear in public again at all up to the last day of the year. Instead, he remained in his house, and whenever Caesar proposed any innovation, he sent formal notice to him through his attendants that it was a sacred period and that by the laws he could rightfully take no action during it. Publius Vatinius, a tribune, undertook to place Bibulus in prison for this, but was prevented from doing so by the opposition of his colleagues. Bibulus, however, held aloof from all business of state in the manner related, and the tribunes belonging to his party likewise no longer performed any public duty.

Now Metellus Celer and Cato, and through him one Marcus Favonius, who imitated him in everything, for a time did not take the oath of obedience to the law (a custom which began, as I have stated, on an earlier occasion, and was then continued in the case of other preposterous measures) and stoutly refused to approve it, Metellus, for instance, referring to Numidicus as an example.\(^1\) When, however, the day [came] on which they were to incur the

\(^1\) Apparently a reference to the year B.C. 100, and to the refusal of Metellus Numidicus to swear to the lex Apuleia.
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άμοσαν, ήτοι κατά τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ύφ' οὗ πολλοὶ ύπισχυόνται τέ τι καὶ ἀπειλοῦσι βᾶον ἢ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεξήγαγαν, ἢ καὶ ὦτι μάτην ξημωθῇ- σεσθαι ἐμελλοῦ, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἱσχυρογομοσύνης

3 σφῶν τὸ κοινὸν ὀψελήσαντες.1 ὁ τε οὖν νόμος οὖτως ἐκυρώθη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ τῶν Καμπανῶν γῇ τοῖς τρία τε πλείω τε ἐτὶ τέκνα ἔχουσιν ἔδόθη. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἄποικος τῶν Ρωμαίων ἡ Καπύν τότε πρώτον ἐνομίσθη.

4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλήθος ἐκ τούτων ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνηρ- τῆσατο, τοὺς δ' ἴππεις τὸ τριτημορίον2 σφίσι τῶν τελῶν ἄ ἐμεμισθώντο3 ἀφείς· πᾶσαὶ τε γὰρ αἱ4 τελωνίαι δι' αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ πολλάκις τῆς Βουλής δεσδέντες ὡς ἑκδικίαι τινὸς τύχω- σιν οὖν εὐφρονον, ἀλλὸν τε καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος

5 ἀντιπραξάντων. ὅς δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος μηδ' ἀντεπόντος τινὸς φύκειόσατο, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πραχθέντα5 ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπῆίου πάντα, μὴτ τοῦ Λουκούλλου μὴτ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀντιστάντως, ἐβε- βαίωσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ δεινομοθέ- τησε μηδενὸς ἐναντιωμένου. οὔδ' γὰρ οὖδ' ὁ

Κάτων ἀντείπη τι, καὶ περ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, ἢν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἔσχε, μηδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, ως καὶ Ἰούλιον ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐπιμνησθεὶς· τὰ γὰρ δικαστήρια κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀποκλήρων6 τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν γελοιότατα ἀπεκρύπτετο.

Τούτων μὲν οὖν, ὅτι πάντοπλοι τέ εἰσι καὶ

1 ὀψελήσαντες Bk., ὀψελήσεσθαι L.
2 τριτημορίον R. Steph., τριτημέριον L.
3 ἐμεμισθώντο Leundl., ἐμεμισθώντο L. 4 αἱ Bk., αἱ L.
5 πραχθέντα Xyl., προσταχθέντα L.
6 ἀποκλήρων Bk., ἀπεκλήρων L.
BOOK XXXVIII

established penalties, they took the oath, perhaps because it is but human nature for many persons to utter promises and threats more easily than they actually carry them out, or else because they were going to be punished to no purpose, without helping the state at all by their obstinacy. So the law was passed, and in addition the land of Campania was given to those having three or more children. For this reason Capua was then for the first time considered a Roman colony.

By this means Caesar attached the plebs to his cause; and he won over the knights by releasing them from a third part of the taxes for which they had contracted.¹ For all collecting of taxes was done by them, and though they had often asked the senate for some satisfaction, they had not obtained it, because Cato, among others, had opposed it. When, then, he had conciliated this class also without any one's protest, he first ratified all the acts of Pompey, meeting with no opposition either from Lucullus or any one else, and later he put through many other measures without encountering any resistance. Even Cato did not object, although during his praetorship a little later, he would never mention the title of the other's laws, since they were called Julian laws; for although he followed their provisions in allotting the courts, he most absurdly suppressed their name.

As these laws, now, are very numerous and con-

¹ Compare the similar statement in Appian B.C. ii, 13.
Ωδ' οὗτοι τῇ δὲ τῇ συγγραφῇ συμβάλλονται,
8 παραλείψω. Κύντος δὲ δὴ Φούφιος Καλήνος
ἀναμέλξ πάντων τὰς ψήφους ἐν γε ταῖς φιλο-
νεικίαις (τὰ τε κρείττω πρὸς σφάς ὡς ἐκάστου
τῶν γενόμων ἁγιοτός καὶ τὰ ἀτοπωτερα ἐς ἐτέρους
ἀπωθοῦντο) οὕσας εὐρών, ἐνομοθέτησε στρα-
τηγῶν χωρίς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστους ψηφίζεσθαι,
ἐν' εἰ μὴ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, τῷ κρύφα σφᾶς τούτῳ
ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε ἔθνη αὐτῶν ἔκδηλα ὅπως
φρονοῖν γύγνοιν. 4

2 Τὰ μὲν όν πάντα αὐτῶς ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο
καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ διέστατε πάντα καθάπαξ
τὰν τῇ πόλει, ὡς καὶ μόνος αὐτὴς ἄρχων: ἀδενυπερ
χαριεντιζόμενοι τινες τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βιβοῦλου ὅνωμα
παντάπασι ἀπεσιώπων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα δις
καὶ ὀνόμαζον καὶ ἐγραψον, Γαίαν τε Καίσαρα
3 καὶ Ἰουλιον Καίσαρα ὑπατεύειν λέγοντες· τὰ
δὲ δὴ καθ' ἐαυτόν δὲ ἐτέρων διήγε. τοῦτο γὰρ
δὴ καὶ πάντως ἰσχυρῶς ἐφιλάξατο, μηδὲν αὐτῶς
ἐαυτῷ δοῦναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ῥάον πάνθ' ὅσων
ἐπεθύμει κατεργάσατο. αὐτῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς
προσδείχτω μεν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς παρ-
4 οὖσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐσκήπτετο· ἐτέροι δὲ, ὡς καὶ
ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρησίμου τοῖς πράγμασι φαινών
ὅντος, καὶ ἐσηγήσαντο ὅσα ἥθελεσε καὶ κυρω-
θήσαν ἔποιήσαν, όνκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνον ἀλλὰ
5 καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ. ὁ τε γὰρ ὁμόλογος τοῦ
τε Ἰλλυρίκου καὶ τῆς Ἐλατίας τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν
'Αλπεων ἀρχαίοις αὐτῷ μετὰ τριῶν στρατοπέδων

1 γε Rk., τε L. 2 ἀτοπωτερα R. Steph., ἀτωτερα L.
3 ἔθνη Lenucl., ἔθνη L. 4 γήγνυστο St., γίγνωστο L.
5 δις Rk., δύο L.
tribute nothing to this history, I will omit them; but one other I will mention. Quintus Fufius Calenus, finding that the votes of all were hopelessly confused, at least in party contests, since each of the orders attributed the good measures to itself and referred the preposterous ones to the others, proposed a law while praetor that each order should cast its vote separately. His purpose was that even if their individual opinions could not be revealed, by reason of their taking this vote secretly, yet it might become clear how the orders, at least, felt.

In most matters Caesar himself proposed, advised, and arranged everything in the city once for all as if he were its sole ruler; hence some facetious persons totally suppressed the name of Bibulus, and in speaking or writing would name Caesar twice, stating that the consuls were Gaius Caesar and Julius Caesar. But matters that concerned himself he managed through others, for he was extremely careful to offer nothing to himself; and thus he the more easily accomplished everything that he desired. On his own part, he would declare that he needed nothing more, and claimed to be thoroughly satisfied with what he had; but others, believing him a necessary and useful factor in affairs, proposed whatever he wished and had it passed, not only by the populace but by the senate itself. Thus it was that the multitude granted him the government of Illyricum and of Cisalpine Gaul with three legions for five years,

1 The reference is to the three orders of which the juries were composed—senators, knights, and tribuni aerarii.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπὶ ἑτη πέντε ἔδωκε, καὶ ἢ βουλὴ τὴν τε Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ στρατό-
πεδον ἔτερον προσεπέτρεψε.

9 Φοβηθεὶς δὲ ὁ εἰὶ καὶ ὡς μὴ τι ὁ Πομπήιος
ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἔπειθή ὁ Γαβίνιος ὁ Ἄυλος
ὑπατεύειν ἐμελλε, νεωτέρισθη, ἐκείνον τε ἁμα καὶ
tὸν ἔτερον ὑπατον Δούκιον Πίσσωνα συγγενεῖας
ἀνάγκη προσηταιρίσατο· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πομπηίῳ
τὴν θυγατέρα καίπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἐγγενῆς συνόφθνοι
καὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τοῦ Πίσσωνος ἔγγεμε. καὶ ὁ
μὲν οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἑκρατύνθη, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ
Δούκουλλος σὺν ἄρεσκόμενοι τούτοις ἀποκτείνα
τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον διὰ Δουκίου
τινὸς Οὐέττιου ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν, σὺν ἣδυνήθησαν
de, ἀλλ' ὅλῳν καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπόλοιτο. προμη-
νυθεῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ συλληφθεῖς πρὶν τι δρᾶσαι,
3 κατείπεν αὐτῶν καὶ εἴγε μὴ καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον
ὡς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύοντά σφισιν ἐσηγγέλλει, ἐν
πάντως ἂν τι δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθεσαν νῦν δὲ, ὅτι
τούτον τῷ Πομπήῳ τὸ πραττόμενον δηλώσαντα
ἀμυνόμενος ἢτιατο, ὑποπτεύθη μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν ἄλλους ἐπετράπη, ἀλλ' ἐκ κατασκευασμὸν τινος
πρὸς συκοφαντῖαι τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σφων
4 παρεσκευάσθαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλως ἄλλω
διεδρύλουν· οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ δηλέγχθη τι, ἄλλα
ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Οὐέττιος ἐσαχθεῖ, καὶ μόνους
οὐς εἶπον ὀνομάσας, ἐς τὸ ὀικήμα ἐσέπεσε, καὶ
καταύθα οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἐδολοφονήθη·
10 ὑποπτός τε οὗν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων τῷ τε
Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ γενόμενος ἐβεβαιώσατο
τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀπολογίας.

1 συγγενελας Rk., συγγενεῖς L.
while the senate entrusted him in addition with Transalpine Gaul and another legion.

But fearing even then that Pompey might make some change during his absence, inasmuch as Aulus Gabinius was to be consul, he attached to himself both Pompey and the other consul, Lucius Piso, by ties of kinship; upon the former he bestowed his daughter, in spite of having betrothed her to another man, while he himself married Piso's daughter. Thus he strengthened himself on all sides. Cicero and Lucullus, however, little pleased at this, undertook to kill both Caesar and Pompey through the help of a certain Lucius Vettius; but they failed of their attempt and all but lost their own lives as well. For Vettius, upon being exposed and arrested before he had accomplished anything, denounced them; and had he not charged Bibulus also with being in the plot against the two, it would certainly have gone hard with them. But as it was, owing to the fact that in his defence he accused this man who had revealed the plan to Pompey, it was suspected that he was not speaking the truth in the case of the others either, but had been prompted in the matter as the result of a plot of the other side to calumniate their opponents. Concerning these matters various reports were current, since nothing was definitely proven. Vettius was brought before the populace, and after naming only those whom I have mentioned, was thrown into prison, where he was treacherously murdered a little later. In consequence of this affair, Cicero became suspected by Caesar and Pompey, and he confirmed their suspicion in his defence of Antonius.
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Οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπῆκοον τὸ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἀρξάς αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔνσπον-
2 δὲν εἰργάσατο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε. τὰ τε
γὰρ τῶν Δαρδάνων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων
σφῖσι πορθήσας οὐκ ἔτολμησεν ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς
ὑπομείναι, ἀλλ' ὦς καὶ ἔπε' ἀλλο τι μετὰ τῶν ἱπ-
πέων ὑποχωρήσας ἔφυγεν, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πεζοὺς
ἐκεῖνοι περισσότεροι ἔκ τε τῆς χώρας βιαίως ἔξη-
3 λασαν καὶ τὴν λείαν προσαφείλοντο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
tούτο καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ 2
ποιήσας ἠττήθη πρὸς 3 τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν πόλει
πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Βασταρμῶν, ἐπιβοηθησάν-
των αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπέδρα. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺ-
τοις αἰτίαν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐγράφη μὲν ἔπε τῇ τοῦ
Κατιλίνου συνωμοσία, εάλω δὲ δι' ἐκεῖνα, καὶ
συνέβη αὐτῷ, δὲν μὲν ἐκρίνετο, μὴ ἐλεγχθῆναι, δὲν
4 δ' οὐκ ἠττάθη, κολασθῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως
ἀπῆλλαξεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε, ἀτε
καὶ συνάρξαντός 4 οἱ, ὑπερδικᾶν, πλείστην κατὰ
tοῦ Καισαροῦ ως καὶ αἰτίον τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ
γεγενημένου καταδρομὴν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ των
αὐτὸν καὶ προσελοιμόρησεν.

11 Ὁ δ' ἠχῄετο μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὀσπερ εἰκὸς ἢν,
οὐ μὴν οὕτ' εἶπεν οὕτ' ἔπραξεν ύβριστικὸν ἐς
αὐτὸν οὐδεν, καὶ περὶ ὑπατείων, τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς
ἐλεγεν συχνά καὶ μᾶταια ἐξεπόθηδες ἐς τοὺς κρεῖτ-
τονάς σφῶν ἐς φιλονεικίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας 5 . . ., ἢν
ἐσοὶ σφίσι καὶ ὅμοιοι, ἄν γέ τι ὀμοιότροπον

1 ἔνσπονδον Oddey, ἐκσπονδον L.
2 Μυσία R. Steph., μουσία L.
3 πρὸς added by Leuctl.
4 συνάρξαντος Bk., συνάρχοντος L.
5 ὑπάγοντας Bk., ὑπαγοντας L.
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The latter, while governor of Macedonia, had inflicted many injuries upon the subject territory as well as upon that which was in alliance with Rome, and had suffered many disasters in return. For after ravaging the possessions of the Dardanians and their neighbours, he did not dare to await their attack, but pretending to retire with his cavalry for some other purpose, took to flight; in this way the enemy surrounded his infantry and forcibly drove them out of the country, even taking away their plunder from them. When he tried the same tactics on the allies in Moesia, he was defeated near the city of the Istrians by the Bastarnian Scythians who came to their aid; and thereupon he ran away. It was not for this conduct, however, that he was accused, but he was indicted for complicity in Catiline's conspiracy; yet he was convicted on the former charge, so that it was his fate to be found not guilty of the crime for which he was being tried, but to be punished for something of which he was not accused. That was the way he came off. But Cicero, who defended him at this time because Antonius had been his colleague, made a most bitter attack upon Caesar, whom he held responsible for the suit against him, and even went so far as to heap abuse upon him.

Caesar was naturally indignant at this, but, although consul, refused to be the author of any insolent speech or act against him. He said that the multitude often purposely [cast] many idle [slurs] upon their superiors, in the effort to draw them into strife, so that they might seem to be their equals and of like importance with them, in case they should get anything similar said of themselves; and he
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ἀντακούσωσι, δόξωσιν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἥξιον ἀν-
2 τίπαλον ἐκ τοῦτο τοῦδε ἐαυτῷ ποιεῖν. καὶ διὰ
τούτο τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς τι προπηλακίζουσιν
αὐτών οὕτω προσεφέρετο, καὶ τότε τὸν Κικέρωνα
ὁρῶν οὐχ ἐαυτῷ τοῖς τοσοῦτοι λοιδορήσασθαι
ἐθέλοντα ὡς οὐν ἀντακοῦσαι τοῖς ὁμοίως, ὡστε
καὶ παρισσωθῆναι οἱ, ἐπιθυμοῦντα, βραχύ τε
αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντισε καὶ οὐδεν ὁν ἔλεγε προσεποιή-
σάτο, ἀλλ' εἰα αὐτοῦ ἀφθόνως, καθάπερ τοις
3 ἐπαίνοις ἐαυτοῦ, ταῖς λοιδορίαις χρήσατο. οὐ
μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν ὅλωρώς αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν.
ἐπιεικεστέραν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως φύσιν εἰλήχει, καὶ
οὐ πάνυ ῥαδίως ἐθυμοῦτο· συχνοῦσ' ὦν, ἀτε καὶ
ἐν τοσούτοις πράγμασιν, ἐδικαίω, οὐ μὴν ὡστε
καὶ δι' ὄργης ἥ καὶ παραχρῆμα πάντως αὐτὸ
4 ποιεῖν. θυμὸν μὲν ὅ τι οὐδεν ἐχαρίζετο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ
καιροῦ διεσκόπε, καὶ τοὺς γε πλείους οὐδὲ
αἰσθανομένους μετήρε. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως δόξειν
ἀμύνεσθαι τινας ἐπρασσέν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι ἀνεπι-
φθονώτατα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐαυτῷ πάντα
διοικήσει. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀδήλως, καὶ ἐν σίς
5 ἥκιστα ἂν τις προσεδόκησε, τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπήγα,
τῆς τε φήμης ἔνεκα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίλως ἔχειν,
καὶ τοῦ μὴ τινα προαισθανόμενον προφυλάξασθαι
ἡ καὶ προποιήσαται τι δεινὸν αὐτοῦ, πρὸν παθεῖν,
ἐπιχειρῆσαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων μᾶλλον
τι αὐτῷ ἔμελεν1 ἢ ἴνα τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθεῖν.2
6 καὶ τοῦτο πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ τῶν μεγάλα αὐτῶν
λυπησάντων συνεγίγνωσκεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ

1 ἔμελεν R. Steph., ἔμελεν L.
2 τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθεῖν Rk., καὶ αὐθεῖ L.

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did not see fit to make anybody his rival in this manner. This, then, was his attitude toward others who insulted him in any way, and so now, when he saw that Cicero was not so anxious to abuse him as to receive similar abuse in return, so that he might be placed on an equality with him, he paid little heed to his traducer, ignoring all he said; indeed, he allowed him to indulge in abuse without stint, as if it were so much praise showered upon him. Still, he did not disregard him entirely. For, although Caesar possessed in reality a rather mild nature, and was not at all easily moved to anger, he nevertheless punished many, since his interests were so numerous, yet in such wise that it was not done in anger nor always immediately. He did not indulge in wrath at all, but watched for his opportunity, and his vengeance pursued the majority of his foes without their knowing it. For he did not act in such a way as to seem to be defending himself against anybody, but so as to arrange everything to his own advantage while arousing the least hatred. Therefore he visited his retribution secretly and in places where one would least have expected it, both for the sake of his reputation, in order to avoid seeming to be of a wrathful disposition, and also to the end that no one should learn of it beforehand and so be on his guard, or try to inflict some serious injury upon him before being injured. For he was not so much concerned about what had already occurred as he was to prevent future attacks. As a result he would pardon many of those, even, who had vexed him greatly, or pursue them only to a limited extent, because he believed they would do
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ἐπεξῆγε, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι κακουργήσειν αὐτοῦς ἔπιστευε· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείουν τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐς ἀσφαλειαν ἐτιμωρεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι τὸ μὲν... οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ἀγένητον... τῆς κολάσεως ὑπερβολὴ πάντως τι δεινὸν πείσεται.

12 Ἐξ οὖν τούτων τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τότε αὑτὸς μὲν τὴν ἥσυχιαν ἦσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κλώδιον ἀντιχαρίσασθαλ τι αὑτῷ, ὅτι τῆς μοιχείας αὐτοῦ οὐ κατηγόρησε, θυολομένου αἰσθόμενος παρεσκεύασε.

κρύβα κατὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα αὖθις αὐτῶν, ὅπως νομίμως ἐκποιηθῆ, συμπράττοντος αὑτῷ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετέστησεν, ἔπειτα δὲ δῆμαρχον εὐθὺς.

3 ἀποδειχθήματι διεπράξατο. οὖν οὖν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐπεστῶμαι μὲν καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ἐσελθόντα τε ἐς τὴν ἁγοράν ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἁρχῆς, καὶ διανοούμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ὄρκου πιστώσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων δημηγορῆσαι, ἐπέθετο δὲ καὶ τῷ.

4 Κικέρων. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδόκει οἱ βαθίων εἶναι ἀνδρὰ πάμπτολυ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων διευνότητα δυνάμενον καταλύσαι, τρέπεται πρὸς οἰκείωσιν οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ πλῆθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἵππεων τῆς τῆς βουλῆς, παρὰ οἰς πέρ ποι καὶ ὁ Κικέρων πλεῖστος ἐφέρετο, ἐλπίσας, ἂν τούτους ὑφετερίσθηται, βαθῖος αὐτὸν, ἀτέ καὶ διὰ φῶβον μᾶλλον ἢ δὲ εὐνοιαν ἵσχύντα, καθαί-

5 ρήσειν. παμπληθεὶς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐλύπει, καὶ οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτον οὐ τῇ ὑφελούμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἤκειοντο ἢ ὅσον οἱ βλαπτόμενοι ἡλλοτριούντο. πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ τῶν πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προχειροτερον ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσχερεστέροις ἀγανακτεῖν ἢ τῶν ἁμεινόνων χάριν τισών ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν 220
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no further injury; whereas upon many others he took vengeance, even beyond what was fitting, with an eye to his own safety. What was once done, he said, [he could] never [make] undone [by any penalty], but because of the severity of the punishment he would for the future at least suffer no harm.

In view of these considerations he was inclined to do nothing on this occasion also; but when he ascertained that Clodius was willing to do him a favour in return for the fact that he had not accused him of adultery, he set this man secretly against Cicero. In the first place, in order that he might be lawfully excluded from the patricians, he transferred him with Pompey's cooperation to the plebeian status once more, and then immediately had him appointed tribune. This Clodius, then, silenced Bibulus, when at the expiration of his office he entered the Forum and intended in connexion with taking the oath to deliver a speech about the existing state of affairs; and he attacked Cicero also. But since he decided that it was not easy to overthrow a man who had very great influence in the state by reason of his skill in speaking, he proceeded to conciliate not only the populace, but also the knights and the senate, by whom Cicero was held in the highest regard. His hope was that if he could make these men his own, he might easily cause the downfall of the orator, whose strength lay rather in the fear than in the good-will which he inspired. For Cicero annoyed great numbers by his speeches, and those whom he aided were not so thoroughly won to his side as those whom he injured were alienated; for most men are more ready to feel irritation at what displeases them than to feel grateful to any one

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συναγορεύσασι σφισω ἀποδεδωκέναι τὸν μυσθὸν νομίζειν, τοὺς δ' ἀντιδικήσαντας ἀμύνεσθαι τρό-

6 πον τινὰ προαιρεῖσθαι, πικροτάτους ἐχθροὺς ἐαυτῷ ἐποίει 1 περεῖναι τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ χρώμενος, ἀτε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ δύνασθαι συνεῖναι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἄ μυθεῖς ἄλλος, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν,

7 θηρώμενος. ἔκ τε οὗν τοῦτον, καὶ διὸτι μέγιστόν τε ἀνθρώπων ηὐχεί καὶ οὐδένα εξ ἵσον ἑαυτῷ ἤγεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάντας τε ὑπερεφρόνει καὶ ἰσοδίατος οὐδενὶ ἥξιον εἶναι, φορτικός τε καὶ ἑπαχθῆς ἤν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἷς ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἐφθονεῖτο καὶ ἐμμείτο.

13 Ὁ οὖν Κλάδιος ἔπισας αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα, ἀν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἵππας τὸν τε ὦμιλον προπαρασκευάσηται, ταχὺ κατεργάσεσθαι, 2 τὸν τε σῖτον προῖκα εὐθὺς 3 διένειμε (τὸ γὰρ μετρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις, τοῦ τε Γαβινίου ἡδὴ καὶ τοῦ

2 Πίσωνος ὑπατευόντων, ἐσηγήσατο) καὶ τὰ ἔται-

ρικά, κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὡντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινὰ, ἀνενεώσατο τοῖς τε τιμητὰς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ἀπαλείφειν ἐκ τινος τέλους μὴτ' ἀτιμάζειν μηδένα, χωρίς ἢ εἴ τις παρ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι αἰρθεῖς ἄλοιπη;

3 Τούτως οὖν αὐτοῦ δελεάσας καὶ ἐτερὸν των νόμων ἐγραψα, περὶ οὗ διὰ πλειώνον ἀναγκαῖον

1  ἐπολεί Reim., ἐπεολεί L.
2  κατεργάσεσθαι Dind., κατεργάσασθαι L.
3  εὐθὺς Bb., ἀδὴς L.
for kindnesses, and they think that they have paid their advocates in full with their fee, while their chief concern is to get even with their opponents in some way or other. Cicero, moreover, made for himself very bitter enemies by always striving to get the better of even the most powerful men and by always employing an unbridled and excessive frankness of speech toward all alike; for he was in pursuit of a reputation for sagacity and eloquence such as no one else possessed, even in preference to being thought a good citizen. As a result of this and because he was the greatest boaster alive and regarded no one as equal to himself, but in his words and life alike looked down upon everybody and would not live as any one else did, he was wearisome and burdensome, and was consequently both disliked and hated even by those very persons whom he otherwise pleased.

Clodius, therefore, hoped on this account that he should first win over the senate and the knights and the populace he could quickly crush him. So he straightway went to distributing free corn; for when Gabinius and Piso had now become consuls, he had introduced his motion that it should be doled out to the needy; and he revived the associations called collegia in the native language, which had existed of old but had been abolished for some time. He also forbade the censors to remove anybody from any order or to censure any one, except as he should be tried and convicted before them both.

After offering them this lure he proposed another law, concerning which it is necessary to speak at
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ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅπως σαφέστερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γένηται. τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς δημοσίας ἐκ τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὡσπερ εἰπον, ποιουμένης, τὸ μέγιστον κύρος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰχεν, οὕτως ὡστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐσάπαξ

4 ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γίγνεσθαι. τούτῳ τε οὖν ἱδιώτατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ οὕτως ἔπετεμεν παραχθῆναι τίνα, καὶ ἐγίγνετο μηδενὸς ἢτι καθ' ἐκάστοις οἰωνίσματος ἐπαγομένου, ἢ ἐκόλυμα, καὶ ἀναχειρίζετο τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαψήφισεις πάντως ἐπὶ σχεῖν, καὶ ἢν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ διοσημία, ἐτε ἐναισιον εἴτε

5 εξαισίων εὐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν τῆς νομίσματος ταύτης οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, γράφω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα. ἐπεὶ οὖν πολλοὶ ἐμποδίζειν ἢ νόμων ἐσφορὰς ἢ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεις ἢ τῶν δήμου ἐσαγομένας βουλήμενοι προεπίηγγελλον ὡς καὶ ἢκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῆν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μαντευσόμενοι, ὡστε μηδεμίαν

6 ἐν αὐτῇ κύρωσιν τῶν δήμου σχεῖν, φοβήθεις ὁ Κλῶδιος μη γραφαμένου αὐτοῦ τῶν Κικέρωνα ἀναβολήν τε τινες ἢ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ τριβήν τῇ δίκῃ ἐμποιησόμενοι, ἐσήνεγκε μηδένα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν αἷς ψηφίσασθαί τι τῶν δήμου ἀναγκαίον εὐθή, τὰ ἢκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γεγομέναν παρατηρεῖν.

14 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα συνεγραψε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος, συνεἰς τὸ γεγομένου, Δούκιον Νίννιον Κουαδράτον δημαρχοῦντα ἐναντιωθῆναι πᾶσι σφισιν ἀντιπαρεσκεύασεν, ἐδεισε μὴ καὶ

1 ἐπὶ σχεῖν Bk., ἐπὶ σχεῖν L.
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some length, so that it may become clearer to the general public. Public divination was obtained from the sky and from certain other sources, as I have said, but that of the sky had the greatest authority —so much so, in fact, that while the other auguries were many in number and were taken for each action, this one was taken but once and for the whole day. This was the most peculiar feature about it; but there was the further difference that whereas in reference to all other matters sky-divination either allowed things to be done, in which case they were carried out without consulting any individual augury further, or else would prevent and hinder something, yet it stopped the voting of the people altogether, serving always as a portent to check them, whether it was of a favourable or unfavourable nature. The cause of this custom I am unable to state, but I set down the common report. Accordingly, many persons who wished to obstruct either the proposal of laws or the appointment of magistrates that came before the popular assembly were in the habit of announcing that they would look for omens from the sky that day, so that during it the people would have no power to pass any measure. Clodius, now, was afraid that if he indicted Cicero some might adopt this means to secure the postponement or delay of the trial; and so he introduced a measure that none of the magistrates should observe the signs from heaven on the days when it was necessary for the people to vote on anything.

Such were the measures which he then drew up with reference to Cicero. The latter understood what was afoot and induced Lucius Ninnius Quadratus, a tribune, to oppose every move; so
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2 ὑπῆλθεν αὐτὸν ἀπατήσας. προδιομολογησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν, δὲν μηδὲν τῶν νομοθετομένων ἐμποδίσῃ, κατ' αὐτοῦ γράφειν, ἔπειτα τὴν ἴσως ἡκεῖν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ Νινιῶν ἄγοντος διενομοθέτησε αὐτά, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ

3 Κικέρων ἔπεχερησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω, καὶ τοιοὺς φρονιμώτατος ἄξιον εἶναι, τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου, εἶ γε ἐκείνου ἄλλα μὴ τῶν Κάλσαρα τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκότας δεῖ λέγειν,

4 ἡπατήθη. ὁ δὲ δὴ νόμος δὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Κλωδίος ἐσήγηκεν, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἔδοκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι (ουδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἄνωμα αὐτοῦ εἴχεν ἄλλα κατὰ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν πολίτην 1 τινὰ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταγωγόσεως ἀποκτενοῦντων ἢ καὶ ἀπεκτονότων ἐσήγητο), 2 ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ὅτι

5 μάλιστα συνεγράφετο. ἔθερε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσαι τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, δι' ἡσπερ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα σφισι ποιεῖν ἔξων ἐγένετο, προσετετάχει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Δεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

6 τῶν τότε θανατωθέντων κατεψήφιστο· οὐ μέντοι ἄλλ᾽ ὁ Κικέρων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐσηγγέλκει περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσήγητο 3 ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπευγράφη καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν σφῶν διὰ γε τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα ἐπηρεατῶν ἐπεσοῦσα, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μόνον ἢ

7 καὶ μάλιστα ἑσχε. 4 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἄλλα ἱσχυρὺς αὐτῷ ἀντίπρασψε, καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθήτα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι περιενόστει, πάντας τε τοὺς τι δυναμένους, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν

1 πολίτην Rk., πολιτῶν L. 2 ἐσήγητο Bk., συνεσήγητο L. 3 ἐσήγητο Rk., ἐσηγεῖτο L. 4 ἑσχέ R. Stoph., ἑσκε L.

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Clodius, fearing that some disturbance and delay might arise as a result, outwitted him by deceit. He first made an agreement with Cicero to bring no indictment against him, if the other would not interfere with any of the measures he proposed; thereupon, while Cicero and Ninnius remained quiet, he secured the passage of the laws, and then made his attack upon the orator. And thus the latter, who thought himself extremely shrewd, was deceived on that occasion by Clodius—if, indeed, it is proper to speak here of Clodius and not rather of Caesar and the others who were in league with the two. Now the law that Clodius next proposed was not on its face enacted against Cicero, since it did not contain his name, but was directed against all, without exception, who should put to death or even had put to death any citizen without the condemnation of the people; yet in reality it was drawn up with especial reference to the orator. It brought within its scope, indeed, the entire senate, because that body had charged the consuls with the protection of the city, by which act it was permitted them to take such steps, and afterwards had condemned Lentulus and the others who were put to death at that time. Nevertheless, Cicero received the whole blame, or at least the greater part of it, since he had laid information against the men and had on each occasion made the motion and put the vote and finally had exacted the penalty of them through those entrusted with such business. For this reason he vigorously opposed Clodius' measure in every way; in particular, he discarded his senatorial dress and went about in the garb of the knights, paying court meanwhile, as he went the rounds,
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ἐπιτηδείων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀτε μηδὲ τὴν ἐχθραν αὐτοῦ προσποιοῦμενον, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ υπκτὸς ὁμοίως περιών ἐθεράπευε. 1

15 Καὶ ἔβολοντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὴτε τὸν Ἐλλήναν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζεται μὴτε τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἅρεσκεσθαι δοκεῖν, τοιάνδε τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἅπατην, σφίζοι μὲν εὐπρεπὴ 

2 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ ἅφανῆ, προσεξεύρον. ο μὲν γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὑπείκειν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευεν, μὴ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μείνας ἀπόληται: καὶ ἰνα γε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ' εἰνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν πιστευθῇ, ὑποστράτηγῳ οἱ χρήσεσθαι ὑποχειτο, ὅτως μὴ μετ' ὅνειδου 

3 τιμῆς ἐκποδῶν δὴ τῷ Κλάδιφρι γένηται. ο δὲ δὴ 

Πομπήιος τοῦτον μὲν αὐτὸν, τὸ τε πράγμα ἀπόδρασιν ἀντικρον ὄνομάζων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὥστε καὶ κατ' ἐχθραν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως οἱ συμβουλεύοντα ὑποσημαινον, ἀπέτρεπε, γνώμην δὲ ἐδίδου καταμείναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τε ἅμα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ μετὰ παρρησίας βοηθῆσαι, τὸν τε Κλάδιφρι εὐδύος ἀμῦ 

4 νασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ διαπράξασθαί τι αὐτῶν παρόντος 

tε ἐκείνου καὶ ἑαντιουμένου δυνهماσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ δίκην 2 δώσειν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τι πρός τοῦτο συμπράξαντος. τοιοῦτοις αὐτῶν 3 λόγοις λεγόντων οὐχ ὅτι ἑαντία ἀλλήλοις ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνω ἀνυπόττως ἀπατήσωσι

5 τῷ Πομπήιῳ προσέθετο. οὔτε γὰρ προμαχόσετε 

tε ἐς αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπίστευε πάντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωθῆ 

sesebain. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ἤδοντο

1 ἐθεράπευε H. Steph., ἐθεράπευσε L.
2 δίκην supplied by Oddey. 3 αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτῶι L.

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day and night alike, to all who had any influence, not only of his friends but also of his opponents, and especially to Pompey and even Caesar, inasmuch as the latter concealed his enmity toward him.

Now these men, indeed, did not wish to appear to have instigated Clodius themselves, or even to be pleased with his measures, and so they devised the following plan, involving no discredit to themselves but obscure to Cicero, for deceiving him. Caesar, for his part, advised him to yield, for fear he might lose his life if he remained in the city; and in order to have it believed the more readily that he was doing this through good-will, he promised to employ him as his lieutenant, so that he might retire out of Clodius' way, not in disgrace, as if under investigation, but in a position of command and with honour. Pompey, however, tried to turn him aside from this course, calling the act outright desertion, and uttering insinuations against Caesar to the effect that through enmity he was not giving sound advice; as for himself, he advised him to remain and boldly defend both himself and the senate and thus avenge himself at once upon Clodius. The latter, he declared, would not be able to accomplish anything with Cicero present and confronting him, and would furthermore meet his deserts, since he, Pompey, would also cooperate to this end. Now when these two expressed themselves thus, not because their views were opposed, but for the purpose of deceiving their victim without arousing his suspicion, Cicero attached himself to Pompey. Of him he had no previous suspicion and was absolutely confident of being saved by his assistance. For in the first place, many respected and
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αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμων ὡστε καὶ κινδυνεύοντας συχνοὺς τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρ’
6 αὐτῶν τῶν κατηγόρων ῥυόμενον1 καὶ ὁ Κλάδιος,
ἀτε καὶ ἐν γένει ποτὲ αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ συστρα-
τεύσας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐ κατὰ
γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐδόκει ποιῆσειν. τὸν τε Γαβίνου
ἀντικρὺς, ἀτε καὶ πάνυ φίλον αὐτῷ ὄντα, καὶ τὸν
Πίσωνα ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ
Καίσαρος συγγένειαν ὑπάρχειν οἱ προσεδόκησε.
16 τούτοις τε ὑπὸ τοῖς λογισμοῖς κρατήσειν ἐπίτιςας
(καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρσει παρὰ λόγου ὠσπερ ἀνεξετάστως
ἐδείκει), καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐκ πονηροῦ συμει-
δότος τὴν ἀποδημίαν πεποίησαί δόξῃ, τῷ μὲν
Καίσαρι χάριν δὴ τινα ἔχειν ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Πομπηίῳ ἐπείραθη.
2 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀπατηθεὶς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς
καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπερφύτων. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ
τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οἱ τε ἐπὶ τῆς συνελθόντες ἐς τὸ
Καπιτώλιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τε τοὺς
ὑπάτους καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, ἀλλοις τέ τινας ἐκ
3 σφῶν καὶ βουλευτάς τὸν τε Ὅρτησιον τὸν Κύ-
ιτον καὶ Γάιον Κορίώνα, ἐπεμψαν καὶ ὁ
Νίνιος τὰ τε ἀλλὰ αὐτῷ συνήρτη, καὶ τὴν
ἐσθήτα τῷ πλήθει ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῖνι κοινῇ συμφορᾷ
μεταβαλεῖν 2 παρήγησε. καὶ πολλοὶ 3 τούτο καὶ
τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐποίησαν, 4 καὶ οὗ πρότερον γε
μετεβάλοντο 5 πρὶν τοὺς ὑπάτους σφίσι διὰ προ-
γραφῆς ἐπιτιμῆσαι.
4 Ἀλλ’ ἂν γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ

1 ῥυόμενον Cary, ρύεσθαι L. 2 μεταβαλεῖν Bk., μεταβάλλειν L. 3 πολλοὶ R. Steph., πολὺ L. 4 ἐποίησαν supplied by Xyl. 5 μετεβάλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο L.
honoured him as one who saved numerous persons in grave peril, some from the judges and others from their very accusers; and Clodius, in particular, had formerly been a relative of Pompey’s and had long served under him, so that it seemed likely that he would do nothing that failed to accord with his wishes. As for Gabinius, Cicero supposed he could count on him absolutely as an adherent, since he was a good friend of his, and equally on Piso, because of his amiability as well as his kinship with Caesar. On the basis of these calculations, then, he hoped to win, since he was now unreasonably confident, even as he had before been unduly terrified; and fearing that his withdrawal from the city would seem to have been occasioned by a bad conscience, he listened to Pompey, though he said that he was considerably obliged to Caesar.

And thus Cicero, deceived in this wise, was preparing as if for a great victory over his enemies. For, in addition to the grounds for hope already mentioned, the knights assembled on the Capitol and sent envoys in his behalf to the consuls and senate, some from their own number, and also the senators Quintus Hortensius and Gaius Curio. Ninnius, too, in addition to his assistance in other ways urged the populace to change their apparel, as if for a general calamity. And many of the senators also did this, and would not change back until the consuls rebuked them by an edict.

The forces of his adversaries were more powerful,
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dunatotero, ouste o kladosios xhmatisaqathai ti uper aytou to vinnio1 enetrepsev, ouste gabinos tihn prouso don tois uppeusin es tihn boullin edwkev, allla kal ena tina aytou, ois poleis evkeito, kal eke tis polite2 exhlasei, to te Orhthi kai to kouriov, stei kai thrhoutheisi sphi syneqevonti
5 kai tihn proubeiai upessthsai, epakelei. kai aytous o kladosios es to plhthos esagraigohn plhgrai espi tihn proubeia diia tiveir praparakeunasmewn synekose. kai meta tauta o te Piso, kai ater euonio to kikrwoi dokov enh, kai symbyounleusas ye aytov, ois efora adnavaton iin allios aytov soidhna, proupexein, omois epidei dia
6 touto ekhein oghiasi, parhleven es tihn ekklhsiai ote prwton hdnhrh (tav gar polela hprwstei), kai putoffe3 to o Kladion tina ginomh peri tov generjemewn enh, epivei oti oidev moi ouv" wmo4 ouste5 skuvropten erchon arthesi. kai o gabinos erwttheis to aytov touto ohy oipwos ekhein epimeven, allla kai tov uppeov tihn te boullhs proukathgorhshen.

17 'o mevto kaisar (exw gar tov teixous o kladosios di aytov, epieidhper exestrateuto, ton omeleon syanagagon kai ekhein epigynomona tavon generjemewn eponhsato) tihn men6 paranoimewn ton per ton Lentrulon prahenteinw katetsi-
2 fighato, tihn mevto timorin tihn ep' aytovs graferemewn oixe edokimasev, osa men gar peri

1 to vinnio Leuncl., to vinnio L.
2 politeis Cobet, politeles L.
3 putoffe Xyl., putoffemos L.
4 ouste wmo Victorius, ouste moen L.
5 ouste St., oude L. 6 men St., men gar L.
however. Clodius would not allow Ninnius to take any action in his behalf, and Gabinius would not grant the knights access to the senate; on the contrary, he drove one of them, who was very insistent, out of the city, and rebuked Hortensius and Curio for having been present in the assembly of the knights and for having undertaken the mission. Moreover, Clodius brought them before the populace, where they were soundly belaboured for their mission by some appointed agents. After this Piso, though he seemed well-disposed towards Cicero and had advised him, on seeing that it was impossible for him to attain safety by any other means, to slip away in time, nevertheless, when the other took offence at this counsel, came before the assembly at the first opportunity (he was too ill most of the time) and to the question of Clodius as to what opinion he held regarding the proposed measure said: "No deed of cruelty or sadness pleases me." Gabinius, too, on being asked the same question, not only failed to praise Cicero but even accused both the knights and the senate.

Caesar, however, who had already taken the field, and whom Clodius could therefore make arbiter of the measure only by assembling the populace outside the walls, condemned the illegality of the action taken in regard to Lentulus, but still did not approve the punishment proposed for it. Every one knew, he said, all that had been in his mind con-
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tων τότε γενομένων ἐφρόνησε, πάντας εἰδέναι ἔφη
(τὴν γὰρ σώζουσάν σφας ψήφον δεδωκὼς ἦν), οὐ
μὴν καὶ προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρεληλυθοσὶ τοιοῦτοι
3 τινα νόμον συνηγράφεσθαι. Καίσαρ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπει, Κράσσος δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ νῦνος βοήθειαν τινα
tὸ Κικέρωνι ἐνεδείκνυτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλή-
θους ἐπράσσε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπισχνεῖτο μὲν
αὐτῷ τὴν ἑπικούριαν, σκῆψεις δὲ τινὰς ἀλλοτε
ἀλλας ποιούμενος καὶ ἀποδημίας συχνὰς ἐπίτηδες
στελλόμενος οὐκ ἐπημίνε.

4 Ἐδών οὖν ταῦτ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐθής
ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὁπλα ἀράσθαι (τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα
cαι τὸν Πομπήιον φανερῶς προεπιλάκιζε), κωλυ-
θεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὁρτησίου,
μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τοῦτον πόλεμος γένεται, τότε
ὅτι καὶ ἄκων μετά τε αὐχυών, καὶ μετὰ κακο-
δοξίας, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐθελωτῆς
5 πεφυγώς, μετέστη. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἀφορμῆσαι, ἐς το
τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη καὶ ἀγαλμάτιον τὶ Ἀθηνᾶς
ἀνέθηκε, Φυλακίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. ὑπεξῆλθε
δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν· προστάτηστε το γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγεγο-
νει, καὶ ἔπιθα πολλὴν ἐν τε τοῖς δήμοις καὶ ἐν
toῖς ἱδιώταις τῷ τοῦ ἀρχοντι αὐτῶν εἰχε τιμηθῆ-
6 σεσθαι. φυγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νόμος τὸ κύρος,
οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντος τινὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
σπουδασάντων ἄλλων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὁπερ
τὰ 1 τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἄνα πρῶτος πράττετον ἐδόκουν,
ἐπειδήπερ ἄπαξ ἐκποδῶν ἐγεγόνει, ἐλαβέ· καὶ ἦ
tε νοσία αὐτοῦ ἑδημεύθη, καὶ ἤ ὀικίᾳ ὅσπερ τινὸς
πολέμιον κατεσκάφη, τὸ τε ἔδαφος αὐτῆς ἐς νεὼν
7 ᾿Ελευθερίας ἀνέθηκαν. αὐτῷ τε ἐκεῖνψ ἦ τε φυγὴ
1 ὁπερ τὰ Βσ., ἢ ὁπερ Λ.
cerning the events of that time, as he had cast his vote in favour of sparing their lives, but it was not fitting for any such law to be drawn up with regard to events now past. This was Caesar's advice. Crassus showed some favour to Cicero through his son, but himself took the side of the multitude. Pompey kept promising him assistance, but by making various excuses at different times and purposely arranging many journeys out of town, failed to defend him.

Cicero, perceiving this, became afraid and again undertook to resort to arms, among other things even abusing Pompey openly; but he was stopped by Cato and Hortensius, for fear a civil war might result. Then at last he departed, against his will, and with the shame and ill-repute of having gone into exile voluntarily, as if conscience-stricken. But before leaving he ascended the Capitol and dedicated a little image of Minerva, whom he styled "Protectress." And he set out secretly for Sicily; for he had once been governor there, and entertained a lively hope that he should be honoured among its towns and private citizens and by their governor. On his departure the law took effect; so far from meeting with any opposition, it was supported, as soon as he was once out of the way, by those very persons, among others, who had seemed to be the most active workers in Cicero's behalf. His property was confiscated, his house was razed to the ground, as though it had been an enemy's, and its site was dedicated for a temple of Liberty. Against Cicero himself a decree of exile
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έπετυμήθη καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διατριβή ἀπερρήθη· τρισχίλιοις τε γὰρ καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιοι ὑπὲρ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ προσπεπεκρύχθη ἵν' εἰ δὴ ποτὲ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανεὶ, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατι διόλωνται.

18 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσ τὴν Μακεδονίαν διὰ τοῦτο μετέστη καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν ὅσυρόμενος· ἐνυχθὼν δ' αὐτῷ Φιλίσκος τις ἄνηρ ἐν τε ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς συνηγεγονός οἱ καὶ τότε κατὰ τύχην συνυχθὼν, “οὐκ ἁἰσχύνη,” ἔφη, “ἄν Κικέρων, θηριῶν καὶ γυναικεῖων διακείμενοι; ὡς ἔγγονι οὖν τι ἀν σε προσεδόκησα οὖνο καλαισθήσεσθαι, πολλῆς μὲν παιδείας καὶ παντοδαπῆς μεσεσχικότα, πολλοὶς δὲ καὶ συνηγορηκότα.”

2 Καὶ ὁς ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, “ἄλλ’ οὐδὲν τοι ὁμοίων ἔστιν, οὐ Φιλίσκε, ὑπὲρ ἅλλον τὲ τινα λέγεν καὶ ἕαυτῷ συμβουλεύειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων λεγόμενα, ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἄδιαφθόρου τῆς γνώμης προΐόντα, καίρον ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα λαμβάνει· ὅταν δὲ ἔδει πάθημα τι τῆς ψυχῆς καταλάβῃ, θθολοῦται καὶ σκοτοῦται καὶ οὐδέν δύναται καλριν ἐννοῆσαι. δὴν τοι πάνω καλῶς εἰρήται ὅτι ὅφιν παραίνεσαι ἐτέρους ἐστίν ἢ αὐτὸν παθόντα καρτερῆσαι.”

3 “Δέγεις μὲν τι,” ἔφη οἱ Φιλίσκος, “ἄνθρωπον· οὐ μεντὶ καὶ ἑξίους σε, τοσαύτης μὲν φρονήσει κεχρημένου τοσαύτην δὲ σοφίαν ἡσικότα, μή οὐ προπαρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἄνθρωπινα, ἵν' εἰ τι καὶ παράλογον σοι προσπέσοι, μήτι γε ἐ 

1 τύχην L., τὴν τύχην Bs.
2 μήτι γε Dind., μήτοι γε L.
BOOK XXXVIII

was passed, and he was forbidden to tarry in Sicily; for he was banished five hundred miles from Rome, and it was further proclaimed that if he should ever appear within those limits, both he and those who harboured him might be slain with impunity.

He accordingly went over to Macedonia and spent his time there in lamentations. But there met him a man named Philiscus, who had made his acquaintance in Athens and now by chance fell in with him again. "Are you not ashamed, Cicero," he said, "to be weeping and behaving like a woman? Really, I should never have expected that you, who have enjoyed such an excellent and varied education, and who have acted as advocate to many, would grow so faint-hearted."

"But," replied the other, "it is not at all the same thing, Philiscus, to speak for others as to advise one's self. The words spoken in others' behalf, proceeding from a mind that is firm and unshaken, are most opportune; but when some affliction overwhelmgs the spirit, it becomes turbid and darkened and cannot reason out anything that is opportune. For this reason, I suppose, it has been very well said that it is easier to counsel others than to be strong oneself under suffering."

"That is but human nature," rejoined Philiscus. "I did not think, however, that you, who are gifted with so much sound sense and have practised so much wisdom, had failed to prepare yourself for all human possibilities, so that even if some unexpected accident should befall you, it would not find you

1 Literally 3,750 stades; Dio regularly reckons 7½ instead of 8 stades to the (Roman) mile. Cf. p. 61 and note. The distance here given agrees with Plutarch's statement (Cic. 32), but Cicero himself (ad Att. iii. 4) says 400 miles.
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4 καὶ ἄφρακτόν σε εὑροῖ. ἔπει δ’ οὗν ἐν τούτῳ καθέστηκας... καὶ γὰρ ἂν τι ὀφελη-
σαιμί σε διαλεξάμενος τι τῶν προσφόρων, ἵν’ ὅσπερ οἱ τὰ φορτία συναιρόμενοι τισιν ἔπικου-
φίζουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγὼ σοι τὸ πάθος τούτῳ ἐπελαφρύναιμ, τοσοῦτο ρῶν ἐκείνων ὅσφιν μηδὲ
5 τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ μεταλήψομαι. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ἀπαξιώσεις παραμυθίου τίνος παρ’ ἐτέρου
τυχεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρκης ἡὑτὸ ἤσθα, οὐδὲν ἀν ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων τούτων ἔδει· νῦν δ’ ὅμοιον
πέπονθας ὅσπερ εἰ Ἰπποκράτης ἢ Δημοκρήτης ἢ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς τῶν πάνω ἴατρῶν νοσήματι δυσιάτῳ
περιπέτειών ἀλλοτρίας χειρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀκεσίων
αὐτοῦ προσεδείηθη. 1"

19 ἂ’ Ἀλ’ εἰ γέ τινα,” ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων, “τοιούτων
ἐχεις λόγον ὡστε τὴν ἀχλών μου ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς
ψυχῆς ἀφελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον με φῶς ἔπανα-
γαγεῖν, ἐτοιμότατός εἰμι ἄκουειν. ὅσπερ γὰρ τῶν
φαρμάκων, ὡστὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ διαφοραὶ
πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ποικίλαι εἰσίν, ὡστ’ οὐδὲν
θαυμαστόν εἰ καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ
γερουσίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε δικαστη-
ρίοις σοφία τινὶ καταγινήσεις.”

2 “Φερε’ οὖν,” εἶπεν ὁ Φίλισκος, “ἐπεδήπερ
ἀκούειν ἔτοιμος εἰ, σκεψάμεθα πρῶτον μὲν εἰ
κακὰ ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ ταύτα τὰ περιεσθηκότα σε,
ἐπείτα δὲ τίνα τρόπον αὐτὰ ἀκεσόμεθα. ἔγὼ
τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ὡρὸς σε ὑγιαίνοντα τῷ
σώματι καὶ εὐ μάλα ἔρρωμένου, ὅπερ ποὺ πρῶτον
κατὰ φύσιν ἀγαθόν ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ἐπείτα δὲ τὰ

1 προσεδείηθη Rk., προσεδείηθη L.
BOOK XXXVIII

unfortified at any point. But since, now, you are in this plight...1 for I might be of some little assistance to you by rehearsing a few appropriate arguments. And thus, just as men who put a hand to other's burdens relieve them, so I might lighten this misfortune of yours, and the more easily than they, inasmuch as I shall not take upon myself even the smallest part of it. Surely you will not deem it unbecoming, I trust, to receive some encouragement from another, since if you were sufficient for yourself, we should have no need of these words. As it is, you are in a like case to Hippocrates or Democedes or any of the other great physicians, if one of them had fallen ill of a disease hard to cure and had need of another's aid to bring about his own recovery."

"Indeed," said Cicero, "if you have any argument that will dispel this mist from my soul and restore me to the light of old, I am most ready to listen. For words, as drugs, are of many varieties, and divers potencies, so that it will not be surprising if you should be able to steep in some mixture of philosophy even me, for all my brilliant feats in the senate, the assemblies, and the law-courts."

"Come then," continued Philiscus, "since you are ready to listen, let us consider first whether these conditions that surround you are actually bad, and next in what way we may cure them. First of all, now, I see you are in excellent physical health and strength, which is surely man's chief natural blessing; and, next, that you have the necessities of

1 The gap may be filled by some such words as, "I will endeavour to offer you some encouragement," or "Listen to me," as suggested by Bs.

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3 ἐπιτήδεια αὐτάρκη κεκτημένον, δότε μήτε πεινήν μήτε διψήν ἢ ῥέγουν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀτοποῦν ὑπ’ ἀπορίας ὑπομένειν, δ’ δὴ καὶ δεύτερον εἰκότως ἂν τις ἁγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ φύσει τιθείη. ὅταν γὰρ τινὶ ἢ τε τοῦ σώματος σύστασις εὔ ἐξῆ καὶ διαρκείν ἀφροτιστῶν δύνηται, πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιβάλλοντα καρποῦται.”

20 Ὁ οὖν Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, “ἄλλ’ οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ὀφελός ἐστιν, ὅταν τοῦ τὴν ψυχήν λυπῆ τι καὶ δάκυν· πολλῷ γὰρ πλέουν ἂν ἐκείνης φροντίδας ταλαιπωροῦσί τινα ἢ αἱ τοῦ σώματος εὔπαθειαν τέρπουσιν. ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν οὔδεν οὔτε τῆς τοῦ σώματος ύγιείας προτιμῶ, νοσῶν γε τὴν γηρόμην, οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἐπιτήδειων εὐπορίας: πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπεστέρημαι.”

2 Καὶ δὲ, “καὶ τούτῳ σε,” ἔφη, “λυπεί; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνδεχομεθαί τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐμελλές, λόγον ἄν τινα εἴχεν ἄχθεσθαι σε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν εἰ δὲ ἐκπλεύσοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑπάρχει, τί ἄναι ὅτι μὴ καὶ πλέον κέκτησαι; πάν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν τινὶ ὁν περιπτῶν ἐστί, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵσι καὶ 3 παρὸν καὶ ἀπὸν καθέστηκεν, ἔτει τοῦ καὶ πρότερον οὔδεν δῆπον τοῖς μὴ ἀναγκαίοις ἔχρω, ὡστε καὶ τότε μὴ εἶναι ὁν μὴ ἔχρησις ἢ καὶ νῦν εἶναι ὁν μὴ δέη νόμισε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πατρὶδὰ σοι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ὡστε σε σπουδὴν ἱδιωτέραν περὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τε τῆς γλώττης καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων σου πεπορίσται, δ’ οὖς καὶ 4 ἀπόλωλεν. οὔκουν ἀγανακτεῖν προσήκει εἰ καθά-

1 ἢ τε . . . εὕ Ῥκ., ἢ . . . εὕ τε Λ.
2 πλέουν Ῥκ., πλείονα Λ.

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life in sufficiency so as not to hunger or thirst or suffer cold or endure any other hardship through lack of means—which may appropriately be set down as the second natural blessing for man. For when one's physical condition is good and one can live without anxiety, all the factors essential to happiness are enjoyed."

To this Cicero replied: "But not one of these things is of use when some grief is preying upon one's mind; for mental cares cause one far more distress than bodily comforts cause pleasure. Even so, I also at present set no value on my physical health, because I am suffering in mind, nor yet on the abundance of necessaries; for my loss is great indeed."

"And does this grieve you?" replied the other. "Now if you were going to be in want of things needful, there would be some reason for your being annoyed at your loss. But since you have all the necessaries in full measure, why do you distress yourself because you do not possess more? For all that one has beyond one's needs is superfluous, and amounts to the same thing whether present or absent; since surely you did not make use formerly of what was not necessary. Consider, therefore, either that then what you did not need you did not have, or else that you now have what you do not need. Most of these things, indeed, were not yours by inheritance, that you should be particularly exercised about them, but were acquired by your own tongue and by your own words—the very things which caused you to lose them. You should not, therefore, be vexed if things have
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περ ἐκτήθη τινά, οὔτω καὶ ἀπεβλήθη. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ ναύκληροι πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέρουσι πολλὰ ξημιούμενον. λογίζεσθαι γὰρ, οἶμαι, φρονίμοις ἐπιστανταί ὅτι η ἥλαττα ἡ διδοῦσά σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφαίρεται.

21 "Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἵκανα. ἀποχρῆν τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα κεκτῆσαι καὶ μηδὲν ὅν τὸ σῶμα χρήζει προσδείσαι νομίζω, καὶ πὰν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ φροντίδας καὶ πράγματα καὶ φθόνους ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐφησάμα ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀπόλαυσις τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθῶν ἔστω, ἀν μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προσπάρχῃ τινί, ἔστι μὲν ἄλληθς ὁ λόγος (αὕτων γὰρ, κακῶς αὐτῆς ἐχοῦσας, μὴ οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὴ συννοσεῖν), ἕγὼ μὲντοι πολλῷ ράον οἶμαι εἶναι τῆς εὐεξίας τῆς γνώμης ἐπιμεληθήναι τινι ἢ τῆς τοῦ σώματος. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ, ἀτε καὶ σάρκινον οὐ, πολλά μὲν ἄτοπα ἐν ἔαντῳ ἔχει, πολλὴς δὲ ἐπικουρίας παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου δεῖται. ἐκείνῃ δὲ δὴ, οἷα θειοτέρας φύσεως οὐσα, καὶ ρυθμίζεσθαι καὶ νουθετεῖσθαι ράδιος δύναται. οὐκοῦν κανταῦθα ἱδώμεν τί τέ σοι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀπέστη, καὶ τί τῶν κακῶν προσγενόμενον οὐκ ἂν ἀποτριψαίμεθα.

22 "Ὅρω τοίνυν ἔγωγε πρῶτον μὲν φρονιμωτάτον σε ἀνθρώπων ὅντα. τεκμήριον δὲ ὃτι πλείστα μὲν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δήμον, ἐν οἷς συγεβούλευσάς τι αὐτοῖς, ἐπεισάς, πλείστα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ἐν οἷς συνηγόρησάς σφισιν, ὥφελησας. ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ δικαιότατον πανταχοῦ γοῦν ὑπέρ τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀνταγωνιζόμενος τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασαι καὶ αὐτὰ 242
been lost in the same manner in which they were won. Ship-masters, for example, do not take it greatly to heart when they suffer great losses; for they understand, I suspect, how to take the sensible view of it, namely, that the sea which gives them wealth takes it away again.

"So much for the present point; for I think it should be enough for a man's happiness to have a sufficiency and to lack nothing that the body requires, and I hold that everything in excess involves anxiety, trouble, and jealousy. As for your saying, now, that there is no enjoyment of physical blessings unless those of the spirit are also present, that is indeed true, since it is impossible, if the spirit is in a poor state, that the body should fail to share in its ailment; nevertheless, I think it much easier for one to look after his mental health than his physical. For the body, being of flesh, contains in itself many dangers and requires much assistance from the divine power; whereas the spirit, of a nature more divine, can easily be trained and prompted. Let us see here also, then, what spiritual blessing has abandoned you and what evil has come upon you that we may not shake off.

"First, then, I see that you are a man of the greatest sagacity. The proof is that you so often persuaded both the senate and the people in cases where you gave them advice, and so often helped private citizens in cases where you acted as their advocate. And secondly, I see that you are a most just man. Certainly you have always been found contending for your country and for your friends against those who plotted their ruin. Indeed, this
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gē¹ ταῦτα ἄ νυν πέ πονθάς, οὐ δι’ ἄ λλο τι συμ-βέβηκέ σοι ἢ ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς
3 πολιτείας καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων διετέλεισ. καὶ
μὴν ὅτι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐστὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκεις,
αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπιτηδευμά σου δηλοῖ· οὐ γὰρ ὁ ὁ νὸν τ’
ἔστι δουλεύοντά τινα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς
ἐν μέσῳ τε ὧν φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνα-
στρέφεσθαι, μαρτύρια τὰ ἡμερινὰ ἔργα τῶν νυ-
4 κτερινῶν ποιούμενον. οὐτὸ δὲ δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων
ἐγὼ μὲν σε καὶ ἀνδρειότατον ὠμῆν εἶναι, τοσαύτῃ
μὲν ῥώμη διανοίας τοσαύτῃ δὲ καὶ ἵσχυν λόγων
χρώμενον. σὺ δὲ, ὥς ἔοικας, αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ ἑκ-
πλαγεῖς ὅτι παρά τε τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν
ἀξίαν ἐπταίσας, παρῆρησαί τι τοῦ σφόδρα ἀν-
5 δρείου. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπολήψῃ τοιούτων
dὲ τῶν κατὰ σε ὧντων, καὶ εὗ μὲν ἐκοντος τοῦ
σώματος εὐ δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐχ ὅρω τί τὸ
λυποῦν ἐστὶ σε.”

23 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη “οὐ
dοκεῖ ὅτι σοι μέγα κακῶν εἶναι ἄτιμα καὶ φυγή,
kai τὸ μήτ’ ὀικοῦ διατρίβειν μήτε” 2 μετὰ τῶν
φίλων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μεθ’ ύβρεως
ἐκπεπτωκότα ξῆν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῆ καὶ ἀλασθαί,
ψυχάδα προσαγορεύμενον, καὶ γέλωτα μὲν τοῖς
ἐχθροῖς αἰσχοῖς δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρέχοντα;”

2 “Οὐδαμῇ ἐμοιγε” εἶπεν ὁ Φίλισκος. “δύο
γὰρ τούτων ὄντων ἔξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, ψυχῆς τε
καὶ σώματος, καὶ ῥητῶν ἐκατέρω παρ’ αὐτῆς τῆς
φύσεως καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν δεδομένων, εἰ μὲν
τι περὶ ταῦθ’ ἀμαρτάνοιτο, καὶ βλάβερον ἄν

¹ γε H. Steph., τε L. ² μήτε supplied by Gros.
very misfortune which you have now suffered has befallen you for no other reason than that you continued to say and do everything in behalf of the laws and of the constitution. Again, that you have attained the highest degree of self-mastery is shown by your very course of life, since it is not possible for a man who is a slave to sensual pleasures to appear constantly in public and to go to and fro in the Forum, making his deeds by day witnesses of those by night. This being the case, I, for my part, supposed you were also very brave, enjoying, as you did, such force of intellect and such power of oratory. But it seems that, startled out of yourself through having failed contrary to your hopes and deserts, you have fallen a little short of true courage. But you will regain this immediately, and as you are thus equipped as I have pointed out, with a good physical endowment as well as mental, I cannot see what it is that is distressing you."

At the end of this speech of his Cicero replied: "There seems to you, then, to be no great evil in disfranchisement and exile and in not living at home or being with your friends, but, instead, being expelled with violence from your country, living in a foreign land, and wandering about with the name of exile, causing laughter to your enemies and disgrace to your friends?"

"Not in the least, so far as I can see," declared Philiscus. "There are two elements of which we are constituted, soul and body, and definite blessings and evils are given to each of the two by Nature herself. Now if there should be any defect in these two, it would properly be considered injurious and
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eikótws kai aîschrón vovmízouto, ei δ' orthós exoi,
3 kai mállov và wphélimon eih. δ' kai sói vín
upárchei. tā γαρ δή ἄλλ' ēkeiná, aî fvgai 1 kai
ai aîtimía, kai ei dé tì toioúton èteron, νόμω τε
cal dokhèsie ti và kai aîschrà kai kákà ēstí, kai
ouèn ou.te tòi sòmata ou.te tē ψυχῆ λυμαινεται.
poión mên γαρ δι 2 σώma eiptein èxous nevosehkos h
kai àpololos, poían de ψυχῆν àdikwteran h
e kai àmazestèran gevovnîaz up àtìmia kai fynhē
h kai àllon tínos tòn toioúton; ègō mên γαρ
4 ouχ óρω. tò de ài'tiôn òti ouèn svfwn fûseu
kakón èstîn, òsper ouδ' 3 h èpetimía ouδ' h èn tē
patriði diatriðh fûseì χρηστῆ, àll' ópoia pòt
àn tis èkastos hìmow peri àuîa dofàsè, tòuàtâ
5 kai dokheì eînai. àvttika tîn àtìmia ouk èpti tòis
aîtois panteleîdos ànðrwtoî vovmîzousin, 4 àll'
èstîn à tòw èrgwnon èpaitia pàrâ tisîn ànta par
àllow ès pâneìtai, kai èterà pròs tîwôn tìmòmena
pròs ètèrôn kolâçetai; eîsî de oî kai tîn àrchhn
6 ou.te tò ónuma ou.te tò èrgwnon àvtîs àsiasi. kai
pânu eikótws: òsà gâr mè pròsàpttetai 5 tòw tē
fûseì tòu ànðrwtoû pròsèkóntow, ouδ' ànĥkei
ès aîtòv vovmîzetai. òsper àn ouν, eî 6 krîsis tîs
h kai ëψì(μ)à tî ègèneto tòn deîna vòseîn h tòn
deîna aîschrîon eînai, geloiòtataν àn dêpoudhèn hì,
ou.tò kai perì tîs àtìmias èxhei.

24 "tô δ' àvtt toûto kal perì tîn fvghìn ëgówge
órō òv. àpòdèmía gâr tîs àtìmòs èstîn, òst'
eîper àvtt kabh' àvtîh òt àtìmia múdepartían kakîan

1 aî fvgai supplied by Rk.  2 àn added by Pflugk.
3 ouδ' Bk., ouδ' L.  4 vovmîzousin Bk., vovmîzousin àttimlavn L.
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disgraceful; but if all should be right with them, it would be useful instead. This is your condition at the present moment. Those things which you mentioned, banishment and disfranchisement, and anything else of the sort, are disgraceful and evil only by convention and a certain popular opinion, and work no injury to either body or soul. What body could you cite that has fallen ill or perished and what spirit that has grown more unjust or even more ignorant through disfranchisement or exile or anything of that sort? I see none. And the reason is that no one of these things is by nature evil, just as neither citizenship nor residence in one's country is in itself excellent, but whatever opinion each one of us holds about them, such they seem to be. For instance, men do not universally apply the penalty of disfranchisement to the same acts, but certain deeds which are reprehensible in some places are praised in others, and various actions honoured by one people are punished by another. Indeed, some do not so much as know the name, nor the thing which it implies. And naturally enough; for whatever does not touch that which belongs to man's nature is thought to have no bearing upon him. Precisely in the same way, therefore, as it would be most ridiculous, surely, if some judgment or decree were to be rendered that So-and-so is sick or So-and-so is base, so does the case stand regarding disfranchisement.

"The same thing I find to be true in regard to exile. It is a sojourn abroad involving disfranchisement; so that if disfranchisement in and of itself
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ἐχει, οὐδὲ τῇ φυγῇ δήπου προστρήψασθαι τι
κακόν δύναται, ἐπεὶ τήν γε ἄλλως συχνό πλεί-
στον ὅσον χρόνον οἱ μὲν ἂκοντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἂκοντες
ἀποδημοῦσι, καὶ τινὲς καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον καταν-
αλίσκοντες περινοστοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἂεὶ πανταχό-
θεν ἐξελαυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι παρὰ τοῦτο
3 βλάπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διαφέρει τι
ἐκούσιον τινα ἢ μὴ τούτο ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ
ἀκων σωμασικῶν ἦττον τι ἔρρωται τοῦ ἔθελοντι
αὐτὸ δρῶντος, οὐδ' ὁ ἂκων ναυτιλλόμενος ἦττων
τινα ὥφελιαν τοῦ ἔτερον κτάται. καὶ αὐτὸ γε
τούτο τὸ ἂκούσιον οὐχ ὅρω δυνάμενον ἄνθρ
4 φρονίμῳ συμβηνιαι. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ
διάφορον τοῦ τε εὐ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πράττειν ἐστὶν
ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐθελοντι ἕτοιμος τα δ' ἂκοντες
χαλεπώς ποιοῦμεν, εὐθεράπευτον· ἐὰν γὰρ τοῖς
πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐκούσιοι ὑπομένωμεν καὶ
πρὸς μηδέν αὐτῶν ἡττώμεθα, συνανήργηται
5 κάκεινα, ὅσα ἀν ἐν τῷ ἂκούσιῳ θῇ τις εἶναι. καὶ
γὰρ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀρχαῖος λόγος καὶ μᾶλλον εἰ ἔχων
ἐστὶν ὅτι δεὶ ἡμᾶς μὴ ὅσα ἄν βουλώμεθα ἀξίον
γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀν ἐκ τινος ἀνάγκης γίγνεται
βουλεσθαι. οὕτε γὰρ αὐθαίρετον τοῦ τοῦ βίου
τρόπον ἔχομεν οὐθ' αὐτῶν ἐσμέν· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν
6 τῇ τύχῃ δόξῃ, καὶ ὅπως ἄν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν δαιμὸν
ἐκπληρώτησι τοῦ τεταγμένου δοθῇ, τοιούτοις ἀνάγκη
cαι ἐκείνου ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι.

25 "Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ἐστὶν, ἂν τ' ἔθελομεν ἂν

1 ἦττω Bb., ἦττωνa L.  2 διʻ added by Leuncl.
3 ποιοῦμεν R. Steph., ποιῶμεν L.
4 εὑθεράπευτον B. Steph., εὑθεράπευτος L.
5 συνανήργηται Rk., συνανήργηταί L.
6 ὥσθ' αὐτῶν R. Steph., ὅσθ' αὐτῶν L.

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contains no evil, surely no evil can be attached to exile either. In fact, many live abroad anyway for very long periods, some unwillingly, but others willingly; and some even spend their whole life travelling about, just as if they were expelled from every place in turn; and yet they do not regard themselves as being injured in doing so. Nor does it make any difference whether a man does it voluntarily or not; the man who trains his body unwillingly is no less strong than he who does it willingly, and one who goes on a voyage unwillingly obtains no less benefit than another. And as regards this unwillingness itself, I do not see how it can exist with a man of sense. Accordingly, if the difference between being well and badly off is that we do some things readily and voluntarily, while we perform others unwillingly and grudgingly, the trouble can easily be remedied. For if we willingly endure all necessary things and allow none of them to conquer us, all those matters in which one might assume unwillingness have been done away with at a single stroke. There is, indeed, an old saying and a very good one, to the effect that we ought not to demand that whatever we wish should come to pass, but to wish for whatever does come to pass as the result of any necessity. For we neither have free choice in our manner of life nor are we our own masters; but according as it may suit chance, and according to the character of the fortune granted each one of us for the fulfilment of what is ordained, we must also shape our life.

"Such is the nature of the case whether we like it
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τε καὶ μὴ εἰ δὲ σε οὐχὶ ἢ ἀτιμία αὐτῆς οὖν ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῆς λυπεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ μονὸν μηδὲν ἑδικηκός τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ εὑρηγετηκῶς ἦτιμωσάτε καὶ ἐξελῆλασαλ, λόγισα τούθ', ὅτι ἔπειδήτερ πάσα ἐπέπρωτο σοι τοιούτῳ τι παθεῖτ, κάλλιστον δήποτε καὶ ἀριστον συμβέβηκε

2 τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα σε ἔπτηρεάσθαι.  3 οὐ μὲν γὰρ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς πολίταις συνεβοῦλευσας καὶ ἐπραξάς, οὐκ ἰδιωτέων ἀλλ’ ὑπατεύων, οὐδ’ ἱδία τι πολυπραγμονόν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς βουλῆς δόγμασι πειθόμενος, οὐ κατὰ στάσιν ἀλλ’

3 ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ γενομένου.  4 ὦ δεῖνα δὲ καὶ ὦ δεῖνα ἐκ δυναστείας καὶ ἐπηρεάς πάντα κατὰ σοῦ συνεσκεύαστον, ὅστ’ ἐκείνοις μὲν καὶ ἄχθεσαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνικίᾳ προσήκει, σοὶ δὲ δὴ ἀνδρείως φέρειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ

4 καλὸν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ ποι μᾶλλον ἄν ἐθελήσαις τῷ τῇ Κατιλίνη συμπράξας καὶ τῷ Λεντούλῳ συνομόσας, καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰν ἀντία τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι παραψεῖς, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν προσταχθέντων σοι υπ’ αὐτῆς ποιῆσας, οἰκοι μὲνεις ἀδικῆσας ἢ κατορθώσας φυγεῖν.

5 οὐκόμοι εἰ καὶ τῆς δόξης σοι μέλει, πολλῷ ποι ὁ παρετώτερον ἔστι μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἔκτεπτωκέναι ἢ κακουργήσαντα τοῖς οἰκοι μεμενδέκειν: τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἢ ἀσχύνη τοῖς ἀδίκως ἐκβαλοῦσί καί τινα, ἀλλ’ οὐ τῷ κατ’ ἐπήρειειν ἐξελαθέντι προσγίγνεται.

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1 αὐτῆ Rk., αὕτη L.  2 ἐπηρέασθαι Bk., ἐπηρέασθαι L.
3 οὐ Pflugk, καὶ οὐ L.  4 γενομένου Pflugk, γενομένος L.
5 ἐθελήσασι H. Steph., ἐθελήσασι L.  6 ἢ added by Xyl.
7 ἐκβαλοῦσι Bk., ἐκβάλλουσιν L.
8 ἐξελαθέντι Dind., ἐξελαθέντι L.

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or not. If, now, it is not disfranchisement in itself or exile in itself that troubles you, but the fact that you have not only done your country no injury but have actually benefited her greatly, and yet you have been disfranchised and expelled, look at it in this way—that, when once it was destined for you to have such an experience, it has surely been the noblest and the best fortune that could befall you to be despitefully used without having committed any wrong. For you advised and carried out all that was proper for the citizens, not as an individual but as consul, not meddling officiously in a private capacity but obeying the decrees of the senate, which were not passed as party measures but for the best ends. This and that person, on the contrary, out of their superior power and insolence devised everything against you; hence they ought to have trouble and sorrow for their injustice, but for you it is noble as well as necessary to bear bravely what Heaven has determined. Surely you would not prefer to have joined with Catiline and conspired with Lentulus, to have given your country the exact opposite of useful counsel, to have performed none of the duties laid upon you by her, and thus remain at home as the reward of wickedness, instead of saving your country and being exiled. Accordingly, if you care at all about your reputation, it is far preferable, I am sure, for you to have been driven out, after doing no wrong, than to have remained at home by performing some base act; for, apart from other considerations, the shame attaches to those who have unjustly cast a man forth, rather than to the man who has been wantonly expelled.
26 "Καίτοι ἔγγυε ἀκούω τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ ἀκών οὐδ' ἄλοις 1 μετέστης, 2 ἀλλ' ἐθελοντὴς ἔμισθηςας τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον, ἀτε μῆτε βελτίων σφάς ποιήσαι δυνάμενος μῆτε συναπολέσθαι σφίσιν ὑπομένων, καὶ ἔφυγες οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῇ. ὡστ' ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ ἄτιμοι καὶ ἐξόριστοι ἐλεῖν ἂν, πάντα τὰ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν ἔβεβηληκότες, σὺ δὲ ἐπίτιμος καὶ εὐδαιμόνιος, μήτ' ἀτόπως τῷ δουλεύον καὶ πάντα τὰ προσύκοντα ἔχων, ἢν τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἢν τε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἢν τε καὶ ἀλλοθὺ ποῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ζῆν ἐθελῆσῃς. οὐ γὰρ δῆσαι τὰ χωρία οὕτε εὔτυχίαν οὕτε κακοδαιμονίαν τώρα διδῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαστός αὐτῷ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἄει καὶ παν-

3 ταχοῦ ποιεῖ. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐννοήσας 3 ἢδεως ἐν Ἀρδέα κατφυγῇ, ταῦθ' ὁ Σκιπίων λογισάμενος ἀλύτως ἐν Διτέρυφ κατεβίω. τι γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Ἀριστείδην, τι δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα λέγειν, οὐς ἐνδοξότερους ἡ φυγὴ ἐποίησεν, τι τὸν Ἀννι ... 4 τὶ τὸν Σόλωνα, ὁς ἐκὼν ἐτῇ δέκα ἀπεξενώθη;

4 "Μὴ οὖν μηδὲ σὺ μήτε χαλεπῶ τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἢ μήτε τῇ 5 τοῦ σώματος μήτε τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν φυσὶ προσήκει, νόμιζε εἰναί, μήτ' ἁγανάκτει τοῖς προσπεπτωκώσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αἰρεσίς τις ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τοῦ ζῆν ὅπως ἂν ἐθελήσωμεν, ἄσπερ εἴην, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ὑπο-

5 μένειν ἡμᾶς τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ. τούτο δὲ ἂν μὲν ἐθελοῦνται ποιῶμεν, οὐ λυπησόμεθα, ἂν δὲ

1 ἄλοις R. Steph., ἄλλους L.  2 μετέστης Bk., μετέστηςας L.  3 ἐννοήσας Rk., εἰ νοθές L.  4 Ἀννίον L, Ἀννίβαυ Fabricius.  5 τῇ supplied by Leunol.

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"Moreover, the story, as I heard it, was that you did not depart unwillingly, nor after conviction, but of your own accord; that you hated to live with them, seeing that you could not make them better and would not endure to perish with them, and that you fled, not from your country, but from those who were plotting against her. Consequently it would be they who are dishonoured and banished, having cast out all that is good from their souls, and it would be you who are honoured and fortunate, as being nobody’s slave in unseemly fashion but possessing all that is needful, whether you choose to live in Sicily, or in Macedonia, or anywhere else in the world. For surely it is not places that give either success or misfortune of any sort, but each man creates his own country and his own happiness always and everywhere. This was the feeling of Camillus when he was fain to dwell in Ardea; this was the way Scipio reasoned when he spent his last days in Liternum without grieving. But why mention Aristides or Themistocles, men whom exile rendered more famous, or . . .\(^1\) or Solon, who of his own accord left home for ten years?

"Therefore, do you likewise cease to consider irksome any such thing as pertains neither to our physical nor to our spiritual nature, and do not vex yourself at what has happened. For to us belongs no choice, as I told you, of living as we please, but it is absolutely necessary for us to endure what Heaven determines. If we do this voluntarily, we shall not be grieved; but if involuntarily, we shall

\(^1\) Annius, the Ms. reading, is corrupt; perhaps Hannibal is meant. In any case a relative clause appears to have been lost after the name.
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ἀκόντως, οὔτε ἐκφευξόμεθα τι τῶν πεπρωμένων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν προσεπικτησόμεθα,
6 τὸ μάτην ἀνιάσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν καὶ
tὰ ἀτοποώτατα εὐκόλως φέροντες ἐν οúdeιν δεινό
kαθεστηκέναι νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἑλαφρο-
tάτοις βαρυνόμενοι πάντα τὰ ἤξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ
ἐχειν ὑποτεύνουν, καὶ ἑτεροὶ, οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ
ἀμείνων κακῶς οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ χεῖρω καλῶς μετα-
χειριζόμενοι, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑκάτερα

27 ὁκεῖν εἴναι ποιοῦσιν οἶα αὐτοῖς εἴναι παρασκευά-
καὶ σὺ οὖν ταῦτα λογίζομενος μήτε τοῖς
tαροῦσιν ἀχθοῦ, μήτ', ἀν τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας σε
εὐτυχοῦστας πυνθάνῃ, λυποῦ. κοψαῖ3 μὲν γὰρ
καὶ ἐφήμεροι καὶ ἄλλοις αἱ τῶν ἁνθρώπων εὐπρα-
γίαι εἰσι, καὶ ὅσο ἂν μᾶλλον τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν
ἐπαύξη, πάντως πυνθάνῃ πάπτει, μᾶλλον
dὲ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν. ἀτε γὰρ ἐν τεταραγμένωι
καὶ ἀκαταστάτοις πράγμασι φερόμενοι 4 μικρῶν,
μᾶλλον δὲ οúdeν, τῶν χειμαζόμενοι διαφέρουσιν,
ἀλλ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, τοτέ μὲν δεῦρο τοτὲ δὲ
ἐκείσε, ἄσποσ.5 κἀν ἀρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον

3 σφαλώσι, παντελῶς βαπτίζονται. καὶ ίνα γε
μήτε τὸν Δροῦσον μήτε τὸν Σκιτίωνα μήτε τοὺς
Γράκχους ἢ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς εὐτίκως, μέμνησο6
μὲν ἄτοσ ὁ Κάμιλλος ὁ φυγας ἀμείνου τοῦ Καπι-
tωλίνου7 μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήλλαξε, μέμνησο6 δὲ ὅσον
Ἀριστείδης τοῦ Θεμιστοκλῆος ὕστερον διήνεγκεν.

4 "Ωστε καὶ σὺ μάλιστα μὲν ἑλπίζε καὶ κατ-
αχθήσεσθαι (οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀδικίας εξελήλασαι, καλ

1 οὔτε Rk., οὔδε, L. 2 ἄλλοι supplied by Rk.
3 κοψαῖ Leuncl., κοψαῖ L. 4 φερόμενοι R. Steph., φερόμενος L.
5 ἄσποσ supplied by Reim.
6 μέμνησο Rk., μέμνησθέ L.
7 Καπιτωλίνου Wesseling, Καπιτωλίου L.

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not escape at all what is fated, and we shall at the same time acquire the greatest of ills—the distressing of our hearts to no purpose. The proof of this is that men who bear good-naturedly the most outrageous fortunes do not regard themselves as being in any very dreadful plight, while those who are disturbed at the lightest disappointments imagine that all human ills are theirs. And people in general, both those who manage favourable conditions badly and those who manage unfavourable conditions well, make their good or ill fortune appear to others to be just what they make it for themselves. Bear this in mind, then, and be not cast down by your present state, nor grieve if you learn that the men who exiled you are flourishing. For the successes of men are vain and ephemeral at best, and the higher a man climbs as a result of them, the more easily, like a breath, does he fall, especially in partisan strife. Borne along in the midst of troubled and unstable conditions they differ little, if at all, from sailors in a storm, but are tossed up and down, now hither, now thither; and if they make the slightest mistake, they are sure to sink. Not to mention Drusus, or Scipio, or the Gracchi, or certain others, remember how Camillus, the exile, later came off better than Capitolinus, and remember how greatly Aristides afterwards surpassed Themistocles.

"Do you also, then, hope, first and foremost, for your restoration; for you have not been expelled
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ἐπιζητήσουσι μὲν σε, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐκβεβληκότες, ποθήσουσι δὲ πάντες). ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρούσιν ἐμμείνῃ, μὴτι γε¹ καὶ
28 ἀνιαθῆς παρὰ τούτο μηδὲν. ἂν μὲν γάρ μοι πεισθῆς, καὶ πάνω ἀγαπήσεις χωρίον τε τι παραθαλασσίδιον ἐξω πάτου ἐκλέξαμενος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεωργῶν τε ἀμα καὶ συγγράφων τι, ὡς Ξενοφῶν.
2 ὡς Θουκυδίδης. τὸ τε γὰρ εἰδος τούτο τῆς σοφίας διαρκεστάτον ἐστὶ καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ πάσῃ δὲ πολιτείᾳ ἀρμοδιώτατον, καὶ ἡ φυγὴ φέρει τινὰ σχολὴν γονιμωτέραν. ὡστ' εἴπερ ὄντως ἀθάνατος καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι γενέσθαι ἐθέλεις, ἦλωσον αὐ-
3 τοὺς. τὰ τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἀρκοῦντα ἐχεῖς καὶ οὕτ' ἄξιωματός τινος προσδέχῃ. εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν, ὑπάτευκας· καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν τοῖς καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἢ καὶ τέταρτον ἀρξας, πλὴν γραμμάτων ἀριθμοῦ κενῶν, ὑπάρχει, ἂ μὴτε ξώντα μὴτ' ἀποθανόντα τινὰ ὑφελεῖ.
4 οὖκοιν ἄν ἔλους οὕτε Κορούνοις οὔτε Μάριοι ὁ ἐπτάκις ὑπατεύσας μᾶλλον ἡ Κικέρων εἶναι. οὔτ' αὐ ἡγεμονίας τινὸς ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὅσ γε καὶ τὴν δο-
θείσαν σοι ἐξέστης, καταφρονήσας μὲν τῶν ἀπ', αὐτῆς κερδῶν, καταφρονήσας δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀλυμ-
χρονοῦ τε καὶ ὑπευθύνου πᾶσι τοῖς συκοφαντεῖν
5 ἑθέλουσιν ἐξουσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' εἴπον οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τι² αὐτῶν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐστίν, ἄλλα ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἐπείπερ ἔχρην, ἰκανῶς ἐξήτασα, ἵνα καὶ εξ ἐκείνων τὸ διάφορον τῶν βίων μαθῶν τὰ μὲν ἐλὴ τὰ δὲ ἀπώσηθα³ καὶ τὰ μὲν διάξης τὰ δὲ φύγης. σμικρὸς γὰρ ὁ βίος

¹ μήτι γε Dind., μήτοι γε L. ² τι supplied by Oddey. ³ ἀπώσῃ Dind., ἀπωθῆσῃ L.

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on account of wrong-doing, and the very ones who drove you forth will, as I learn, seek for you, while all will miss you. But even if you continue in your present state, do not distress yourself at all about it. For if you will take my advice, you will be quite satisfied to pick out a little estate in some retired spot on the coast and there carry on at the same time farming and some historical writing, like Xenophon and like Thucydides. This form of learning is most enduring and best adapted to every man and to every state; and exile brings with it a kind of leisure that is more fruitful. If, then, you wish to become really immortal, like those historians, emulate them. You have the necessary means in sufficiency and you lack no distinction. For if there is any virtue in such honours, you have been consul; nothing more belongs to those who have held office a second, a third, or a fourth time, except an array of idle letters which benefit no man, living or dead. Hence you would not choose to be Corvinus, or Marius, the man seven times consul, rather than Cicero. Nor, again, are you anxious for any position of command, seeing that you withdrew from the one bestowed upon you, because you scorned the gains to be had from it, scorned a brief authority that was subject to the scrutiny of all who chose to practise blackmail. These matters I have mentioned, not because any one of them is requisite for happiness, but because, since it was necessary, you have occupied yourself sufficiently with public affairs to learn therefrom the difference in lives and to choose the one course and reject the other, to pursue the one and avoid the other. Our life is but short, and you

1 M. Valerius Corvinus (less properly Corvinus), consul for the sixth time in B.C. 299.
6 ἀλλ' ἦδη τι καὶ σεαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι. σκέψαι δὲ ὅσον ἦ τε ἴσχυς τῆς παραχής καὶ ἥ εὐροῖα ¹ τῶν θορύβων ὣ τε ἔλευθερία τῆς δουλείας καὶ ἥ ἀσφάλεια τῶν κυνήγων διαφερεῖ, ἵν' ἐπιθυμήσῃς ζῆσαι ὡς ἐγώ σοι παραϊνῷ.

"Οὔτω μὲν γὰρ εὐδαίμονήσεις, καὶ σοι μέγα ὅνομα καὶ ² τούτῳ αἰεὶ καὶ ξύντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἔσται· ἀν δὲ δή τὴν τε κάθοδον σπουδάσῃς καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ λαμπρότητα ξηλώσῃς, δυσχερές μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν βούλομαι, φοβοῦμαι δὲ, ἵν' ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὴν σὴν παρασκευὴν ἐνοῦν, τὴν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀντιστασιώτων σοι θεωρῶν, ² μὴ ποτὲ τι καὶ αὖθις σφαλῆς. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ γένοιο, μεταγνωσθῇ μόνον; ³ εἰ δὲ τι ἔτερον ἀνήκεστον πάθοις, οὐδὲ μετανοῆσαι δυνήσῃ. καίτοι πῶς μὲν ου δεινόν, πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἀποτμηθῆναι τε τινος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τεθῆναι, κἂν οὔτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἄνδρα τινὰ αὐτῇ ³ καὶ γυναῖκα ⁴ ἐνυβρίσας; καὶ με μὴ ὡς φαῦλά σοι οἰωνιζόμενον μυσήσῃς, ἀλλ' ὡς διοσκήμων τινὰ προδεικνύτα φύλαξαι. μηδὲ σε ἐξαπατάτω ⁵ τοῦθ', ὅτι καὶ φίλους τινὰς τῶν δυνατῶν ἔχεις· οὐδὲν γὰρ σε ὀφελήσουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες φιλεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρῶς ᾦς διακειμένους, ὡσπερ ⁴ που καὶ πεπείρασαι. οἱ γὰρ δυναστείας ἔρωταις παρ' οὐδὲν ⁶ πάντα τάλλα πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὅπως

¹ εὐροῖα R. Steph., εὐρεία L.    ² καὶ R. Steph., εἰ καὶ L.
³ μόνον Bk., μέν L.
⁴ καὶ ἄνδρα—καὶ γυναῖκα Bk., κἂν ἃ—κἂν γ. L.
⁵ ἐξαπατάτω R. Steph., ἐξαπάτω L.
⁶ ἐχθρῶς R. Steph., ἐχθρῶς L.    ⁷ οὐδὲν Reim., οὐδὲν L.

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ought not to live all yours for others, but by this time to grant a little to yourself. Consider how much better quiet is than turmoil, and tranquillity than tumults, freedom than slavery, and safety than dangers, that you may feel a desire to live as I am urging you to do. In this way you will be happy, and your name shall be great because of it—and that for evermore, whether you are living or dead.

"If, however, you are eager for your restoration and aim at a brilliant political career, I do not wish to say anything unpleasant, but I fear, as I cast my eyes over the situation and call to mind your frankness of speech, and behold the power and numbers of your adversaries, that you may meet defeat once more. If then you should encounter exile, you will have merely to experience a change of heart; but if you should incur some fatal punishment, you will not be able even to repent. And yet is it not a dreadful and disgraceful thing to have one's head cut off and set up in the Forum, for any man or woman, it may be, to insult? Do not hate me as one who prophesies evil to you, but pay heed to me as to one announcing a warning from Heaven. Do not let the fact that you have certain friends among the powerful deceive you. You will get no help against those who hate you from the men who seem to love you, as, indeed, you have learned by experience. For those who have a passion for power regard everything else as nothing in comparison with obtaining what
καὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν ἔχθστων ἀντικαταλάσσονται.”

Καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὅρων τοις ἑγένετο, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πομπήιον τοῦ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλόντος κατήχθη. αὕτων δὲ ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Τιγράνην τὸν νεώτερον, ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι καὶ τὸτε παρὰ Δουκίφω Φλαουίῳ ὄντα, πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἔξηρπασε καὶ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν τε Γαβίλιον ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ περιύβρισε, τοῖς τε ἁμφ’ αὐτοὺς ὁπι καὶ πληγᾶς καὶ τραύματα ἔδωκε, καὶ τοῦ ὑπάτου τὰς τε ῥάβδους συνέτριψε καὶ τὴν ὀυσίαν καθιέρωσεν.

ὁργισθεὶς γὰρ διὰ ταῦθ’ ὁ Πομπήιος, ἀλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἡν αὐτὸς τοῖς δημάρχους ἀπεδεικνύκει, κατ’ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κλώδιος ἐκέχρητο, ἀνακαλεσάσας τὸν Κικέρωνα ἠθέλησε, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον εὐθὺς διὰ τὸν Νιννίον πράττειν ἡρῴατο.

καὶ δὲ ἐσῆγενκε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἀπόντα τὸν Κλώδιον τηρήσας· ἀντιστάτος δὲ οἱ ἔτεροι τοις δημάρχου, ἐκείνην τε ὡς καὶ τῷ πλήθει κοινώσων ἐξέθηκε, καὶ τῷ Κλωδίῳ πρὸς πάντα καθάπαξ ἠμαινυότο. κακὸ τούτο καὶ φιλονεικία καὶ τραύματα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἑκατέρως ἐγιγνετο. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι, βουλήθηκε ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἐκποδῶν, ὅπως βᾶον ὁσα ἐπραπτε κατορθώσῃ, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον τὸν τὸν τὴν Κύπρον ἐχοντα ἀμύνασθαι ὁτι αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν γένετο.

1 ῥφων Rk., ῥαιδός L. 2 τῇ Xyl., ἐν L. 3 τὸν added by Rk.
they desire, and often give up their dearest friends and closest kin in exchange for their bitterest foes."

On hearing this Cicero grew somewhat easier in mind. His exile, however, did not last long, but he was recalled by Pompey himself, who had been chiefly responsible for his expulsion. The reason was this. Clodius had taken a bribe to deliver Tigranes the younger, who was still at that time in confinement at the house of Lucius Flavius, and had let him go; and when Pompey and Gabinius became indignant at this, he wantonly insulted them, inflicted blows and wounds upon their followers, broke to pieces the consul’s fasces, and devoted his property to the gods. Pompey, enraged at this, particularly because the authority which he himself had restored to the tribunes had been used against him by Clodius, desired to recall Cicero, and immediately began through Ninnius to work for his restoration. The latter waited for Clodius to be absent, and then introduced in the senate the motion in Cicero’s behalf. When another one of the tribunes opposed him, he not only posted up his measure, indicating that he would communicate it also to the people, but he furthermore set himself in unqualified opposition to Clodius at every point. From this there arose contentions and many wounds in consequence for both sides. But before matters reached that point Clodius wished to get Cato out of the way, so that he might more easily succeed with his schemes, and likewise to avenge himself upon Ptolemy, who then held Cyprus, because the latter
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1. καταποντιστῶν οὐκ ἔλύσατο, τὴν τε νῆσον ἑδή-
μοσίωσε καὶ πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῆς τὸν Κά-
tωνα καὶ μᾶλα ἄκουντα ἅπέστειλε.

31 Ῥαῦτα μὲν ἐνι 1 τῇ πόλει ἐγέρνετο. Καῖσαρ δὲ
εὑρε μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολέμων, ἀλλὰ
ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἡσύχαζεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ
dιεγένετο, ἀλλὰ αὐτομάτου τὸ πρῶτον πολέμου
τυχὸς αὐτῷ συμβάντος ἐτερος συνηνέχθη, ὡστε
αὐτὸν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, πάντα . . .

2 καὶ πολεμήσαι καὶ κατορθώσαι. Ἐλουήτιοι γὰρ
πλήθει τε ἀκμάζοντες καὶ χώραν οὖκ αὐτάρκη τῇ
πολυναθρωτίᾳ σφῶν ἔχοντες, μέρος μὲν τι ἐκπεμ-
ψαι ἐστὶ ἀποικίαν οὐκ ἥθελσαν, μὴ καὶ διασπα-
σθέντες εὐεργετοῦτοροι τοὺς λυπηθεῖσι ποτε
ἀυτῶν γένονται, πάντες δὲ δὴ ἀπαναστήναι
βούλθεντες, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἔτερα τινά καὶ πλεῖω καὶ
βελτίω χώραν μετοικισθῆσομενοι, τὰς τε κώμας
καὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἀπάσας ἔκαυσαν ὡστε μυθένα

3 μετάμελον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιήσασθαι. καὶ τι-

ναὶ 2 καὶ ἑτέρους τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένους προσλαβό-

ντες ἄπηραι, Ὀρκετὸριγος σφῶν ἡγομένου, ἐν νῦν 3

ἔχοντες τῶν τε Ῥωδανὸν διαβῆναι καὶ πρὸς ταῖς

'Αλπέσι που κατοκισθήναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖ-

σαρ τῆς τε γέφυρας διέκοψε καὶ τάλλα ως

κωλύσων αὐτοὺς διαβήναι ἥτοιμάζετο, ἐπεμψαν

πρὸς αὐτὸν δίοδόν τε αὐτούμενοι καὶ προσπη-

ςχυμένοι μηδέν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν γῆν κακώσειν.

4 καὶ δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μήτε ἐπίστευεν 4 αὐτοῖς

μήτε προχωρῆσαι ποι ἐπιτρέψειν ἐμελλεῖν, ἀλλ' 1

1 ἐν added by R. Steph. 2 τινας Bk., τινας μὲν L.
3 ἐν νὺ supplie by Leuncl.
4 ἐπίστευεν H. Steph., ἐπίστευεν L.

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had failed to ransom him from the pirates. Hence he declared the island the property of the state and despatched Cato, very much against the latter's will, to attend to its administration.

While this was going on in the city, Caesar found no hostility in Gaul, but everything was absolutely quiet. The state of peace, however, did not continue, but first one war broke out against him of its own accord, and then another was added, so that his greatest wish was fulfilled of waging war and winning success for the whole [period of his command (?)]. The Helvetii, who were strong in numbers and had not sufficient land for their large population, were unwilling to send out a part to form a colony for fear that if separated they might be more exposed to plots on the part of the tribes whom they had once injured; instead, they decided to migrate all together, with the intention of settling in some larger and better country, and they burned all their villages and cities, so that none should regret the migration. After adding to their numbers some others who felt the same needs, they set out with Orgetorix as their leader, intending to cross the Rhone and settle somewhere near the Alps. When Caesar destroyed the bridge and made other preparations to hinder them from crossing, they sent to him asking permission to cross and also promising to do no injury to the Roman territory. And though he had the greatest distrust of them and had not the slightest idea of allowing them to proceed, nevertheless, because he
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ὅτι γε οὐδέπω καλῶς παρεσκεύαστο, βουλεύσε-σθαί τε ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥξιον μετὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἔφη καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐν ῥητῇ τις ἡμέρᾳ δώσειν. καὶ τι καὶ ἐλπίδος, ως καὶ ἐπιτρέψων σφίζῃ τὴν δίοδον, ὑπετείνατο. κἂν τούτῳ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα διετάφρευσε καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, ὡς τ' ἀπορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὄδον γενέσθαι.

32 Οἱ ὁμων χάριμου χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον, ἐπείτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἥκουσαν κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀγαντε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῶν 'Ἀλλοβριγών ἐπορεύοντο ᾖπερ ὁμοντο, ἐπείτ' ἐνυχώντες τοῖς κωλύμασιν ἐς Σηκουανοὺς ἀπετράποντο, καὶ διὰ τε τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν Αἰδοὺν ἐθελοῦν σφισι τὴν δίοδον, ἐφ' ὃ μηδὲν ἀδικηθῶσι, παρεχόντων διώντες οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ωμολογημένοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἑληλάτων. πέμψαντες οὖν οἱ τε Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἰδοὺοι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικουρίαν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦτον, καὶ ἐδέσθοντο μή ταῖσις περιδεῖν ἁπολομένοις. καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν οὐδὲν ὁμοια οἷς ἐπραξαν, ἔτυχον δ' οὖν ὁμοίως ὡν ἥξιον' ὁ γάρ Καίσαρ φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἔτι τὴν Τόλοσαν οἱ Ἐλούντιοι τράπονται, εἶλετο μετ' ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς ἀμώνασθαι μᾶλλον ἡ συμφρονήσαςί σφισιν, ὀπερ εὑδηλον ἤν ἐςόμενον, πολεμήσαι. προσπεσὼν οὖν διὰ ταύτα τοῖς Ἐλούντιοι τὸν Ἀραρίν διαβαίνοντι, τοὺς μὲν τελευταίους ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πόρῳ διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ προκεχωρηκότας ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ αἴφυδιου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τάχους τῆς διώξεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς πῦστες τῶν ἁπολωλότων ἐξέπληξεν ὡστὲ ἐς ὀμολογιάν

1 τε H. Steph., τι Ι. 2 ἁπολομένοις Cobet, ἁπολομένοις L. 3 ἐκ added by Bk.

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was not yet well prepared he answered that he wished to consult his lieutenants about their requests and would give them their reply on a stated day; in fact he held out some little hope that he would grant them the passage. Meanwhile he dug ditches and erected walls in the most commanding positions, so as to make the road impassable for them.

Accordingly the barbarians waited for a time, and then, when they heard nothing as agreed, they set out and proceeded first through the country of the Allobroges, as they had begun. Then, encountering the obstacles, they turned aside into the territory of the Sequani and passed through their land as well as that of the Aedui, who gave them a free passage on condition that they should do no harm; but instead of abiding by the agreement, they went to plundering their country. Then the Sequani and Aedui sent to Caesar asking for assistance and begging him not to let them be ruined. Although their statements did not correspond at all with their past deeds, they nevertheless obtained their request. For Caesar was afraid the Helvetii might turn also against Tolosa, and chose to drive them back with the help of the other tribes, rather than to fight them all after they had come to an understanding, which it was clear they would otherwise do. Consequently he fell upon the Helvetii as they were crossing the Arar, annihilating at the very ford those who were bringing up the rear, and so alarming those who had gone ahead by the suddenness and swiftness of his pursuit and the report of their losses, that they desired to come to terms, on condition of
33 ἐπὶ χώρα την ἔθελησαι ἐλθεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁμήρους ἴτηθησαν, ἡγανάκτησαν οὐχ ὅτι ἤπειστοῦντο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἀπηξίουν ὁμήρους τιεὶ δούναι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν σπουδῶν κατεφρόνησαν, προχωροῦντες δὲ αὐθικ τὴν τε ἱπποῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ πολὺ προδραμοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς ὑποθοφύλακας αὐτῶν παραλυποῦσαν, ὑποστάντες

2 τῷ ἱππικῷ ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖ τε φρόνημα λαβόντες καὶ ἐκείνων φυγεῖν διὰ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν, καὶ ὅτι σπανίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς πόλιν τινὰ ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ οὕσαν ἑξετάτητο, νομίσαντες,

3 τοῦ τε πρόσω ἄφεντο καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν αὐτὸν. ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν τε ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ πρὸς μετέωρον τι ὁμηρεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεὰς προεβάλετο ἅπαντα ὑποθοφύλασαὶ σφισιν, ἐως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ παρατάξῃ. τρευμαμένῳ τε αὐθικ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον θυμῷ φερομένων, ἐπικατέδραμε σφισιν ἐξαίφνησις, καὶ ἀτε συντεταγμένος σποράδαις

4 ἔξω ὑπερδεξίων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεώσατο. τραπομένων δὲ τοῦτον, ἀλλ’ τινὲς τῶν μὴ μαχομένων (ὕπο τε γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς οὐ πάντες ἀμα παρεγένοντο) προσέμεξαν ἐξαιρήθησαν κατὰ νότον τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσι σφαί, καὶ ἠθορυβήσαν.

5 μὲν αὐτοῦς, πλεῖον δὲ οὐδὲν ἔσχουν ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ τοὺς ἱππεύσει τοὺς φεύγοντας προστάξας αὐτῶς τῷ ὑπετικῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράπετο, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμφότερους σφίσι συγκαταφυγοῦσιν ἐφέστητο, κάνταυθα αὐθις ἴσχυρος

1 προεβάλετο Rk., προσεβάλλετο L.

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receiving some land. They did not, however, reach any agreement; for when they were asked for hostages, they became offended, not because they were distrusted, but because they thought it unworthy of them to give hostages to anyone. So they disdained a truce and went forward again.

When Caesar's cavalry galloped far ahead of the infantry and proceeded to harass their rear-guard, the enemy withstood them with their own cavalry and conquered them. Filled with pride in consequence, and thinking that he, too, had fled, both because of the defeat and because, owing to lack of provisions, he turned aside to a city that was off the road, they abandoned further progress and pursued after him. Caesar, seeing this and fearing the violence of their attack as well as their numbers, hurried with his infantry to some higher ground, but first threw forward his horsemen to bear the brunt of the fighting until he could marshal his forces in a suitable place. The barbarians routed them a second time and were making a spirited charge straight up the hill, when Caesar with his forces in battle-array dashed down upon them suddenly from his superior position, while they were scattered, and so repulsed them without difficulty. After these had been routed, some others who had not joined in the conflict—for owing to their multitude and their haste not all had arrived at the same time—attacked the pursuers in the rear and threw them into some confusion, but gained no advantage. For Caesar, leaving the fugitives to his cavalry, and turning himself with his heavy-armed troops to the others, defeated them and followed both bodies as they fled together to the waggons; and there, though from these vehicles they made a
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έπ' αὐτῶν ἁμνομένους σφᾶς ἐνίκησε. παθόντες
6 δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ βάρβαροι δίχα διηρέθησαν. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ὁμολόγησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁικείαν θεῖαν
ἐξανέστησαν ἐπανήλθον, κανταῦθα τὰς πόλεις
ἀνορθώσαντες φίλησαν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔθελησαντες τὰ
ὁπλα παραδοθηναι πρὸς τὸν Ρήνου, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν
ἀρχαῖαν σφῶν γῆν ἐπανελθεῖν δυνάμενοι, ὁμη-
σαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων δι᾿ ὧν
διήσαν ραδίως, ἄτε καὶ ὅλγοις καὶ νεικημένους,
ἐφθείραν.

34 Ὅπως μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἐπολέμησεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἔκειθεν οὔχ ἡσύχασεν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βούλημα 1 ἀμα ἀπεπλή-
ρωσε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐχάρισατο. οὐ τε ὡς
Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἰδοῦνοι τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ
ιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν
αἰσθόμενοι, ἐκεῖνος τε εὐεργεσίαι ἀμα καταθέσθαι
καὶ τοὺς Κέλτους τοὺς ὁμοχώρους σφίσει τιμωρη-
2 σασθαὶ ἔθελησαν· τὸν γὰρ Ρήνου πᾶλαι ποτὲ
diαβάντας τῆς τε χώρας αὐτῶν τινα παρετέμμητο
καὶ αὐτούς 2 ὑποτελεῖς ἐπεποίητο, ὀμήρους σφῶν
ἔχουτες. καὶ ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δεόμενοι δὲν ὥργετο,
ραδίως αὐτὸν ἀνέπεσαν ἐπικουρήσαι σφίσιν.

3 Ἡρχε μὲν γὰρ Ἀριόνωτος τῶν Κέλτῶν ἐκεί-
νων, καὶ τὴν τε κύρωσιν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε
συμμάχους αὐτῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὑπα-
teύνοιτο ἐσεγέγραπτο 3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
πολέμου δοξαὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς 4 ἵσχυν οὐδὲν

1 βούλημα Bk., βούλευμα L.
2 αὐτοὺς Bk., ἑαυτοῖς L, ἑαυτούς Οο.
3 ἐσεγέγραπτο Bk., ἐγραπτο L. 4 ἀπ’ αὐτῆς Bk., ἀπ’ αὐτῶν L.

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vigorouss defence, he vanquished them again. After this reverse the barbarians divided into two parties. The one came to terms with him, and going back again to their native land, whence they had set out, they rebuilt and occupied their cities there. The others refused to surrender their arms, and, with the idea that they could get back again to their old home, set out for the Rhine; but being few in numbers and labouring under a defeat, they were easily annihilated by the allies of the Romans through whose territory they passed.

Such was the first war that Caesar fought, and he did not remain quiet after this beginning; instead, he at the same time satisfied his own desire and did the allies a favour. For the Sequani and Aedui, who had marked his desire and had noticed that his deeds corresponded with his hopes, were willing at one stroke to bestow a benefit upon him and to take vengeance upon the Germans, who were their neighbours. The latter had at some time in the remote past crossed the Rhine, cut off portions of their territory, and rendered them tributaries, taking hostages from them. And because they happened to be asking what Caesar was anxious for, they easily persuaded him to assist them.

Now Ariovistus was the ruler of those Germans; his authority had been confirmed by the Romans and he had been enrolled among their friends and allies by Caesar himself during his consulship. In comparison, however, with the glory to be derived from the war and the power which that glory would bring, the

1 Dio regularly uses the word "Celts" in place of "Germans"; to avoid confusion, however, the usual term has been adopted in the translation.
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tουτων εφροντισε, πλην καθ' οσον παρα του βαρβαρου προφασιν της διαφορας, μη και προυπαρχειν τι εσ αυτου νομισθη, λαβειν ήθελησε. και δια τουτο μετεπεμψατο αυτου ως και διαλεκθηναι τι αυτω δεωμενος. επειδη τε ουχ υπερκουσεν, αλλα και έφη οτι "ει τι μοι βουλεται Καισαρ ειπειν, αυτους προσ έμε έλθετων ουτε γαρ άλλως καταδεστερος αυτου ειμι, και τον χρειαν τινος εχουντα 5 αυτου προσ εκεινον αφικνεισθαι δει," οργην τε ως και παντας τους Ρωμαιους προπεπηλακικοτος αυτου εν τουτω εποιησατο, και παραχρημα τους τε ομηρους των συμμαχων απητησαν αυτον, και προσαπτερυσαν αυτου μητε της χωρας σφων επιβαινειν μητε επικουριας οικοθεν επαγρεθαι.

6 ταυτα δε έπραξεν ουχ οτι και καταπληξεν αυτου, αλλ' οτι εξοργιειν κακα ρουτου προφασιν του πολεμου και μεγαλην και ευπρεπη ληψεσθαι ήλπισεν. διπερ έγενετο άχθεσθεις γαρ ο βαρβαρος τοις επιταγμασι πολλα και δεινα άπεκρινατο, οστε τον Καϊσαρα λογους μεν μηκετ αυτω αντιπεμψαι, των δε δη Ουσουντιωνα, την των Σηκουανων πολιν, ευθυς, και πριν αισθεσθαι 1 τινα, προκατασχειν.

35 Кαν τουτω οι στρατιωται, άγγελιας έλθουσης οτι τε ο Άριοουστος ισχυρως παρασκευαζεται, και οτι και έτεροι των Κελτων πολλοι οι μεν διαβεβηκασιν ήδη τον Ρηνον ως επι βοηθειαν αυτου, οι δε και έπ αυτω το ποταιμο συνειλεχαται 2 οπως έξαιφης σφισιν επιθωνται, δεινως ηθυμησιως 2 σαν' τα τε γαρ μεγεθη αυτων και το πληθος το

1 αισθεσθαι Uo, αισθηθησεθαι L.
2 συνειλεχαται St., συνειλοχαται L.
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Roman general heeded none of these considerations, except in so far as he wished to get some excuse for the quarrel from the barbarian, so that he should not appear to be in any way the aggressor against Ariovistus. Therefore he sent for him, pretending that he wished to have a conference with him. Ariovistus, instead of obeying, replied: “If Caesar wishes to say anything to me, let him come to me himself. I am not inferior to him, anyway, and the man who has need of another should himself go to that person.” Thereupon Caesar became angry on the ground that he had thereby insulted all the Romans, and he immediately demanded of him the hostages of the allies and forbade him either to set foot on their land or to bring any reinforcements from home. This he did, not with the idea of scaring him, but because he hoped to enrage him and by that means to gain a good and plausible pretext for the war. And this was what happened. The barbarian, angered by these demands, made a long and harsh reply, so that Caesar no longer bandied words with him, but straightway, before any one was aware of his intentions, seized on Vesontio, the city of the Sequani.

Meanwhile reports reached the soldiers that Ariovistus was making vigorous preparations, and also that many other Germans had either already crossed the Rhine to assist him or had collected on the very bank of the river to attack the Romans suddenly; hence they fell into deep dejection. Alarmed by the stature of their enemies, by their numbers, their boldness, and
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Γε τὸ θράσος καὶ τὰς ἀπὶ αὐτοῦ προχείρους ἀπειλᾶς ἐκπλαγέντες οὕτω διετέθησαν ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς θηρία ἀπορὰ καὶ ἄγρια προσοισόμενοι. καὶ ἑθρύλουν ὅτι πόλεμον οὕτε προσήκοντα οὕτε ἐψηφισμένον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλοτιμίαν ἀναιροῦσον, καὶ προσεπηπείλουν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν, ἀν μὴ μεταβαληται. μαθὼν οὖν ταύτ' ἐκείνος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδὲν διελέξατο (οὕτε γὰρ καλὸν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τοιαῦτα πρὸς πολλοὺς λέγειν, καὶ ταύτ' ἐς τοὺς πολέμους μελλοντα ἐκφοβηθέειν, καὶ ἐδεισε μὴ πως ἀπειθήσαντες θορυβήσοι καὶ κακὸν τι ἐξεργάσωνται), τοὺς δὲ δὴ ὑπάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείνονας ἀθροίζας τοιάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλεξέν.

36 "Οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, τρόπον ἥγοιμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλεύεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὥστε σκοτῶν ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῃ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἀπασίν ὄντα. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ τα ἐπιεικέστατα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, τῷ δὲ δὴ ὑπὸ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν προσήκει. δεὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις δραστηρίοις εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιείκες οὐκ ἐθέλει εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτου σώζεσθαι· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀνήρ μὲν ὅστις ἀπραγμονεύστατος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖ, πόλις δὲ, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα, τάχιστ' ἄν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου καταλυθεὶς. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ταχθέντα ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως νομοθετηθέντα καὶ ἣν ἂει καὶ ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται μέχριτερ ἀν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν γένος συνεστήκη.

1 καὶ added by "B" (in Litt. Centralbl. 1891, p. 1319).
2 εἰ μὴ Reim., μὴ L.

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consequent ready threats, they were in such a mood as to feel that they were going to contend not against men, but against uncanny and ferocious wild beasts. And the talk was that they were undertaking a war which was none of their business and had not been decreed, merely on account of Caesar’s personal ambition; and they threatened also to desert him if he did not change his course. So he, when he heard of it, did not make any address to the common soldiers, since he thought it was not a good plan to discuss such matters before a crowd, and that if he did, these things would get out and reach the enemy, and since he feared his soldiers might perchance refuse obedience, raise a tumult, and do some harm, but he assembled his lieutenants and subalterns and spoke before them as follows:

"My friends, we ought not, I think, to deliberate about public interests in the same way as about private. In fact, I do not see that the same goal is set for each man privately as for all together publicly. For though we may for ourselves take the course that is most expedient and safe, yet for the people we should both adopt and carry out only the measures that are best. Even in private matters it is necessary to be energetic; so only can a respectable position be maintained. Still, a man who is least occupied with affairs is thought to be also safest. But a state, especially if it holds sway over others, would be very quickly overthrown by such a course.¹ These laws, not drawn up by man but enacted by Nature herself, always have existed, do exist, and will exist so long as the race of mortals endures.

¹ Cf. Frg. 8 and Thucydides ii. 63.
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"Τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἔχοντων, οὐδ’ ὑμῶν οὔδένα χρὴ τὸ ἱδιὸν ἢδυ καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοῖς πασὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εὑρετέσσεριν καὶ συμφέρον προσκοπεῖν. Λογίζεσθε γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα ὡσα εἰκός ἐστι, καὶ μάλιστ’ ὅτι δεύρου ἠλθομένας αὐτοῖς τε τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἐκ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτάων ὄντες, καὶ πλήθος πολὺ στρατιωτῶν χρήματὰ τε ἄφθονα λαβόντες,

5 οὐχ ἴνα ῥαθυμῶμεν, οὐδ’ ἴνα ἀμελῶμεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ὠρθῶς διοικήσωμεν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐστίν τινὸς ἀσφαλῶς διασώσωμεν, τοὺς τε ἄδικα λείψει κατεχούμενάς ἂν ᾧδε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις τάσσεις ἁμαρτόμεθα, καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐπαυξῆσομεν. ὥς εἰ γε μὴ ταῦθ’ οὕτω φρονοῦντες ἠλθομένας, τί ποτε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐξεστατεύσαμεν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τρόπον γέ 1 τινα ὁικοδομεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱδίων κατεκείμενον; καὶ γὰρ τὸν καὶ ἀμείνον ἴνα μηδ’ ὑποστῆναι τὴν στρατεύματαν.

7 ἡ προστασίαν αὐτὴν προδοῦναι. εἰ δ’ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὸ προστατήμανος ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος πράττειν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἐθελονταὶ διὰ τὰς τιμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὰς ὁφελίας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων περιγγραμμένας πάρεσμεν, πῶς ἢν ἡ καλῶς ἡ ὁσίως ἡμῖν ἔχοι γεύσασθαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκπρεπῶντων ἡμᾶς ἀμα καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας; ἴδια μὲν γὰρ οὖν ἀν εἰς οὕτως εὔ πράξειν ὡστε μὴ οὖ τῷ κοινῷ πταίσαντι συναπολέσθαι τὸ δὲ δημόσιον εὐνυχοῦν πάσας καὶ τὰς ἐκκρίσεις συμφόρας ἀναφέρει.

37 "Δέω γε ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνδρεῖς ἑταῖροί τε καὶ φίλοι, τοὺς ἐνταύθα ὄντας (οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγνοεῖτε αὐτὰ ὡστε καὶ μαθεῖν δεῖσθαι, οὔτ'
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"This being the case, no one of you at this juncture should have an eye to what is privately agreeable and safe so much as to what is creditable and advantageous to all the Romans. For, apart from the other considerations that may naturally arise, reflect in particular that we who are so many and of such rank—members of the senate and knights—have come here accompanied by a great multitude of soldiers and with money in abundance, not that we may take our ease or neglect our duties, but for the purpose of managing rightly the affairs of our subjects, preserving in safety the property of those bound to us by treaty, repelling any who undertake to do them wrong, and increasing our own possessions. For if it was not in this spirit that we came, why in the world did we take the field at all instead of contriving in some manner or other to stay at home attending to our own affairs? Surely it were better not to have undertaken the campaign than to give it up after being assigned to it. If, however, some of us are here because compelled by the laws to do what our country ordains, and the majority of us voluntarily, on account of the honours and rewards that come from the wars we wage, how could we either honourably or rightly cheat not only the hopes of the men who sent us forth but also our own? For no one can fare so well individually as not to be ruined with the republic, if it should fall; but if the state prospers, it sustains all the misfortunes of each individual citizen.

"I do not say this with reference to you who are here, my comrades and friends; for you are not ignorant of these things, that you need to be instructed
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ολυγώρως αυτῶν ἔχετε ὡστε καὶ προτροπῆς χρή-ξειν), ἀλλ’ ὅτι τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔσθημαι
αὐτοῦς τε θρύλοντας ὡς οὐ προσήκοντα τόνδε
tὸν πόλεμον ἀνηρήμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσ-
2 στασιάζοντας, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε βεβαιοτέραν ἐκ τῶν
παρ’ ἐμοῦ λόγων τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προθυ-
mιᾶν ποιήσησθε, καὶ ἐκείνους πάνθ’ ἀ προσήκει
διδάξετε: πλείω γὰρ ἂν παρ’ ἕμων ἵδια καὶ
τολλάκις ἀκούοντες αὕτα ὑφελθείεν ἤ παρ’
3 ἐμοῦ ἀπαξ πυθόμενοι. Λέγετε τοῖς ἕμων αὐτοῖς ὅτι
οἱ πρόγονοι ἕμων ὡς οἰκοί μένοντες, οὔδε τὰς
στρατείας ὁμονύμτες, οὔδε τοὺς πολέμους φεύ-
gοντες, οὔδε τὰς βαθύμιας διώκοντες τῆλικαὐτὴν
tὴν πόλιν ἐποίησαν, ἄλλα ταῖς γνώμαις πάντα
tά προσήκοντα προχείρως τομέοντες καὶ τοῖς
σώμασι πάντα τὰ ἀρέσαντα προθύμως ἐκπο-
4 νοῦντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἵδια ὡς ἀλλότρια ἄεῖ ποτὲ
παραβαλλόμενοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν πέλας ὡς καὶ
οἰκεῖαι ἐτοίμως κτώμενοι, καὶ μήτε εὐδαμονίαν
ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν νομίζοντες,
mήτε δυστυχίαις ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ μετ’ ἀπραξίας
1 ἡσυχάζειν ἤγομενοι.
5 "Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῖ
τε, ὅλγιστοι τὸ κατ’ ἄρχας γενόμενοι καὶ πόλιν
οὐδεμίαν ἦς οὐκ ἐλάττω τὸ πρῶτον νεμόμενοι,
Δατίνοις ἐκράτησαν, Σαβίνους ἐνίκησαν, Τυρση-
νοὺς Οὐόλοκους Ὀπικοὺς Δευκανοὺς Σαυνίτας
ἐχειρώσαντο, πᾶσαν ἐνὶ λόγῳ 2 τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν
'Αλπεῶν γῇ κατεστρέψαντο, πάντας τοὺς ἄλλο-
38 φύλους τοὺς ἐπελθόντας σφύσιν ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ

1 μετ’ ἀπραξίας Οδδεύ, μετὰ εὐπραξίας Ι.
2 ἐνὶ λόγῳ Πφλυκ, ἐν ὀλίγῳ Ι.
in them, nor are you indifferent toward them, that you require exhortation. I say it because I have ascertained that some of the soldiers are themselves noisily talking to the effect that this war we have undertaken is none of our business, and are stirring up the rest to sedition. My purpose is that you yourselves may as a result of my words make more unswerving the zeal you have for your country and may also teach the others their whole duty. For they will be benefited more by hearing it from you individually and repeatedly than they would from learning it but once from my lips. Tell them, then, that it was not by staying at home or shirking their campaigns or avoiding their wars or pursuing their ease that our ancestors made the city so great, but it was by bringing their minds to venture readily all that they ought to do and their bodies to work out eagerly all the plans they had determined upon; by risking their own possessions as if they belonged to others, but acquiring readily the possessions of their neighbours as their own, while they thought that happiness was nothing else than doing their duty, and held that misfortune was nothing else than resting inactive.

"It was in consequence of these principles, therefore, that those men, who were in the beginning very few and dwelt in a city as small as any at first, conquered the Latins, subdued the Sabines, mastered the Etruscans, Volscians, Oscans, Lucanians and Samnites, in a word, subjugated the whole land south of the Alps, and repulsed all the foreign tribes that came
Τότε τε ταύτα Ρωμαίοι οἱ τε πατέρες ἦμων ἤψαντος ὡμοῦ ἱκέσθησαν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἤγαπησαν οἳς παρέλαβον, ἀλλ' ὀδερθοῦν μὲν αὐτῶν σαφὴ τὴν ῥαστώνην, σωτηρίαν δὲ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν νομίσαστε εἶναι, καὶ φοβηθήνετε μὲν μὴ μείναντα αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἑκατερὺς, καὶ καταγράσθησαι, οἰσχυρὴντες δὲ εἰ τοσαῦτα παραδειγμένου μηδὲν ἐπικηρύσσαντο, πολλῷ πλεῖσφ καὶ μείξῳ προσκατανογόναντο. τί γὰρ ἀν τις καθ' ἑκαστὸν λέγω τῇ Σαρδῷ, τῇ Ἀκκαδίᾳ, τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους, τῇ Ἑλλάδα, τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ περί τὴν Ἰονίαν, Ἡβυνοῦς, Ἰβηρίας, Ἀφροῦς; καλὸτες συχνὰ μὲν ἀν χρήματα ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνιοι ὡστε μὴ ἐκείστε ἐκπλήσσαί, συχνὰ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεῦς ὡστε μὴ ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν στρατεύσαι, πολλὰ Ἀντίοχος, πολλὰ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔγγονοι ὡστε ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καταμείναι. ἀλλ' οὕτε ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ τε τῆς δοξῆς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀργεῖν τε ἀκλεώς καὶ πλούτειν ἀδεὼς ἔλοντο, οὕτα αὐτῶν ἦμων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ καὶ ψυχὴν ὑπετείχαν ταῖς ἐξεγερτικάν καὶ κτάται τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ σώζεται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐβεβαιώσαντο τῶν προὔπαρχοντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσκή- σαντο. τί γὰρ δὲι κανταῦθα καθ' ἑκαστὸν ἐπεξείναι τὴν Κρήτην, τὸν Πόντον, τὴν Κύπρον, τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν Ἀσιανῆν, τὴν Ἀλβανίαν τὴν ἕκει, Σύροις ἀμφιτέρους, Ἀρμενίους ἐκατέρους,
against them. The later Romans, likewise, and our own fathers imitated them, not being satisfied with what they had nor content with what they had inherited, but regarding sloth as their sure destruction and hardship as their certain safety. They feared that if their treasures remained unaugmented they would waste away of themselves and wear out with age, and were ashamed after receiving so rich a heritage to add nothing to it; accordingly they effected much greater and more numerous conquests. But why mention individually Sardinia, Sicily, Macedonia, Illyria, Greece, Ionian Asia, Bithynia, Spain, and Africa? And yet the Carthaginians would have given them much money not to extend their voyages thither, and much would Philip and Perseus have given to keep them from making campaigns against them; Antiochus would have given much, his sons and grandsons would have given much, to have them remain in Europe. But those men in view of the glory and the greatness of the empire did not choose to be ignobly idle or to enjoy their wealth in security, nor did the older men of our own generation who even now are still alive; nay, as men who well knew that advantages are preserved by the same methods by which they are acquired, they made sure of many of their original possessions and also acquired many new ones. But here again, why catalogue in detail Crete, Pontus, Cyprus, Asiatic Iberia, Farther Albania, both Syrias, the two
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"Αραβίους, Παλαιστίνους, δῶν οὖδὲ τὰ ὄνόματα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες νῦν τῶν μὲν αὐτῶι δεσπόζομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐτέρως ἐχαρισάμεθα, ὅστε ἐξ αὐτῶι καὶ προσόδους καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ συμμαχίας προσειληψέναι.

39 “Τοιαύτα γοῦν ἐχοντες παράδειγματα, μήτε τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔργα κατασκύψατε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἡδη ούσαν προῆσθε. οὖδὲ γὰρ οὖδ’ ἄπ’ ἱστα ἦμιν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μη- δὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κεκτημένωι βουλευτέοι ἐστίν.

2 ἑκεῖνους μὲν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ βραστωνείν καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἄλλοις ὑποπεπτώκειν, ἦμιν δ’ ἀν- αγακιαῖν ἐστί καὶ πονεῖν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ μετὰ κυνίκων τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν φυλάττειν. πολλοὶ1 γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύομεν 2 αὐτῇ- πάν γὰρ τὸ ὑπεραιρὸν τινα καὶ ξηλοῦτα καὶ φθονεῖτα, κἀκε τούτον πόλεμος αἰδίδος ἐστιν ἀπασι τοῖς καταδεικτέροις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς

3 αὐτῶι ὑπερέχοντας. ἤ 3 οὖν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἔχον μηδὲν διαφέροντοι χμᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἡξέχασαν, ἢ, ἐπεί περὶ τηλικοῦτοι γεγόναμεν καὶ τοσαῦτα κεκτήμεθα, πεπρωταὶ τε η ἄρχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκρατῶς ή καὶ αὐτῶι παντελῶς ἀπολέσθαι (τοῖς γὰρ ἐς τα ἀξίωμα τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐς δύναμιν τηλικαύτην προκεκχωρηκόσιν ἀδύνατῶν ἐστιν ἀκινδύνως ἰδιωτεύσαι), πειθόμεθα τῇ τύχῃ, μηδὲ ἐκούσαν αὐτήν καὶ αὐτεπάγγελτον τοῖς τε πατράσιν ἡμῶι ὑπάρξασαν καὶ ἦμιν

4 παραμένουσαν ἀπωσώμεθα. ἦσται δὲ τούτο οὕκ ἄν τὰ οπλα βίψωμεν, οὖδ’ ἄν τας τάξεις ἐκλύπω-

1 πολλοὶ Bk., πολλοὶ τε L.
2 ἐπιβουλεύουσιν Wagner, ἐπιθυμοῦσιν L. 3 ἢ Rk., μὴ L.

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Armenias, Arabia, and Palestine? Countries whose very names we did not know precisely in former times we now rule, lording it over some ourselves and having bestowed others upon various persons, so that we have gained from them revenues and troops and honour and alliances.

"With such examples before you, now, do not bring shame upon the deeds of the fathers nor let slip the empire which is already the greatest. We cannot even deliberate in like manner with the rest of mankind who have no possessions like ours. For them it suffices to live in ease and, with safety guaranteed, to be subject to others, but for us it is necessary to toil, to make campaigns, and to incur danger in guarding our existing prosperity. Against this prosperity many are plotting, since everything that lifts people above their fellows arouses both emulation and jealousy; and consequently an eternal warfare is waged by all inferiors against those who excel them in any way. Hence either we ought not in the first place to have grown powerful beyond other men, or else, since we have become so great and have gained so many possessions, it is fated for us either to rule our subjects firmly or to perish utterly ourselves. For it is impossible for men who have advanced to such distinction and to power so vast to live to themselves without danger. Let us therefore obey Fortune and not repel her, seeing that she voluntarily and at her own behest was present with our fathers and now abides with us. But this result will not be attained if we cast away our arms or desert

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μεν, ὁὖν ἀν διὰ κενῆς οἴκοι καθόμεθα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις πλανώμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἀν τὰ τὲ ὀπλα διὰ χειρὸς ἀεὶ ἔχωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνος εἰρήνη σώζεται) καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου διὰ κινδύνων ἀσκῶμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνος οὐκ ἀεὶ πολεμίζομεν), τοῖς δὲ δεομένοις τῶν συμμάχων ἀπροφασίστως ἔπικουρῶμεν (οὕτω γὰρ πολύ πλείους ἔξομεν) καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ τι παρακινοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων μὴ ἐπιτρέπωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἔθε ήμᾶς ἄδικεῖν ἔθελήσει).

40 "Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις τῶν θεῶν ἐγγυνητὴς ἦμῖν ἐγένετο ὅτι, κἂν ταῦτα μὴ ποιῶμεν, οὔτε τις ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσει καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὁσα κεκτήμεθα ἀσφαλῶς ἂεὶ καρπωσόμεθα, αἰσχρὸν μὲν ἄν ἢν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγείν ἐχρήν, ὡμως δ' οὖν εἰρχον ἄν τινα σκῆψιν εὐπρεπῆ οἱ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττεσθαι εἰς βουλόμενοι. εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη τοὺς κεκτημένους τινὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιβουλεῦσθαι, καὶ προσήκει τὰς ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἡσυχάζοντες καὶ περὶ τούτων κινδυνεύσωμεν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χρώμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα φυλάσσουσιν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ περὶ τοῖς έαυτοῦ δεῦτες τῶν τοῦ πέλας ἐφίσται: ὁ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων οἱ φόβος ἰσχυρὸς τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα αὐτῶν ἀποτρέπει), τί τούτο λέγει τις, ὡς οὐ χρῆ ἡμᾶς ἂεὶ τις προσκατὰσθαι;

1 ἐκλίπομεν Dind., ἐκλείψωμεν L.
2 καθόμεθα Pflugk, καθήμεθα L.
3 πολέμων Xyl., πολέμων L.
4 μὴ supplied by Xyl. 5 ἢν supplied by Pflugk.
6 ἀλλοτρίων Xyl., ἀλλοβριγών L.
7 λέγει τις Rk., λέγεις τις L.
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or sit idly at home or even wander about visiting our allies; it will be attained if we keep our arms constantly in hand (this is the only way to preserve peace), practise the deeds of war by actual fighting (this is the only way we shall not be forever having war), aid unhesitatingly those of our allies who ask for aid (in this way we shall get many more), and do not indulge those of our enemies who are always turbulent (in this way no one will any longer care to wrong us).

"What though some god had become our surety that even if we should fail to do all this, no one would plot against us and we should forever enjoy in safety all that we have won, it would still be disgraceful to say that we ought to keep quiet; yet those who are willing to do nothing that is requisite would then have some show of excuse. But if, as a matter of fact, it is inevitable that men who possess anything should be plotted against by many, and if it behooves them to anticipate their attacks; if those who hold quietly to their own possessions risk losing even these, while those who without any compulsion employ war to acquire the possessions also of others are protecting their own as well,—for no one who fears for his own goods covets those of his neighbour, since his fear concerning what he already has effectually deters him from meddling in what does not belong to him,—if all this be true, why, then, does any one say that we ought not always to be acquiring something more?"
4 ὸυ μέμνησθε, τὰ μὲν ἀκηκοότες τὰ δὲ ἑορακότες, ὅτι οὗτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενόν ὦδὲν πρῶτον ἀπέσχετο τοῦ τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν πρὶν τοὺς πολέμους ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῳ χώρᾳ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ποιῆσασθαι, οὗτε οἱ Ἡπειρῶται πρὶν ἐσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοὺς περαιωθῆναι; οὐ Φίλιππος μελλήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσεις, πρὶν φθάσαντας τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιῆσαι: οὐ Περσεύς, οὐκ Ἀντίοχος, οὐ Μιθριδάτης, πρὶν τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς ἐγράψασθαι. καὶ τὰ τάλλα λέγοι τις ἂν;

6 ἄλλοι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τέως μὲν οὗδὲν δεῦν ἄφι ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἄφρικῇ εἶχον, ἔσ τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν διέπλουν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέτρεχον τάς τε πόλεις ἐπόρθουν καὶ παρ' ὅλγον καὶ τὸ ἄστυ αὐτὸ εἶλον, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀντιπολεμεῖσθαι ἤξεντο, παντάπασιν ἤκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἐξέδρασαν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. καὶ γὰρ οὕτωι, μέχρι μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ἐμένομεν, τολλάκις αὐτὰς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπόρθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτολμήσαμεν ποτε ἔξω τε τῶν ὄρων ἐκστρατεύσαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον σφυζι περιστῆσαι, καὶ τῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀπετεμόμεθα, οὐκέτ' οὗδένα πόλεμον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πλὴν ἀπαξ, εἴδομεν. ὅταν οὖν τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων λέγῃ τις ὅτι οὐ χρή πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς, οὔδὲν ἄλλο φησὶν ὅ ὅτι οὐ χρή πλουτεῖν, οὐ χρὴ ἐτέρων ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἔλευθερος, οὐκ ὁ Ἐριμαίος, οὐκ Ἡρωδαῖος εἶναι. ὁστεροὶ οὖν ἂν, ἐπερ περὶ τούτων ἐπέτε τις, οὐκ ἂν ἤνεσχεσθε ἄλλα κἂν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ὃς ἄνδρες ἐταῖροι, πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνα λέγοντας δια-
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"Do you not recall, partly from hearsay and partly from observation, that none of the Italian races stopped plotting against our country until our ancestors carried the wars into their territory, nor yet the Epirots until our fathers crossed over into Greece? Nor Philip, who intended to make a campaign even against Italy, until they harried his land first; nor Perseus, or Antiochus, or Mithridates, until they treated them in the same way? And why mention the other instances? But take the Carthaginians; so long as they suffered no disaster at our hands in Africa, they kept crossing into Italy, overrunning the country, sacking the towns, and almost captured the city itself; but when they began to have war made upon them, they fled altogether from our land. One might instance the same results in the case of the Gauls and Germans. For these peoples, while we remained on our side of the Alps, often crossed them and ravaged a large part of Italy; but when we ventured at last to make a campaign beyond our own borders and to bring the war home to them, and also took away a part of their territory, we never again saw any war begun by them in Italy, except once. When, accordingly, in the face of these facts, anybody declares that we ought not to make war, he simply says that we ought not to be rich, ought not to rule others, ought not to be free, ought not to be Romans. Therefore, just as you would not endure it if a man should say any of these things, but would kill him even as he stood before you, so now also, comrades, you must feel the same way toward those who make these other
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τίθεσθε, μη τοῖς ῥήμασί σφων ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν νοῦν τεκμαίρομενοι.

"Ωφεινὸν δ' οὔτω χρῆ φρονεῖν, οὔδεν' ἂν ἁν 1 ἀντετεινέοι ὑμῶν 2 νομίζω· εἰ δ' οὔτε ἐξήτασιν περὶ τὸν πολέμον τοῦτον παρὰ 3 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ μη ἐψήφισται, διὰ τούτῳ τις ήττον οἴεται δεῖν ήμᾶς προθυμῆσθαι, λογισάσθω τοῦθεν, 4 οτι πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι ὁσοὶ πώποτε γεγονασιν ήμῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ προεπαγ- 2 γέλεσως οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ καὶροῦ συμβεβήκασι· καὶ διὰ τούτο ὡσα μὲν ἂν 5 οἴκοι τε μενὸντων ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἱσυχίαν ἀγόντων κυνηγῆ καὶ ἐκ πρεσβείας τινὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λάβη, καὶ σκέψειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ γνῆσθαι καὶ ψῆφον ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τοὺς τε υπάτους ἢ καὶ στρατηγοὺς προστάτ- 3 τεσθαί σφισι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκτέμπεσθαι· ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐξεληλυθότων ἡδη καὶ ἐξεστρατευμένων τινῶν ἐκφαντίζη, ταύτην οὐκέτ' ἐς διαγνώμην ἀγεσθαι χρῆ, ἀλλ' ᾧς καὶ δεδομένα καὶ κεκυρωμένα ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς χρείας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι πρὶν αὐξηθῆναι.

4 "Πάν ἔνεκα ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθ' ὁ δήμος ἐξέπεμψεν, τίνος δ' ἔνεκα ἐμὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν εὐθὺς ἐστειλε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ πέντε ἐτη καθάπαξ, ὁ μήποτε πρότερον ἐγεγόνει, ἄρχειν ἐλόμενος, τούτο δὲ τέσσαρες στρατοπέδους ὀπλίσας, εἰ μη καὶ 5 πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἡμᾶς δεήσειν ἐνόμιζεν; οὐ γάρ ποιου ἵνα μάτην ἑταμεθα, οὐδ' ἵνα τὰς τε πόλεις

1 οὐδέν' ἂν Pflugk, οὐδένα L. 2 ὑμῶν Bk., ὑμῶν L. 3 παρὰ Bk., παρὰ τε L. 4 τοῦθ' Pflugk, ταῦθ' L. 5 ἂν added by Bk.
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statements, judging their disposition not by their words but by their deeds.

"Therefore none of you will contend, I think, that this is not the right point of view to take. If, however, any one thinks that because no investigation has been made of this war in the senate and no vote has been passed in the assembly we need be less eager, let him reflect that while some, to be sure, of the many wars which have fallen to our lot, have come about as a result of preparation and previous announcement, yet others have occurred on the spur of the moment. For this reason all uprisings that are made while we are staying at home and keeping quiet, in which the beginning of the complaints arises from some embassy, both call for and demand an inquiry into their nature and the taking of a vote, after which the consuls and praetors must be assigned to them and the forces sent out; but all that come to light after commanders have already gone forth and taken the field are no longer to be brought up for decision, but to be taken in hand promptly, before they increase, as matters decreed and ratified by the very urgency of the crisis.

"Else for what reason did the people send you hither, for what reason did they send me immediately after my consulship? Why did they, on the one hand, elect me to hold command for five years at one time, as had never been done before, and on the other hand equip me with four legions, unless they believed that we should certainly be required to fight? Surely it was not that we might be supported in idleness, or that making visits to the allied cities
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τὰς συμμαχίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπῆκοουν περιόντες χαλεπώτεροι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς γυνώμεθα,—οὖτ' ἂν εἰς ταύτα φίλεσθειν,—ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν οἰκείαν φυλάξωμεν, ἵνα¹ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πορθήσωμεν, ἵν' ἄξιον τι καὶ τού πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐργασώμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οὕτως ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πᾶς ὀστισθῷς ἄλλος καὶ ἐπιτέτραπται ἥμιν καὶ ἐγκεκεχρισταί. καὶ πάνω γε φρονίμως ἐποίησαν ἐφ' ἥμιν τὸ τίσι πολέμητεν εἶναι διαγνώσαντες καταλυπότες καὶ μὴ αὐτοὶ τῶν πολέμου ψηφισάμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὕτ' ἀκριβῶσαι τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τοσοῦτον² αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότες ἡδυνήθησαν ἂν, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένους³ τους πολεμίους οὐκ ἂν ὀμοίως ἐπιτηδείως προσημέχθησαν· ἠμεῖς δὲ δὴ κρυταὶ ἀμα καὶ λειτουργοῖ τοῦ πολέμου γιγνόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφόρους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὰ ὁπλα εὐθὺς ἐπιφέροντες, οὕτ' ἀνεξατόστως οὕτ' ἀδίκως οὕτ' ἀπροφυλάκτως αὐτῶν ποιησόμεθα.

42 "Καὶ μοι εἰ τις ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνο ὑπολαμβάνει, τί δὴ τηλικότων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλεις πεπλημέληκεν ῥωτ' ἀντὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου πολέμου ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, σκοπεῖτω τοῦθ', ὅτι τοὺς ἄδικείν τι ἐπιχειροῦντις οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς ποιοῦσι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐφ' οἷς φρονύσιν ἥμισσαθαι δει, καὶ τὴν τε αὐξήσιν αὐτῶν πρὶν καὶ βλαβηθαί τι προκαταλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ περιμείναντας κακῶς ἔγραφον πάθειν, τότε τιμωρήσω τοῖς τοῖς καὶ ἐχθρός καὶ ἐχθριστος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, πῶς ἂν ἄλλους μᾶλλον ἐλεγχθείν ἡ ἔξω ἄν ἐποίησεν; πέμψαντος γὰρ μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν φι-

¹ ίνα added by Bk. ² τοσοῦτον Cobet, καὶ τοσοῦτον L. ³ προπαρεσκευασμένουs Pflugk, πρὸς παρεσκευασμένουs L.

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and our subject territory, we should prove a worse b.c. 58 bane to them even than their enemies. Nobody would make this assertion. It was rather that we might protect our own land, ravage that of the enemy, and accomplish something worthy both of our numbers and our expenditures. With this understanding, therefore, both this war and every other whatsoever have been assigned and entrusted to us. They acted very sensibly in leaving in our hands the decision as to whom we should fight, instead of voting for the war themselves. For they would not have been able to understand thoroughly the affairs of our allies, being at such a distance from them, and would not have taken measures with equal opportuneness against enemies who were already informed and prepared. So we, on whom has devolved at once the decision and the carrying out of the war, and who are turning our weapons promptly against foes actually in the field, shall not be waging the war without investigation or unjustly or incautiously.

"But suppose, now, some one of you should answer me with this objection: 'What wrong has Ariovistus done so great that he should have become an enemy of ours in place of a friend and ally?' Let any such man consider the fact that one has to defend one's self against those who are undertaking to do a wrong not merely on the basis of what they do, but also on the basis of what they intend, and has to check their growth promptly, before suffering any injury, instead of waiting until the wrong is actually done and then taking vengeance. Now how could it better be proved that he is hostile, nay, most hostile toward us than by what he has done? I sent

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λυκῶς ὁπως ἦλθη τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ κοινῆ μεθ'
ἡμῶν βουλεύσθηται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, οὐτ' ἦλθεν
3 οὖθ' ἤξειν ὑπέσχετο. καίτοι τί μὲν ἐγὼ ἄδικον ἢ
ἀνεπιεικὲς ἢ φορτικὸν ἐποίησα μεταπεμψάμενος
αὐτὸν ώς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον; τί δὲ ἐκεῖνος
ὑβρεως καὶ ἀσελγείας, οὐκ ἐθελήσας ἔλθειν,
ἐκλέλουτεν; ἂρ' οὐ δυνών ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἤτοι
ὑπωπτευκότα αὐτὸν τι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ἤ ὑπερ-
4 πεφρονηκότα ἡμᾶς τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι; οὐκοῦν
εἴτε τι ὑποτετοπηκεν, σαφέστατα αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
ἐξελέγχει ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν
μηδὲν δεινὸν παθῶν ὑποπτὸς ἐστίν, οὐδ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς
καὶ ἀδόλου τῆς γραμμῆς γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἰ προπαρε-
σκευασμένοι τινὰς ἀδικήσαι ἐτοίμην τὴν ὑποψίαν
5 κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος σφῶν ἔχουσιν· εἴτ'
αὐ μηδένος τοιοῦτον ὑπόντων ὑπερεόρακε τε ἡμᾶς
καὶ λόγοις ὑπερηφάνων ὑβρικὲ, τί1 χρὴ τούτον,
ἐπειδὰν ἔργον τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται, προσδοκήσαι
πράξεων; ο γὰρ ἐν οἷς μηδὲν κερδανεῖ ἐμελλε
τοσαύτη ὑπεροψία κεχρημένοι πῶς οὐ πόρρωθεν
ἐξελήλυγκται μηδὲν δικαιόν μήτε φρονῶν μήτε
πράσσων;

"Οὐ τὸλυν ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν2 ἐκέλευσεν, εἰπερ τι αὐτοῦ
43 δεοίμην. καὶ μὴ μοι μικρὰν τὴν προσθήκην
ταῦτην εἶναι νομίσῃς: μεγάλη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ-
δεῖξις τῆς δίανοιας αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴ
ἐθελήσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι τὰχ' ἄν τις καὶ
δικου καὶ ἀρρωστία καὶ φόβῳ, ἀπολογούμενος
2 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθηκε· τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ μετα-
πέμψασθαι οὕτε σκέψιν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεχεται, καὶ

1 τί Bk., τίνα L. 2 αὐτὸν Bk., αὐτὸν L.

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to him in a friendly way to bid him come to us and consult with us about present conditions, and he neither came nor promised that he would appear. And yet what did I do that was unfair or unseemly or arrogant in summoning him as a friend and ally? What insolence and wantonness, on the other hand, has he failed to show in refusing to come! Is it not inevitable that he did this for one of two reasons—either that he suspected he should suffer some harm or that he felt contempt for us? Now if he felt any suspicion, he convicts himself most clearly of conspiring against us; for no one, when he has suffered no injury, is suspicious towards us, nor does one become so with an upright and guileless mind; rather, it is those who have prepared themselves to wrong others because of their own conscience that harbour suspicion against them. If, on the other hand, nothing of this sort was at the bottom of his action, but he merely looked down on us and insulted us with overweening words, what must we expect him to do when he lays hold of some real project? For when a man has shown such disdain in matters where he was not going to gain anything, does he not stand convicted from afar off of utter injustice both in thought and in deed?

"Not content, now, with this, he further bade me come to him, if I wanted anything of him. Do not, I beg of you, regard this addition as any light matter; for it is weighty as an indication of his disposition. As for his refusing to come to us, one speaking in his defence might ascribe this to hesitation, or infirmity, or fear; but his summoning me admits of no excuse, and furthermore proves that he

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προσεξελέγχει καὶ ἐκεῖνο αὐτὸν οὐ κατ' ἄλλο τι πεποιηκότα ὡς ὀφθ᾽ ὑπακούειν ἐς οὖδὲν ἡμῶν καὶ προσέτι καὶ προσαντεπιτάττειν πάντα παρε-3 σκεύασται. καὶ τοι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πόσης ὑβρεως καὶ πόσον προτηλακισμοῦ μεστὸν ἔστιν; μεταπέμπται τινα ὁ ἀνθύπατος ὁ Ῥωμαιῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔρχεται· μεταπέμπται τις1 τὸν ἀνθυπατον τὸν2 Ῥωμαιῶν Ἀλλόβριξ ὄν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἐμοὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐπέσεθη, μηδὲ ὅτι ἐμὲ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκάλεσε, σμικρὸν τι τούτο καὶ 4 φαίλον εἶναι νομίσητε. οὔτε γὰρ ἑγὼ αὐτὸν μετεπεμψάμην, ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαιῶς, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, αἰ ῥάβδοι, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὔτε ἑγὼ μετεπέμβην ὡς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὖν έστι συμβολαίον.3 κοινῆ δὲ ὅτι πάντες καὶ εἴπομέν τι καὶ ἐποίησαμεν καὶ ἀνθηκούσαμεν καὶ ἀντετάθομεν.4

44 "'Ωσθ' ὅσφ τις ἄν αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ἀναγεγράφθαι φήσῃ, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον ἄξιομάσητον ὡς ἀποδείξει. διὰ τί; ὅτι οί δὲ τῶν ἔχθιστων τις ὁμολογούντων ἡμῶν εἶναι ἐτὸλμησὲ ποτὲ θησαυραν, ταὐτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς συμμαχίας ὄνομασιν ἐξείρασται, καθάπερ ἐστὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένος αὐτὸς, ἵν' ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἀδεῶς 2 ἕχῃ. ἀλλ' οὔτε τότε ἐπὶ τῷ προτηλακίζομαι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσεθαι ἐστειλάμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε νῦν αὐτὸ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσομεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔτι αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐπρε-

1 τις R. Steph., τι L. 2 τὸν v. Herw., τῶν L.
3 συμβολαίον Oddey, συμβούλιον L.
4 ἀντετάθομεν v. Herw., ἑπάθομεν L.

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acted in the first instance from no other motive than a determination to yield us obedience in nothing and furthermore to make corresponding demands in every case. And yet with what insolence and contumely does this very course of his teem! The proconsul of the Romans summons a man and he does not come; then some one summons the proconsul of the Romans—an Allobrogian!¹ Do not regard it as a slight matter and of little moment that he failed to obey me, Caesar, or that he summoned me, Caesar. For it was not I who summoned him, but the Roman, the proconsul, the fasces, the authority, the legions; it was not I who was summoned by him, but all these. Privately I have no relations with him, but in common we have all spoken and acted, received his retort and suffered his scorn.

"Therefore the more anybody asserts that he has been enrolled among our friends and among our allies, the more he will prove him to deserve our hatred. Why? Because deeds such as not even any of those who are avowedly our bitterest foes has ever ventured to do have been committed by Ariovistus under the names of friendship and of alliance, as if he had secured these for the very purpose of having a chance to wrong us with impunity. But it was not to be insulted and plotted against that we made our treaty with him at the time, nor will it be ourselves who now break the truce. For we sent envoys to him as to one who was still a friend

¹ Possibly an error on the part of Dio himself.
σβενσάμεθα, ο’ δ’ ὀράτε ὅπως ἡμῖν κέχρηται· 3 ὥσπερ οὔν ἡνίκα ἐνεργετεῖν τε ἡμᾶς ἐβούλετο κάντ’ εὗ πάσχειν ἡξίου, δικαίως ἐκεῖνων ἐτύγχανεν, οὔτω καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὰναντία αὐτῶν πάντα ποιεῖ, δικαίοτατα ἄν ἐν ἑχθροὶ μέρει νομισθείν. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσατε εἰ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πρότερον ποτε καὶ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ χρηματίσας 4 τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἰτὰ ταῦτα νυν λέγω. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ· καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. τίς δὲ ἐστιν αὐτή; τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ ἀτιμάζειν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐστιν ὁ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁ μήτε καλῶς μήτε δεόντως τοῖς δοθείσιν αὐτῷ παρ’ ἡμῶν χρῶμενος.

45 Ὁσθ’ ὅτι μέν δικαίοτατα ἄν αὐτῷ πολεμήσαιμεν, οὔδένα ἀμφισβήτησειν οὐλομαί· ὅτι δὲ οὔτε ἀμαχὸς οὔτε δυσπολέμητος ἐστιν, ὀρᾶτε μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοφύλων αὐτῷ, οὐς πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ράστα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐνυκῆσαμεν, λογίζεσθε δὲ καὶ ἔξ ὑπ’ ἐν περὶ αὐτοῦ 2 ἐκεῖνον πυνθανόμεθα. οὔτε γάρ ἄλλως δύναμιν των οἰκειῶν συνεστηκιαίαν καὶ συνεκερτημένην ἔχει· νῦν τε, ἀτε μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδοκῶν, καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαράσκευος ἐστίν. οὐ τοῖνοι οὐδ’ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοχώρων ἀν τις αὐτῷ εἰ 3 πάνυ ἐπαγγέλλεται, βοηθήσεις· τίς μὲν γὰρ ἄν ἐξοιτο ἐκεῖνων συμμαχήσῃς πολεμήσῃς ἡμῖν, μηδὲν ὕπ’ ἡμῶν λελυπημένος; πῶς δ’ οὖκ ἂν μᾶλλον ἡμὶν πάντες ἢ ἐκεῖνοι συναράμενοι τῇ τε τυραννίδα αὐτοῦ ὀμορόν σφισίν οὐσαν καταλύσαι καὶ

1 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.
and ally, but as to him—see how he has treated us! Accordingly, just as when he chose to benefit us and desired to be well treated in return, he justly obtained his wishes, so now, likewise, when he pursues the opposite course in everything, he would most justly be regarded in the light of a foe. Do not be surprised that I, who myself once looked after some of his interests both in the senate and in the assembly, now speak in this way. So far as I am concerned, I am of the same mind now as then, and am not changing. And what is that? To honour and reward the good and faithful, but to dishonour and punish the evil and unfaithful. It is he that is changing front, in that he does not make a fair and proper use of the privileges bestowed by us.

"Therefore, that we should go to war with him most justly, no one I think will dispute. And that he is neither invincible nor even a difficult adversary, you can see both from the other members of his race, whom we have often conquered before and have recently conquered very easily, and you can reason further from what we learn about the man himself. For he has no force of his own at any time that is united and welded together, and at present, since he is looking for nothing serious, he is utterly unprepared. Hence, no one of his countrymen even would readily aid him, not even if he makes most tempting offers; for who would choose to be his ally and fight against us, if he had not received any injury at our hands? Would they not all, rather, coöperate with us, instead of with him, in the desire of overthrowing his
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τῆς χώρας μέρος τι παρ’ ἡμῶν προσλαβεῖν ἐδελήσειαν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ συσταῖεν τίνες, οὔτε γε καὶ κρείστους ἀν ἡμῶν γένοιτο. ἦνα γὰρ τάλλα ἐάσω, τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὰ ἔργα, ἐκεῖνο γε τὶς οὐκ οἶδεν, ότι ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ πάν ὁμοίως τὸ σῶμα ὑπλίσμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ γυμνοὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰσὶ, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ λογισμῷ καὶ τάξει χρώμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ θυμῷ πρὸς πάντα ἀσύντακτοι φέρονται; μὴ γὰρ τοι μήτε τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῆς βοής φοβηθήτε. φωνὴ τε γὰρ οὐδένα πῶποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν δραὶ μὲν οὐδὲν πλέον, ἀτε τὰς αὐτᾶς ἡμῖν χεῖρας ἔχοντα, πάσχειν δὲ πολὺ πλεῖον, ἀτε καὶ μεγάλα καὶ γυμνὰ ὄντα, δυνηστεῖν ἢ τε ορμή ἀμέτρος καὶ προπετῆς τὸ κατ’ ἄρχας οὕσα καὶ ἐκκενοῦται ῥαδίως καὶ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον ἀνθεί. πεπειραμένοις δὲ ποὺ δὲν λέγω καὶ νενικηκόσιν ὑμῖν τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ταυτὶ παραίνω, ἀσθ’ ὑμᾶς μήτε τῷ λόγῳ δοκεῖν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ παράγεσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐχυρωτάτην τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐκ 2 τῶν προκατεργασμένων ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι συγχοὶ ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν, ὡστ’ εἰ καὶ τὶ φοβερὸν τὰ ἐθνα ταῦτα εἴχε, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὑπάρξῃ.

"Ταῦτ’ οὖν αὐτοῖ τε οὕτω λογίζεσθε καὶ τοὺς ἁλλούς διδάσκετε: ὥς εἰ γε καὶ ὑμῶν τίνες ἁλλοὺς ποὺς φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐγγυέ καὶ ὅς πολεμήσω, οὐδὲ ἐγκαταλείψω ποτὲ τὴν τάξιν ἢν ἐτάχθην 1" πᾶν Rk., πανθ’ L. 2 εκείνοις R. Steph., εκείνων L.

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despotic rule on their very borders, and of obtaining b.c. 58 from us some share of his territory? And even if some should band together, they would not prove superior to us in any way. For, to omit other considerations,—our numbers, our age, our experience, our deeds,—who does not know that we have armour over all our body alike, whereas they are for the most part unprotected, and that we employ both reason and organization, whereas they are unorganized and rush at everything impulsively? Do not, then, fear their violence nor yet the magnitude either of their bodies or their shouting. For voice never yet killed any man, and their bodies, having the same hands as ours, can accomplish no more, but will be capable of much greater injury through being both large and unprotected. And though their charge is tremendous and headlong at first, it easily exhausts itself and is effective for but a short while. To you who have of course experienced what I mention and have conquered men like them I make these suggestions, so that you may not seem to have been misled by my words, but may really feel a most steadfast hope of victory as a result of your former exploits. However, a great many of the very Gauls who are like them will be our allies, so that even if these nations did have anything terrible about them, we shall possess that advantage in common with them.

"Do you, then, look at matters in this light yourselves, and also instruct the rest. For that matter, even if some of you do feel differently, I, for my part, will fight just the same and will never abandon the post to which I have been assigned by my country."
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υπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. καὶ μοι 1 τὸ δέκατον στρατο-
πεδον ἄρκεσει· καὶ γὰρ εὗ οὐδ' ὅτι κἂν διὰ πυρὸς
4 δὲν καὶ γυμνοὶ χωρήσουσι προθύμως. οἱ δὲ δὴ
ἄλλοι τὴν ταχύτητιν ἀπαγάγετε, μηδὲ μοι μάτην
ἐνταῦθα τρύχεσθε,2 τὰ τε κοινὰ εἰκή ἀναλίσκοιτε
καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόλων μεταποιοῦμενοι, τὴν τε
λείαιν τὴν 3 ύφ' ἑτέρων κτωμέρην σφετεριζόμενοι.”

47 Ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος οὐ μόνον οὐδὲς
αντείπειν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μᾶλλον τινὲς 4 τάναντια
σφίσιν ἐγκλωσκοῦν, ἄλλα καὶ συνήνεσαν πάντες,
καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα οἱ 5 δὲ ὑποψίας αὐτῶν ὄντες,
λογοποιῶν ἢ ἥκουσαν. καὶ τοὺς γε 6 στρατιώτας
οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπεισαν πειθαρχῆσαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ
τοῦ προκεκρίθαι προθυμομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
2 δὲ ἑκείνους φιλοτιμομένους. ἔξαλετον δὲ δὴ τὸ
δέκατον στράτευμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι εὐνοιῶν πως
ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ εἴχεν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατό-
πεδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν καταλόγων τάξεις ὁμομάζοντος
οθεντέρ καὶ νῦν ὀμοίως τὰ νῦν ὄντα τὰς ἐπικλή-
σεις ἔχει.

3 Ὅρμημένων οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκέτι κατὰ
χώραν ἔμεινε, μὴ καὶ χρονίσαντες ἀμβλύτεροι
αὐτὸς γένωνται, ἀλλ' εὔθυς ἀρας ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀρισ-
τοκράτους ἠλάσε. καὶ οὕτω γε 6 αὐτὸν τῷ αἴρουν
tῆς ἐφόδου κατέπληξέν ὡστε καὶ ἐς λόγους οἱ
4 ύπέρ εἰρήνης ἐλθείν κατηνάγκασεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
συνέβησαν αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πάντα προστάξαι καὶ
ἐκείνος οὐδὲν ὑπακούσαν ἤθελησαν. ὃ τε οὖν
πόλεμος συνερρώγη, καὶ μετέωροι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ

1 καὶ μοι Pflugk, καὶ τοι L. 2 τρύχεσθε Bk., ἐντρύχεσθε L.
3 τὴν Bk., καὶ τὴν L. 4 τινὲς Bk., tines és L.
5 οἱ R. Steph., ἡ L. 6 γε Bk., τε L.

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The tenth legion will be enough for me; I am sure that, if there should be any need of it, they would readily go through fire naked. The rest of you be off, the quicker the better, and let me not see you wearing yourselves out here to no purpose, recklessly spending the public money, laying claim to other men's labours, and appropriating the plunder gathered by others."

At the end of this speech of Caesar's not only did no one raise an objection, even if some thought altogether the opposite, but they all agreed, especially those who were suspected by him, to spread the ideas they had heard. They had no difficulty in persuading the soldiers to yield obedience; some were eager to do so as a result of having been chosen in preference to others, and the rest were led to do the same through emulation of these. He had specially singled out the tenth legion because for some reason he always felt kindly toward it. This was the way the legions of the republic were named, according to the order of their enrolment; whence those of the present day have similar titles.

When their enthusiasm had been thus aroused, Caesar, in order that they might not grow indifferent again through delay, no longer remained stationary, but immediately set out and marched against Ariovistus. By the suddenness of his approach he so alarmed the latter that he forced him to hold a conference with him regarding peace. They did not come to terms, however, since Caesar wished to make all the demands and Ariovistus refused to obey any of them. The war consequently broke out; and not only were the two sides them-
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ekateroi alla kal oi symmachoi oii te polemoi
sfwn oi ekeiny pantes xesai, tin te makhen auton
oti tachista esesai kai tois apaz kratiasai
kal tala doulouvsein1 nomizontes. proeixoun de
oi men barbairoi to te plithei kai tois mege thesisin,
oi de de Rwmaioi ti te empeiria kai taiv oplisi
kai tie kai pro toin thumon toin Kelton,
tin te akriton kai prosetih auton ormyin, antir
ropon to toin Kaiparos fronima euryiske to,
oste isopaleis ek touton ontes kai tas elpidas tin te
er autaiv prothimain isostasiain epoiousu.

48. Antikathmenon de auton allklois, ai gynaikes
ai ton barbaron apheoreusin sfisi theiasasai
mhedemian pro tiis neas selezhinin makhin synaphai.
2 kal di toito o Arimouniostos (pani gar autais
proseixhen opte toiouto ti poishiean) oih apash
euvsis ti dynamei, kaitoi ton Rwmaiwn prokalou-
mewnin sfais, sumemixein, alla ton ispea meita
ton sunetagmewn sfisi pezw monous ekpem-
ptwn ischurou autous elputei. kai toiton kata-
froniasa xorion ti uper toin taphreuomatos sfwn
3 katalabhein epexheirse. kai katosexe men auto,
antikatalabhto de kai ekeinon eteron, es men
makhin, kaipper kal mekri tiei mesembrias ton
straton exe toin Kaiparos paraaktanatos, oih
oprismen, epanachwarhsantos de autou proespe-
ran eptihle te ekatapinaios sfisi kai olynou kai
4 to zhtakoma auton elle. prorhrounnyton oin
ouitos oii ton pragmaton smikron te eti ton
ymalkwn efroynise, kai tie usteralia paraataxa-

1 douleusen H. Steph., douleusen L.

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selves in anxious suspense, but likewise all the allies and enemies of both sides in that region, since they felt sure that the battle between them would take place in the shortest possible time and that all would have to serve those who once conquered. The barbarians were superior in numbers and in physical size, the Romans in experience and in armour. To some extent also Caesar's prudence was found to counterbalance the fiery spirit of the Germans and their reckless and impetuous attack. As a result, then, of their being evenly matched in these respects, their hopes and their zeal based on these hopes were likewise in perfect balance.

While they were encamped opposite each other, the women of the barbarians as the result of their divinations, forbade the men to engage in any battle before the new moon. For this reason Ariovistus, who always paid great heed to them whenever they took any such action, did not immediately join in conflict with his entire force, although the Romans were challenging them to battle. Instead, he sent out the cavalry alone, with only the foot-soldiers assigned to them, and did the other side severe injury. Then, becoming contemptuous of them, he undertook to occupy a position above the Romans' entrenchments; this he seized, and his opponents occupied another in their turn. Then, although Caesar kept his army drawn up outside until noon, Ariovistus would not proceed to battle, but when, toward evening, the Romans retired, he suddenly attacked them and all but captured their rampart. Therefore, since affairs were turning out so well for him, he paid little heed any longer to the women; and on the following day, when the Romans had
49 Ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁπερ που καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀντεπεξήγαγε.

3 Ἀνθεστηκότα ἁγῶνα ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῆς τῶν βραχυτέρων ἐφῶν χρῆσεως στερηθέντες ταῖς 1 τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀντ’ ἐκεῖνων ἠγωνίζοντο, καταστῶντες τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, δάκ

4 νιοῦστε, σπαράγγυντες, ἀτε καὶ τῷ μεγέθεί τῶν σω-

5 βδικάς ἔχοντα χρησιμωτάτα σφισὶν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ἐπὶ πλείον συσχεθέντες μᾶλλον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντήρκεσαν, ἀτε οὐχ ὃμοιον ταῖς ἄξιοι ἐξύπτυσι τῶν ἐφόδων τὸ διαρκὲς σφών ἔχοντων. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἠττήθησαν ἐκεῖνοι,

1 ταῖς St., τοῖς L.
been drawn up in battle array, according to their daily custom, he led out his forces against them.

The Romans on seeing them advancing from their tents did not remain quiet, but rushing forward, gave them no chance to form strictly in line, and by attacking with a charge and shout prevented them from hurling their javelins, in which they had especial confidence; in fact, they came to so close quarters with them that the enemy could not employ either their pikes or long swords. So the barbarians pushed and shoved, fighting more with their bodies than with their weapons, and struggled to overturn whomever they encountered and to knock down whoever withstood them. Many, deprived even of the use of their short swords, fought with hands and teeth instead, dragging down their opponents, and biting and tearing them, since they had a great advantage in the size of their bodies. The Romans, however, did not suffer any great injuries in consequence of this; they closed with their foes, and thanks to their armour and skill, somehow proved a match for them. At length, after carrying on that sort of battle for a very long time, they prevailed late in the day. For their daggers, which were smaller than the Gallic daggers and had steel points, proved most serviceable to them; moreover, the men themselves, accustomed to hold out for a long time with the same sustained effort lasted better than the barbarians, because the endurance of the latter was not of like quality with the vehemence of their attacks. The Germans were accordingly defeated, though they
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οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτράποντο, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἦθέλησαν ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἤδυνήθησαν φυγεῖν ὑπ’ ἀπορίας τε ἀμα καὶ ἐκλύσεως. συστρεφόμενοι οὖν κατὰ τριακόσιον καὶ πλείον καὶ ἐλάττουσι, τὰς τε ἀστίδας ἀπανταχόθεν σφών προεβάλλοντο, καὶ ὀρθοὶ ἱστάμενοι ἀπρόσμικτοι¹ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλείσεως² δυσκινήτω ἄδικο ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος ἐγίγνυντο, καὶ οὔτε ἔδρων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπασχον.

50 Οἱ οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπειδή μήτε ἐκείνοι ἀντεπήσεάν σφών ἢ καὶ ἔφευγον, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταύτῃ μένοντες ὁσπέρ ἐν πύργοις εἰστήκεσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖ τὰ τέ δοράτια κατὰ πρώτας εὐθὺς ἀτε μιθεμίαν χρήσων ἔχοντα ἀπετέθεντο, καὶ τοῖς ξίφοι σφών οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε συστάδην μάχεσθαι οὔτε τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν, ἦπερ καὶ μόνον ἄλοποι οί ποι γυμνῶς αὐταῖς μαχομένοι ήσαν, ἐφικνεῖσθαι, τὰς τε ἀστίδας ἀπέρριψαν, καὶ προσπιπτοῦσι σφίσι, οἱ μὲν ἔς ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔγγυθέν, ἐνήλιοντο ³

3 τρόπων τινα καὶ ἐκοπτόν τίνας. κάκω τούτοι πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀτε καὶ μᾶς ἐπικοτῆς οὔτε ἐπιπτοῦν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς πεσεῖν ἀπέθνησκον· ὑπὸ γαρ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς συστάσεως καὶ τεθυμμότες ὀρθοι ἄνειχνυτο. τού μὲν οὖν πεζοῦ τὸ πλείστον οὐτὸ καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς αἵμαξις, ὅσον γε καὶ ἐξωσθήν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐτύγχανε, σὺν τε ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σὺν τοῖς παισίν αὐτῶν ἐφθαρησαν· ὁ δὲ ⁴ Αρισούνιστος μεθ’ ἐππέων . . . τὴν τε χώραν παραχρῆμα ἔξελιτε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ῥήνον

¹ ἀπρόσμικτοι Xyl., πρόσμικτοι L.
² συγκλείσεως Leunol., συγκλείσεως L.
³ ἐνήλιοντο Cobet, ἐνήλιοντο L.
⁴ ὁ δὲ R. Steph., ὁ δὲ ὁ L.

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did not turn to flight—not that they lacked the wish, but simply because they were unable to flee through helplessness and exhaustion. Gathering, therefore, in groups of three hundred, more or less, they would hold their shields before them on all sides, and standing erect, they proved unassailable by reason of their solid front and difficult to dislodge on account of their denseness; thus they neither inflicted nor suffered any harm.

The Romans, when their foes neither advanced against them nor yet fled, but stood immovable in the same spot, as if in towers, had likewise put aside their spears at the very outset, since these were of no use; and as they could not with their swords either fight in close combat or reach the others' heads, where alone they were vulnerable, since they fought with their heads unprotected, they threw aside their shields and rushed upon the foe. Some by taking a running start and others from close at hand leaped up as it were upon the tower-like groups and rained blows upon them. Thereupon many fell immediately, victims of a single blow, and many died even before they fell; for they were kept upright even when dead by the closeness of their formation. In this way most of the infantry perished either there or near the waggons, back to which some had been driven; and with them perished their wives and children. Ariovistus with [a few] horsemen straightway left the country and set out for the

1 Apparently the solid walls of shields, as the men stood in groups facing outward, are conceived of as the towers of a city wall.

2 A word of this meaning seems required.

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5 ὅρμησας ἐπεδιώκη μέν, οὐ κατελήφθη δὲ. ἀλλ' ο μέν ἐπὶ πλοίου προεξέφυγε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ Ρωμαίοι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσβαινοντες ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήρευκεν.

1 ὅρμησας Rk., παραχρῆμα ὅρμησας L.  
2 ἐσβαινοντες Bk., ἐσβαινοντας L.
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Rhine. He was pursued, but not overtaken, and escaped on a boat ahead of his followers; of the rest some were killed by the Romans who advanced into the river, while others were seized and borne away by the river itself.
Τάδε ἐνεστὶ ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἕνατῳ τῶν Διώνος Ῥωμαίων.

α. ὁ Καίσαρ Βελγικοῖς ἐπιλέμησεν.
β. ὁ Κικέρων κατῆλθεν.
γ. ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκπεσὼν ἐξ Ἀλγυπτοῦ ἐς Ῥώμην ἁνήλθεν.
δ. ὁ Κάτων τὰ ἐν Ἑλλάδι κατεστάθησατο.
ε. ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος θατοὶ ἠρέθησαν.
ζ. ὁ Θέατρον τὸ Πομπηίου καθιερώθη.
η. ὁ Δέκιμος ἡ στράτηγος Καίσαρος ὕποστράτηγος Οὐδεντοὺς ναυ-

μαχίᾳ ἐνίκησεν.
θ. ὁ Πούπλιος Κράσσος Καίσαρος ὕποστράτηγος 'Ακυτανοῖς

ἐπολέμησεν.
ι. ὁ Καίσαρ Κελτῶν τισι πολεμήσας τὸν Ῥήνον διέβη καὶ περὶ

τοῦ Ῥήνου.
κ. ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἑπεραιώθη καὶ περὶ τῆς νήσου.
λ. ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὸ Γαβῖνου ἐς Ἀλγυπτοῦ καθῆκτη, καὶ ὁ Γαβῖνος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκρίθη.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτη τέταρτα ἐν ὅσι ἐρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδα

ἐγένοντο

Π. Κορνήλιος Π. vī. Δευτερόλος Ἐπιθυμήρ ὑπ.
Κ. Καινίλων K. vī Μέτελος Νέπως
Γν. Κορνήλιος Π. vī. Δευτερόλος Μαρκελλίνος ὑπ.
Δ. Δάρκινος Δ. vī. Φιλίππος
Γν. Πομπήιος Γν. vī. Μάγνος τὸ β
Μ. Δικρίνος Π. vī. Κράσσος τὸ β ὑπ.
Δ. Δομίτιος Γν. vī. 'Αντόβαρβος 4
'Απ. Κλαβίδιος 'Απ. vī. Πούλχρος ὑπ.

Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διεπολεμήθη μετὰ δὲ

ταῦτα, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν οἱ Κορνήλιος τὸν Ἐπιθυμήρ
καὶ ὁ Μέτελος ὁ Νέπως υπατεύειν ἢρξαντο

1 Βελγικοῖς Leuncl., Βελτικοῖς L, and so just below.
2 Δέκιμος R. Steph., δεκίμος L.

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BOOK XXXIX

The following is contained in the Thirty-ninth of Dio’s

*Rome* :—

How Caesar fought the Belgae (chs. 1–5).
How Cicero came back from exile (chs. 6–11).
How Ptolemy, expelled from Egypt, came to Rome (chs.

12–16).
How Cato settled matters in Cyprus (chs. 22–23).
How Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls (chs. 27–37).
How Pompey’s Theatre was dedicated (chap. 38).
How Decimus Brutus, Caesar’s lieutenant, conquered the

Veneti in a sea-fight (chs. 40–43).
How Publius Crassus, Caesar’s lieutenant, fought the Aqui-

tani (chap. 46).
How Caesar, after warring with some of the Germans, crossed

the Rhine; and concerning the Rhine (chs. 47–49).
How Caesar crossed over into Britain; and concerning the

island (chs. 50–53).
How Ptolemy was restored to Egypt by Gabinius, and how

Gabinius was brought to trial for this (chs. 55–63).

Duration of time, four years, in which there were the

magistrates (consuls), here enumerated :—

b.c. 57 P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Spinther, C. Caecilius C. F.

Metellus Nepos.
56 Cn. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius

L. F. Philippus.
55 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (II), M. Licinius P. F.

Crassus (II).

F. Pulcher.

Such was the end of this war. Later, at the end

of the winter in which Cornelius Spinther and

Metellus Nepos began their consulship, a third war

\[^3\] Μάρκιος Χύλ., μάρκος Λ.

\[^4\] Ἀννόβαρβος Ρ. Στέφ., ἀννόβαρβος Λ.
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διελθόντος, τρίτος τις πόλεμος αὐτῶς ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Βελγικοὶ τῷ τε Ῥήμῳ πολλοῖς καὶ συμμέκτοις 2 γένεσι προσοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὦκεανὸν τὸν κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καθήκοντες, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὶν οἱ μὲν ἐνσπονδοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν οἱ δὲ εφροντι- ζοῦν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν, τότε δὲ τὸν Καῖσαρα εὑρεθε- μενον ἰδόντες, καὶ δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὀρμήσῃ, συνεστράφησαν, καὶ κοινῷ πλῆθν Ῥημῶν 1 λόγῳ χρησάμενοι συνεβούλευσαντό τε ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συνώμοσαν, Γάλβαν 2 προστησά - μενοι.

3 Ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρὰ τῶν Ῥημῶν 1 μαθὼν ἐν φρουρᾷ τε αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, καντάμεθα πρὸς τῷ Αὐξούμῳ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύσαμενος ἤ - θροιζέ τα ἀμα τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔξησκε. οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησε πρότερον τοῖς πολεμίοις, καίτοι τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατατρέχουσιν, ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, 4 πρὶν ός καὶ δεδιότος αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντες ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν τε γέφυραν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ἢν δὲ αὐτῆς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐποιεῖτο, ἀφελέσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξ αὐτομόλων προγονὸς ἐσόμενον, ἐπεμπῆνεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς 2 τοὺς τε φιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππεάς. καὶ οἱ μὲν προσπεσόντες τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀποσδόκησιν πολ- λοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ὡστε πάντας τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν ὦκείαν, ἀλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Αἰδονοὶ ἐσβεβληκότες ἐς αὐτὴν ἠγγέλλοντο, ἀπαναστήναι. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἦσθετο μὲν τὸ γιγνό- μενον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε δὲ σφᾶς εὐθὺς, ἀγνοιά τῶν

1 Ῥημῶν Xyl., Ῥηνῶν L.
2 συνώμοσαν Γάλβαν Bk., συνωμόσαντο ἄδραν L.

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arose. The Belgae, who dwelt near the Rhine in many mixed tribes and extended even to the ocean opposite Britain, though they had previously been at peace with the Romans, or, in the case of some, had paid no heed to them, observing now Caesar's success and fearing that he might advance against them also, came together and by common agreement, except on the part of the Remi, devised plans against the Romans and formed a league, placing Galba at their head.

Caesar learned this from the Remi and stationed outposts to watch them; later he encamped beside the river Axona, where he concentrated his troops and drilled them. Yet he did not venture to come to close quarters with the enemy, though they were overrunning Roman territory, until in their contempt for him, believing him to be afraid, they undertook to occupy the bridge and to put a stop to the conveyance of grain, which the allies brought across it. He was apprised beforehand by deserters that this was to be done, and so at night sent against the foe the light-armed troops and the cavalry. These fell upon the barbarians, taking them by surprise, and killed many of them, so that the following night they all withdrew to their own land, especially since the Aedui were reported to have invaded it. Caesar perceived what was going on, but through ignorance of the country did not venture to pursue

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2 χωρίων, ἐπιδιώξει. ἀλλ’ ἀμα ἔφ1 τὴν τε ἦππον 

λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐπακολουθεῖν κελεύσας 

κατέλαβεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐς μάχην 

(ἐνομίζετο γὰρ σὺν μονή τῇ ἦππῳ εἶναι) διέτρυψε 

μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἤλθε, καὶ οὕτω παντὶ τῷ 

στρατῷ περισχὼν τοὺς τε πλείους κατέκοψε καὶ 

τοὺς περιλοίπους ὁμολογία παρεστίςατο. καὶ 

τοῦτον καὶ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀμαχεὶ προση-

γάγετο τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ.

3 Νέρουοι οὖν τῆς μὲν πεδιάδος (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν 

ἀξιόμαχοι) ἐκόντες αὐτῷ ἔξεστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ 

τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑλωδεστὰ άνακομοσθέντες, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ 

καὶ ἐκείθεν2 ἐπικατέδραμον ἀνέλπιστοι, καὶ καθ’ 

ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ ἦν ἐτράπωντο καὶ ἔφυγον, 

τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείου τοῦ στρατοῦ καθυπέρτεροι τέ 

ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοβοεὶ εἶλον.

2 αἰσθόμενος δὲ τούτ’ ἐκείνος (προεκεχωρήκει3 γὰρ4 

ἐπὶ τί5 τοὺς τετραμμένους δίωκων) ἀνέστρεψε, 

καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτούς ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι ἀρπαγήν 

ποιομένους περιεστοιχίσατο καὶ κατεφόνευσε. 

πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἔτι6 μέγα ἔργον τοὺς 

λοιποὺς Νερούους χειρούμενος ἔσχε.

4 Καὶ τοῦτῳ Ἀτονατικῷ, πλησιόχωρῳ τε αὐτοῖς 

dύντες καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ τε φρόνημα τοῦ τῶν Κίμ-

βρῶν ἔχοντες, ὁμορμαν μὲν ὡς καὶ βοθήσοντές 

σφισίν, ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἔφθεισαν προαλόντες, ἀνεχώρη-

σαν, καὶ πάντα τάλλα χωρία ἐκλιπόντες ἐς ἐν 

2 τεῖχος τὸ κράτιστον ἀνεσκευάσαντο. καὶ αὐτῷ

1 ἔφ supplied by Bk.

2 The text is corrupt here, some words having fallen out.

3 προεκεχωρῆκεi Oddey, προσεχωρῆκεi L.

4 γὰρ added by Oddey. 5 ἐπὶ τί Rk., ἐπὶ τε L.

6 ἔτι Xyl., ὅτι L.
them immediately. At daybreak, however, taking the cavalry, and bidding the infantry follow on behind, he came up with the fugitives; and when they offered battle, supposing he had come with his cavalry alone, he delayed them until his infantry arrived. In this way, having his whole army, he surrounded them, cut down the larger part, and received the surrender of the remainder. Thereupon he won over a number of their towns, some without fighting and some by war.

The Nervii voluntarily retired before him from the level country, as they were no match for his forces, and betook themselves into the most densely wooded mountains; then, when they charged down upon them unexpectedly.\(^1\) In the part of the battle where Caesar himself was they soon turned and fled, but with the larger part of their army they proved superior and captured the camp without a blow. When Caesar, who had advanced a little way in pursuit of those he had routed, became aware of this, he turned back and came upon them as they were engaged in pillage within the entrenchments, where he surrounded and slaughtered them. After this success he found it no great task to subdue the rest of the Nervii.

Meanwhile the Aduatuci, near neighbours of theirs, who belonged to the Cimbrsi by race and temperament, set out to assist them, but were overpowered before they accomplished anything, whereupon they withdrew, and leaving all their other sites, established themselves in one fortified town, the strongest they had. Caesar assaulted it, but was

\(^1\) Cf. Caesar B.G. ii. 19. Editors have filled the lacuna with a variety of readings.
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tòvν Καίσαρα προσβαλόντα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπεκρούσαντο, μέχρις οὗ πρὸς μηχανῶν τοίησον ἐτράπητο. τότε γὰρ, τέως μὲν τὴν τῆν τε-μυνοντας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συμπτηγνύντας τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἔωρων, γέλωτα τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν γνω-3 μένων ἐποιούντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐξειργάσθη καὶ ὀπλῖτα σφιοὶ πανταχόθεν ἀμα ἐπ' αὐτῶν προσήγουσι, κατεπλάγησαν ἀτε μηπώποτε τοι-οῦτο τι ἔφακοτε, καὶ διεκηρυκέοντο, τά τε ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πέμψαντες καὶ ὅπλα 4 τινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ρύψαντες. ὡς μέντοι τά τε μηχανήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυμνωθέντα αὖθις εἶδον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς θυμιδίαν οἷα ἐπὶ νίκη τετραμ-μένους ἑσθοῦντο, μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἀναθαρσήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπέξοδον ὡς καὶ ἀνεπλίστους σφαῖσ κατακόψαντες ἐποιήσαντο. περιπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς προφύλαξιν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἀεὶ διώκει) ἐσφάλησαν. καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν λουτρῶν οὔδεις ἔτι συγγυγώμης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπράθησαν.3

5 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτοι τε κατεστράφατο, καὶ ἀλλοι οἱ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατηγῶν συχνοὶ ἐκεχείρωντο, δὲ τὰ χειμῶν ἑνέστη, ἀνεκχώ-ρησεν ἐς τὰ χειμάδια. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ οἴκων οὗτοι ἐθαύμασαν ὅτι ἐθυν̄ τοσαῦτα, ὡς οὐδὲ τὰ ὁμόματα πρῶτερον ἡκρίβουσαν, ἡρήκει, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας θύσας, ὅπερ οὕτω ἐπρῶεν ἐγεγονεί.

1 γεγονομένων H. Steph., γεγονομένων L.
2 πρὸς θυμὶδιαν ola Bk., προθυμηδίανοιαi L.
3 ἐπράθησαν R. Steph., ἐπράχθησαν L.
4 οὐτοὶ κατεστράφατο Leuncl. (τε added by Rk.), ὁτ' ἐστράφατο L.
5 οἴκοι supplied by Bk.
6 οὗτο R. Steph., οὗν τω L.
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for many days repulsed, until he turned to the construction of engines. Then for a time they gazed at the Romans cutting wood and constructing the machines and in their ignorance of what was taking place, scoffed at them. But when the machines were finished and heavy-armed soldiers upon them were advanced from all sides at once, they became panic-stricken, since they never before had seen anything of the kind; so they made overtures, supplied the soldiers with provisions, and threw some of their arms from the wall. When, however, they saw the machines stripped of men again and noticed that the latter had given themselves over to pleasure, as after a victory, they changed their minds, and recovering courage, made a sortie by night, thinking to cut them down unawares. But Caesar was carefully managing everything all the while, and when they fell on the outposts from every side, they were beaten back. Not one of the survivors could any longer obtain pardon, and they were all sold.

When these had been subjugated and others, too, some by him and many by his lieutenants, and winter had now set in, he retired to winter-quarters. The Romans at home when they learned of these achievements, were astonished that he had seized so many nations, whose names they had known but imperfectly before, and voted a thanksgiving of fifteen days because of his achievements—a thing that had never before occurred.
2 Κάν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος ὑποστρατηγός αὐτῷ, μέχρι μὲν ἢ τε ὦραια ἡν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συνεστὸς εἶχεν, Ὀυαράγρους παρά τε τῇ Δεμμάνῳ λίμνῃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλλό-βριξι μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπέων οἰκούντας, τοὺς μὲν βλα τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὦραια παρεστήσατο, ὡστε καὶ
3 χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν παρασκευάσασθαι. ἐπεί μέντοι ὁι πλείοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν παρέμενοι οἱ μὴ πόρρω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἄλλοσ ἀπεχωρήσαν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι κατὰ τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐπέθεντο, πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὑπ' ἀπογνώσεως προή- χθη, καὶ ἐκπεπήρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χειμαδίου ἄφαν τοὺς 4 τε προσκεμένους οἱ τῷ παράδοξῳ τοῦ τολμή- ματος ἔξεπληξε, καὶ δί' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα διέσπεσε. γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἡμύνατο μὲν αὐτῶς μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐδουλώσατο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐχείμασεν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀλλο- βριγων μετέστη.
6 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατία ἐγένετο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τήν κάθοδον τῷ Κικέρωνι ὄψη- σθηναι διεπράξατο. ὅτι γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ἐξεληλάκει, τούτου ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων ἐπανήγαγεν οὖτω πο καὶ ἀνθρώπειον δι' ὀλίγων το ἔστιν ὅτε μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὄφελησθαι τίνες ἢ καὶ ἐλαβήσεθαι νομίζουσι, τὰ ἐναντιώτατα 2 ἀντιλαμβάνοντι. συνεπράττων δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στρα- τηγῶν καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Τίτος Ἀννίος Μίλων, οὗπερ που καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ

1 Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος R. Steph., γαρβαροσερουιοις L.
2 ἢν added by Oddey.
3 Οὐαράγρους Rk., οὐαράγρους L.
4 παρέμενοι Βς., παρέμενον L.
5 Γαλατίας R. Steph., ἰταλίαι L.
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During the same period Servius Galba, who was serving as his lieutenant, had, while the season lasted and his army remained a unit, brought to terms the Veragri, who dwelt along Lake Leman and beside the Allobroges as far as the Alps; some he had gained by force and others through surrender, and he was even preparing to winter where he was. When, however, the majority of the soldiers had departed, some on furlough because they were not far from Italy, and others elsewhere for reasons of their own, the natives took advantage of this situation and unexpectedly attacked him. Then Galba, driven mad by despair, suddenly dashed out of the winter camp, astounding his besiegers by the incredible boldness of his move, and passing through them, gained the heights. On reaching safety he fought them off and later subjugated them; he did not winter there, however, but transferred his quarters to the territory of the Allobroges. These were the events in Gaul.

Pompey meanwhile had brought about a vote for the recall of Cicero. Thus, the man whom he had expelled through Clodius, he now brought back to help him against that very individual. So quickly does human nature sometimes change, and from the persons by whom people are expecting to be helped or injured, as the case may be, they receive the very opposite treatment. Assisting him were Titus Annius Milo and others of the praetors and tribunes, who also brought the measure before the populace.
πλῆθος ἔσηνεγκαν· ὁ γὰρ Σπινθήρ ὁ ὑπατος τὸ μὲν τὶ καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ χαριζόμενος, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἔξ ἱδίας ἐξήρας τὸν Κλώδιον ἀμφόμενος, ὡς ἡς καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ δικάζων κατεγνώκει, καὶ . . .·
3 ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄρχαις οὖν ὑπήρχον καὶ ὁ ἄδελφὸς Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος στρατηγὸς, ὁ τε Νέπτως ὁ ὑπατος ἀπ’ οἰκείᾳς ἑνὸς
7 ἐξήρας τὸν Κικέρωνα μισῶν. οὕτω τε οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον ᾗ πρὶν, ἀτε καὶ ἤγερμόνας τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει διαστάντες πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἐθορύβουν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐκ
2 τούτου οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ πολλὰ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ διαψήφισε ο Ἁλδιδίος γνοὺς τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐσόμενον, τοὺς μονομάχους οὐς ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀγάνας ἐπιταφίους ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ τῷ συγγενεῖ προπαρεσκεύαστο λαβὼν ἐσεπήδησεν ἐς τὸν σύλλογον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
3 ἐτρωσε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινεν. οὐτ’ οὖν ἡ γνώμη ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὡς δορυφόρους συνὼν φοίβος καὶ ἐς τάλλα πᾶσιν ὡς, ἀγορανομάν τε ἦτε ὡς καὶ τὴν δίκην τῆς βίας, ἀν ἀποδειχθῇ
4 διαφευξόμενος.ἐγράφατο γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Μίλων καὶ οὐκ ἐσήγαγε μὲν (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, δὴ δὲν τὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἔχρη, ἦρητο, καὶ ὁ Νέπτως ἀπείπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς κηρώσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσέσθαι· ἐδεὶ δὲ ἅρα τοὺς ἀγορανόμους πρὸ τῶν ταμιῶν καταστῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα
8 ἡ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο), μαχόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ

1 διαφευξόμενος Dind., διαφευξόμενος L.
Spinther, the consul, [aided Cicero’s cause in the senate\(^1\) (?),] partly as a favour to Pompey and partly to avenge himself upon Clodius, by reason of a private enmity which had led him as a juror to vote to condemn Clodius for adultery. Clodius, on the other hand, was supported by various magistrates, including Appius Claudius, his brother, who was praetor, and Nepos, the consul, who had a private grudge against Cicero. These men, accordingly, now that they had the consuls as leaders, made more disturbance than before, and the same was true of the others in the city, as they championed one side or the other. Many disorderly proceedings were the result, chief of which was that during the very taking of the vote on the measure Clodius, knowing that the multitude would be on Cicero’s side, took the gladiators that his brother held in readiness for the funeral games in honour of Marcus,\(^2\) his relative, and rushing into the assemblage, wounded many and killed many others. Consequently the measure was not passed, and Clodius, both as the companion of those armed champions and otherwise, was dreaded by all. He then stood for the aedileship, thinking he would escape the penalty of his violence if he were elected. Milo did, indeed, indict him, but did not succeed in bringing him to trial, since the quaestors, by whom the allotment of jurors had to be made, had not been elected, and Nepos forbade the praetor to allow any trial before their allotment. Now it was necessary for the aediles to be chosen before the quaestors, and this proved the principal cause of delay. While contesting this very point Milo caused much dis-

\(^1\) Cf. Cicero *post red. ad Quir. 5, 11; Pis. 15, 34; Sest. 33.*

\(^2\) Perhaps Marcius should be read, as Bs. suggests.
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totou polla etaratte, kal telos monomakous tiva kal autos kai allous tov ta auta ois bou-
loomenon athroisa es cheiras to Klados rh synexhous hei, kal сфагaia kath paxisan ws eitein tihn tihn polin
2 eginwontis. o oun Nepos fobhthesis pros te
tov synarchoitos kai pros tov Pompheion tov
tev allon tov prouton metebaleto, kal oujws
he te gerounisia katelethein tov Kikerona tov Spin-
thetares esyngnasamenou proeboulene, kai o dhamos
amfoteron tov upaton esyeneikonwv esphisato.
3 antelege mhn gar pros autous Klados, alla
ekinph te o Milon anteketei wste mhdewn biaion
drasai, kai tov nomph alloi te kai o Pompheios
syneitov wste polw krteitous autous gynesai.

9 Kathele te oin o Kikeron kai xarwn tis te boylh
kai to dhamw, paraxhonton autph tov upaton
kal 2 to synedropion kai tihn ekklhsiav, egnw. th
te Pompheia tihn exithn tihn epi tihn finh medeis
synhllaghe, kai tihn ge 3 euergeiasan parahqma
2 anedwkei lynmov gar en tih podeli iskuroy geno-
menou, kal tov oimilov panto eis te to theatron
(totph de dhi kai totoy epi theatro es tais panaypereis
exwnto) kai metata touto kai eis to Kapitoliou
epi tovut bouleutat synedreunontas esphdhsantos,
kai totetu men en xeroun autous apofaxein toto
de kai kataprhsein autous 4 tois waois anpieioun-
3 tos, epieis spha espmelhthin tov sittov tov

1 metebaleto Bk., meteballetov L. 2 kal Bs., kal katav L.
3 ye R. Steph., te L. 4 autois Bs., oin autois L.
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b.c. 57

turbance, and at last himself collected some gladiators and others like-minded with himself and kept continually coming to blows with Clodius, so that bloodshed occurred throughout practically the whole city. Nepos, accordingly, inspired with fear by his colleague and by Pompey and by the other leading men, changed his attitude; and thus the senate decreed, on the motion of Spinther, that Cicero should be restored, and the populace, on the motion of both consuls, passed the measure. Clodius, to be sure, spoke in opposition to the others, but he had Milo as an opponent, so that he could commit no violence, and Pompey, among others, spoke in favour of the enactment, so that that side proved much the stronger.

Cicero accordingly came home from exile and expressed his gratitude to both the senate and the people, the consuls having given him the opportunity of appearing before both bodies. He put aside the hatred he bore Pompey on account of his banishment, became reconciled with him, and immediately repaid his kindness. A sore famine had arisen in the city and the entire populace rushed into the theatre (they were then still using a temporary (? theatre for public games) and afterwards to the Capitol where the senators were in session, threatening at first to slay them with their own hands, and later to burn them alive, temples and all. Cicero now persuaded them to elect Pompey as

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1 A word of this meaning seems required in place of "such a theatre as," the reading of L. Dio alludes to the fact that Pompey's theatre had not yet been erected; see chap. 38 below.
Πομπήιον προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἔξω ἐπὶ πέντε ἐτη δοῦναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς καταποντισταῖς πρότερον οὖτω καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ σῖτῳ ¹ πάσης αὖθις τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς ὑπὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τότε οὖσης ἄρξειν ἔμελλεν.

10 Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἄλλως μὲν ἥχοντο τῷ Κικέρωνι, σπουδὴν δ’ οὖν τινα αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, ἔτειδὴ πάντως καθῆξοντα αὐτὸν ἵσθοντο (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἀπὸν εὐνοιάν τινα αὐτῷ ἐνεδει-ξατο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ἀντέλαβον.

2 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τούτο τε οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης σφάς πεποιηκότας εἰδός, καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτωτάτους γεγονότας νομίζων, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὔ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐθρασύνετο, ἀτε καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀκράτου παρρησίας ἐπικαρπίων νεωστὶ πεπειρα-μένος, βιβλίων μέντοι τι ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε, καὶ ² ἐπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ

3 βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμὸν τίνα ἔχοντι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ δεινὰ ἐάν αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνου καὶ περὶ ἀλλῶν τινῶν συνένησε; ³ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ζωντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοίτησῃ, κατεσημηνάτῳ τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί, προστάξας οἱ μὴ ἀναγνώρισε μήτε δημοσιεύσα τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὶν ἀν μεταλάβῃ.

11 Κικέρων μὲν οὖν αὖθις ἀνέβλασταν, καὶ τὴν τε ἄλλην οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς οἰκίας, καῖτοι τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀνεμένου, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ ἐπιθειάζουτος καὶ ἐς ἐνθύμιαν αὐτῷ ⁴ προβᾶλ-

¹ σῖτῳ supplied by Rk. ² καὶ Leuncl., καὶ etel L. ³ συνένησε Leuncl., συνήνεσε L. ⁴ ἐς ἐνθύμιαν αὐτῷ Wesseling, ἐς ἐνθύμιον αὐτοῦ L.

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commissioner of the grain supply and to give him also on this account the office of proconsul for five years both in Italy and outside. So now in the case of the grain supply, as previously in the case of the pirates, he was once more to hold sway over the entire world then under Roman power. Caesar and Crassus really disliked Cicero, but showed some interest in him when they perceived that he would return in any case, Caesar even while absent displaying some good-will toward him; but they received no thanks for their pains. For Cicero knew that they had not done this in accordance with their real inclination, and he regarded them as having been most to blame for his banishment. And though he did not openly act toward them with marked insolence, since he had recently tasted the fruits of unrestrained free speech, nevertheless he secretly composed a little book to which he gave a title indicating that it contained a defence of his policies, and in it he heaped together many denunciations against them and certain other men. Fearing, therefore, that these statements might get out during his lifetime, he sealed up the volume and delivered it to his son with the injunction not to read or publish what was written until his death.¹

Cicero, accordingly, was thriving once more; and he recovered his property and likewise the site of his house, although the latter had been dedicated to Liberty, and though Clodius both called the gods to witness and placed religious scruples in his way.

¹ Cf. Cicero ad Att. ii. 6; xiv. 17, 6.
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2 λόγος, ἐκομίσατο. τὴν γὰρ ἐσφορὰν τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου, παρ' ἦν ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἐπεποίητο, διαβάλλων ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὀρισμένοις ἐκ τῶν πατρίων χρόνοις ἐκτεθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν τε δημαρχίαν τοῦ Κλωδίου πᾶσαν, ἐν ἡ ἄλλο τα κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδέδοκτο, κατέλυε, λέγων οὐχ οἶδον τ᾽ εἶναι, τῆς μεταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸν ὁμολογόμον παρανόμως γεγενημένης, ὡγιάς τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρακτικῶν νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπεισε διὰ τούτου τοὺς ποντίκιας τὸ ἔδαφος οἱ ὡς καὶ ὀσιοὺ καὶ βέβηλου ὁποδοῦναι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὴν τῆς οἰκίας κατασκευήν, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἀλλο τῆς ὀυσίας αὐτοῦ ἐλευμαντο, ἔλαβε.

12 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο 1 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔνεκα αὐθεὶς ἐκκυνήθησαν. ἐπείδή γὰρ πολλὰ τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήματα, τὰ μὲν οἴκοθεν τὰ δὲ καὶ δανεισάμενος, ὅτες τὴν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιοσήτηται καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὀνομασθῆ, καταναλώκει, καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀἰγυπτίων βιαίως ἐργαρίζεται, καὶ διά τοῦτο ἑξακελεπαινότα τοῖς τὴν Κύπρον ἀπαιτῆσαι παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπειτεῖν κελεύοντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἤθελησεν, καὶ οὔτε πείσαν σφας ἤσυχάζειν οὔτ᾽ αὐτοὶ βιάσασθαι (ξενικῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἐχει) ἡ ἡδυνήθη, διέδρα τε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔλθεν κατηγόρησεν τοῖς αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐκβεβληκότων, καὶ ἐτυχεν ὡςτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σπινθήρος, δὴ ἡ Κιλικία

1 τούτο supplied by Reim.
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But Cicero attacked the *lex curiata* by which the *b.c. 57*
other had been transferred from the patricians to
the plebs, on the ground that it had not been
proposed at the time established by ancestral custom.
Thus he tried to render null and void the entire
tribuneship of Clodius, during which the decree
regarding his house had been passed, claiming that
inasmuch as his transfer to the common people
had taken place unlawfully, it was not possible for
any one of his acts while in office to be considered
binding. By this means he persuaded the pontifices
to give back to him the site, on the ground that
it was profane and unconsecrated. Thus he obtained
not only that but also money for restoring his house
and any other property of his that had been injured.

After this there was further disturbance on account
of King Ptolemy. He had spent large amounts upon
some of the Romans, part of it out of his own
purse and part borrowed, in order to have his rule
confirmed and to receive the name of friend and
ally; and he was now collecting this sum forcibly
from the Egyptians. They were accordingly angry
at him both on this account and also because when
they had bidden him demand back Cyprus from the
Romans or else renounce his friendship for them, he
had been unwilling to do so. And since he could
neither persuade nor yet compel them to be quiet, as
he had no foreign troops, he fled from Egypt, and
coming to Rome, accused his countrymen of having
expelled him from his kingdom. He was successful
in having his restoration entrusted to Spinther,
13 ἐπετέτραπτο, κατακρήναι. 1 ἐν δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, 2 οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρεις τέως μὲν ἀγνοήσαντες ὅτι ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπηρκῶς 3 ἦν, ἡ τεθυγκέναι αὐτοῦ νομίσαντες, Βερενίκην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντικατέστησαν, ἡπείτα δὲ τάληθες μαθόντες ἄνδρας ἐκατόν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τε τὰ ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῦ ἀπολογησομένους καὶ ἀντικατηγορήσοντας ὅσα ἦδη-κημ. προμαθῶν όν ταῦτ ἐκείνος (ἐτὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἦν) ἐνήδρευσε τοὺς πρέσβεις, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλος ἀλλή διαπέμψας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφθείρει, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ καταφοβήσας ἐκ τούτων ἡ χρήματι διαφθείρας ἐπεισε μῆτε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὅν ἐστάλατο 5 ἐνυχεῖν μὴ δὲ ὅπως μειλαν τῶν περὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ποιήσασθαι. καίτοι τὸ πράγμα οὔτω περιβοητον ἐγένετο ὅστε καὶ τὴν βουλήν ἀγανακτήσαι δεινῶς, ἐνάγοντός σφας ὅτι μάλιστα Φαουνονίου τοῦ Μάρκου καθ’ ἐκάτερον, 6 ὅτι τε πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις πεμφθέντες βιαίως ἀπολώλεσαν, καὶ ὅτι συνχώκαι καὶ 2 τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐδεδωροδικήσασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Δίωνα τῶν τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοκράτορα (περεὶν γὰρ) μετεπέμψαντο ὅσ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ μαθησόμενοι οὔτω δὲ ἀρα καὶ τότε.

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1 The reading of L is: ἐτυχεῖν ὅστι ὅστε ὅπατον σπουθήρος ὃτι ἡ κιλία ἐπετέταρα καταχθήναι. ὅστε (once only) and Κιλία are correctly given in the later Mss. όπάτον for ὅπατον is due to Reim., ἐπετέταρτο to St. Perhaps some words have fallen out after ἐτυχεῖν. 2 ἐγένετο supplied by Reim. 3 ἀπηρκὼς Leuncl., ἀπηρκὼς L. 4 μὲν St., μὲν αὐτῶν L. 5 ἐστάλατο St., ἐστάλαντο L. 6 ἐκάτερον Reim., ἔστερον L.
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to whom Cilicia had been assigned. While this was going on, the people of Alexandria, who for a while did not know that he had departed for Italy, or supposed he was dead, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne in his place. Then, learning the truth, they sent a hundred men to Rome to defend them against his charges and to bring counter-complaints of all the wrongs they had suffered. Now he heard of it in season, while still in Rome, and sent men out in various directions to lie in wait for the envoys before they could arrive. Thus he caused the majority of them to perish by the way, while of the survivors he had some slain in the city itself, and others he either terrified by what had happened or by administering bribes persuaded them neither to consult the magistrates touching the matters for which they had been sent nor to make any mention at all of those who had been killed. The affair, however, became so noised abroad that even the senate was mightily displeased; it was urged to action chiefly by Marcus Favonius, on the double ground that many envoys sent by their allies had perished by violence and that numerous Romans had again on this occasion taken bribes. So they summoned Dio, the leader of the envoys, who survived, in order to learn the truth from him. But this time, too, Ptolemy had such influence with his
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3 καὶ αὐτὸς παρῆν, γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦ Δίωνος μετὰ ταῦτα δολοφονηθέντος οὐδεμίαν οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ δίκην ἔδωκεν ἡδονῇ τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ ἵσχυρός οἱ συνήρτεο. τῶν γε μὴν ἄλλων τῶν αὐτὸθεν ἐνεκλήθησαν μὲν ἐν ὑστέρῳ συχνῷ, ἕαλωσαν δὲ ὀλίγοι τὸ τε γὰρ δεδομομοδοκήκος πολὺ ἦν, καὶ ἀλλῆλοις διὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἔκαστος δέος συνεμάχον.

15 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποι τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐποίουν, τὸ δὲ δὴ θείον κεραυνὸς κατ’ ἄρχας εὑρᾶ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἐτος τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Δίος τοῦ ἐν τῇ ᾽Αλβανῇ ἰδρυμένου βαλὸν τὴν κάθοδον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρόνου τινὰ ἐπέσχε. τοῖς γὰρ Σιβυλλείοις ἔπεσιν ἐντυχόντες εὐρων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένον αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἂν ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέως βοσθέας τῶν δεόμενος ἔλθη, τὴν μὲν φιλίαν οἱ μὴ ἀπαρνήσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πλήθει τινὶ ἐπικουρήσῃς εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἔχετε.” κάκ τούτων τὴν συντυχίαν τῶν ἐπῶν πρὸς τὰ τότε γενόμενα θαυμάσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγνωσμένα; Γαῖῳ Κάτωνι πεισθέντες δημάρχῳ ταῦτα δὲ ἔχρησθη μὲν οὖν τοις, ἐδημοσιεύθη δὲ (οὗ γὰρ ἔξην οὐδὲν τῶν Σιβυλλείων, εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσατο, ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι) διὰ τοῦ
money that not only did Dio fail to enter the senate-house, but there was not even any mention made of the murder of the dead men, so long at least as Ptolemy was there. Furthermore, even after Dio had later been assassinated, he suffered no punishment for that deed either, largely owing to the fact that Pompey had entertained him in his house and continued to render him powerful assistance. Of the other Alexandrines, however, many were accused at a later time, yet few were convicted; for those who had taken bribes were many, and each coöperated with the others because of his own fear.

While mortals were acting thus under the influence of money, Heaven at the very beginning of the next year struck with a thunderbolt the statue of Jupiter erected on the Alban Mount, and so delayed the return of Ptolemy for some time. For when they read the Sibylline verses, they found written in them this very passage: “If the king of Egypt come requesting any aid, refuse him not friendship, nor yet succour him with any great force; else you shall have both toils and dangers.” Thereupon, amazed at the coincidence between the verses and the events of the time, they rescinded all their action in his case, following the advice of Gaius Cato, a tribune. Such was the nature of the oracle; and it was made public through Cato. Now it was unlawful to announce to the populace any of the Sibylline verses, unless the senate voted it; yet as soon
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4 Κάτωνος. ἐπειδή γὰρ τάχιστα ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἑπτῶν διεθερμυλήθη, ὄσπερ ἐλώθε γήγνεσθαι, ἐδείσε μὴ συγκρυφθεῖν, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὁμολογοὺς ἵππες ἑσῆγαγε, κάντατθα, πρὶν ὁτιοῦν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν χρηματίζαται, ἐξεβιάσατο σφάς ἐκλαλῆσαι τὸ λόγιον· ὅσφι γὰρ τοῦ μᾶλλον ὁμί ἐδόκει σφίσιν ἐξείναι τούτῳ, . . . τὸ πλῆθος ἐσχε. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἑσχεν οὐτῶς, καὶ ἕς τὴν τῶν Ἀττίνων γλώσσαν μεταγραφὲν ἁνεκηρύχθη· γνώμας δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ τούτῳ ποιομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄνω κυριακοῦ τῷ Σπινθηρί τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον προστατέτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ 2 βαθὺς ὑπὸ καταγαγεῖν αὐτῶν κελευόντων (ὁ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος μαθῶν τὸ χρησθῆν ἥξιοισα τούτου τυχεῖν, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτῶν Ἀδριανὸς Πλαύτιος ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἰδιαρχῶν ἀνέγνω), δείσαντες οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ μείζων ἔθει ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον γένηται, ἀντέπραξαν αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ σίτου προφάσει χρησάμενοι.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τὲ Δούκιον Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ Γναίου Μαρκελλίνου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μαθῶν τὴν τε κάθοδον ἀπέγνω, καὶ ἐς Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν παρά τῇ θεῷ δητάτο.

17 Τῷ δὲ δὴ προτέρῳ ἔτει καὶ τοῦνδε τι, ἱδιον μὲν, φέρον δὲ πως ἐς τὴν συγγραφήν, ἐπράξῃ. τού γὰρ νῦν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδένας διὸ ἀμα ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς συγγενείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἱερατείαν ἔχειν, ὁ Σπινθήρη ὁ ὑπατος ἐπιθυμήσας Κορνήλιον Σπινθηρί τὸν νῦν ἐς τοὺς οἰκονόμας ἐσαγαγεῖν, 2 ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φαύστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἐκ

1 καὶ added by R. Steph. 2 μεταγραφέω Rk., γραφέω L. 3 Πλαύτιος Χύλ., πλαύτιος L. 4 μηδένας Rk., μηδένα L.
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as the sense of the verses, as usually happens, began to be talked about, he became afraid that it might be suppressed, and so brought the priests before the populace and there compelled them to utter the oracle before the senate had taken any action at all in the matter. The more scruples they had against doing so, [the more insistent] was the multitude. Such, then, was the oracle, and it was translated into the Latin tongue and proclaimed. When later the senate discussed the matter, some were for assigning to Spinther the restoration of Ptolemy without an army, and others urged that Pompey with two lictors should escort him home. Ptolemy, on learning of the oracle, had asked for the latter arrangement, and his letter was read in public by Aulus Plautius, a tribune. But the senators, fearing that Pompey would by this means obtain still greater power, opposed it, using his connection with the corn-supply as an excuse.

All this happened in the consulship of Lucius Philippus and Gnaeus Marcellinus. Ptolemy, when he heard of it, despaired of his restoration, and going to Ephesus, passed his time in the temple of the goddess.

The year before there had occurred an incident of a private nature which, however, has some bearing upon our history. It was this. Although the law expressly forbade any two persons of the same gens to hold the same priesthood at the same time, Spinther, the consul, was anxious to place his son Cornelius Spinther among the augurs, and since Faustus, the son of Sulla, of the Cornelian gens, had
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tού τῶν Κορυνηλίων¹ φύλοι ὦν προενεγέγραπτο, ἐξεποίησεν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Μαλλίου Τορκουάτον γένος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νόμος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βῆμασι μείνας ἴργῳ κατελύθη.

18 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Κλώδιος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν ἀγορανομίαν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκελλίου παρελθεῖτι ² (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν τῆς δίκης παρακελευστὸς ήρέθη), γραφὴν κατὰ ³ τοῦ Μίλωνος τῆς τῶν μονομάχων παρασκευής ἀπήνεγκε: ἀ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔπραττε καὶ

2 ἔφ ⁰ ὁς ἐκρίνετο, ταῦτ' ἐκείνῳ ἀντενεκάλει. ἔποιει δὲ τοῦτο οὖχ ὅτι τῶν Μίλωνα προσεδόκα ⁴ αἱρήσεων ἀτε καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἵσχυροις ἄλλοις τε καὶ τοῦ Κικέρανα τῶν τὲ Πομπηίου ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη τῷ τὲ Μίλωνι προσ- 

19 πολεμοῦ καὶ ἐκείνους ὑβρίζοι. πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοιόνυν τι ἐμμεμικάνητο: παρασκευάζας τοὺς ἑταίρους ⁵ ἵν', ὅποτε πῦθοιοι αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις "τίς ὁ ⁶ ποιῶν ἥ καὶ λέγων ⁷ τοιόνυν τι ⁸ ἰν,gewater ³ τί Πομπηίους, ἐπηρώτα πολ- 

λάκις ἔξαιρης πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαίτια περὶ αὐτῶν ἥ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἡ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἰν, ἰδιὰ καὶ καθ' ² ἐκαστὸν, ὡς οὐ περὶ ἐκείνου ὅτι λέγων· κακὸ τοῦτο τῶν μὲν ἐξαρχοῦντων τῶν δὲ συνεπεχούντων σφίσιν, οἷα φίλει ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοισ γῦρεσθαι, καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Πομπηίους, χλευασία πολλὴ συν- 

έβαινεν, ὥστε ἐκείνους μήτε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν

¹ Κορυνηλίων Leuncl., κορυνηλίων L.
² παρελθεῖ Bk., παρελθεῖ L.
³ κατὰ Leuncl., καὶ L. ⁴ προσεδόκα Bk., προσδόκων L.
⁵ ἑταίρους R. Steph., ἑτέρους L. ⁶ ἢ added by Bk.
⁷ τίς... καὶ λέγων Leuncl., τί... καταλέγων L.
⁸ τοιόνυν τι St., τοιόσοδε τίς L. ⁹ ἰν Rk., ἰν L.
been enrolled before him, he transferred his son to the gens of Manlius Torquatus; thus, though the letter of the law was observed, its spirit was broken.

After this Clodius attained the aedileship in the year of Philippus and Marcellinus; for, being anxious to avoid the lawsuit, he had got himself elected by a political combination. He immediately instituted proceedings against Milo for providing himself with gladiators, actually charging him with the very thing he was doing himself and for which he was likely to be brought to trial. He did this, not in the expectation of convicting Milo, inasmuch as the latter had many strong champions, among them Cicero and Pompey, but in order that under this pretext he might not only carry on a campaign against Milo but also insult his backers. For example, the following was one of his devices. He had instructed his clique that whenever he should ask them in the assemblies: "Who was it that did or said so-and-so?" they should all cry out: "Pompey!" Then on several occasions he would suddenly ask about everything that could be taken amiss in Pompey, either in the way of physical peculiarities or any other respect, touching upon such topics individually, one at a time, as if he were not speaking of him particularly. Thereupon, as usually happens in such cases, some would start up and others would join in with them, crying "Pompey!" and there was much jeering. Now Pompey could not control himself and keep
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καρτερούντα μήθ' ὁμοίων τι ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ὑπο-
μένοντα περιοργῆ τε γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανία
καθίστασθαι, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τῶν Μίλωνα κατακρί-
νεσθαι, ἕργῳ δὲ αὐτὸν μηδ' ἀπολογοῦμενον ἀλλ' 
3 σκεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ Κλώδιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον 
ἀποροθῇ, ὁμως εἰς τῶν φρατριατικῶν νόμον ἐσενε-
χθήναι: πρὶν γὰρ ἐκείνων τεθῆναι οὔτ' ἀλλ' τι 
τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ πραγματεύειν οὔτε δίκην 
οὐδεμίαν ἐσαχθῆναι ἕξην.

20 Τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ Μίλων τῶν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν 
σφαγῶν πρόσχημα αὐτοῖς ἢν τεράτων τέ τινων 
ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων (ἐν τῷ γὰρ τῷ Ἀλβανὶ νεὸς 
"Ἡρας βραχὺς ἐπὶ τραπέζης τινὸς πρὸς ἀνατολῶν 
идρυμένων πρὸς τὴν ἀρκτίου μεταστράφη, καὶ λαμ-
πᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας ὀρμηθείσα πρὸς ἄρα 
2 διήξει, λύκος τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔσηλθε, καὶ σεισμὸς 
ἐγένετο, τῶν τε πολιτῶν τινὲς κεραυνοῖς ἐφθά-
ρησαν, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τῷ Δατίνῳ ὑπὸ γῆς ἔξη-
κούσθη. καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μάντεις ἀκέσασθαι ἐθελή-
σαντες ὀργίζοντας σφιασὶ δαιμονίων τι ὡς καὶ 
ἱερῶν τινῶν ἡ χωρίων οὕχ ὡς ὑποκουμένων 
3 ἐφασαν) ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν Κικέρωνα μετα-
λαβὼν τῷ τε λόγῳ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, ὅτι τοῦ ἐδαφοῦς 
τῆς οἰκίας ἑρωμένου τῇ Ἑλευθερίᾳ κατοικοῦμεν, 
καὶ ἐπηλθεὶς ποτέ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων 
ἀνθρώπων αὐτῆς ἀναρίθμων. καὶ νυκτὸ ἐποίησε μὲν 
21 τοῦτο, ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἐκώλυσεν: ὁ δ' οὖν Κικέρων 
ὡς καὶ παθῶν αὐτῷ ὄργην τε εἰχε καὶ κατηγορίας 
ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τέλος τοῦ τε Μίλωνα καὶ δημάρχους 
tινὰς παραλαβῶν ἀνήλθε τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον

1 ἀποροθῇ Bk., ποιηθῇ L. 2 ἀκέσασθαι Xyl., ἀκοῦσασθαί L. 3 πολὺς Rk., πολύ L.
quiet, nor would he stoop to a trick like that of Clodius, and so he grew exceedingly angry, yet could not stir; thus nominally Milo was the defendant, but in reality Pompey was being convicted without even offering a defence. For Clodius, in order to embarrass him the more, would not allow the lex curiata to be introduced; and until that was enacted no other serious business could be transacted in the state or any suit instituted.

For a season, then, Milo served as an excuse for their taunts and assassinations. But about this time some portents occurred: on the Alban Mount a small temple of Juno, set on a kind of table facing the east, was turned around toward the north; a blaze of light darted from the south across to the north; a wolf entered the city; an earthquake occurred; some of the citizens were killed by thunderbolts; in the Latin territory a subterranean tumult was heard; and the soothsayers, being anxious to find a remedy, said that some divinity was angry with them because some temples or consecrated sites were being used for residence. Then Clodius substituted Cicero for Milo and not only attacked him vigorously in a speech because the site of the house he had built upon was dedicated to Liberty, but even went to it once, with the intention of razing it anew to the ground; but he did not do so, as he was prevented by Milo. Cicero, however, was as angry with him as if he had actually accomplished his purpose, and kept making accusations. Finally, taking with him Milo and some tribunes, he ascended
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καὶ τὰς στῆλας τὰς ἕπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φυγῆ ὑπὸ

2 τοῦ Κλωδίου σταθείσας καθελε. καὶ τὸτε μὲν αὐτὰς ἐκείνους σὺν Γαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπελθόντος ἀφηρέθη, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ φυλάξας ἐκ- δημοῦντα τὸν Κλωδίου ἀνέβη τε αὐθες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς ὁ ἀπεκόμισε.

3 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὖδὲν ἐτ' ἀπώμοτον οὐδὲτέρω ἀυτῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐλοιδόρουν ἀλλήλους καὶ διεβαλ- λον ἄλλα τε ὅσα ἐδύναντο, μηδενὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων ἀπεχόμενοι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τε δημαρχίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλωδίου ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γενομένην καὶ τὰ πραγμένα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀκυρα ὁντα, ὁ δὲ τὴν τε φυγῆν τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς καὶ δικαίως ἐγνωσμένην καὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ παρανόμως ἐγνωσμένην.

22 Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολῆ τῇ στάσει ἐλαττουμένου, ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος ἐπελθὼν ἀνάσωσεν αὐτοὺς. τῷ τε γὰρ Κικέρωνι ἀχθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθείς ἄμα μή καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἐπεποίηκεν καταλυθείη, ὡτι πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐπέπεμπτο, προθύμως αὐτῷ συνήρατο. μέγα γὰρ ἐτ' αὐτοῖς ἐφοίνει, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτὰ ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τὴν νῆσον τότε κατέχων, ἔπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐγνωσμένα ἰσθετο καὶ μῆτ' ἀντάραι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐτόλμησε μῆτ' αὖ στερηθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς ζην ὑπέμεινε,7 φάρμακον πιῶν ἀπέθανε, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι τὸν Κάτωνα οὐκ ἀκουσάως, ἀτε καὶ

1 tās added by Pflugk. 2 ὑπὸ Leuncl., ἑπὶ L.
3 τῷ added by Rk. 4 αὐτὰς R. Steph., αὐτὰ L.
5 οὐδὲτέρω Bak., οὐδὲ ἐτέρω L.
6 ἀνάσωσεν Oddey, ἀνάσωσεν L.
7 ὑπέμεινε R. Steph., ὑπέμενε L.

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the Capitol and took down the tablets set up by Clodius to commemorate his exile. This time Clodius came up with his brother Gaius, a praetor, and took them away from him, but later he watched for a time when Clodius was out of town, and going up to the Capitol again, took them and carried them home. After this occurrence no quarter was shown on either side, but they abused and slandered each other as much as they could, without refraining even from the basest means. The one declared that the tribuneship of Clodius had been contrary to the laws and that therefore his official acts were invalid, and the other that Cicero's exile had been justly decreed and his restoration unlawfully voted.

While they were contending, and Clodius was getting much the worst of it, Marcus Cato came upon the scene and restored their balance. He had a grudge against Cicero and was likewise afraid that all his acts in Cyprus would be annulled, because he had been sent out under Clodius as tribune; hence he eagerly took the latter's side. For he was very proud of his deeds and anxious above all things that they should be confirmed. For Ptolemy, who at the time had been master of the island, when he learned of the vote that had been passed, and neither dared to rise against the Romans nor could endure to live deprived of his kingdom, had taken his life by drinking poison. 

1 This was a younger brother of the Ptolemy (Aulettes) who was expelled from Egypt and subsequently restored (see chap. 58), and is the same one mentioned in Book xxxviii. 30.
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φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων ἀντὶ δούλων

4 ἐσεσθαί προσδοκήσαντες, ἐσπεδέξαντο· ὦ δὲ Κάτων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτωι οὐδὲν εἶχε σεμινύνεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ δὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀριστα διώκησε, καὶ δούλους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀθροίσας οὐδὲν ἤτιάθη ἄλλα ἀνεπικλήτως πάντα ἀπέδειξεν, ἀν- δραγαθίας οὐδὲν ἤττον ἢ εἶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἐνενικήκει μετέποιεῖτο· ὕπο γὰρ τοῦ πολλοῦς δωροδοκείν σπανιῶτερον τὸ τῶν χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν τινα τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κρατείν ἐνόμιζε.

23 Τότε οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἐν δόξῃ τινὶ ἐπινικίων διὰ ταῦτ’ αἰσίων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ γνώμην ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐποίησαντο στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι καὶ περι μυθέω ἐκ τῶν νόμων προσήκουσαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέχθη μὲν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀντείπε), τὴν δὲ δὴ

2 εὐκλείαν καὶ ἐκ τούτου μείζονα ἔσχε. Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου ἀχθέντας Κλώδιους, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἐκείσε ἐπεπόμφει, ὁνομάζει, οὐκ ἡδυνηθῇ δὲ ἑναντιωθέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κύπριοι ἐπεκλήθησαν, καῦτοι τινῶν Πορκίους σφᾶς προσεπτείν ἔθελ-καὶ τοῦτον (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐκώλυσεν). ὅργη

3 σάντων (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐκὼλυσεν). ὥργη

δ’ οὖν ὁ Κλώδιος τὴν ἑναντίωσιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τὰ τε διωκθεῖτα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διέβαλλε καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπῆτει, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ διελέγχαι τι αὐτῶν ἀδικοῦντα ἑδύνατο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ὑπὸ ναυαγίας 2 τὰ γράμματα σχεδόν τὰ πάντα διέφθαρτο, καὶ ἔδοκεν κατὰ τοῦτο τὶ ἱσχύσειν.

4 ἔβοήθει δὲ καὶ τότε τῷ Κλωδίῳ ὁ Καίσαρ καῦτοι μὴ παρὼν, καὶ τὰς γε κατηγορίας αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπιστολιμαίους, ὡς γε τινὲς φασίν,

1 ei added by Leuncl. 2 ναυαγίας Bk., ναυαγίου L.
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Romans instead of slaves. Over this fact, however, Cato had no reason to vaunt himself; but because he had administered everything in the best possible manner, and after collecting slaves and large amounts of money from the royal treasury, had incurred no reproach but had turned over everything unchallenged, for these reasons he laid claim to valour no less than if he had conquered in some war. So many men were accepting bribes that he thought it more unusual for a man to despise money than to conquer the enemy.

So at that time Cato for these reasons had created some expectation that he would receive a regular triumph, and the consuls proposed in the senate that he be given the praetorship, although by law he could not yet hold it. And though he was not appointed, for he spoke against the measure himself, yet he obtained greater renown from this very circumstance. Clodius undertook to name the slaves brought from Cyprus Clodians, because he himself had sent Cato there; but he failed because the latter opposed it. So they received the title of Cyprians, although some wished to call them Porcians; but Cato prevented this too. So Clodius became angry at his opposition and proceeded to attack his administration; he demanded the accounts of the transactions, not because he could prove him guilty of any wrongdoing, but because nearly all of the documents had been destroyed by shipwreck and he expected to gain some advantage from this circumstance. And Caesar, although not present, was again aiding Clodius at this time, and according to some was sending him in
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ἐπεμπεν. ἐπεφέρετο 1 δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν στρατηγικάν οἱ αὐτὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους πείσας, ὡς γε ἔλεγον, ἐσηγήσασθαι, προσεποίησατο ἐθελοντής, ἵνα καὶ μὴ ἄκων ἀποτευχηκέναι αὐτῆς δόξῃ, παρεῖσθαι.

24 Οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ο Πομπήιος ἔσχε μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σῖτου διάδοσι τριβήν τινα· πολλῶν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐλευθερωθέντων, ἀπογραφὴν σφών, ὅπως ἐν τῇ κοσμῷ καὶ ἐν τάξει τινὶ σιτοδοτηθῶσιν, ἦθελησε ἐπὶ τούτῳ σοφία καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ σῖτου ρᾶβον πως διέκυψε, τὴν δὲ δὴ ὑπατεῖαν αὐτῶν πράγματα ἐσχε καὶ αἰτίαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλαβεν.

3 ἐλύπει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου γνωρίσανα, καὶ μάλιστ’ ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερεωράτο ὃν διέφερε, διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ ἰδιωτεύων ὑπὲρ πάντας αὐτοὺς τιμηθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν ὑβριδέμενος.

4 ἅλλα τούτων μὲν ἔσθ’ ὅτε καὶ κατεφρόνει παραχρῆμα μὲν γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούων ἐδυσχέραυνεν, διαλυτῶν δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀναλογισμὸν τῆς τε ἔαυτος ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων κακίας ἀφικνούμενος δύσκολα προείμα. 5 οὗτοι ἐκ τῶν παντελῶς τῶν Γαλαται

1 ἐπεφέρετο St., ἐπεφέροντο L.
2 ἦθελησε Leuncl., ἦθελῆσαι L.
3 ὑπατεῖαν αὐτῶν πράγματα Xyl., ὑπατεῖαν τῶν πραγμάτων L.
4 ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Bs., ἀπ’ αὐτῶν L.
5 In place of καὶ ek Cobet plausibly suggested καὶ ἐκ ("ten men").

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letters the accusations brought against Cato. One of the attacks upon Cato consisted in the charge that he himself had persuaded the consuls (so they affirmed) to propose the praetorship for him, and that he had then pretended to give it up voluntarily, in order not to appear to have lost it unwillingly.

While these men kept up their conflict, Pompey, too, encountered some delay in the distribution of the grain. For since many slaves had been freed in anticipation of the event, he wished to take a census of them in order that the grain might be supplied to them with some order and system. This, to be sure, he managed fairly easily through his own wisdom and because of the large supply of grain; but in seeking the consulship he met with annoyances and incurred some censure. Clodius' behaviour, for one thing, irritated him, but especially the fact that he was treated slightingly by the others, whose superior he was; and he felt outraged both on account of his reputation and on account of the hopes by reason of which while still a private citizen he had thought to be honoured above them all. Yet sometimes he could bring himself to scorn these; at the moment when people were speaking ill of him he was vexed, but after a time, when he came to consider carefully his own excellence and their baseness, he paid no further attention to them. The fact, however, that Caesar's influence was increasing and the people admired his achievements so much that they dispatched men\(^1\) from the senate, on the supposition that the Gauls had been completely subjugated, and that they were

\(^1\) Perhaps we should read "ten men" with Cobet; cf. Cicero, *Prov. cons.* 11, 28; *Balb.* 27, 61; *ad Fam.* 1, 7, 10. Dio is wrong in attributing this action to the people instead of to the senate.
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ἀποστείλαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐπαρρόμενος ὡστε καὶ χρήματα οἱ πολλὰ ψηφί-2 σασθαί, δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἡμία. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναπείσαι μήτε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ εὔθυς ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ πλεί-ςτον, μέχρις ἂν αὐτόματος ἡ δόξα τῶν πραττο-μένων ἐκνευρήσῃ, συγκρύπτειν, καὶ διάδοχον τινα αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκουτος καρφοῦ πέμψαι. 3 τοσαύτη γὰρ φιλοτιμία ἔχρητο ὡσθ’ ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνέπραξε καὶ βασικάνει καὶ καταλύει, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄλλας τε ἐπανουμένως καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ συσκείαζοντι ἀ-χθεσθαι, καὶ τῷ δὴ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸν τε ἐν ὀλγωρίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπερ-4 εσπούδαζε. 5 τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡγανάκτει ὅρων αὐτοὺς τῶν τε προποιηθέντων 4 τινὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μνημονέυοντας ἐφ’ ὅσον μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιγένετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄει καθιστάμενον, κἀν ἐλαττον τοῦ προτέρου ζῇ, προχειροτατα τῷ τε τοῦ συνήθους κόροφ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ξένου ἡδονῆς φερομένους, καὶ τὸ μὲν προεύδοκιμον πὰν καταλύοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου, τῷ δ’ ἄρτι προφανομένου συνεπαύξοντας 26 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων. δι’ οὗν ταῦτα δυσχεραίνων, καὶ μὴ τε ταῖς διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διαπράξασθαι δυναθείς καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μείζω τῆς πρὸς ἐαυτοῦ πίστεως γηγνόμενον ὅρων, ὥσκ εὖ ἐλαφρὸ τὸ πράγμα ἐποιήσατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζε δῦν τε

1 ἐκεῖνο τὸ Bk., ἐκεῖνῳ γε L.
2 ἐπανουμένῳ ἐπὶ ταυτομενῷ L.
3 ὑπερεσπούδαζε Reim., ὑπερεσπούδαζε L.
4 προποιηθέντων Bk., πρὸς ποιηθέντων L.
5 τινὶ Bk., τινὰ L.
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so elated by their hopes based on him as to vote him large sums of money, was a cruel thorn in Pompey's side. He attempted to persuade the consuls not to read Caesar's letters immediately but to conceal the facts as long as possible, until the glory of his deeds should win its own way abroad, and furthermore to send some one to relieve him even before the regular time. So jealous was he that he undertook to disparage and undo all that he himself had helped to gain for Caesar, and that he was displeased with him both because he was greatly praised and because he was overshadowing his own exploits, and he blamed the people because they slighted him and were excessively enthusiastic over Caesar. Especially was he vexed to see that they remembered the former achievements of a man just so long as nothing new occurred, that they rushed with the greatest haste to each new achievement, even if it were inferior to that which had preceded, because they became tired of the usual and liked the novel, and that, actuated by envy, they overthrew everyone who had once been in high repute, but, urged on by their hopes, helped to exalt one who was just emerging. Because of this he was vexed, and being unable to accomplish anything through the consuls and seeing that Caesar had passed beyond the need of keeping faith with him, he regarded the situation as grave. For he held that there were two things which
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εἶναι τὰ τὰς φιλίας τινῶν συγχέοντα, τὸ τε δέος καὶ τὸν φθόνον, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἱσχύς μόνως μὴ συμβαίνειν.

2 ἔως μὲν γὰρ ἄν ἴσομοιρόσι τινὲς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖνας ἐρρωσθαί, ἐπειδὰν δ' ὑπεράρωσι τι οἱ ἐτεροι, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε ἐλαττούμενον φθονήσαν μισεῖν τὸν κρεῖττονα καὶ τὸ κρατοῦν καταφρονήσαν ἐξυβρίζειν ἐς τὸν χείρονα, καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' ἀμφότερων τὸν μὲν τῇ ἐλαττώσει ἀγανακτοῦντα τὸν δὲ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἑπαιρομένου, πρὸς τε διαφορὰς καὶ πρὸς πολέμους ἐκ τῆς πρὶν φιλίας.

3 ἀφικνεῖσθαι. τοιούτως οὖν δὴ τις λογισμὸς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὁπλίζετο. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ράδιως μόνος αὐτὸν καταλῦσαι, τὸν Κράσσον, ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ποιήσων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνηρτήσατο.

27 Συμφρονήσαντες οὖν ἅλλως μὲν οὐδέν ἰδιωτεύοντες πράξεων ἠπίσταν, ἀν δ' ὑπατεύσωσι κἀκεῖνον καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα τῇ ἐκεῖνον ζηλῶσει διαλάβωσι, καὶ ἀντίρροσι οἱ ἐσεθαί καὶ ταχὺ αὐτοῦ, ἀπε καὶ δύο ἔνος, περιγενήσεσθαι πρόσεξον ἐδόκησαν. καὶ οὕτω πάσαν τὴν προσποίησιν ἀφ' ἡς, εἰ καὶ τις τῶν ἔταίρων σφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ προῆγεν, ἀπηροῦντο μηκέτι βούλεσθαι ὑπατεύσει, ἀποθέμενοι, ἀντικρούσις αὐτῆς, καὶ περ ἐτέρους τις πρότερον συναγωγεύομενοι, μετεποιήσαντο. ἐπειδή τε ἐξώ τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς

1 συγχέοντα R. Steph., συνίχαοντα L.
2 δέος R. Steph., δέλος L. 3 μὴ supplied by Bk.
4 ἐκεῖνα Reim., ἐκεῖνα L.
5 μισεῖν... ἐξυβρίζειν Reim., μισεὶ... ἐξυβρίζει L.
6 τοῦτο supplied by Bs. 7 οὐδέν Dind., οὐδέν ἀν L.
8 ἀφ' ἡς εἰ Rk., σφίσι L.

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destroy people's friendship, fear and envy, and that these can be prevented by nothing except an equality in fame and strength. For as long as persons possess these last in equal shares, their friendship is firm, but when one or the other excels at all, then the inferior party becomes jealous and hates the superior, while the stronger despises and insults the weaker; and thus, with such feelings on both sides, the one being vexed by his inferiority, the other elated by his advantage, they come to strife and war in place of their former friendship. On the basis of some such reasoning Pompey began to arm himself against Caesar. And because he thought he alone could not easily overthrow him, he attached Crassus to himself even more than before, that he might accomplish his purpose with his aid.

After reaching an understanding, they decided that they could not hope to accomplish anything as private citizens, but that if they should become consuls and devote themselves to public affairs, in imitation of Caesar, they would not only be a match for him but would quickly triumph over him, being two against one. So they gave up all their dissimulation, whereby, whenever any of their associates urged them to seek the consulship, they had been claiming that they no longer cared to take the office; and they now openly sought it, in spite of the fact that they had previously been assisting some of the other candidates. When they began to canvass for
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νόμοις διειρμένων 1 ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτήν, καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ύπατοι (καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ρώμης ὁ Μαρκελλίνος εἶχεν) οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντες σφίσιν ἀποδειχθῆναι, διεπράσοντο τὰς ἀρχαιο-
σίας ἐν τῇ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ μὴ γενέσθαι, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Γάιον ἐνιέντες, ἵνα μεσοβασιλέως αἱρεθέντος καὶ αἰτήσωσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λάβωσι.

28 Καὶ ἐγίγνετο γὰρ τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν 2 ὑπὸ τῶν 3 παρεσκευασμένων ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων 4 (τοὺς γοῦν ἑαυτούμενους σφίσι φανερῶς ἤχθοντο), δεινῶς ἡ γεροντία ἡγα-

2 νάκτησεν, ὡστε ποτὲ μεταξὺ μαχομένων αὐτῶν ἐξαναστῆσαι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὐτὸς διελύθησαν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπειδὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐγίγνετο, τὰς στολὰς καθάπερ ἐν συμφορᾷ των μετεκδύναι ἐγυρφίσαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐπει-

3 δήπερ ἀντιλέγοντα ὄντων ἦνυσιν, ἐκπερήσαντος . . .

3 ὅπως μηδὲν τελεσθεὶς· εἰ γὰρ τις τῶν μὴ βουλευ-

4 νότων ἦν, οὔδεμα ψήφος αὐτῶς ἐδίδοτο. ἐκείνους τὸ γὰρ προσαντικάντας ἔτεροι δήμαρχοι ἐκώλυσαν ἐσεβείν, καὶ οὗτος τοῦτο τὸ τὸ δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὅπως καὶ ἐς τὴν πανη-

4 γυρινὶ τὴν τότε ὄσαν οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ 5 θεωρή-

4 σωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ὁ Κάτων ἄνθι-

4 στατο, ἐξεπέρασαν ἄθροι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλαξάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον ὃς καὶ ἐὰ στὸ τοῦτοτ αὐτῶν καταπλῆξαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ὃς ἐμετρίαξεν,

1 διειρμένων Rk., διηρμένων L.
2 τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν Rk., λόγοι τοῦτο μὲν L.
3 ὑπὸ τῶν "N" in Reimar's ed., ὑπάτων L.
4 ἐκείνων Reim., ἐκείνως L. 5 μὴ supplied by Rk.

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the office outside of the period specified by law, and, among others the consuls themselves (for Marcel- 
linus had some little influence) made it plain that they would not allow them to be elected, they tried to bring it about, through the agency of Gaius Cato and others, that the elections should not be held that year, in order that an interrex might be chosen and they might then seek and secure the office in accordance with the laws.

This result, now, was being achieved, to all appear-
ances, by the men employed on different pretexts, but in reality by these candidates themselves; at all events they openly showed dislike of those who opposed them. The senators, therefore, became highly indignant and once rose up and departed while these men were wrangling. Thus their strife was stopped for the time being; but when the same disturbance happened again, the senators voted to change their dress, as if for some calamity, in spite of the fact that Cato, when he gained nothing by speaking against the proposed step, rushed out of the gathering [and called in any one he met in the market-
place (?)] in order that no decision might be reached; for, if any person not a senator were inside, they might not give their vote. But other tribunes were ahead of him and prevented the outsiders from entering; and so this decree was passed, and it was also decided that the senators should not be spec-
tators at the games then going on. When Cato opposed this measure, too, they rushed out in a body, and after changing their dress returned, hoping thus to frighten him. When even then he would
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προῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἅμα πάντες, καὶ συνδρα-
μόντοις ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἐς πᾶν κατηφείας
5 αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν, δημηγορῶν μὲν ὁ Μαρκελ-
lίνος καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ὄντομον, ἐπι-
dακρύοντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐπιστέννως, ὡστε
μηδένα μηδὲν ἄντιφθεγγάσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο
πράξαντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον εὐθὺς ἐσῆλθον,
γυμνὰν ἔχοντες ἐς τοὺς ὑπαιτίους τὴν ὀργὴν
29 ἀφεῖναι: Ἐλώδιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μεταπηθήσας αὕτης
πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ τὰ ἔκεινον πάλιν ἀνθελό-
μενος ἐλπίδι 1 τοῦ, εἰ τί οἱ τῶν τότε πραττομένων
συνοκεργάσαντο, πάνυ αὐτὸν ἰδιώσεσθαι, παρ-
ήλθε τε ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ στολῇ,
μηδὲν αὐτής πρὸς τὸ δόγμα μεταλάβας, καὶ κατὰ
tε στὸν Μαρκελίνου καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδήμη-
2 γόρει. πολλὴν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτήσεως
ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν γενομένης τὸ μὲν πλήθος
μεταξὺ λέγον ἐγκατέλειπε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ συν-
έδριον ἄξας 2 ὄλγου διεφθάρη τῇ γαρ γερουσίᾳ
ἀπαντησάσης αὐτῷ εἰςω τε ἐσεϊδεῖν ἐκωλύθη,
3 καὶ τοῦτῳ ἕπεισε περιστοιχισθεῖς διε-
σπάσθη ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀνακραγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
ὄμιλον ἐπιβοσισμένου προσέδραμον πολλοὶ πῦρ
φέροντες, ὡς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βουλευτήριου σφᾶς
καταπρῆσοντες εἰ τι αὐτῶν ἐξεργάσαστον.
Καὶ ὁ μὲν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθὼν ἀπολέσθαι
30 οὕτως ἐσώθη: Πομπήιος δὲ οὔδὲν τούτως ἐκ-
πλαγεῖς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ποτὲ ἐσεπήδησεν,
ὑπεναντιούμενος αὐτῷ ψηφιεῖσθαι μέλλοντι, 3 καὶ
ἐκεῖνο τε κυρωθῆναι ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκελ-

1 ἐλπίδι R. Steph., ἐλπίδα L. 2 ἄξας Wesseling, ἄρξας L.
3 μέλλοντι R. Steph., μέλλοντος L.

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not moderate his behaviour, they all proceeded to the Forum together and brought the multitude, which had thereupon rushed together, to a state of extreme sorrow; for Marcellinus addressed them, lamenting their present situation, while the rest wept and groaned, so that no one had a word to say against him. After doing this the senators entered the senate-house immediately, intending to vent their wrath upon those who were responsible. But Clodius had meanwhile leaped over to the side of Pompey and espoused his cause again, in the hope that if he should give him any help in securing his present objects, he would make him thoroughly his friend. So he came before the populace in his ordinary garb, without having made any change as the decree required, and went to inveighing against Marcellinus and the rest. As great indignation was shown by the senators at this, he left the people in the midst of his speech and rushed to the senate-house, where he came near perishing. For the senate confronted him and prevented his going in, while at that moment he was surrounded by the knights and would have been torn limb from limb, had he not raised an outcry, calling upon the people for aid; whereupon many ran to the scene bringing fire and threatening to burn his oppressors along with the senate-house if they should do him any violence. Thus Clodius was saved after coming so near perishing.

But Pompey, not alarmed at all by this, on one occasion rushed into the senate, thwarting them as they were just about to vote, and prevented the measure from being carried. When Marcellinus
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λίνων μετὰ τούτο πυθομένου δημοσία αὐτοῦ εἰ ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑπατεύσαι, ἐλπίδι τοῦ κατοκη-σεων αὐτοῦ σπουδαρχείν ὁμολογήσαι, τῶν μὲν δικαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑνεκα οὐδὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς δεῖσθαι ἐφη, διὰ δὲ ὅτι τοὺς παραχώδεις καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῆς ἀντιποίησαν. ὡς οὖν τούτῳ ἐνεκείστω, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἔρωτησε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ οὐχ ὁμολογήσει μὲν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπηρνήσατο, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ εἰώθει διὰ μέσου ἐχώρησεν, εἰτῶν ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροι πράξει, κατέδεικνυ ὁ τε Μαρκελλίνῳ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῆν τε παρασκευήν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπήντυν

3 ἔτι ἐς τὸ βουλευτῆριον. μὴ συλλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τῶν νομίμων ἁρμονοῦ πρὸς τὸ ψη-φίσθηναι τι περὶ τῶν ἀρχαῖας ἡμιορίας, οὐδὲ χρηματι-σθήναι τι ἀρχὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμνήσῃ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐναυτὸς οὖν ὅτι διέβη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἐσθήτα μετημπίσχοντο οὔτε ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἔρεντη εἰστία-θησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Δατίνας, δεύτερον τότε ύπὸ τινος οὐκ ὁδής πραχθέντος ποιομένας; ἔτι τὸ Ἀλβανον ἄφικοντο, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ δεδουλο-μένοι, καὶ μὴ ἄρχας ἑλέον μὴ ἄλλο τι πολιτικὸν πράξει ἐξουσίαν ἐχοντες, τὸ λοιπὸν του ἔτους διήγαγον.

31 Ὁταν μετὰ τούτο ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὑπατοὶ ἐκ μεσοβασιλείας ἀπεδείχθησαν, οὔτ' ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προεπηργελκότων ἀπαντήσαντος, καὶ Δουκίου Δομιτίου, ὃ μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας

1 τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦτο L.
2 ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐναυτὸς Canter, ἀλλὰ θέσει αὐτὸς L.
3 ποιομένας R. Steph., ποιοῦμενα L.
4 πράξαι Bk., πράξασθαι L.

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after that publicly asked him whether he really 

desired to become consul, in the hope that he would 
shrink from admitting that he was a candidate, 
Pompey declared that he did not want the office 
because of the just men, but that on account of the 
seditious he was trying very hard to gain it. So 
Pompey now openly strove for the office, and Crassus 
on being interrogated gave the same impression 
himself, not admitting the fact, to be sure, but not 
denying it, either; instead, he took, as usual, a 
middle course and said that he would do whatever 
was advantageous for the republic. Consequently 
Marcellinus and many others were terrified, as they 
observed the preparations and opposing array of 
these men, and would no longer frequent the senate-
house. And since the number required by law 
for passing any vote concerning the elections did not 
assemble, it was impossible to have any business at 
all about them brought forward, and the year thus 
passed away. The senators, however, did not change 
back to their usual attire nor attend the games nor 
celebrate the feast of Jupiter on the Capitol nor go 
out to the Alban Mount for the Feriae Latinae, held 
there for the second time by reason of something 
not rightly done. Instead, they spent the rest of the 
year as if they were in bondage and possessed no 
authority to choose officials or carry on any other 
public business.

Later Crassus and Pompey were appointed consuls 
after an interregnum, as no one else of the earlier can-
didates opposed them. To be sure, Lucius Domitius,
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ήμέρας ἐσπουδάρχησεν, ὄρμησαντος μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδεν ὑπὸ νύκτα, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ὁ τῶν λύχνων οἱ προφέρων ἐσφάγη, δείσαντος καὶ
2 μηκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαντος. οὔτ' οὖν ἀντιστάντος τινὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ προσέτε τοῦ Ποντιάκου Κράσσου, δὲ ύστερ τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν καὶ
τότε τῷ Καῖσαρι ὑπεστράτηγεν, στρατιωτάς ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τούτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγόντος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἱρέθησαν.

32 Παραλαβόντες δ' 1 οὖτω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὰς λυπὰς ἀρχᾶς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείως 2 σφίσιν ἔχουσι δοθῆναι ἐποίησαν, τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Μάρκου κωλύσαντες στρατηγὸν ἀποδείχθηναι ὑπώπτευον τε γὰρ αὐτὸν οὖν ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γνώμηνα, καὶ οὐκ ἥθελσαν ἵσχυν αὐτῷ ἐνομον πρὸς τὰς ἀντι.
2 λογίας προσθεῖναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν κατάστασις (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων οὐδὲν βίαιον πράξαι ἥξισεν) εἰρημαί ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τούς ἀγορα-
νόμους τοὺς κουρουλίους σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὡς τε καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον πολλοὺ αἴματος ἀναπλησθῆναι.
3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν, τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἰρουμένους, πρὸς τρόπου 3 σφίσιν (αὐτοῖς γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐποίηον) ἀπέδειξαν, τοὺς τε ἀγορανόμους τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ τῶν δη-
μάρχων τῶν πλείους προσημείσαντο. δύο δὲ δήμαρχοι, 4 Γαίοις τέ Ἐτέιος 5 Καπίτων καὶ Πού-
πλιός Ἀκύλιος 6 Γάλλος, οὐχ ὁμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς.

33 Ὁς οὖν αἰ ἀρχαὶ κατέστησαν, εἶχοντο εὖν

1 δ' added by Rk. 3 ἐπιτηδείως R. Steph., ἐπιτηδείως L.
2 πρὸς τρόπου Wesseling, προστρόπου L.
4 δήμαρχοι Xyl., δημοσίαι L.
5 'Ατείος Bs., following Leunol. ('Ἀτήος), ἀτίος L (and so regularly).
6 Ἀκύλιος Reim., ἀκύλιος L.
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who canvassed for the office up to the very last day of the year, set out from his house for the assembly just after dark, but when the slave who carried the torch in front of him was slain, he became frightened and went no farther. Hence, since no one at all opposed them, and furthermore since Publius Crassus, who was a son of Marcus and at that time lieutenant under Caesar, brought soldiers to Rome for this very purpose, they were easily chosen.

When they had thus assumed the leadership of the state, they had the other offices given to such as were well disposed toward them and prevented Marcus Cato from being appointed praetor; for they suspected that he would not submit to their régime and were unwilling to add any legal power to his protests. The election of the praetors, now, was made in peace, for Cato did not see fit to offer any violence; in the matter of the curule aediles, however, there was some bloodshed, so that even Pompey was much bespattered with blood. Nevertheless, in the case of both these and the other officials elected by the people, they made appointments to please themselves, since they personally held the elections, and they made friends with the other aediles and most of the tribunes; but two tribunes, Gaius Ateius Capito and Publius Aquilius Gallus, did not come to terms with them.

Accordingly, when the magistrates had been appointed, they proceeded to lay hold on the objects

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ἐφιεντο. καὶ αὐτὸι μὲν οὐδένα οὐτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὔτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λόγοιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐπλάττοντο μηδενὸς σφών προσ-2 δείσθαι. Γάρ τις δὲ ὁ Τρεβώνιος δημαρχῶν ἔγραψε τῷ μὲν τῇ τῷ Συρίαν καὶ τῷ πλησίονωρα αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας1 (καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ἐναγχὸς ἐκείνητο 2) ἀρχεῖων ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοθῆναι, στρα-τιώταις τε ὅσις ἄν εὐθελῆσωσι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων χρωμένοις, καὶ τὸλμουν καὶ εἰρήνην πρὸς ὅσις ἀν βουληθῶσι ποιομένοις.

3 χαλεπῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἐχόντων, διτὶ ἡμέλλων ἐκεῖνοι, τυχόντες δὲν διικούντο, τὸν Καίσαρα μηκέτ’ ἐπὶ πολυ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξοντα καθελρέειν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι διὰ τούτο ἀντεπείν τινῶν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, φοβηθέντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ μὴ διαμάρ-τωσιν δὴν ἐπταττουν, προσεποίησαντο αὐτοὺς ὡστε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τρία ἔτη πλεῖον, ὡς γε 4 τάληθες εὐρίσκεται, μηκέναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸν δήμον τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐσήνεγκαν πρῶ 5 τὰ σφέτερα βεβαιωσάσθαι. οἱ τε γὰρ τοῦ Καί-σαρος ἐπιτήδειον προκαταλήφθηντες πῦτος ἡσύ-χασαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μὲν πολὺ δουλωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἡσυχίαν ἔγγαγον, ἀγαπάντες εἶ καὶ 34 ὅς περισσείεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Φαουώνιος ἡμαντιοῦντο μὲν πᾶσὶ τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ’ αὐ-τῶν, συνεργοὺς ἄλλους τε τίνας καὶ τοὺς δῦο δημάρχους ἔχοντες, ἀτε δὲ ὅλοι πρὸς πολλοὺς 2 ἀγωνιζόμενοι μᾶτην ἐπαρρησιαζοῦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος μίαν ὀραν μόνην παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου

1 Ἰβηρίας R. Steph., Ἰβηράς L.
2 ἐκείνητο Bk., ἐκείνητο L.

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of their striving. They made no mention of these matters themselves before either the senate or the people, but gravely pretended that they wanted nothing further. Gaius Trebonius, however, a tribune, presented a measure, that to the one Syria and the neighbouring lands should be given as a province for five years, and to the other the two Spains, where there had recently been disturbances, for the same period; they should employ as many soldiers as they wished, both citizens and allies, and should make peace and war with whomsoever they pleased. Many took offence at this, especially the friends of Caesar, because these men were bound after gaining their present ends to restrict Caesar’s power and keep him from holding his position much longer, and therefore some prepared to speak against the measure. Then the consuls, fearing that they might fail utterly of the projects they had in hand, won over their opponents on the condition of extending Caesar’s command also for three years more—to state the actual fact. However, they submitted nothing to the people in regard to him until their own arrangements had been confirmed. For Caesar’s friends, having been gained over in the manner stated, remained quiet, and the majority of the others, in bondage to fear and satisfied if even so they might save their lives, kept still. On the other hand, Cato and Favonius resisted all their schemes, having the two tribunes and others to help them; but since they were fighting a few against many, their outspokenness was of no avail. Favonius, who obtained from Trebonius only one hour for his

1 The same period is adopted by Dio in Book xlv. 43, 2. Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian say five years.
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πρὸς τὴν ἀντιλογίαν λαβὼν, κατέτρυψεν αὐτὴν ὑπέρ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ στενοχωρίας εἰκὴ θοῶν ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν δύο ὁραῖς δημηγορῆσαι, τραπόμενος δὲ πρὸς κατηγορίαν τῶν τε ἐν χερεί καὶ τῆς ὀλης καταστάσεως, ὅσπερ εἰώθη, κατανάλωσε τὸν καιρὸν πρὸς καὶ ὅτινόι τῶν προκειμένων εἰπεῖν, ὁ περὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεδέχετο τι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων λειχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἔτι τι δημη-
γορῆσαι δοκῶν ἔχειν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Τρεβωνίου σι-
γασθῇ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τούτ' αὐτὸ ἐγκαλῆ, ἐπεὶ εὖ ἦν 
γε ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰ πάση τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέχρητο, 
πεῖσαι τι δὲν ἐβούλητο ψηφίσασθαι σφας ἐδύνατο.

4 οὐκοὖν οὔτε 2 παραχρῆμα σιωπῆσαι 3 κελευσθεὶς 
ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξωσθεὶς καὶ ἔλκυσθεὶς ἐκ 
τοῦ συλλόγου ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐς 
τὸ οἴκημα ἐσαχῆσαι προσταχθεὶς οὐκ ἐμετρίσαν.

35 Καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτω κατετρίβη ὡστε 
μηδ' εἰπεῖν ἀρχὴν μηδὲν τῶν δημάρχων δυνη-
θήναι· ἐν γὰρ τοι ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς τοῦ δήμου, 
ἐν αἷς γε καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο, πάσαις τοῖς 5 ἰδιωταῖς 
πρὸ τῶν τάς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντων ὁ λόγος ἐδίδοτο, τοῦ 
μηδένα αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔσωμε, τῆς τοῦ κράτους ἀσνῆ 
προκαταλαμβανόμενον ὑποστέλλεσθαι τι δὲν φρο-
νοῖ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης παρρήσιας τὰ δοκοῦντα 
3 αὐτῷ λέγειν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος μὴ τις αὐτῶν 
ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ὑστεραία ἐξείρξῃ ἡ καὶ δεινότερον 
τι ἐργάσθη, ἐς τὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἀφ' ἐσπέρας 
ἐσῆθε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνυκτέρευσε, τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας 
ἐνεκα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν ἀμα

1 προκειμένων εἰπεῖν Ρκ., ἑνομεένων Λ.
2 οὔτε Βκ., οὖδὲ Λ. 3 σιωπᾶσαι Reim., σιωπῆσειν Λ.
3 ταῖς Ιχλ., καὶ ταῖς Λ. 5 τοῖς Ιχλ., πρὸς τοῖς Λ.

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speech in opposition, used it up in uttering vain pro-
tests against this very limitation of his time. Cato,
for his part, received the privilege of speaking for two
hours, but devoted his efforts to criticizing present
conditions and the general state of affairs, as was his
wont, and so exhausted his time before he had
touched upon any of the matters before them. He
took this course, not because he had not the pri-
vilege of speaking on those matters as well, but in
order that he might be silenced by Trebonius while
still appearing to have something more to say and
might thus obtain this additional grievance to bring
against him. For he well understood that even if he
employed the whole day, he could not persuade them
to vote anything that he wished. Hence, when
bidden to be silent, he did not stop immediately, but
had to be pushed and dragged from the assembly,
whereupon he came back, and though finally ordered
to be taken to prison, he did not moderate his
behaviour.

That day was used up in such wise that the
tribunes could not speak at all. For in all the
meetings of the people in which they deliberated,
the right to speak was given to the private citizens
ahead of the magistrates, to the end apparently
that none of them, captivated beforehand by
the opinion of a superior, should conceal any of
his own ideas, but should speak out his mind with
entire frankness. Hence Gallus, fearing that some
one might on the next day keep him from the Forum
or do something worse still, went into the senate-
house in the evening and passed the night there,
both for the sake of the safety afforded by the place,
and for the purpose of leaving there at dawn to join
4 ἔψι πρὸς τὸ πλήθος ἐξέλθη. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὁ Τρεβώνιος μάτην ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖον ἐνδιατρέψας ἐποίησε, πάσας τὰς θύρας τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου κλείσας· τὸν δὲ Ἀτέιον τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τὸν Φαούνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ’ αὐτῶν ὄντας ἔτεροι, προκαταλαβόντες τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ τοῦ συνόλου χωρίων, ἐξεῖργον.
5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Φαούνιος καὶ ὁ Νίνιος διαλαθόντες ποὺς ἐνδον ἐγένοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἰτάτων καὶ ὁ Ἀτέιος ἐπαναβάντες τις τῶν περιεσθηκότων καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν διοσημίαν, ὡς καὶ διαλύσοντες σφας, ἐπεφήμιζον, τούτους μὲν ἐκατέρων οἱ ύπηρέται τῶν δημάρχων ἐξήλασαν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶι ὄντας κατετραμμάτισαν, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.

36 Κυρωθέντος δὲ οὕτω τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαλλαττομένου ἡδη ἐκ τοῦ συνόλου, παραλαβὼν ὁ Ἀτέιος τὸν Γάλλου αἴματος ἀναπλεών (ἐκβιαζόμενος γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐπλήγη) παρήγαγε τὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐτὶ παρόντας, καὶ ἐπιδείξας αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπειπότον ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν,
2 δεινοὶς σφας ἐξετάραξεν. αἰσθόμενοι οὖν τοὺθ οἱ ύπατοι ἠλθόν τε διὰ ταχέων (ἐγγύθεν γὰρ ποθεν τοὺς πραττομένους ἐφήδρευν) καὶ καταφοβήσαντες αὐτοὺς, ἀτε καὶ χείρα οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχοντες, εὐθὺς τε ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπεφήμισαν, ἀντεπείν μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τῶν αὐτῶν πειραθέντων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δυνηθέντων τι πράξαι.

37 Ταύτα τε οὖν κυρωθήματι ἐποίησαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἱπτὸ πικρότερα ἐπιτίμα τοῖς δεκάξουσι τινας
1 ἐπεφήμιζον Ῥκ., ἐφήμιζοντο Ι.
the populace outside. But Trebonius, by locking all the doors of the senate-house, caused him to spend not only the night there but most of the day as well, all in vain. Others occupied the meeting-place of the assembly by night and barred out Ateius, Cato, Favonius, and the others with them. When Favonius and Ninnius got in somehow unobserved, and Cato and Ateius climbed upon the shoulders of some of those standing around, and being lifted up by them, declared an omen with the purpose of breaking up the meeting, the attendants of the tribunes drove them both out, wounded the rest who were with them, and actually killed a few.

After the law had been passed in this way and the crowd was already departing from the assembly, Ateius took Gallus, who had been struck in being forced out of the gathering, and led him, all covered with blood, into the presence of those still on the spot, showed him to them, and by making such remarks as might be expected, stirred them mightily. The consuls quickly arrived upon becoming aware of this; for they had been watching developments from somewhere near at hand. And as they had a considerable bodyguard they intimidated the men, immediately called a meeting, and put to vote the additional measures relating to Caesar. The same persons tried to speak in opposition to these, too, but were unable to accomplish anything.

The consuls, accordingly, had these measures passed, and next they laid heavier penalties upon
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ἐπέτάξαν, ὡσπερ τι αὐτὸς ἔλαττον, ὅτι οὐ χρήματι ἀλλὰ βίᾳ τὴν ἁρχὴν εἰλήφεσαν, ἀμαρτώντες.

2 ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τα ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν 1 δίαιταν ἐπὶ μακρότατον προσηγμένα 2 συστείλαι, καὶ περ ἐσ πᾶν αὐτὸ καὶ τρυφής καὶ ἀβρότητος προκεχωρήκοτες, ἐκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τούτου διανομοθετῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ Ὀρτήσιος φιλαναλωτὴς 3 ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὃν ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς, τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς πολέως ἐπεζών, καὶ αὐτοὺς 4 ἐπὶ τῇ ὅλῃ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους μεγαλοφροσύνη ἐπαινῶν, καταβαλεῖν 5 τὴν γυνώμην, ἀτε καὶ συναγωνιστῇ 6 τῶν λόγων τῷ βίῳ σφῶν χρώμενοις. τῇ τε γὰρ ἐναντίωσιν αἰδεσθέντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κατοκήσαντες φθόνῳ τινὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὃν αὐτὸ ἐποίοι, 7 δοκεῖν ἀπείργειν, ἐκόντες ἀφήκαν τὴν ἐσήγησιν.

38 Καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ θέατρον, φύσει καὶ νῦν λαμπρυνόμεθα, καθερώσε, καὶ ἐν τε ἐκεῖνῳ θέαν καὶ μουσικής καὶ ἀγώνος γυμνικοῦ καὶ τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἤπτου ἁμέλλαν καὶ θηρίων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν σφαγάς

2 ἐποίησεν. λέοντες τε γὰρ πεντακόσιοι ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἀναλώθησαν, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ὄκτωκαίδεκα πρὸς ὀπλίτας ἐμαχᾶσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παραχρήμα ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ὧν πολλῷ ύστερον. ἠλέηθησαν γὰρ τινὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου γυνώμην, ἐπειδὴ τραυματισθέντες

1 ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Rk. (κατὰ supplied by Leuncl.), ἀναλώτατα τὴν L. 2 προσηγμένα Leuncl., προσηγμένα L. 3 φιλαναλωτῆς Pflugk, φιλανάλωτος L. 4 αὐτοὺς added by Leuncl. 5 καταβαλεῖν Xyl., καταβαλεῖν L. 6 συναγωνιστῇ R. Steph., συναγωνιστῇ L. 7 ἐποίοιν Bk., ἐποίοιντο L.

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those offering bribes, as if their own offence were any less because they had secured their office by force instead of by money. They even undertook to curtail personal expenditures, which had increased to an enormous extent, although they themselves went to every length of luxury and indulgence; but they were prevented by this very circumstance from enacting the law. For Hortensius, one of the men fondest of expensive living, by reviewing the great size of the city and praising the costliness of their homes as well as their generosity toward others, thus making use of their own mode of life to support his arguments, persuaded them to give up their intention. They were brought to shame by his opposition and also shrunk from appearing to debar others through jealousy from privileges that they themselves enjoyed; and so they voluntarily withdrew their motion.

During these same days Pompey dedicated the theatre in which we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus a horse-race and the slaughter of many wild beasts of all kinds. Indeed, five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against men in heavy armour. Some of these beasts were killed at the time and others a little later. For some of them, contrary to Pompey's wish, were pitied by the people when, after being
3 τής μάχης ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ περιόντες τὰς τε προβοσκίδας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέτεινον καὶ ἀλοφυρόντο οὕτως ὡστε καὶ λόγου παρασχεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ὄρκους οἰς πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Διβύνης ἐπεπεραίνοντο ἐπιβοῶμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πρὸς τιμωρίαν σφῶν ἐπικαλοῦμενοι. Λέγεται γάρ ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον τῶν νεῶν ἐπέβησαν πρὶν πίστιν παρὰ τῶν ἀγόντων σφᾶς ἐνορκὸν λαβεῖν, ἡ μὴ μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ τούτο μὲν εἰτ' οὕτως οὕτως εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχει, οὐκ οἶδα. ἢ δὴ γάρ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἐπίτιν, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς πατριώτιδος αὐτοὺς ἐπαίτειν1 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γυγνομένων, ὡστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς νομημαίαις, πρὶν ἐς ὁψίν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν σελήνην ἐλθεῖν, πρὸς τὸ θύσω θείων ἀφικνεῖσθαι 2

6 καί ταῦτα καθαρμόν τινά σφῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ἤκουσα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὸ θεάτρον τούτο οὐχ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριος τῆς ἀπελευθέρους αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν ςυστρατευόμενοι ὁ ἐπετρόπιστο. ἄδειον καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου δικαιότατα αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν, ἵνα μὴ μάτην 3 κακῶς ἀκούῃ ὅτι ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῦ ἡγυρνολόγησεν ὡστε καὶ ἐστὶν ἠλάίται ἐξικέσθαι.

39 Οὔ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτως οὐ σμικρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ καταλόγους μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου πρὸς τὰ ἐψηφισμένα σφίσι ποιούμενον πλείστου αὐτούς ἐλύπησε. καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ μετεμέλευσον καὶ τὸν τε Κάτονα καὶ

1 ἐπαίτειν R. Steph. (ἐς Xiph.), ἐπαίσειν L.
2 ἀείνων Bk., ἀείνων L.
3 μὴ μάτην Polak, μὴ τὴν L.
wounded and ceasing to fight, they walked about with their trunks raised toward heaven, lamenting so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did so not by mere chance, but were crying out against the oaths in which they had trusted when they crossed over from Africa, and were calling upon Heaven to avenge them. For it is said that they would not set foot upon the ships before they received a pledge under oath from their drivers that they should suffer no harm. Whether this is really so or not I do not know; for some in time past have further declared that in addition to understanding the language of their native country they also comprehend what is going on in the sky, so that at the time of the new moon, before that luminary comes within the gaze of men, they reach running water and there perform a kind of purification of themselves. These things I have heard; I have heard also that this theatre was not erected by Pompey, but by one Demetrius, a freedman of his, with the money he had gained while making campaigns with the general. Most justly, therefore, did he give his master's name to the structure, so that Pompey might not incur needless reproach because of the fact that his freedman had collected money enough to suffice for so huge an expenditure.

At all events Pompey in these matters afforded the populace no little delight; but in making with Crassus the levies for the campaigns assigned to them he displeased them exceedingly. Then, indeed, the majority repented of their course and praised Cato and the rest. Both on this account,
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toús ἄλλους ἐπήνουν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνος διά τε 
2 τούτο, καὶ ὅτι δίκη τις λόγω μὲν τοῖς ὑποστρατη-
γοῖς σφῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ γεγονόμενα 
παρὰ δημάρχους τινῶν ἐπήκθη, βίαιον μὲν μηδὲν 
τολμῆσαι, τὴν δὲ ἑσθῆτα ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορὰ μετὰ 
tῶν ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς στασιωτῶν ἀλλάξασθαι.
3 καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν εὐθὺς μεταγράντες καὶ μηδὲ προ-
φάσεως τινὸς ἐπιλαβὸμενοι μετεσκευάσαντο· τῶν 
δὲ δημάρχου τοὺς τε καταλόγους διαλύσαι καὶ 
tὰς στρατείας αὐτῶν ἀναψηφίσαι ἐπιχειροῦντων 
4 ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος οὐκ ἤγανάκτει (τοὺς τε γὰρ υπάρ-
χους παραχρῆμα ἐξεπεπόμφει, καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ 
χώραν, ὡς καὶ κωλυόμενος ἐξελθεῖν, ἄλλως διὰ 
tὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σώτου παρεῖναι οφείλων, ἤδεως 
ἐμενεν, ἕνα τὸ Ἰθηρίας 1 ἀμα δὲ ἐκείνων κατά-
σχη καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῇ τε Ἀλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ δι’
5 ἐαυτοῦ ποιῆσαι), ὁ δὲ Ἰράσσος, ἐπειδὴ μη-
dέτερον αὐτῷ τούτων ὑπήρχεν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῆν ἐκ τῶν 
ὀπλῶν ἱσχὺν ἐτράπετο. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι ἰδόντες 
ὅτι ἡ παρασφία αὐτῶν ἀσπιλος οὐσα ἀσθενῆς πρὸς 
tὸ κωλύσαι τι πραγμῆναι ἤν, 2 ἄλλως μὲν ἐσιώπων, 
ἐπεφήμιζον δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα, ὡσπερ οὐ 
6 καὶ 3 τῷ δημοσίῳ δὲ ἐκεῖνον καταρώμενον, καὶ 
tούτῳ μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς 
νομισμένας ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ ποιοῦμένου 4 καὶ διο-
σμηνίᾳ τινὰς καὶ τέρατα διεθρόουν, τούτῳ δὲ 
ἐξουμέμενοι οἱ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπηράσαντο. ἐπε-
χείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀτέιος καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον 
7 αὐτῶν ἐμβαλλεῖν· ἀντιστάντων δὲ ἐπέρων δημάρχων

1 τὰς τ’ Ἰθηρίας Bk., ταγιθερία L.
2 ἤν added by Bk. 3 οὐ καὶ Xyl., οὐκ εἰν L.
4 ποιοῦμένου Leuncl., ποιοῦμενοι L.

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therefore, and because of a suit instituted by some of the tribunes, nominally against the lieutenants of the consuls, but really against these themselves and their acts, the consuls, although they did not dare to use any violence, did, however, along with their partisans in the senate, change their clothing as if for a calamity. They immediately repented, and without offering any excuse went back to their accustomed dress; but the tribunes endeavoured to annul the levies and rescind the vote for the proposed campaigns. At this, Pompey, for his part, showed no anger, as he had sent out his lieutenants promptly and was glad to remain himself where he was on the plea that he was prevented from leaving the city, and ought in any case to be in Rome on account of his superintendence of the corn-supply; his plan was to let his officers subdue the Spains while he took in his own hands the affairs at Rome and in the rest of Italy. Crassus, however, since neither of these considerations applied to his case, looked to the force of arms. The tribunes, then, seeing that their boldness, unsupported by arms, was too weak to hinder any of his undertakings, held their peace for the most part, but they uttered many dire imprecations against him, as if, indeed, they were not cursing the state through him. At one time as he was offering on the Capitol the customary prayers for his campaign, they spread a report of omens and portents, and again when he was setting out they called down many terrible curses upon him. Ateius even attempted to cast him into prison, but other tribunes resisted, and there was a conflict among them and a
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μάχη τε αὐτῶν καὶ διατριβή ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτῳ ὁ 
Κράσσος ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἐξῆλθε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν, εἶτε ἐκ συντυχίας εἶτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν

40 ἀρρῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν ἐσφάλη, ο ἐδὲ ἦ 
Καῖσαρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου τῇ τε Φιλίππου 
ὕπατεια ἐπὶ Οὐενέτους ἐστάτευσεν. οἰκούσι δὲ 
πρὸς τῷ ὁκεανῷ, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς Ῥωμαίους 
pεμφθέντας ἐπὶ σιτον συνέλαβον, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ 
τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐλθόντας κατέ-

2 σχὸν, ὡς ἄντ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁμήρους σφῶν ἀπο-

λάβωσιν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε, 
diapέμψας δὲ ἄλλους ἄλλης, τοὺς μὲν τὰ τῶν 
sυναφεστικότων αὐτῶς πορθείν, ἵνα μὴ συμβο-

3 

ηθήσωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων,

μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τι παρακινήσωσι, φροωρεῖν, αὐτὸς 

ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐενέτους ἡλάσε, καὶ πλοῖα ἐν τῇ με-

σογείᾳ, ἃ ἦκουν ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ 
pαλύρου οὖν εἶναι, κατασκευάσας διὰ τοῦ Δἰ-

γρου² ποταμοῦ κατεκόμισε, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλύγου τὴν 

4 ὥραιαν μάτην ἀνάλωσεν. αἱ τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπ’

ἐρυμών χωρίων ἰδρύμεναι ἀπρόσιτοι ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ 

ὁκεανὸς πάσας ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτὰς περικλύζων ἄπο-

ρου μὲν τῷ πεζῷ ἀποροῦν δὲ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὴν 
pροσβολήν, καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων,³ ἐν τε 

5 τῇ ἀμφώτηδι καὶ ἐν τῇ ραχίᾳ ἐποίει, ὡστε ἐν 
pαντὶ τὸν Καίσαρα γενέσθαι, μέχρις οὐ Δέκιμος⁴ 

Βροῦτος ταχείας οἱ ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοθεθαλάσ-

σης ἤλθεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείναις τι 

πράξεων γνώμην εἴχεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι κατα-

¹ συνέλαβον Bk., ἐλαβον L. ἡ 

² Διγροῦ Leunol., διγροῦ L. 

καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων is probably a gloss on the 

following words. ⁴ Δέκιμος R. Steph., δέκιμος L.

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delay, in the midst of which Crassus went outside the pomerium. Now he, whether by chance or as a result of these very curses, before long met with defeat.

Caesar in the consulship of Marcellinus and Philippus made an expedition against the Veneti, who live near the ocean. They had seized some Roman soldiers sent out for grain and afterward detained the envoys who came in their behalf, in order that in exchange for these they might get back their own hostages. Caesar, instead of giving these back, sent out different bodies of troops in various directions, some to waste the possessions of those who had joined the revolt and thus to prevent the two bands from aiding each other, and others to guard the possessions of those who were under treaty, for fear they too might cause some disturbance; he himself proceeded against the Veneti. He constructed in the interior the kind of boats which he heard were of advantage for the tides of the ocean, and conveyed them down the river Liger, but in so doing used up almost the entire summer to no purpose. For their cities, established in strong positions, were inaccessible, and the ocean surging around practically all of them rendered an infantry attack out of the question, and a naval attack equally so in the midst of the ebb and flow of the tide. Consequently Caesar was in despair until Decimus Brutus came to him with swift ships from the Mediterranean. And he was inclined to believe he would be unable to accomplish anything with those either, but the
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41 τῶν σκαφῶν ἠττήθησαν. ταύτα μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κουφότερον ὑπέρ 1 τοῦ ταχυναυτείν ἐς τὸν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ναυτιλίας τρόπον ἐσκεύαστο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀτε ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τοῦ ὁκε- ανοῦ παλαρροίας ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ξηροῦ πολλάκις ὑστα- σθαί καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοῦ διαρ- ροῆν ἀντικαρτερεῖν ὑφείλοντα, πλεῖστον σφῶν καὶ

2 τὸ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ παχύτητι προείχεν. 2 δι’ οὖν ταῦθ’ οἱ βάρβαροι, οί μῆτω πρότερον τουούτον ναυτικοῦ πετειραμένοι, πρὸς τε τὴν ὧφιν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ εἰδοὺς ναυλοχούσας 3 σφίσσων ἐπανήχθησαν ὡς καὶ δι’ ἐλαχίστων τοῖς κοινοῖς αὐτάς καταποντώ- σουτε. ἐφεροῦτο δὲ ἄνεμῳ καὶ πολλῷ καὶ σφοδρῷ καὶ γὰρ ἰστία δερμάτων εἶχον, ὡστε πᾶσαν τὴν

42 τοῦ πνεύματος ἱσχὺν ἀπλήστως ἐσδέχεσθαι. οὐκ Βροῦτος, τέως μὲν ἔκεινο 4 ἐπέσπερχεν, οὐδ’ ἀνταναχθήναι αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος φοράν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν σφῶν ἐτόλμησεν, ἄλλα παρα- σκευάζετο ως καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τὰς προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἀμυνούμενος καὶ τὰ σκάφη παντελῶς ἐκ- 2 λειψων. ἔπει δ’ ὦ τε ἄνεμος ἐξαπωνεῖς ἔπεσε καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἐστορέσθη, τὰ τε πλοῖα ὑμεθ’ ὀμιῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κωπῶν ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ’ ἂτε 5 καὶ καταβαρῆ ὡντα κατὰ χώραν τρόπον τινὰ εἰστήκει, τότε δὴ ἰθαράντας ἀντανήχθη, καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτοῖς πολλά σφας καὶ δεινὰ ἀδεῶς καὶ περιπλέων καὶ

1 ὑπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L. 2 προείχεν Bk., προείχεν L. 3 ναυλοχούσας Rk., ναυλοχούσαι L. 4 ἔκεινο Leuncl., ἔκεινος L. 5 ἄλλ’ ἂτε R. Steph., ἄλλατε L. 368
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barbarians through their contempt for the small size and frailty of the boats incurred defeat. For these boats had been built rather light in the interest of speed, after the manner of our naval construction, whereas those of the barbarians surpassed them very greatly both in size and stoutness, since amid the ever-shifting tides of the ocean they often needed to rest on dry ground and to hold out against the succession of ebb and flow. Accordingly, the barbarians, who had never had any experience of such a fleet, despised the ships as useless in view of their appearance; and as soon as they were lying in the harbour they set sail against them, thinking to sink them speedily by means of their boat-hooks. They were swept on by a great and violent wind, for their sails were of leather and so carried easily the full force of the wind. Now Brutus, as long as the wind raged, dared not sail out against them because of the number and size of their ships, the force with which they were driven by the wind, and their own attack, but he prepared to repel their attack near the land and to abandon the boats altogether. When, however, the wind suddenly fell, the waves were stilled, and the boats could no longer be propelled as they had been with the oars but because of their great bulk stopped motionless, as it were, then he took courage and sailed out to meet them. And falling upon them, he caused them many serious injuries with impunity, delivering both broadside and rear

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3 διεκπλέων,¹ καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐμβάλλων τινὶ τοτὲ δὲ ἀνακρούομενος, ὥτη τε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἦθελεν, εἰργάσατο, πολλαίς τε πρὸς μάν καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἴσαις πρὸς ἴσας,² ἐστὶ δ' ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσοσι πρὸς πλείονας

4 ἀσφαλῶς προσφερόμενος. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ κρείττων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ . . . προσηρτάτῳ³ σφίσι, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέδευν ἀναρρηγνύς, ἐς δὲ τὰς πολλαχόθεν μετεκβαίνων ἐς τε χεῖρας τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἢ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευν· εἰ δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅτιον ἔλαττοῖο, ῥάστα ἀνεχόμενε, ὡστε ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν πλεονεξίαν

43 ἀεὶ εἴναι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι μήτε τοξεία χρώμενοι, μήτε λίθους,⁴ ὡς οὔδεν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι, προ-παρασκευάσαντες, εἰ μὲν τις σφίσιν ὁμόσε ἐχώρησε, τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεμάχοντο, τοὺς δ' ὅλον ἱδρύς σφῶν ἀφετηρίκατας οὐκ εἶχον ο ἕτοι ἡς συμβολαρισμοῦ.

2 αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ἐντρώσκοντο καὶ ἀπέθνησκον καὶ οἱ μηδὲ ἀμύνασθαί τινα δυνάμενοι, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τα μὲν ἀνερρήγυντο ⁵ ἐμβαλλόμενα τὰ δὲ κατεπίμπρατο ⁶ ύφαπτόμενα. ἀλλὰ ἀναδούμενα ⁷ ὡσπερ

3 κενὰ ἀνδρῶν εἰλκετο,⁵ ὀρῶντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ λοιποί ἐπιβάται οἱ μὲν ἀπεκτύνουσιν σφας, μὴ καὶ ζῶντες ἀλώσι, οἱ δὲ ἔς τινθ' θάλασσαν ἐξετήδησι, ὡς καὶ δι' ἐκείνης ἦτοι τῶν πολεμίων νέων ἐπιβηθοῦσιν η ἑπάντως γε οὐχ ῥπὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολούμενοι.

4 προβυμία μὲν γὰρ καὶ τόλμη οὔδεν αὐτῶν διέφερον, τῷ δὲ δὴ σταδίῳ τῶν σκαφῶν προδιδόμενοι δεινῶς

¹ διεκπλέων v. Herw., διαπλέων L.
² πρὸς ἴσας supplied by Rk.
³ ἐν τῇ . . . προσηρτάτῳ Rk., ἐν τῇ προσήρατο L.
⁴ λίθου R. Steph., λίθοι L.
⁵ ἀνερρήγυντο, κατεπίμπρατο, εἰλκετο St., ἀνερρήγυντο, κατεπίμπρατο, εἰλκετο L.
⁶ ἀναδούμενα Rk., ἀναδούμενα L.
⁷ οὐχ added by Bk.
attacks, now ramming one of them, now backing water, in whatever way and as often as he liked, sometimes with many vessels against one and again with equal numbers opposed, occasionally even approaching safely with a few against many. At whatever point he was superior to them in . . . he stuck to them closely; he sank some by ripping them open, and boarding others from all sides, he engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the crews and slew many. If he found himself inferior anywhere, he very easily retired, so that the advantage rested with him in any case. For the barbarians did not use archery and had not provided themselves beforehand with stones, not expecting to have any need of them; hence, if any one came into close quarters with them, they fought him off after a fashion, but with those who stood at a little distance from them they knew not how to cope. So the men were being wounded and killed, even those who were unable to repel any one, while the boats were in some cases rammed and ripped open, in other cases were set on fire and burned; still others were towed away, as if empty of men. When the remaining crews saw this, some killed themselves to avoid being captured alive and others leaped into the sea with the idea that they would thus either board the hostile ships or in any event not perish at the hands of the Romans. For in zeal and daring they were not at all behind their opponents, but they were terribly angry at finding themselves betrayed by the sluggishness of.
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海南省。نظراً للذى أيذى فيلاً فلاً ناً وسِّعَهُم ينفَّذُهُم اليمينية، دَوَرُدُرْبُو وانَّهُهُم يُسْرُّوهُم. كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ. 5 الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ. كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، كَلِّيَةً الَّذِينَ مَنَّهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَدَمُونَ، Kαι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἐπὶ Με- ναπίους ὁμόρους σφίσαν ὄντας ἐστράτευσε, προσ- καταπλήξειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προκατεργασμένων καὶ βασίως αἱρήσειν ἐλπίδας. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔχει- 2 ρώσατο τινας· οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλ᾽ ἐν καλύβαις διαιτώμενοι, καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ἐς τὰ λασιώτατα τῶν ὅρων ἀνασκευασμένοι, πολὺ πλείω τοὺς προσμιξαντός σφίσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκάκωσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ὄρη τὴν ὑπή τέμνουν προ- χωρῆσαι, ἀπεπιθόν δὲ διὰ τοῦ μέγαθος αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς χειμώνα εἶναι ἀπανέστη.

45 Ἡταν δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Οὐνενέλλους ὄντος Κύντος Τιτούρως Σαβίσας ὑποστράτηγος τῆς ἐστάλη ἐπὶ Οὐνενέλλους, ὁ ἦγεῖτο Ὁυρίδωσις, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνω τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη, ὅστ’ ἀγαπᾷν ἄν τὸ γε 3 ἔρυμα διασώτητα, ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθήμενος σφας θρασύτερον μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦτον διακειμένους, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ δεινοῦς ὄντας, οἷς ποὺ ὁ πολλὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς

1 Ouenellos B., ovevelous L.
2 Ouiridouz R. Steph., ιδουξ L.
3 ὅστ’ ἀγαπᾷν ἄν τὸ γε St., ὅστ’ ἀγαπᾷν ei τὸ Leuncl., ὡς τὰ πάντοτε L.

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their vessels. The Romans, to make sure that the wind when it sprang up again should not move the ships, employed from a distance long poles fitted with knives, by means of which they cut the ropes and split the sails. And since the barbarians were compelled to fight in their boats as if on land, while the foe could use his ships as at sea, great numbers perished then and there, and all the remainder were captured. Of these Caesar slew the most prominent and sold the rest.

Next he made a campaign against the Morini and Menapii, their neighbours, hoping to terrify them by what he had already accomplished and capture them easily. He failed, however, to subdue any of them; for having no cities, and living only in huts, they conveyed their chief treasures to the most densely wooded parts of the mountains, so that they did the attacking parties of the Romans much more harm than they themselves suffered. Caesar attempted by cutting down the forests to make his way into the mountains themselves, but renounced his plan on account of their size and the nearness of winter, and retired.

While he was still among the Veneti, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, was dispatched against the Venelli [Unelli], whose leader was Viridovix. At first he was greatly terrified at their numbers and would have been satisfied if only he could save the camp, but later he perceived that though this advantage made them bolder, they were not really dangerous, and he accordingly took courage. Most barbarians, in fact, in their threats make all
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πάν τὸ φοβερὸν διὰ κενῆς ἐπικομποῦσιν, ἀνεθάρσησε. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐδ' οὕτως ἐτόλμησε σφισὶ συνενεχθῆναι (τῷ γὰρ πλῆθει πολὺ
3 κατείργετο), πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ τάφρεμα τὸ ἔαυτοῦ μετεάρου 1 τοῦ χωρίου ἄντως ὑπηράγετο αὐτοῦς ἀπερισκέπτως προσβαλέιν· τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων 
tινὰ ὀμοφωνοῦντα σφισὶ υπὸ τὴν ἑσπέραν ὡς αὐτὸμολον πέμψας, ἐπείσεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὅ τε Καλ-
4 σαρ ἐπταίκως εἶη ... καὶ οὕτω 2 πιστεύσαντες ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκείνου (πάνυ γὰρ τὶ 3 διακορεῖς καὶ 
tῆς τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἥσαν) εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μὴ καὶ φθάσωσι σφας φυγόντες, 
ἂρμησαν, καὶ ἔδει γὰρ μηδὲ πυρὸν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτῶν σωθῆναι, φρύγανα καὶ ξύλα τὰ μὲν ἄρα-
μενοι τὰ δὲ ἐφελκόμενοι ὡς καὶ καταπρήσουντες 
5 αὐτοὺς, πρὸς τε τὸ ὁρθὸν προσέβαλον καὶ σπουδὴ 
προσανέβαινον, μηδενός σφισὶν ἐναντιομένου· ὁ 
γὰρ Σαβίνος οὐκ ἔκινήθη πρὶν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρα-
tείας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. τὸτε 
δὲ ἐπικατέδραμε σφισὶν ἀπανταχόθεν ἁμα ἀπροσ-
δόκητος, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκπλήξας κατηράξε 
6 κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἀπαντας, κάνταθα αὐτοὺς ἐν 
tῇ ἀναστροφῇ περὶ τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ περὶ τοὺς 
ξύλους 4 σφαλλομένους κατέκοψεν οὕτως ὡς 
7 μηδένα αὐτῶν μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐτ' ἀντάραι. ἀπλη-
στότι γὰρ ἄλογοττως οἱ Γαλάται ἐς πάνθ' ὀμοίως 
ὀντες οὔτε τὸ θαρσοῦν σφων οὔτε τὸ δεδιὸς μετρία-
ζουσίων, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τε τοῦτοῦ 5 πρὸς δειλίαν ἀνέλ-

1 μετεάρου Reim., ἢ μετεάρου L.
2 οὕτω R. Steph., οὕτως L.
3 τὶ Bk., τοῦ L.
4 ξύλους Rk., ξυλίνοις L.
5 τοῦτον Rk., τοῦ L.
sorts of terrible boasts that are without foundation. Nevertheless he did not venture to fight openly with them even then, as he was seriously hampered by their great numbers; but he induced them to make a reckless assault upon his camp, although it was on high ground. He did this by sending out towards evening, in the guise of a deserter, one of his allies who spoke their language, and thus persuaded them that Caesar had met with reverses... Trusting this report, they straightway started out heedlessly against the Romans, being gorged with food and drink, in the fear that they might flee before their arrival. Moreover, since it was their avowed purpose that not a single soul should escape, they carried along fagots and dragged logs after them with the intention of burning the enemy alive. Thus they made their attack up-hill and came climbing up eagerly, meeting with no resistance. Sabinus did not move until the most of them were within his reach. Then he charged down upon them unexpectedly from all sides at once, and terrifying those in front, he dashed them all headlong down the hill, and while they were tumbling over one another and the logs in their retreat, he cut them to pieces so thoroughly that none of them or even of the others rose against him again. For the Gauls, who are unreasonably insatiate in all their passions, know no moderation in either courage or fear, but plunge

1 Literally "not even the fire-bearer." This was a proverbial expression (cf. Herodotus viii, 6), based on the Spartan custom which required the presence in their army of a priest carrying a lamp lighted at the shrine of Zeus in Sparta; as this flame was never to be extinguished, the priest would naturally be guarded most carefully so long as any others survived.
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πιστον καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πρὸς θάρσος προτετέθεκτιπττοσίν.

46 Ὄπο δὲ δὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Πούτλιος, τοῦ Κράσσου τοῦ Μάρκου παῖς, τὴν Ἀκυτανίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν κατεστρέφατο. Γαλά-

ται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες τῇ τε Κελτικῇ προσ-

οικοῦσι καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Πυρηναῖον ἐς τὸν ὁκεανὸν

καθήκουσιν. ἐπ” οὖν τούτους ὁ Κράσσος στρα-

τεύσας Σωτιάτας τ’ ὑπάρχοντας καὶ πο-

λιορκία εἶλεν, ὀλίγους μὲν ἐν ὑμολογίᾳ τωὶ ἐξ

ἀπάτης ἀποβαλῶν, ἰσχυρῶς δὲ σφας καὶ περὶ

3 αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμυνόμενος, καὶ ἐτέρους τινὰς

ἰδὼν ἥθορομένους τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς

Ἰβηρίας Σερτωρίεως ἤξοντας, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν

στρατηγικότερον ἤ προπετέστερον τῷ πολέμῳ

χρομένους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἄτορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν δὲ ὀλίγον

σφῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔκχωρησόντων, προσπεποίησάτο

τε αὐτοὺς δεδείναι, καὶ καταφρονηθεὶς οὐχ ὑπη-

γάγητο μὲν οὐδ’ ὃς ἐς χειρὰς οἱ ἀλεθείς, ἀδεῶς δ’ ἐς

ὕστερον ἤχουσι σφισὶ προσέβαλεν ἐξαίφνης ἀν-

ἐπιστος. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἡ μὲν ἦ προσέμεζεν οὖδὲν

εἰργάσατο (ἐπεκδραμοῦτες γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἱσχυ-

ρῶς ἡμύνοντο), ἐνταύθα δὲ δὴ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῖς

οὔσης περιμέπτετο τινὰς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ

στρατοπέδου σφῶν, καὶ τοῦτο τε ἐρημον ἀνδρῶν

κατέσχεν, καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις δ’ αὐτοῦ κατὰ

νότον ἐπεγένετο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε πάντες

ἐφθάρσαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀκοινοὶ

ὡμολόγησαν.

1 Κελτικῇ R. Steph., Βελτικῇ L.  Ἱσωτίατας Fabr., Ἀτιάτας L.

2 Ἐπιστάτας Xyl., Ἐπιστάτας L.  Ἀμυνόμενος Bk., Ἀμυνόμενος L.

3 Ἐξ ἐκάτης Xyl., Ἐκατάδης L.  Ἀμυνόμενος Bk., Ἀμυνόμενος L.

4 Σερτωρίεως Xyl., Σερτωρίος L.  Ἐκατέσχεν Bk., Κατέσχεν L.

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from the one into hopeless cowardice and from the other into headstrong audacity.

About the same time Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls, and dwell next to Celtica, and their territory extends right along the Pyrenees to the ocean. Making a campaign, now, against these, Crassus conquered the Sotiates in battle and captured them by siege. He lost a few men, to be sure, by treachery in the course of a parley, but punished the enemy severely for this. On seeing some others who had banded together along with soldiers of Sertorius from Spain and were carrying on the war with skill, and not recklessly, since they believed that the Romans through lack of supplies would soon abandon the country, he pretended to be afraid of them. But although he incurred their contempt, he did not even then draw them into a conflict with him; and so, while they were feeling secure with regard to the future, he attacked them suddenly and unexpectedly. At the point where he met them he accomplished nothing, because the barbarians rushed out and repelled him vigorously; but while their main force was there, he sent some men around to the other side of their camp, got possession of this, which was destitute of men, and passing through it took the fighters in the rear. In this way they were all annihilated, and the rest with the exception of a few made terms without any contest.
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47 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐπράχθη, χειμαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ Τέγκητροι τε καὶ Οὐσιπτέας, Κελτικὰ γένη, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς Σούήβων ἐκβιασθέντες τὸ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικληθέντες, τὸν τε Ἔρημον διέβαισαν καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρησινήρον ἐνέβαλον. κἀνταῦδα τὸν Καίσαρα εὑρόντες καὶ φοβηθέντες ἐπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτῶν σποιδάς τε ποιούμενοι καὶ χώραν αὐτούντες, ἢ σφίζει γε ἐπιτραπῆναι τινα ἄξιοντες λαβεῖν. ἡς δ’ οὐδενὸς ἤτυχον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐθελονταὶ οὖκ οὖσι εἰπανήξειν ὑπέσχοντο καὶ διο

3 κωχήν ἦτανατον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἢππεάς αὐτοῦ ὀλίγους προσάντας ἢδοντες οί ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ σφῶν ὄντες κατεφρύσασαν τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετέγρωσαν, κἀκ τούτου ἐπισχόντες τὴς ποτείας ἐκείνους τε μὴ προσδεχόμενους ἐκακωσαν, καὶ ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ 48 τούτῳ εἰχόντο τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καταγνώσασαν πρὸς τε τὴν Καίσαρα καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην σφῶν ἠλθον, καὶ ἐδέσοντο αὐτοῦ συγγρώναι σφίζει, τὴν αὐτίαν ἐς ὀλίγους τρέποντες. ὁ δὲ τούτους μὲν ὡς καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τινα αὐτούς 2 οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δῶσιν κατέσχεν, ὀρμήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τούς ἀλλοὺς ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὄντας ἐπέθεσε τῇ σφίζει μεσθμβρίαζοντοι καὶ μιθῶν πολέμιον, ἀτε ἐκεῖνων παρ’ αὐτῷ ὄντων, ὑποτοπομενοὶ, καὶ ἐσπηνήσας ἐς αὐτῶς παμπληθεῖς τῶν πεζῶν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἀνελέσθαι φθάσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξασις ὑπὸ τοῦ των γυναικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

1 Σούήβων R. Steph., οὐήβων L.  2 τὸ added by Xyl.  3 Τρησινήρον Be., τρησινήρον L (but τρησινήροις xl. 32, 1).  4 ἐθελονταί R. Steph., ἐθελοντᾶς L.  5 καὶ Be., καὶ L  6 ποπειᾶς Xyl., ἄπορας L.  7 τούτους R. Steph., τοῦτοις L.  8 καὶ περὶ Be., καὶ περὶ L.
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This was the work of the summer. But when the Romans were in winter quarters in friendly territory, the Tencteri and Usipetes, German tribes, partly because they were forced out from their homes by the Suebi and partly because they were invited over by the Gauls, crossed the Rhine and invaded the country of the Treveri. Finding Caesar there, they became afraid and sent to him to make a truce, and to ask for land or at least the permission to take some. When they could obtain nothing, they at first promised voluntarily to return to their homes and requested an armistice. Later their young men, seeing a few horsemen of his approaching, despised them and changed their mind; thereupon they stopped their journey, harassed the small detachment, which was not expecting anything of the sort, and elated over this success, entered upon war. Their elders, condemning their action, came to Caesar contrary to their advice and asked him to pardon them, laying the responsibility upon a few. He detained these emissaries with the assurance that he would give them an answer before long, and setting out against the other members of the tribe, who were in their tents, he came upon them as they were taking their noonday rest and expecting no hostile move, inasmuch as their elders were with him. Rushing into the tents, he found great numbers of infantrymen who had not time even to pick up their weapons, and he cut them down amid the waggons where they were embarrassed by the presence of the women and the children scattered
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παίδων ἀναμίξοντων ταραττομένους,¹ κατεφόνευσε.

3 τοὺς τε ἱππεάς ἀπόντας τότε, καὶ παραχῶμα, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὸ γεγονός, πρὸς τε τὰ οἰκεία ἡθὴ ὀρμῆ-

σαντας καὶ πρὸς Συγάμβρους ἀποχωρήσαντας, πέμψας ἐξήγησεν, οὕχ ὦτι καὶ ἐκδοθήσεσθαι ἑφας

προσεδόκησεν (οὐ γάρ που οὔτως οἱ πέραν τοῦ

Ῥήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφοβοῦντο ὅστε καὶ τὰ

tοιαύτα αὐτῶν ἄκουειν), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ προ-

4 φάσει ταύτη καὶ ἐκείνῳ διαβάσει. αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τε 

γὰρ ὁ μηδεὶς ποι ἁρτερῶν τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ ἐπεπούχει,

δεινῶς πράξαι ἐγλέκτο, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόρ-

ῥωθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀνείρξεν, ἀτε καὶ ἐς τὴν

οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἐσβάλλον,² προσεδόκησεν. ὡς οὖν

οὕτως εἰ ἐξεδίδοντο, καὶ οἱ Οὐβίοι ³ ὄμοροι 

tοὺς Συγάμβρους οἰκούντες καὶ διάφοροι αὐτοῖς

ὀντες ἐπεκαλέσαντο αὐτῶν, διέβη μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν

5 γεφυρώσας, εὐρωῦ δὲ τοὺς τε Συγάμβρους ἐσ 

τὰ ἐρυμμαὶ ἀνακεκομισμένους καὶ τοὺς Σοῦνηὺς συ-

στρεφομένους ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντάς σφισιν ἀνεχώ-

ρήσεν ἐντὸς ἔμερων εἰκοσιν.

49 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥήνος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων 

tῶν Κελτικῶν,⁴ ὥλγουν έξω τῆς Ῥαιτίας, προκρο-

ρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δυσμένων ἐν ἀριστερὰ μὲν τὴν 

tὴν Γαλα-

τίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐποικοῦντας αὐτῆς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοὺς 

Κελτοὺς ἀποτέμεναι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐς τὸν ὥκεα-

2 νὸν ἐμβάλλει. οὕτως γὰρ ὁ ὅρος, ἀφ' οὗ ὑπὲρ 

καὶ ἐς τὸ διάφορον τῶν ἐπικλήσεων ἀφικοῦτο,⁵ δεῦρο

ἀεὶ νομίζεται, ἐπεὶ ⁷ τὸ γε πάνω ἄρχαῖον Κελτοῖ

1 ταραττομένους R. Steph., παραταττομένους L.

2 ἐσβαλλόν Leuncl., ἐσβαλεῖν L.

3 οἱ Οὐβίοι Leuncl., οὐβίοι L.

4 Κελτικῶν Xyl., κελτιβιρίων L. ⁵ γε H. Steph., τε L.

6 ἀφικοῦντο H. Steph., ἀφικοῦνται L. ⁷ ἐπεὶ R. Steph., ἐπὶ L.
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promiscuously about. The cavalry was absent at the time, but as soon as they learned of the occurrence, they immediately set out for their homes and retired among the Sugambri. He sent and demanded their surrender, not because he expected them to be given up, since the people beyond the Rhine were not so afraid of the Romans as to listen to anything of the sort, but in order that on this excuse he might cross that river also. For he was exceedingly anxious on his own part to do something that no one of his predecessors had ever equalled, and he also expected to keep the Germans\(^1\) at a distance from Gaul by invading their territory. When, therefore, the horsemen were not given up, and the Ubii, who dwelt alongside the Sugambri and who were at variance with them, invoked his aid, he crossed the river by bridging it. But on finding that the Sugambri had betaken themselves into their strongholds and that the Suebi were gathering to come to their aid, he retired within twenty days.

The Rhine issues from the Celtic Alps, a little outside of Rhaetia, and proceeding westward, bounds Gaul and its inhabitants on the left, and the Germans\(^1\) on the right, and finally empties into the ocean. This river has always down to the present time been considered the boundary, ever since these tribes gained their different names; for very anciently.

\(^1\) Literally Celts; see note on p. 269.
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ἐκάτεροι οἱ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες ὁμομάζοντο.

50 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε ῾Ρήμον πρῶτος τότε ῾Ρωμαίων διέβη, καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑπατευόντων, 2 ἑπεραιώθη. ἦ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὕτη ἀπέχει 1 μὲν τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Βελγίκης 2 κατὰ Μωρίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους τὸ συντομότατον, παρῆκει δὲ παρὰ τε τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ᾿Ιβηρίαν ὅλην πᾶσαν, ἐς τὸ 3 πέλαγος 3 ἀνατείνουσα. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνι πρῶτοις καὶ ῾Ελ-
λήνων καὶ ῾Ρωμαίων οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστιν ἐγγυνώσκετο, τοῖς δὲ ἑπειτα ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν εἶτε ἡπείρος εἶτε καὶ νῆσος εἴη ἀφίκετο· καὶ πολλοὶ ἔφ' ἐκάτερον, εἰδόσι μὲν οὐδὲν ἂτε μήτ' αὐτόπτας μήτ' αὐτη-
κός τῶν ἐπιγρώφιων γενομένων, τεκμαιρομένοι δὲ ὡς ἐκαστοί 4 σχολῆς ἦ καὶ φιλολογίας εἶχον, 4 συγγεγραπταί. προίοντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου πρό-
tερόν τε ἐπ' ᾿Αγρικόλου ἀντιστρατηγοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Σεονήρου αὐτοκράτορος νῆσος οὖσα σαφῶς ἐληλευκταί.

51 Ἐς ταύτην οὖν τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡσύχαζε καὶ τοὺς Μωρί-
νους προσεποίησατο, ἐπεθύμησε διαβήναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν διάπλους καθ' ὁ μάλιστα ἐχρήν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐποίησατο, οὗ μέντοι καὶ ἦ ἐδει προσέσχειν: ὦν γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προπυθό-
μενοι τὰς κατάρασις ἀπάσας τὰς πρὸς τῆς ἡπείρου 2 οὖσας προκατέλαβον. ἀκραν οὖν τινα προέχουσαν

1 ἀπέχει Xyl. (and Xiph.), ἔχει L.
2 Βελγικὴς Louncl., βελτικής L. 3 ἔς τὸ Xyl., ἔς τε τὸ L.
4 ἐκαστοι R. Steph., ἐκάστοις L.
both peoples dwelling on either side of the river were called Celts.

Caesar, then, at this time was the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine, and later, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, he crossed over to Britain. This country is sixty miles distant, by the shortest way, from the Belgic mainland, where the Morini dwell, and extends alongside the rest of Gaul and nearly all of Spain, reaching out into the sea. To the very earliest of the Greeks and Romans it was not even known to exist, while to their descendants it was a matter of dispute whether it was a continent or an island; and accounts of it have been written from both points of view by many who knew nothing about it, because they had not seen it with their own eyes nor heard about it from the natives with their own ears, but indulged in surmises according to the scholarly sect or the branch of learning to which they severally belonged. In the lapse of time, however, it has been clearly proved to be an island, first under Agricola, the propraetor, and now under the emperor Severus.

To this land, then, Caesar desired to cross, now that he had won over the Morini and the rest of Gaul was quiet. He made the passage with the infantry by the most desirable course, but did not select the best landing-place; for the Britons, apprised beforehand of his voyage, had secured all the landings on the coast facing the mainland. Accordingly, he sailed around a certain projecting headland, coasted

1 Literally 450 stades; cf. note on p. 237. It is interesting to compare Caesar's estimate (B.G. v. 2, 3) of thirty miles.

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περιπλεύσας ἐτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη· κάνταυθα τοὺς προσμέχαντάς οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβαίνοντι νική-

σας, ἐφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας πρὶν τὴν πλείω συμ-

βοήθειαν ἠθείω, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνους

3 προσβαλόμενα ἀπεώσατο. καὶ ἐπιτητον μὲν οὐ

πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων (ἀρματηλάται τε γὰρ οὕτε
cαὶ ἱππής ἤδιος τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μηδέπο τοῦ

ἱππικοῦ αὐτοῦς παρόντος, διέφυγον), ἐκπλαγέντες

dὲ πρὸς ταῦ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγγελ-

λόμενα, καὶ ὅτι περαιωθήναι τε ὄλους ἐτόλμησαν
cαὶ ἐπιβήναι τῆς χώρας ἡδυνήθησαν, πέμπουσι

πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Μωρίων τινάς, φίλων

σφίσιν ἄντων, ἐπικηρυκεύομενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν

52 ὁμήρους αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἡθέλησαν, πονη-

σάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος
cαὶ τῷ παρόντι ναυτικῷ καὶ τῷ ἀφικνυμένῳ καὶ

μετέγγυσαν, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἔπε-

θεντὸ αὐτοῖς (τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον ἱσχυρῶς ἔφυ-

2 λάσσετο), δεξάμενοι δὲ τινὰς ὡς καὶ ἐς φιλίαν τὴν

χώραν σφῶν πρὸς κομιδήν τῶν ἐπιτηδείας περι-

φέντας, αὐτοῖς 1 τε πλὴν ὀλύγων ἐφθειραν (ὁ γὰρ

Καίσαρ διὰ ταχέως τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπῆμυνε) καὶ
cαὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν προσέ-

βαλον. καὶ ἔπραξαν μὲν οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς

ἀπήλλαξαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἤλθον

3 πρὶν πολλάκις σφαλήναι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καίσαρ

ἀλλός μὲν οὐκ ἔχει γρώμην σπείρασθαι σφίσιν·

ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε χειμών προσῆ, καὶ οὐχ ἰκανὴν τὴν

παρόντας δύναμιν περιβεβλητὸ ὡστε καὶ ἐν

αὐτῷ πολεμήσας, ἤ τε κομιζομένη ἐσφαλτο, καὶ

οἱ Γαλάται πρὸς τὴν ἀποσταίναν αὐτοῦ ἐνεστέρισαν,

1 αὐτῶς Leuncl., τοὺς L.
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along on the other side of it, and disembarking there in the shoals, conquered those who joined battle with him and gained a footing on dry land before more numerous assistance could come, after which he repulsed this attack also. Not many of the barbarians fell, for their forces consisted of chariot-drivers and cavalry and so easily escaped the Romans whose cavalry had not yet arrived; but alarmed at the reports about them from the main-land and because they had dared to cross at all and had managed to set foot upon the land, they sent to Caesar some of the Morini, who were friends of theirs, to see about terms of peace. Upon his demanding hostages, they were willing at the time to give them; but when the Romans in the meantime began to encounter difficulties by reason of a storm which damaged both the fleet that was present and also the one on the way, they changed their minds, and though not attacking the invaders openly, since their camp was strongly guarded, they took some men who had been sent out to forage for provisions on the assumption that the country was friendly, and destroyed them all, save a few, to whose rescue Caesar came in haste. After that they assaulted the camp itself of the Romans. Here they accomplished nothing, but fared badly; they would not make terms, however, until they had been defeated many times. Indeed, Caesar would have had no thought of making peace with them at all, except that the winter was approaching and that he was not equipped with a sufficient force to continue fighting at that season, since the additional force coming to his aid had met with mishap, and also that the Gauls in view of his absence had begun an uprising; so he

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καὶ ἄκων αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, ὁμήρους καὶ τότε πλείους αὐτήσας μέν, λαβὼν δὲ ὀλύγος.

53 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναπλεῦσας τὰ ταραχθέντα καθίστατο, μηδὲν ἔκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μήτε ἔαντω μήτε τῇ πόλει προσκτημένους πλὴν τοῦ ἐστρατευκέναι ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δόξαι. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἵσχυρὸς ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ οἱ οἶκοι Ῥωμαῖοι 2 θαυμαστῶς ἐμεγαλύνοντο. ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἀγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατᾶ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀνήκουστα ὄρμωτες σφισὶ γεγονότα, τὴν τε μελλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ως καὶ παροῦσαν ἐργῷ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα καταπράξειν3 προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἤδη ἡγάλλοντο.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ ταῦτα ιερομνήσας ἐπὶ εἰκοσι

54 ἡμέρας ἀγαγείν ἐψηφίσαντο· ἐν ὃ δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἐγιγνετο, καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία ἐκινήθη, διὸ καὶ τὸ Πομπηίων προστάχθη. ἐπαναστάντες 4 γὰρ τινὲς καὶ Ὀυακκαῖος προστησάμενοι μάχῃ μὲν ὕπο τοῦ Νέπωτος τοῦ Μετέλλου, ἀπαράσκευοι ἐπὶ ὄντες, ἠττήθησαν,

2 πολυστροφέοντι δ’ αὐτῷ Κλουνίαν ἐπελθόντες ἀμείνους ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνη μὲν περιποιησάντο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἐσφάλλησαν, οὐ μὴν ὡστε καὶ δὴ ὀλύγον δουλωθῆναι. τῷ γὰρ πλὴθει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων περιῆσαν, ὡστε τὸν Νέπωτα ἀγαπᾶν ἀν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀκινδύνως ἄνγη.

55 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον χρόνον καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε ἐπικουρίαν ἀπεψηφισμένον καὶ πρὸς τὰς δωροδοκίας τὰς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένας δεινῶς ἐτι καὶ τότε δια-

1 μηδὲν Leuncl., μηδὲν μήτε L. 2 αὐτοὺς Leuncl., αὐτὰς L. 3 καταπράξειν R. Steph., καταπράξειν L. 4 ἐπαναστάντες Bk., προσαναστάντες L. 5 ὑπ’ St., ἀν’ L.

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reluctantly concluded a truce with them, demanding many hostages this time also, but obtaining only a few.

So he sailed back to the mainland and put an end to the disturbances. From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the state except the glory of having conducted an expedition against its inhabitants; but on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home likewise magnified it to a remarkable degree. For seeing that the formerly unknown had become certain and the previously unheard-of accessible, they regarded the hope for the future inspired by these facts as already actually realized and exulted over their expected acquisitions as if they were already within their grasp; hence they voted to celebrate a thanksgiving for twenty days.

While this was taking place there was an uprising in Spain, which was consequently assigned to Pompey's care. Some tribes had revolted and put themselves under the leadership of the Vaccaeis. While still unprepared they were conquered by Metellus Nepos, but as he was besieging Clunia they assailed him, proved themselves his superiors, and won back the city; elsewhere they were defeated, though not sufficiently to cause their early enslavement. In fact, they so far surpassed their opponents in numbers that Nepos was glad to remain quiet and not run any risks.

About this same time Ptolemy, although the Romans had voted not to assist him and were even now highly indignant at the bribery he had
κειμένων, κατήχηθη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκομίσατο.

2 ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος·
tosó̄tov γὰρ αἱ τε δυναστείαι καὶ αἱ τῶν χρημά-
tων περιουσίαι καὶ παρὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τε
3 τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἱσχύσαν, ὡστε
ἐπιστεύεις μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Γαβίνῳ τῆς Συ-
ρίας τότε ἀρχοντε, στρατεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὦ μὲν
τῇ χάριτι ὁ δὲ τῇ δωροληψίᾳ καὶ ἀκοντός αὐτῶν
τοῦ κοινοῦ κατήγαγον, μηδὲν μὴτε ἐκεῖνον μῆτε
4 τῶν τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμῶν φροντίσαντες. καὶ
ἐκρίθη μὲν ύστερον ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὁ Γαβίνιος, οὐχ
ἐάλω δὲ διὰ τὸ τῶν Πομπήιον καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα·
οὗτο γὰρ ποὺ τὰ πράγματα τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις
συνεκέχυτον 1 ὡστε ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὄν ἐδωροδόκησε
σμικρά ἄττα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων τινῶς καὶ τῶν δικα-
στῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν λαβόντες ὑστε τοῦ προσήκοντός
τι προετίμησαν, καὶ προσέτει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
κακουργεῖν ὑπὲρ 2 χρημάτων ἐξεδίδαξαν ὡς καὶ
5 τὴν τιμωρίαν ῥαδίως ἔξωνεῦσάν δυναμένους. τότε
μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἀφελθε, αὐθίς δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἔτεροις
τισὶ, καὶ οἱ πλεῖον ἡ μυρίας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς μυριά-
δας ἤπεσε, κριθεὶς ἐάλω. καὶ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ τοῦτο
παραδοξοτατον συνέβη (τῆς τε γὰρ προτέρας δίκης
diὰ τὰ χρήματα ἀπελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι δι’
6 ἐκείνην ὅτι μάλιστα κατεδικάσθη 3) καὶ τῷ Ἰο-
μπῆιῳ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρότερον, καίτοι πόρρω ποὺ ὄν,
ἐρρύσατο τὸν Γαβίνιον διὰ τῶν ἔταρθων, τότε δὲ
ἐν τῇ προσαστείῳ ὃν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ
δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὸ παρὰν οὐδὲν ἤμυνεν.

1 συνεκέχυτο Oddey, συνέχυτο L. 2 ὑπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L.
3 κατεδικάσθη Rk., ἐδικάσθη L.
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employed, was nevertheless restored and got back his king- b.c. 55

dom. Pompey and Gabinius accomplished this. So much power had official authority and abundant wealth as against the decrees of both the people and the senate, that when Pompey sent orders to Gabinius, then governor of Syria, and the latter made a campaign, the one acting out of kindness and the other as the result of a bribe, they restored the king contrary to the wish of the state, paying no heed either to it or to the oracles of the Sibyl. Gabinius was later brought to trial for this, but on account of Pompey’s influence and the money at his command was not convicted. To such a state of confusion had affairs come with the Romans of that day, that when some of the magistrates and jurymen received from him but a very small part of the large bribes that he had received, they took no thought for their duty, and furthermore taught others to commit crimes for money, showing them that they could easily buy immunity from punishment. At this time, consequently, Gabinius was acquitted; but he was again brought to trial on some other charges—chiefly that he had plundered more than a hundred million [denarii] from the province—and was convicted. This was a matter of great surprise to him, seeing that by his wealth he had freed himself from the former suit, whereas he was now condemned for his wealth chiefly because of that suit. It was also a surprise to Pompey, because previously he had, through his friends, rescued Gabinius even at a distance, but now while in the suburbs of the city and, as you might say, in the very court-room, he accomplished nothing.
56 Ἑσχε δὲ ὠδε. ὁ Γαβίνιος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ἀστεὶ καὶ τῶν ληστικῶν, ἃ καὶ τότε ἰκμαζὲ, πολὺ πλείω σφίσι λυμφασθαι, πάντα δὲ δὴ τὰ αὐτὸθεν λήμματα ἑλάχιστα εἶναι νομίσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνόει ¹ καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους τὸν τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν
2 στρατεύσων. τοῦ γὰρ Φραάτου ὑπὸ τῶν παιδών δολοφονηθέντος Ὁρώντης τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν ἄδελφον ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας, ἢς ἦρχεν, ἐξέβαλε. καὶ ής καταφυγῶν πρὸς τὸν Γαβίνιον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν συμπρᾶξαι οἱ 3 τὴν κάθοδον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἤλθε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἦδη παρέδειξαν, τὰ δὲ ἄν καταχθῆ δωσεῖν ὑπέσχετο, τὰ τε τῶν Πάρθων εἰάσε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίον
4 ἥπειρθη, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντος μὲν τοῦ νόμου μὴτε ἐς τὴν ὑπεροχίαν τοὺς ἀρχοντάς τινῶν ἀποδημεῖν μήτε πολέμους ἀφ' εαυτῶν ἀναφείσσας, ἀπειρηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε Σιβύλλης μὴ καταχθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀλλ' ὅσο γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο
5 ταύτα, τόσῳ πλείονος αὐτὰ ἀπημπόλησε. καταλιπτῶν οὖν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισένναν τοῦ τῶν υἱῶν κομιδὴν νέου ὄντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ πάνω δήλων, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἢς ἔτετακτο τοὺς θυσταῖς
6 ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἐλθὼν τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον (διαδράς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς 'Ρώμης ὑπεταρράτε τι) συνέλαβε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐπεμψε, καὶ φόρον τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους ἐπέταξε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίον ἐνέβαλε.

¹ ἐνόει Χυλ., ἐνὸσει Λ.
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This was the way of it. Gabinius had harried Syria in many ways, even to the point of inflicting far more injury upon the people than did the pirates, who were flourishing even then. Still, he regarded all his gains from that source as mere trifles and was at first planning and preparing to make a campaign against the Parthians and their wealth. Phraates, it seems, had been treacherously murdered by his sons, and Orodes after succeeding to the kingdom had expelled Mithridates, his brother, from Media, which he was governing. The latter took refuge with Gabinius and persuaded him to assist in his restoration. However, when Ptolemy came with Pompey’s letter and promised that he would furnish large sums both to him and the army, some to be paid at once, and the rest when he should be restored, Gabinius abandoned the Parthian project and hastened to Egypt. This he did notwithstanding the law forbade governors to enter territory outside their own borders or to begin wars on their own responsibility, and although the people and the Sibyl had declared that the man should not be restored. But the only restraint these considerations imposed was to lead him to sell his assistance for a higher price. He left in Syria his son Sisenna, a mere boy, and a very few soldiers with him, thus exposing the province to which he had been assigned more than ever to the pirates. He himself then reached Palestine, arrested Aristobulus, who had escaped from Rome and was causing some disturbance, sent him to Pompey, imposed tribute upon the Jews, and after this invaded Egypt.
57 Ἡρχεὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἡ Βερενίκη, καὶ ἐπεικεῖς μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν . . . , καὶ τοι νοθουμένη τοῦ Ἀρχοίου, ἐπράξε, Σέλευκον δὲ τινα, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους τοῦ ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀνθυσαντός ὄντα, μεταπέμψασα ἄνδρα τε ἐπεγράψατο καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ 2 τοῦ πολέμου ἐποιήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐν οὐδενὸς μοίρα ὅν ἐφρᾶτο, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἀρχέλαον δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν αὐτομολύσαντος, δραστήριον τε ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν διαίταν ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπηγάγετο. 1 ὁ γὰρ Γαβίνου ἐδύνατο μὲν ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν παῦσαι (τὸν γὰρ Ἀρχελάον προὐποτοπήσας συνέλαβε, καὶ ἐμελλεν ἐκ τοῦτον μηδὲν ἔτ 3 ἔργων ἔξενω). φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐλάττων διὰ τούτου παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῶν ὡμολογημένων οἱ χρημάτων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀξιώλογον πεποιηκός, λάβοι, καὶ ἐπισίσας ἔτι καὶ πλείω πρὸς τε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου χρηματιεῖσθαι, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνων συχνὰ λαβὼν, ἐθελοντῆς αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ διαδράματα 58 ἀφῆκε. καὶ οὕτως 2 ὡς 3 μὲν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀφίκετο μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου, προὶδὼν δὲ ἐντεῦθεν δίχα διηρημένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίων ἀπαντήσαντάς οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀὐθισ ἐν τῇ ποταμῷ ναυσὶ κἀν τῇ γῇ ἐκράτησεν οἱ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείς θρασύνασθαι μὲν πρὸς πάντα ικανώτατοι καὶ ἐκλαλήσαι πᾶν ὃ τι ποτὶ ἀν ἐπέλθῃ σφίσι προπετέστατοι πεφύκασι, 2 πρὸς δὲ δὴ πολέμουν τὰ τε δεινὰ αὐτοῦ φλαυρότα-

1 ἐπηγάγετο Rk., ὡς ἐπηγάγετο L. 2 οὕτως Fabr., οὕτως L. 3 ὡς Reim., ὡς L.
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Berenice was at this time ruling the Egyptians, and though she feared the Romans, she took no steps suitable [to the emergency?]; instead, she sent for one Seleucus who claimed to belong to the royal race that once had flourished in Syria, formally recognized him as her husband, and made him a partner in the kingdom and in the war. When he was seen to be held in no esteem, she had him killed and joined to herself on the same terms Archelaus, son of that Archelaus who had deserted to Sulla; he was an energetic man, living in Syria. Now Gabinius could have stopped the mischief in its beginning; for he had arrested Archelaus, who had already aroused his suspicion, and he seemed likely to have no further trouble from him. He was afraid, however, that this course might cause him to receive from Ptolemy less money that had been stipulated, on the ground that he had done nothing of importance, and he hoped that he could exact even a larger amount in view of the cleverness and renown of Archelaus; moreover he received much money besides from the prisoner himself, and so voluntarily released him, pretending that he had escaped. Thus he reached Pelusium without encountering any opposition; and while advancing from there with his army in two divisions he encountered and conquered the Egyptians on the same day, and after this vanquished them again on the river with his ships and also on land. For the Alexandrines are most ready to assume a bold front everywhere and to speak out whatever may occur to them, but for war and its terrors they are utterly useless. This is true in

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tοι εἰσι, καὶ περ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι, πλείσταις δὴ καὶ
μεγίσταις παρ’ αὐτοῖς γεγονόμεναι, διὰ φόνων τε
ἀεὶ χωροῦντες καὶ τὸ ξῆν παρ’ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν
αὐτικὰ φιλονεικίαν τιθέμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡσπερ τι
τῶν ἀρίστων ᾧ ἀναγκαιοτάτων1 τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς
3 διεθρόν διώκοντες. υπάκουσα οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Γα-
βίνιος, καὶ ἄλλως τε πολλούς καὶ τῶν Ἀρχέλαου
φονεύσας, ἐγκρατής τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης
παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαῖῳ αὐτὴν
παρέδωκε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τε θυγατέρα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς
πρῶτους καὶ πλουσιωτάτους, ἀτε καὶ χρημάτων
59 πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἀπέκτεινε. Γαβίνιος δὲ ἐκεῖνον
μὲν οὕτω κατηγαγεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἶκας ἐπὶ τῶν
πραξάτων επέστειλεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτάγγελός 2
σφιστὸν ὄν παρηνομήκει γένηται. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ
οἶν περὶ τὴν τῆς πολυκοῦτο πράγμα κρυφθήναι, αὕτως τε
αὐτὸ3 ὁ δῆμος ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ Σύροι
2 πολλὰ τοῦ Γαβίνιου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ
αὐτοῦ δεινῶς υπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κακωθέντες, κατε-
βίοςαν, οἳ τε τελῶνα μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δι’
αὐτοὺς ἐσπράξαν συχνά ἐπωφειλησάν, ὀργὰζοντο
καὶ γνῶμας τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἑτοίμως εἶχον κατα-
3 ψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τὰ τε
ἀλλα ἱσχυρῶς ἐνήκε, καὶ συνεβούλευσε σφια τὰ
Σιβύλλεια ἐξῆ ἀὕτης ἀναγράφει, προσδοκόν ἐγ-
γεγράφθαι τινὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τιμορίαι ἂν τι4 παρα-
60 βαθῆ.5 ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ὁ τε Κράσσος ὑπάτευον
τε ἔτι, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑαυτῷ βοηθῶν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἐκεῖνον

1 ἀναγκαιοτάτων Βκ., ἀναγκαιότατον Λ.
2 αὐτάγγελος Χυλ., αὐταῖ γέλος Λ. 2 αὐτὸς Βκ., αὐτὸς Λ.
3 ἐν τῷ Βκ., ὅτι Λ.
4 ἀν τι Βκ., ὅτι Λ.
5 παραβαθῆ Βκ., παρεβάθη Λ.
spite of the fact that in seditions, which with them are very numerous and very serious, they always become involved in slaughter, setting no value upon life as compared with the rivalry of the moment, but pursuing destruction in such quarrels as if it were one of the best and dearest prizes. So Gabinius conquered them, and after slaying Archelaus and many others he promptly gained control of all Egypt and handed it over to Ptolemy. The latter put to death his daughter and also the foremost and richest of the citizens, because he had need of much money.

Gabinius after restoring him in this fashion sent no message home concerning what he had done, in order that he might not be the one to announce his own illegal acts. But it was not possible for an affair of such magnitude to be concealed, and the people straightway learned of it; for the Syrians cried out loudly against Gabinius, especially since in his absence they had been terribly abused by the pirates, and the tax-gatherers, being unable to collect the taxes on account of the marauders, were owing numerous sums. Angered at this, the people expressed their views and were ready to condemn him. For Cicero attacked him vigorously and advised them to read again the Sibylline verses, expecting that there was contained in them some punishment in case any of their injunctions should be violated. Pompey and Crassus, now, were still consuls, and the former acted as his own interests dictated, while the latter was for pleasing his colleague and also
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χάριν καὶ ἅμα καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβδενίου πεμφθέντα οἱ λαβῶν, ἐκ τε τοῦ προφανοῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεδικαίουν, καὶ ἄλλα τε καὶ φυγάδα τοῦ Κικέρωνα ἀποκαλούντες ούδὲν ἐπεφήσαν. 2 ὁς μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Δούκιος καὶ Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος διεδέξαντο, γνώριμαι αὖθις πολλαὶ ἐλέχθησαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Γαβδενίου αἱ πλείους ἐγένον. 3 τοῦ ὁ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος ἔχθρος τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τε τὸ σπουδαρχῆσαι καὶ διὰ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθῆναι ὧν, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος, καὶ προσήκων οἱ, ὅμως τοῖς τε πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαι τι ὑπὸ δημαγωγίας ἐθέλησας, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Γαβδενίου δωροδοκήσειν, ἂν γέ τι συνταράξῃ, 4 προσδοκήσας, πάντα ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἔπραξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινὸς ἐπιέσειν, ὅτι προτεμφέντα τινὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστράτηγον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διαδοχῇ ὡς ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ ἀνακομοῦν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰληφὼς κατείχῃν αὐτὴν. ἐδοξεῖν οὐν σφισί τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης ἔπει ἀναγνωριζῆναι, καίπερ ἀντειπόντος τοῦ Πομπηίου.

61 Ὡς τούτῳ ὁ Τίθερες, εἶτ' οὖν ὃμβρων ἄνω ποὺ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἔξαισίων γενομένων, εἶτε καὶ σφοδροῦ πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐκροὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνακόψατο, εἶτε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ὑποπτεύετο, ἐκ παρασκευῆς δαιμονίου τινὸς, τοσοῦτος ἐξαιρεῖν ὅπῃ ὦστ' ἐν πάσι μὲν τοῖς πέδιοις

1 διὰ R. Steph., δα L. 2 ὅμως R. Steph., ὅπως L.
3 πάντα ἔπ' Bs. (ἐπ' already inserted by Bk.), πᾶν L.
4 ἐπίσης L., ἐπίεσεν L. 5 καίπερ L. 6 ἀντίποντος Xyl., ἀνείπωτος L.
7 τοσοῦτος Pflugk, τοσοῦτον L.

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soon received money sent him by Gabinius. Thus they openly justified his conduct, calling Cicero "exile" among other names, and would not put the question to a vote. When, however, they had laid down their office, and Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius became their successors, once more many opinions were expressed and the majority proved to be against Gabinius. Domitius was hostile to Pompey on account of the latter's canvass and because he had been appointed consul contrary to his wish; and Claudius, although a relative of Pompey's, still wished to play the game of politics and indulge the people, and furthermore he expected to get bribes from Gabinius, if he should cause any disturbance. So both worked in every way against him. There was a further fact that weighed strongly against him: he had not received a certain lieutenant sent ahead by Crassus to succeed him in the office, but held on to the position as if he had received it for all time. They decided, therefore, that the verses of the Sibyl should be read, in spite of Pompey's opposition.

Meantime the Tiber, either because excessive rains had occurred somewhere up the stream above the city, or because a violent wind from the sea had driven back its outgoing tide, or still more probably, as was surmised, by the act of some divinity, suddenly rose so high as to inundate all the lower levels in the
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toûs èn tê ãstei oui peλaγίσαι, pollla dê kal 2 tôn meteωrotrêron katalábεîn. aî te ouî oikíaî 1 (èk plîνwōn γâr suνφkodοmêmênai ήsâν) diâ- bêroî te ãγêνwôtô kai kateρrâγhâsan, kai ṭâ ṭîpɔξûµa pánta ṭîpɔbrûxia εφhâr̃. tôn te ân- throun wòsou µή ãfθhâsan prôs tâ pánw ūψêla ànâfugwôntes, oî mên èn 2 taîs tégâs 3 oî dê kai èn ðòdòs ãγkataλêftheyntes ãξwλînto. kai γâr aî loîtaî oikíaî, âte ãtî pollla hîmêra tûn deîνou sμbântos, sathîaî te ãγêñwôtô kai polloîs 4 tôis 3 mên eûðûs toûs dê meîta tôît' ãλvûmînto. oî 5 ouîn ῥwmaîoi épî t' ãkeînous toûs paðhîmasi lûpoumênoi, kai ètéra xalèpââterâ wòs kai ðiâ tûn ðtûn Pto- lemâion káðòðou ðrhûn sfìsî tûn daîmônîon pe- poîmênon prûsèkîmênoi, ëpègnwôtô kai âpânta tûn Gábîwoun, wòs kai ðtîw tî, ân ðûaísâwsw àvûn 4 àpɔlèsanâtès, ðâkowhîsâmênoi, ðhànàtwîsaî. kai ouîw ñe èntônous ãxhoun ìste, kàîtû miðhêwos tòi- ðûtô ÷n tûs ðîbûlêíoiw ñrîswos èpûrêwntos, ðmûs tûn ðerûswîan ðiâkòtwîa kai tçâkûtwîa tôûs te ãrçûçwaa kai tôun dhûmû àvû ñrîswaîs ðrûbûlêswîsî.

62 'En ð dê taût' ãγûmènto, ñrîmâta ùpo tûn Gábîwoun prûpèmûfènta ouî ðîpûs àpânta ììl' 6 ouîdè ëpàvelòwnta 7 deîwûn ti ðaðêîn àvûn épî ñe èntônous èpînêsw. 8 kàîtû 9 ouîw kai àvûs àiçhrûw kai kàkwos ùpo tôû ñùnêdôtûs diêtêhò ìste kai ñrîwûs ès tûn Ïttâlîaî àfikèswaî kai ðûkûs ès

1 oikíaî added by R. Steph., from Xiph.  
2 èn added by Lœnec.  
3 tégâs R. Steph., tégâs L.  
4 polloîs Reim., polloî L.  
5 oî R. Steph., ð L.  
6 àìl' added by Xyl.  
7 ëpàvelòwnta Rk., ëpèlêwnta L.  
8 èpînêsw St., poîhîsaî L.  
9 kàîtû Rk., kal L.
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city and to overwhelm many even of the higher portions. The houses, therefore, being constructed of brick, became soaked through and collapsed, while all the animals perished in the flood. And of the people all who did not take refuge in time on the highest points were caught, either in their dwellings, or in the streets, and lost their lives. The remaining houses, too, became weakened, since the mischief lasted for many days, and they caused injuries to many, either at the time or later. The Romans, distressed at these calamities and expecting others yet worse, because, as they thought, Heaven had become angry with them for the restoration of Ptolemy, were in haste to put Gabinius to death even while absent, believing that they would be harmed less if they should destroy him before his return. So insistent were they that although nothing about punishment was found in the Sibylline oracles, still the senate passed a decree that the magistrates and populace should accord him the bitterest and harshest treatment.

While this was going on, money sent ahead by Gabinius caused him to suffer no serious penalty either while absent or upon his return, at least for this affair. And yet he was brought by his own conscience to such a wretched and miserable state that he long delayed coming to Italy, and entered the
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τὴν πόλιν ἑσκομμοσθῆναι, ἔξω τε τῆς οἰκίας ὁ
2 συχναὶς πάνυ ἡμέραις μὴ τολμῆσαι φανῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ ἦν, καὶ κατηγόρουσιν οὐκ ὀλίγους εἴχε. πρῶτον δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολε-
μαίου καθόδου, ἄτε καὶ μεγίστου, ἐκδικάσθη. καὶ ὁ γε δήμος σύμπας ὡς εἴπειν πρὸς τε τὸ δικαστή-
ριον συνερρῆ καὶ διασπάσασθαι πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἡθέλησεν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅτι οὐθ' ὁ Πομπήιος παρῆν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεινότατα αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν.

3 οὖτω δὲ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ὡμοι ἀφείθη. αὐτὸς τε γάρ, ἄτε ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτος κρινόμενος, παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἀνάλωσε, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιον τοῦ τε Καίσαρος ἑταῖροι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ συνήραντο, λέγοντες ἄλλον τε τίνα καὶρόν καὶ ἄλλον βασιλέα πρὸς τῆς Σιβύλλης εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὃτι μηδεμία τῶν πραχθέντων τιμωρία ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν αὐτῆς ἐνεγέρατο.

63 Ὁ δ' οὖν δήμος ὀλίγου μέν καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπέκτεινε, διαφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπετήρει τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ἐποίησε ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνος
2 γοῦν αὐτῶν ἀλώναι. οἱ γὰρ λαχόντες περὶ αὐτῶν κρίναι, τὸ τε πλῆθος ἀμα φοβηθέντες καὶ μηδὲν μέγα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβίνιου εὐρόμενοι (ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τε βραχυτέροις εὐθυνόμενος καὶ προσδοκός καὶ τότε κρατήσαντες οὐ πολλὰ ἔδαπάνησε) κατεψήφι-
σαντο αὐτοῦ, καίτοι τοῦ τοῦ Πομπήιον πλησίον ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συναγορευόντος αὐτῷ.

3 ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σιτοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθαρτο, ἐκδη-
μήσας ὀρμῆσε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ πρότερον δικα-

1 oikias Leuncl., Italias L. 2 δήμως ἀφείθη Rk., ἀφείθη L.
3 ὡς Bk., ὡς L. 4 συναγορευόντος Xyl., ἀγορευόντος L.

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city by night, and for a considerable number of days did not dare to appear outside of his house. For the complaints were many and he had an abundance of accusers. First, then, he was tried for the restoration of Ptolemy, as his greatest offence. Practically the whole populace surged into the court-house and often wished to tear him to pieces, particularly because Pompey was not present and Cicero accused him with all the force of his oratory. And yet, though this was their attitude, he was acquitted. For not only he himself, appreciating the gravity of the charges on which he was being tried, spent vast sums of money, but the associates of Pompey and Caesar also very willingly aided him, declaring that a different time and different king were meant by the Sibyl, and, most important of all, that no punishment for his deeds was contained in her verses.

The people accordingly were almost for putting the jurymen to death also, but, when they escaped, turned their attention to the remaining charges against him and caused him to be convicted on those at any rate. For the men who were chosen by lot to pass judgment on the charges both feared the people and likewise obtained but little from Gabinius; for he felt that he was being brought to book for minor matters only, and expecting to win this time also, he did not spend much. Hence they condemned him, even though Pompey was near at hand and Cicero acted as his counsel. For Pompey had been away from the city to provide for a supply of corn, since much had been ruined by the river, but hastened back to be present


στήριου ἀπαντήσων (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἦν), ὑστερήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ ὦκ ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ
4 προαστείου πρῶς καὶ ἐκεῖνο τελεσθήναι. καὶ μέν-
tοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔξω τοῦ πώμηρον (τὴν γὰρ
ἀρχὴν ἢδη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἔχων ὦκ ἡδυνήθη
ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν) ἀθροισθέντος πολλὰ ὕπερ
τοῦ Γαβινίου ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ γράμματά τε τίνα
παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὕπερ αὐτοῦ πεμ-
5 φθέντα ἀνέγρω, καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἱκέτευσε, τὸν
τε Κικέρωνα οὐχ ὅπως κατηγορήσαι ἐτ' αὐτοῦ
ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερδικήσαι ἔπεισεν,1 ὡστε
καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ τοῦ αὐτομόλου ἐγκλήμα καὶ
ὀνομα ἐπὶ πλεῖον οἱ αὐξηθήναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ῴφελησέ τι τὸν Γαβινίον, ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐφυγεν
ἀλοὺς, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ὑστερον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος
κατηχήθη.

64 Ἔν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πομ-
πηίου γυνὴ θυγάτριον τι τεκούσα ἀπέθανεν· καὶ
αὐτὴν, εὑτε διαπραξάμενων τῶν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν
tοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἡ καὶ ἀλλὰς πὼς χαρί-
σασθαι τινὲς αὐτοίς ἐθελήσαντες συνήρτασαν,
ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπαίνων ἔτυχε,
καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ἔθαψαν, καίτοι τοῦ Δομι-
tίου ἀνθυπάτου καὶ λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ τε καὶ ὅτι
οὐχ ὅσιός ἐν τῷ ἵερῳ τόπῳ ἀνευ τινῶς ψηφίσματος
θάπτοιτο.

65 Καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πομπηίος ὁ Γάιος τὰ ἐπινίκια
tά τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπεμψεν· ἐς γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ
χρόνου, μηδενὸς οἱ διδόντος αὐτά, ἔξω τοῦ πω−
2 μηρίου διέμεινε. καὶ τότε δ' ἀν αὐτῶν ἡμαρτεν,
eἰ μὴ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρους συστρατευσάμενος

1 ἔπεισεν Reim., καὶ ἔπεισεν L.
at the first trial (for he was in Italy); and when he missed that, he did not retire from the suburbs until the other also was finished. In fact when the people assembled outside the pomerium (since, as he already held the office of proconsul, he was not allowed to enter the city), he addressed them at length in behalf of Gabinius, and not only read to them a letter sent to him by Caesar in the man’s behalf, but also besought the jurymen, and not only prevented Cicero from accusing him again but actually persuaded him to plead for him; as a result the charge and epithet of “turn-coat” was applied to the orator more than ever.\(^1\) Gabinius, however, was not helped at all by Cicero, but was now convicted and exiled, as I have stated, though he was later restored by Caesar.

At this same time the wife of Pompey died, after giving birth to a baby girl. And whether by the arrangement of his friends and Caesar’s or because there were some who wished in any case to do them a favour, they caught up the body, as soon as she had received proper eulogies in the Forum, and buried it in the Campus Martius. It was in vain that Domitius opposed them and declared among other things that it was sacrilegious for her to be buried in the sacred spot without a special decree.

At this time Gaius Pomptinus celebrated a triumph over the Gauls; for as no one granted him the right to hold it, he had up to that time remained outside the pomerium. And he would have missed it then, too, had not Servius Galba, a praetor, who had made

\(^1\) Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2.
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αὐτῷ, κρύφα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐως στρατηγῶν τὴν ψήφον τισι (καὶ περ οὐκ ἔξον ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρὶν πρώτην ὢραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὶς χρηματισθήναι) ἔδωκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν γούν τῇ πομηπῇ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέσχουν, ὡστε καὶ σφαγὰς συμβήναι.
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the campaign with him, granted as praetor to certain persons secretly and just before dawn the privilege of voting—this, in spite of the fact that it is not permitted by law for any business to be brought before the people before the first hour. For this reason some of the tribunes, who had been left out of the assembly, caused him trouble in the procession, at any rate, so that there was some bloodshed.
Τάδε ένεστιν ἐν τῇ τετταρακοστῇ τῶν Διωνοῦ Ρωμαίων

α. Ὅς Καίσαρ τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Βρεττανίαν διέπλευσεν.
β. Ὅς Καίσαρ ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας τοῖς Γαλάταις αδός ἐπολέμησεν.
γ. Ὅς Κράσσος Πάρθων πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.
δ. Περὶ Πάρθων.
ε. Ὅς Κράσσος ἠττηθεὶς ὡς αὐτῶν ἀπάλετο.
ζ. Ὅς Καίσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς τᾶσσαν κατεστρέψατο.
η. Ὅς Μίλων Κλάδιον ἀποκτείνας κατεδικάσθη.
θ. Ὅς Καίσαρ καὶ Πομπῆίος στασίδεις ἤρξατο.

Χρόνον πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Δομίτιου καὶ Ἀπίλου Κλαύδιου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἐτης τέταρτα, ἐν ὧς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Γν. Δομίτιος Μ. βι. Καλούνος
Μ. Οὐαλέριος . . . Μεσσάλας
Γν. Πομπῆίος Γν. βι. Μάγνος τὸ γ
Κ. Καίκλιος Μέτελλος Σκιπίων Νασίκου βι.
Σέρουιος Σουλπίκιος Κ. βι. Ῥοῦφος
Μ. Κλάδιος Μ. βι. Μάρκελλος
Δ. Αἰμίλιος Μ. βι. Παῦλος
Γ. Κλάδιος Γ. βι. Μάρκελλος

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα, τότε ἐπτακόσια ἔτη ἀγούση, ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τοῦ Δομίτιου τοῦ Δουκίου καὶ τοῦ Κλαύδιου τοῦ Ἀπίλου ὑπάτων τὰ τε

1 Καλούνος Χυλ., καλούνιος Λ. 2 Μεσσάλας added by Χυλ.
3 Γν. Πομπῆίος added by Χυλ. 4 Σέρουιος Χυλ., σερκός Λ.

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The following is contained in the Fortieth of Dio's Rome:—
How Caesar for the second time sailed across to Britain (chaps. 1–3).
How Caesar, returning from Britain, again engaged in war with the Gauls (chaps. 4–11).
How Crassus began to carry on war with the Parthians (chaps. 12, 13).
About the Parthians (chaps. 14, 15).
How Crassus was defeated by them and perished (chaps. 16–30).
How Caesar subjugated the whole of Transalpine Gaul (chaps. 31–44).
How Milo killed Clodius and was condemned (chaps. 48 f., 54).
How Caesar and Pompey began to be at variance (chaps. 59–66).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Domitius and Appius Claudius, together with four additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

b.c.
52 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (III), C. Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasicae F.
51 Servius Sulpicius Q. F. Rufus, M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.
50 L. Aemilius M. F. Paulus, C. Claudius C. F. Marcellus.

These were the occurrences in Rome while the city was passing through its seven-hundredth year. In Gaul during the year of these same consuls, Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius, Caesar among other

8 Λ. Αἰμίλιος Χυλ., δαμιλίου Λ. ⁶ Line supplied by Xyl.
⁷ τοῦ Δουκίου Βκ., αὐτοῦ λευκίου Λ.
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αλλα καὶ ναὺς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν
tαχειῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν τῶν φορτίδων, ὅπως ὡς
μάλιστα καὶ κομφίζωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κύμα ἀντ-
έχωσιν, ἔπι τε τοῦ ξηροῦ ἱστάμεναι μὴ λυμαῖ-
2 νωνται, παρεσκευάσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλάιμα
ἐγένετο, ἐς τὴν Ῥεττανίαν αὖθις ἐπεραιώθη,
πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς μὴ πάντας τοὺς ὁμήρους οὓς
ὑπέσχοντο οἱ ἐπετόμφεσαν, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς, ὦτι
diὰ κενῆς τότε ἀνεχώρησε, μηκέτι αὖθις σφων
πειράσειν, ποιησάμενος, ἤργο δὲ δεινῶς τῆς νῆσου
ἐφέμενος, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, πάντως ἄν
3 ἀλλην τινὰ σκῆψιν εὑρέων. κατήρε τε οὖν ἐνθα
καὶ πρότερον, μηδενὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν
νεῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλαχός ἀμα αὐτὰς κατα-
σχεῖν τολμήσαντος ἀντιστήναι, καὶ τὸ 2 ναύστα-
2 θμον εὐθὺς ἐκρατύνατο. οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι τὸν μὲν
πρόσπλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἤδυνήθησαν διὰ ταῦτα
κωλύσαι, δεῖσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, ἄτε
καὶ στρατῷ πλείον αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντος, ἐς τὸ
λασιώτατον καὶ ἐς τὸ λοχμωδέστατον τῶν ἐγγὺς
2 χωρίων πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα συνεφόρησαν, καὶ
αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ ποιησάμενοι (τὰ τε γὰρ πέριξ
ξύλα ἐκοψαν, καὶ ἔτερα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς στοιχέων ἐπι-
sυνένησαν, ὡστε ἐν χαρακόματι τρόπον τωλὰ
eἶναι) ἐπείτα τοὺς προνομεύσαντος τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐλύπουν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μάχη τινὶ ἐν τῷ ψιλῷ ἤττηθέν-
tes ύπήγαγον σφᾶς ἐκεῖσε κατὰ τὴν δίωξιν, καὶ
3 συχνοὺς ἀνταπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο χειμῶνος
αὖθις τὰς ναύς αὐτῶν λυμηναμένον συμμάχους τε
προσμετεπέμβαντο καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ νεφριὸν σφῶν
1 ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοντο L. 2 τὸ Rk., τὸν L.
BOOK XL

undertakings constructed ships of a style half-way between his own swift vessels and the native ships of burden, endeavouring to make them at once as light and as seaworthy as possible and capable of being left high and dry without injury. When the weather became fit for sailing, he crossed over again to Britain, giving as his excuse that the people of that country, thinking that he would never make trial of them again because he had once retired empty-handed, had not sent all the hostages they had promised; but the truth of the matter was that he mightily coveted the island, so that he would certainly have found some other pretext, if this had not offered itself. He came to land at the same place as before, no one daring to oppose him because of the number of his ships and the fact that they approached many points on the shore at the same time; and he straightway got possession of the harbour. The barbarians, then, for the reason stated were unable to hinder his approach, and being more afraid than before, because he had come with a larger army, they carried away all their most valuable things into the most wooded and overgrown portions of the neighbouring country. After they had put them in safety by cutting down the surrounding wood and piling more upon it row after row until their goods were in a sort of stockade, they proceeded to annoy the Romans' foraging parties. Indeed, after being defeated in a certain battle on open ground they drew the invaders in pursuit to their retreat, and killed many in their turn. Soon after, when a storm had once more damaged the Romans' ships, the natives sent for allies and set out against their naval
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ἀρμήσαν, Κασουελλανδὴν ἡν, τὸν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ δυναστῶν φερόμενον προστηρεύμενοι. καὶ αὐτοίς ἀπαντήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐταράχθησαν τῇ τῶν ἀρμάτων σφῶν προσιμίζει, ἐπειτὰ δὲ διωστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνα τε παρεξείλοντες καὶ τοὺς παραθέοντας ἐς τὰ πλάγια δ' ἐβάλλοντες,

ἀνίσωσαν τὴν μάχην. καὶ τὸτε μὲν κατὰ χώραν ἀμφότεροι ἔμειναν αὐθίς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ κρείττους γενόμενοι, ὅποι δὲ τῆς ἱππος κακωθέντες, πρὸς τε τὸν Ταμέσαν ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ τὸν πόρον αὐτοῦ σταυρῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἐμφανέσι τοὺς δὲ καὶ υψόρους, διαλαβόντες ηὐλίσαντο.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ Καίσαρ τὸ τε σταύρωμα προσβολῆ βιαία ἐκλιπεῖν ἡμάγκασε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος προσεδρεία ἐξῆλασε, καὶ τοὺς προσβάλλουντάς σφῶν τῷ ναυστάθμῳ ἔτεροι ἀπεωσάτο, κατέδεισαν καὶ κατελύσαντο ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ φόρον ἔτησιν ταξάμενοι.

Καὶ οὕτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπῆρ πανταπάσω ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκατέλιπε στράτευμα ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ γὰρ κινδυνεύσειν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τῇ χειμάζον, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄν ἐν καλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀποδημηται νομίζων, ἡγάπησε τοῖς παροῦσι, μὴ καὶ μειζόνων ὀργυνόμενος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων σφαλὴ. καὶ ἔδοξε καὶ τοῦτο ὅρθῳς πεποιηκέναι, ὡσπερ ποὺ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ δειδείχθη ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ παραχεμάσων, οἱ Γαλάται, καίτοι φρουροὺς ὡς ἑκαστοὶ πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡμοὶ ἐνεόχωμοσαν, καὶ

1 Κασουελλανδὴ Reim., καὶ σουελλανδὴn L.
2 τῶν added by Leuncl.
3 πλάγια Rk., πλάκια L.
4 ἀνίσωσαν Rk., ἀνέσωσαν L.
5 δὲ Rk., τε L.
6 μὴ added by R. Steph.
arsenal itself, with Cassivellaunus, regarded as the foremost of the chiefs in the island, at their head. The Romans upon meeting them were at first thrown into confusion by the attack of their chariots, but later opened ranks, and by letting them pass through and then from the side hurling their weapons at the men as they rushed past, made the battle equal. For the time being both parties remained where they were. Later, however, the barbarians, after proving victorious over the infantry but being defeated by the cavalry, withdrew to the Thames, where they encamped after cutting off the ford by means of stakes, some visible and some under water. But Caesar by a powerful assault forced them to leave the stockade and later on by siege drove them from their fortress, while others repulsed a party of theirs that attacked the ships in the harbour. They then became terrified and made terms, giving hostages and agreeing to pay a yearly tribute.

Thus Caesar departed entirely from the island and left no body of troops behind in it; for he believed that such a force would be in danger while passing the winter in a foreign land and that it might be inadvisable for him to remain away from Gaul for any considerable period; hence he was satisfied with his present achievements, in the fear that if he reached out for more, he might be deprived even of these. It seemed that here again he had done right, as was, indeed, proved by the event. For when he had gone to Italy, intending to winter there, the Gauls, though each nation contained many garrisons, nevertheless became restless and some of them
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tines auton kai phanerow epaves stagn. ope e
en ty Breptanias kata megavatos auton para ton
cheimwna enganw, pantan an ta tede etetara kto.

5 "Hrav de tov polemou toutou 'Ehouriwol,1
hgyowment tw phisiv 'Ammwrogo. kai elenov men
ty parousia ton 'Romaiwn, on 3 de te Sabinos kai
Dolkios Koutas upostratgyou hychon, akydomenoi
kekinothai to o' allous ekiven ton katefronh-
san oys oyx ikavon amynai sfas eosymenov, kai
ton Kaistora ove hlytoth diad tachwv sfivw

2 epistrostrwsein. epithlbon te oyn autouis mh proso-
dekomenv oys kai autopole to stratopede
aihyontes, kai epieidh diymartov autov, pros
apathn erapontov. ton gar chrion taw epiteth-
deiota sw 'Ammwrogo prolochias hlybon ex epit-
knureias pros tovum 'Romaiw kai ovy ekouv de

3 polemsasa, kai autovs men metahygnowskew evh,
tous o' allous phylattsebai sfisai parhnesen
oute gar autov pitharcheив autous kai ekivov 4
meleve twv nykev evthiesea. kaws tovum kai
ghymen autov ekwke ton men 'Ehouriwian, oys kai
kindynwssouin5 an katameinwsi, kataklpeiv, pros
dev sustratiwta tivasi pleias ton cheimzwntas oys

6 tachista metasstina. akousante de tauta o
'Romaiw epelosievan, allas te kai oti evthymo-
teto polla upo tov Kaistora kai charin autov
tauthe anatididov 6 edokei. synkevansamenvon te

1 'Ehouriwol Xyl., 'Ehouriw o L.
2 hgyowment R. Steph., hgyowment L.
3 von supplied by Leuncl. 4 ekivov Xyl., ekivov L.
5 kindynwssouin Reim., kindynwssowin L.
6 tauthe anatididov v. Herw., tauthe anatapodidov Naber,
ta upenantia didonai L.

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openly revolted. Now if this had happened while he was staying in Britain through the winter season, all Gaul would have been in a turmoil.

This war was begun by the Eburones, under Ambiorix as chief. They claimed they had been roused to action because they were annoyed at the presence of the Romans, who were commanded by Sabinus and Lucius Cotta, lieutenants. The truth, however, that they scorned those officers, thinking they would not prove competent to defend their men and not expecting that Caesar would quickly make an expedition against their tribe. They accordingly came upon the soldiers unawares, expecting to take the camp without striking a blow, and, when they failed of this, had recourse to deceit. For Ambiorix, after planting ambuscades in the most suitable spots, came to the Romans after sending a herald to arrange for a parley, and represented that he had taken part in the war against his will and was himself sorry; but against the others he advised them to be on their guard, for his countrymen would not obey him and were intending to attack the garrison at night. Consequently he made the suggestion to them that they should abandon Eburonia, since they would be in danger if they remained, and should move on as quickly as possible to some of their comrades who were wintering near by. Upon hearing this the Romans believed him, especially as Ambiorix had received many favours from Caesar and seemed to be repaying his kindness in this way. They
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σπουδή ευθὺς ἀφ’ ἑστέρας ἀφώρμησαν, καὶ ἐμπεσόντες ἐστὶν λελοχυσμένα δεινῶς ἔσφάλησαν.

2 ὁ τε γὰρ Κόντας παραχρῆμα μετὰ πολλῶν ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸν Σαβίνον ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ μετεπέμψατο μὲν ὡς καὶ σῶσων (οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς γυνομένους παρῆν, καὶ πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τότε ἐστὶν ἐδοκεὶ εἶναι), συνλαβῶν δὲ δὴ, καὶ ἀποδύσας καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ ἅτην ἐσθήτα, κατηκόντισεν, ἐπιλέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτο μέντοι ὄντες πῶς τηλυκούτων ἤμων ὃντων ἄρχειν ἐθέλετε; οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ταύτ’ ἐπάθοιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέπεσον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τάφρευμα ὅθεν ἀπανεισθήκασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε βαρβαροὶ καὶ ἐκεῖ προσεμίξαν καὶ οὔτ’ ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοὺς οὔτε διάφυγειν ἤδυναμον, ἀλλ’ ἑνεπεκτείναν.

7 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἄλλοι τε τινες τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἀπετίθησαν καὶ Νέρωνοι, καίτοι Κύντου Κικέρωνος παρ’ αὐτοῖς χειμάζοντος· ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν, ὑποστρατηγόν τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ προσλαβὼν

2 συνέβαλε τῷ Κικέρωνι καὶ ἀγχωμάλα ἀγωνισμένος, καὶ τινας καὶ ξώντας ἐλών, ἀπατήσαι μὲν πη καὶ έκεινον ἐπεχέρησε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἐστὶν τοπορκίαν αὐτὸν κατέστησε, καὶ διὰ ταχέων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυχερίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἦν ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἦν μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεποίητο ἐκέκτιστο, καὶ τινα καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκάστων μαθὼν, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσε καὶ

3 ἀπετάφρευσεν· ἐγίγνοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ μᾶχα, οὐκ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰκὸς ἦν, συχνά, καὶ ἀπώλλυσεν πολὺ πλέον τῶν βαρβάρων ἄτε καὶ πλείους

1 ἀπανεισθήκασαν Dind., ἀπανεισθήκασαν L.
2 ἐκάστων St., ἐν ἐκάστων L.
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hastily packed up their belongings, and setting out just after nightfall, fell into the ambush, where they suffered a terrible reverse. Cotta with many others perished immediately. Sabinus was sent for by Ambiorix under the pretext of saving him, for the Gallic leader was not present at the ambush and at that time was still thought to be trustworthy; on his arrival, however, Ambiorix seized him, stripped him of his arms and clothing, and then struck him down with his javelin, uttering boastful words over him, such as these: "How can such creatures as you wish to rule us who are so great?" This was the fate that these men suffered. The rest managed to break through to the camp from which they had set out, but when the barbarians assailed that, too, and they could neither repel them nor escape, they killed one another.

After this event some others of the neighbouring tribes revolted, among them the Nervii, though Quintus Cicero, a brother of Marcus Cicero and lieutenant of Caesar, was wintering in their territory. Ambiorix added them to his force and engaged in battle with Cicero. The contest was close, and after capturing some prisoners alive the chieftain tried to deceive him also in some manner, but being unable to do so, besieged him. Thanks to his large force and the experience which he had gained from his service with the Romans, together with information that he obtained from the individual captives, he quickly managed to enclose him with a palisade and ditch. There were numerous battles, as was natural in such a situation, and far larger numbers of the barbarians perished, because there were more of
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ὃντες· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς περιουσίας τοῦ στρατοῦ οὐδὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει τοῦ φθειρομένου σφῶν ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ρωμαῖοι μήτε ἄλλος πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἑλάττους ἄει γεγυμνομενοὶ μαθώς περιεστοιχίσθησαν. κινδυνεύοντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἄλωναι (οὔτε γὰρ τὰ τραύματα θεραπεύειν ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔδώκαντο, οὔτε τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθόνως, ἀτε ἐν ἀδοκίμῳ πολιορκίᾳ, εἴχον· οὐδὲ ἐπήμνυε τις αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀπόθεν χειμαζόντων· οί γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰς ὠδοὺς ἄκριβῶς φυλάσσοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐκπεπομένους σφῶν συνελάμβανον καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἔφωνεν.)

2 Νέρουιος τις εὐνοίκως σφεσιν ἐξ ἐυεργεσίας ἔχων, καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Κικέρωνι πολιορκούμενος, δούλων τινα ἐαυτοῦ διάγγελον αὐτῷ παρέσχεν· ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς σκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς ἐπιχωρίας ἤδυνήθη λαθεῖν συγγενόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποχωρήσας.

9 Μαθὼν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ γεγυμόμενον (οὐδέπω δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεληλύθει, ἀλλ' ἐτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ἦν) ἀνέστρεφε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, δι' ὧν δεήσει, στρατιώτας παραλαμβάνων ἤπείγετο. καὶ τοῦτο φοβήθεις μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ Κικέρων ἀπογγέως τῆς βοηθείας δεινοῦ τῷ παθῶν ἢ καὶ συνθέμενος, προ-2 ἐπεμψεν ἵππεά. τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰκέτῃ τῷ τοῦ ἐνερού, καὶ τοῖς πείραν ἐργῷ τῆς εὐνολογίας αὐτοῦ λαβόν, οὐκ ἐπίστευεσ, μὴ καὶ τοὺς πατριώτας ἐλεήσας μέγα τι κακὸν σφας ἐξεργάστηκα· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν συμμάχων ἵππεά τὴν τε διάλεκτον αὐτῶν

1 ὑπὸ R. Steph., τετρὶ L. 2 τοῦ added by R. Steph.
BOOK XL

them. They, however, by reason of the multitude of their army did not feel their loss at all, whereas the Romans, who were not numerous in the first place, kept continually growing fewer and were hemmed in without difficulty. They were unable to care for their wounds through lack of the necessary appliances, and did not have a large supply of food, because they had been besieged unexpectedly. No one came to their aid, though many were wintering at no great distance; for the barbarians guarded the roads with care and caught all who were sent out and slaughtered them before the eyes of their friends. Now when they were in danger of being captured, a Nervian who was friendly to them as the result of kindness shown him and was at this time besieged with Cicero, furnished a slave of his to send as a messenger through the lines. Because of his dress and his speech, which was that of the natives, he was able to mingle with the enemy as one of their number without attracting notice, and afterwards went his way.

In this way Caesar, who had not yet returned to Italy but was still on the way, learned of what was taking place, and turning back, he took with him the soldiers in the winter establishments through which he passed, and pressed rapidly on. Meanwhile, being afraid that Cicero, in despair of assistance, might suffer disaster or even capitulate, he sent a horseman on ahead. For he did not trust the servant of the Nervian, in spite of having received an actual proof of his good will, fearing that he might pity his countrymen and work the Romans some great evil; so he sent a horseman of the allies who knew the
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eïðota kai τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἑκείνων σκευασθέντα

3 ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε μηδ’ αὐτός τι μητ’ οὖν ἐθε-
λοντῆς μητ’ ἀκών ἔξειπη, οὔτε τι αὐτῷ ἔξελάλησε, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι πάνθ’ ὅσα ἡβουληθή ἐλληνιστὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἦνα ἀν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἄλφ., ἀλλ’ ἀσύνετά γε καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄντα μηδὲν σφας ἐκδιδάξῃ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅποτε τι δὴ ἀπορρήτων τιλ ἐπέστειλε, τὸ τέταρτον άει στοι-
χεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ καθάκοντος ἀντεγγράφειν, ὅπως ἂν

4 ἀγνωστὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦ τὰ γραφόμενα. οὗ δ’ οὖν ἵππεος ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρα-
τόπεδον, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δ’ ἐγγύθεν αὐτῷ προσμῆξαι συνέδησε τὰ γράμματα ἀκοντίω, καὶ ὡς ιεῖς 1 αὐτὸ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς τύργων ἐξεπιτήδες προσ-
ἐπηκε. καὶ οὐ μὲν Κικέρων οὗτῷ τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ
Καισαρος μαθὼν ἀνέθαρσησε καὶ προδυμότερον

dιεκαρτέρησεν οί δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι ἔπο τοπὶ μὲν

tὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῦ ἡγνόσεαν (νυκτοπορῶν γὰρ
ἔπειτα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀφανεστάτοις χωρίοις ἑλι-
ζητο, ὅπως ἀπροσδοκήτως οτι μάλιστα αὐτῶς προσμῆξῃ), ὁφεὶ δὲ ποτε ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεορκο-
μένων περιχαρείας ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὴν προσκό-
πους ἐπεμψαν, καὶ μαθόντες παρ’ αὐτῶν πλησίας-
ζουτα ἂν τὸν Καισαρα άρμησαν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὡς

2 καὶ ἀνελπίστω τις αὐτῶς προσπεσούμενοι, προμαθῶν οὖν
τοῦτ’ ἑκείνος τὴν τε νύκτα κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ
ἔπο τὴν ἑώ χωρίαν τὶ ἐρυμνῶν προκαταλαβῶν ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῦ
καὶ μετ’ ὅλων εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πορείας πεπονύσθαι τὴν τε ἐφοδόν σφων διδέναι, κὰς τοῦτο
καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μετέωρον αὐτοῖς ὑπαγαγέσθαι. 2

1 άς iels Polak, ὅςas L. 2 ὑπαγαγέσθαι Reim., ἀπαγαγέσθαι L.

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dialect of the Eburones and was dressed in their garb. And in order that even he might not reveal anything, voluntarily or involuntarily, he gave him no verbal message and wrote to Cicero in Greek all that he wished to say, in order that even if the letter were captured, it should even so be meaningless to the barbarians and afford them no information. In fact, it was his usual practice, whenever he was sending a secret message to any one, to substitute in every case for the proper letter of the alphabet the fourth letter beyond, so that the writing might be unintelligible to most persons. Now the horseman reached the camp of the Romans, but not being able to come close up to it, he fastened the letter to a javelin, and acting as if he were hurling it against the enemy, fixed it purposely in a tower. Thus Cicero learned of the approach of Caesar, and so took courage and held out more zealously. But the barbarians for a long time knew nothing of the assistance Caesar was bringing; for he journeyed by night, bivouacking by day in very obscure places, in order that he might fall upon them as unexpectedly as possible. But they finally grew suspicious because of the excessive cheerfulness of the besieged and sent out scouts; and learning from them that Caesar was already drawing near, they set out against him, thinking to attack him while off his guard. He learned of it in time and remained where he was that night, and just before dawn took up a strong position. There he encamped seemingly in the utmost haste, for the purpose of appearing to have only a few followers, to have suffered from the journey, and to fear an attack from them, and so in this manner to draw them to the higher ground.
3 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τὸ ὅρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ μεγάλως ἐπταίσαν, ὥστε μηκέτ' ἀντιπολεμήσαι.

11 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι1 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχειρώθησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν. οἱ γοῦν Τρήσουροι φοβηθέντες, ἐπειδήπερ2 τοὺς παρ' ἐκάστου πρῶτους3 ὁ Καίσαρ μεταπέμπτων ἐκόλαξε, μή καὶ αὐτὸν δίκην δώσιν,

2 ἐξεπολεμώθησαν αὐθείς αὐτοῖς, Ἰνδουτιομάρου4 σφᾶς ἀναπέσαντος, καὶ συναποστήσαντες καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δεδιότων ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαβίδου τὸν Τίτον ἐν Ῥημώις ὄντα, καὶ ἐπεξελθόντων σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφθάρσαν.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐχέμασεν ὡς καὶ ἀκριβῶς σφᾶς 12 καταστήσασθαι δυνησόμενος. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος ἐπιθυμήσας τι καὶ αὐτὸς δόξης τε ἀμα καὶ κέρδους ἐχόμενον πράξας, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδῆ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοιοῦτο τί εἶδεν ὅν (αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἰσόχαζον, καὶ οἱ πρόσθε προσπολεμήσαντες σφίσι οὖθεν ὅπ' ἀδυνασίας5 παρεκλίνουν), ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπεστράτευσε, μήτε ἐγκλημα τι αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων μήτε τοῦ πολέμου οἱ ἐφησισμένου αὐτοῦ τε γὰρ παμπλουσίους ἤκουν ὄντας, καὶ τὸν Ὄρωθην εὐάλωτον ἄτε καὶ νεοκατάστατον εἶναι προσεδόκησε.

2 τὸν τε οὖν Εὐφράτην ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολύ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, φέρων τε αὐτὴν καὶ

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1 ἐκεῖνοι Xyl., ἐκεῖνος L. 2 ἐπειδήπερ Reim., ἐπειδὴ πρὸς L. 3 πρῶτους supplied by Reim. 4 Ἰνδουτιομάρου Reim. (as L in chap. 31, 2), Ἰνδουτιομάρου L. 5 ὅπ' ἀδυνασίας Bk., ὅπ' ἀδυναστας L.
BOOK XL

And thus it turned out; for in their contempt of him because of this move they charged up hill, and met with so severe a defeat that they carried on the war against him no longer.

In this way both they and all the rest were at that time subdued; but they did not feel kindly toward the Romans. At any rate, the Treveri, when Caesar was sending for the principal men of each tribe and punishing them, became afraid that they, too, might have to pay the penalty; and upon the advice of Indutiomarus, they began war against the Romans once more; and they led some others who feared the same treatment to revolt and made an expedition against Titus Labienus, who was among the Remi, but they were destroyed when the Romans made an unexpected sally.

These were the events that took place in Gaul, and Caesar wintered there, thinking that he would be able to bring the Gauls under strict control. But Crassus, desiring for his part to accomplish something that involved glory and at the same time profit, and seeing that no such thing was possible in Syria, where the people themselves were quiet, and those who had formerly warred against the Romans were by reason of their powerlessness causing no disturbance, made a campaign against the Parthians. He had no complaint to bring against them nor had the war been assigned to him; but he heard that they were exceedingly wealthy and expected that Orodes would be easy to capture, because he was but newly established. Therefore he crossed the Euphrates and advanced far into Mesopotamia, devastating and ravaging the country. For since his
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πορθῶν τῆς γὰρ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ ἀδοκήτου τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης οὐδεμιὰ ἀκριβῆς φυλακὴ αὐτῆς καθειστήκει, ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Σιλάκης ὁ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης σατραπεύων ἠττήθη τε περὶ Ἰχυλίας, τείχος τὸ ὀυτῶ καλουμένου, ἅπειρου ὀλύγοις μαχασάμενος, καὶ τρωθέεις ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτάγγελος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτοῦ γενησόμενος, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κράσσος τὰ τε φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας μάλιστα, τὰς τὲ ἄλλας καὶ τὸ Νικηφόρων ὄνομασμένου, προσεποίησατο τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συστρατευσάντων σφίσιν Ἑλληνῶν ἄποικοι πολλοί, . . . βλα ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ἐσ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς καὶ φιλέλληνας πολλὰ ἔπιξιόντες, οὐκ ἀκού- 2 σίως μεθίσταντο. πλὴν τε ὅτι οἱ Ζηνοδοτίου οἰκήτορες μετέπεμψαν τινας αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μετα- στησόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνυσεν ἐγένομον, ἀπέλαβον τε αὐτούς καὶ διέφθειραν καὶ διὰ τότῳ καὶ ἀνε- στησαν, οὔδὲν ἄλλο δεινὸν οὔτε ἔπραξε τότε 3 Κράσσος οὔτε ἔπαθε. πάντως δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Τίγριδος οὐτα ἐκεχείρωτο, εἰ τῇ τε ἐαυτοῦ ὀρμῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπλήξει πρὸς πάντα ὁμίως ἐκέχρητο, καὶ προσέτε καὶ κατὰ χώραν χειμάσας ἐν φρούρᾳ αὐτὰ ἀκριβεῖ 4 ἐπεποίητο. νῦν δὲ ἐλῶν ὡσα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἡδυνήθη λαβεῖν, οὔτε τι τῶν λοιπῶν οὔτ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἔφρονισεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ δια- τριβῇ ἀχθεθεῖς καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ῥαστῶνης

1 ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Kidd, ταλωμένος L.
2 Σιλάκης (Σιλλακῆς) Xyl., ειλακης L.
3 αὐτάγγελος Leuncl., αὐτοῦ ἄγγελος L.
4 Lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων.
5 δτι ὡτ Reim. and Bk., ὡτ τε L. 6 καὶ St., καὶ L.
crossing was unexpected by the barbarians no careful guard of the ford had been kept. Consequently Silaces, then satrap of that region, was quickly defeated near Ichnae, a fortress so named, after contending with a few horsemen; and being wounded, he retired to report personally to the king the Romans' invasion. Crassus, on his side, quickly won over the garrisons and especially the Greek cities, among them one named Nicephorium. For colonists in great numbers, descendants of the Macedonians and of the other Greeks who had campaigned in Asia with them, readily transferred their allegiance to the Romans, since they were oppressed by the violence [of the barbarians (?)], and placed strong hopes in the invaders, whom they regarded as friends of the Greeks. The inhabitants of Zenodotium, however, on the pretence that they also were going to revolt, sent for some of the invaders, and then, when they were within the town, arrested and killed them, for which act they were driven from their homes. Apart from this Crassus neither inflicted nor received any serious harm at that time. He certainly would have subdued also the other regions this side of the Tigris, if he had followed up the advantage of his own quick attack and the barbarians' panic consistently in all respects, and also if he had wintered where he was, keeping strict watch of affairs. As it was, he captured only such places as he could seize by sudden assault and paid no heed to the rest nor even to the places conquered, but vexed by the delay in Mesopotamia, and longing for the indolence
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ἐπιθυμήσας παρέσχετο 1 τοῖς Πάρθοις καιρὸν παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στρατιώτας κακώσαι.

14 Ἀυτὴ μὲν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμου ἐγένετο. οἰκούσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιγρίδος τὸ μὲν πολὺ τείχη καὶ φρούρια, ἥδη δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλας τε καὶ Κτησιφώντα, ἐν ἦ καὶ βασίλεια 2 ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ γένος σφών ἦν μὲν 2 ποι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι βαρβάροις, καὶ τὸ γε ὅνομα τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν βασιλείαν ἔχουσι ἄλλα τότε μὲν αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐν μέρει χώρας βραχεῖ φῶκαι καὶ δυναστεῖαι ὑπερόρων οὐκ ἐκε- κτυντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ 3 ἢ τοῖς Περσῶν ἀρχὴ κατελύθη καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδών ἡμᾶς, οἳ τοῖς Ἀλε- ξάνδρου διάδοχοι στασιάσαντες ἄλλοι ἄλλα 4 ἀπετέμοντο καὶ βασιλείας ἰδίας κατεσκευάσαντο, 3 ἐς το τὸ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὑπ’ Ἀρσάκου τινὸς ἀφίκοντο, δὴ θεωτικαὶ οἳ ἐπείτα βασιλεύσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν, καὶ εὐτυχὴ- σαντες τὴν το πλησιόχωρον ἐκτήσαντο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν σατραπείαις κατέσχον, τελευ- τῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυ- νάμεως ἔχορθησαν ὡστε καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε το ἀντιπολεμήσαι καὶ δεύρο ἅλοι ἀντίπαλοι νομίζε- σθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ἒσχυοι τὰ πολέμια, μεῖζον δ’ ὅμως ὅνομα, καίτοι μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίοις το παρηγοροῦντε καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἔστιν ἄ προέμουν, ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μηδὲν δεδουλώνται, ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἔτι 5 τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς,

1 παρέσχετο Bk., παρέσχε τε L.  
2 βασίλεια Leuncl., βασίλεια L.  
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ Leuncl., ἐπειδὴ L.  
4 ἄλλοι ἄλλα Bk., ἄλλοι ἄλλη L.  
5 ἔτι Rk., ἔτι L.

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of Syria, he afforded the Parthians time to prepare themselves and to harass the soldiers left behind in their country.

This was the beginning of the war of the Romans against the Parthians. These people dwell beyond the Tigris, for the most part in forts and garrisons, but also in a few cities, among them Ctesiphon, in which they have a royal residence. Their race was in existence among the ancient barbarians and they had this same name even under the Persian kingdom; but at that time they inhabited only a small portion of the country and had acquired no dominion beyond their own borders. But when the Persian rule had been overthrown and that of the Macedonians was at its height, and when the successors of Alexander had quarrelled with one another, cutting off separate portions for themselves and setting up individual monarchies, the Parthians then first attained prominence under a certain Arsaces, from whom their succeeding rulers received the title of Arsacidae. By good fortune they acquired all the neighbouring territory, occupied Mesopotamia by means of satrapies, and finally advanced to so great glory and power as to wage war even against the Romans at that time, and ever afterward down to the present day to be considered a match for them. They are really formidable in warfare, but nevertheless they have a reputation greater than their achievements, because, in spite of their not having gained anything from the Romans, and having, besides, given up certain portions of their own domain, they have not yet been enslaved, but even to this day hold their own in the wars they wage.
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15 ὡσάκις ἀν συνενεχθῶσι, διαφέρουσι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς τε ἱδιότητος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν πολλοῖς τε ἐξηρταΐ καὶ ἐγώ οὐκ ἐν γνώμῃ ποιοῦμαι συγγράψαι· τῇ δὲ δὲ ὀπλίσει καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσει (τούτων γὰρ ὁ ἐξετασμὸς τοῦ δὲ τῶν λόγων, οτι καὶ ἐς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖται, προσήκει) τούτῳ χρώματι.

2 ἀστιδὴ μὲν οὖν νομίζουσιν, ἵπποταξόταται δὲ καὶ κοντοφόροι, τὰ πολλὰ κατάφρακτοι, στρατεύονται. τεξοὶ τε ὄλγοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖστεροι, τοξόται δ’ οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες εἰσίν. ἐκ τε γὰρ παῖδων ἀσκοῦνται, καὶ ὁ ὀυρανὸς ὡς τε ὀνομάζεται πρὸς ἀμφότερα. αὕτη τε γὰρ πεδίας ὡς πλήθει οὔσα ἀρίστη, τε ἵππους τρέφειν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καθιστευεύσθαι· ἀγέλας γοῦν ὅλας καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὡστ’ ἀλλοτε ἄλλοις ἱπποῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ πόρρωθεν τε ἐξαπατώντως ἐπελαύνειν καὶ μακράν ποι ἐξ αἱρε-

3 χώρα αὐτοῖς συναίρεται πρὸς ἀμφότερα. αὕτη τε γὰρ πεδίας ὡς πλήθει οὔσα ἀρίστη, τε ἵππους τρέφειν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καθιστεύεσθαι· ἀγέλας γοῦν ὅλας καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὡστ’ ἀλλοτε ἄλλοις ἱπποῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ πόρρωθεν τε ἐξαπατώντως ἐπελαύνειν καὶ μακράν ποι ἐξ αἱρε-

4 δῖον ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπάγονται· καὶ ὁ ὀυρανὸς ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἑηροτατός τε ἀν καὶ ἱκμάδα οὖδε ἐλαχί-

5 στην ἔχων, ἐντονωτάτας σφίσι τας τοξείας πλή

1 κοντοφόροι Val., ἀκοντοφόροι L.
2 ἀρίστη Bk., βαρίστη L. 3 ὁ added by R. Steph.
4 ἐντονωτάτας Reim. from Xiph., ἐντονωτάτα L.

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against us, whenever they become involved in them. B.C. 54
Now about their race and their country and their peculiar customs many have written, and I have no intention of describing them. But I will describe their equipment of arms and their method of warfare; for the examination of these details properly concerns the present narrative, since it has come to a point where this knowledge is needed. The Parthians make no use of a shield, but their forces consist of mounted archers and pikemen, mostly in full armour. Their infantry is small, made up of the weaker men; but even these are all archers. They practise from boyhood, and the climate and the land combine to aid both horsemanship and archery. The land, being for the most part level, is excellent for raising horses and very suitable for riding about on horse-back; at any rate, even in war they lead about whole droves of horses, so that they can use different ones at different times, can ride up suddenly from a distance and also retire to a distance speedily; and the atmosphere there, which is very dry and does not contain the least moisture, keeps their bow-strings tense, except in the dead of winter. For that reason they make no campaigns anywhere during that season; but the rest of the year they are almost invincible in their own country and in any that has similar characteristics. For by long experience they can endure the sun’s heat, which is very scorching, and they have discovered many remedies for the dearth of drinking-water and the difficulty of securing it, so that for this reason also they can
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ἔσβάλλοντας ἀμώνεσθαι. ἔξω γὰρ ἐκείνης ύπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μάχαις μὲν τισι καὶ καταδρομαῖς ἀιφυρίδιος ἢδη ποτὲ ἵσχυσαν τι, πολεμήσαι δὲ τισιν ἀπαντὴ καὶ 1 διαρκῶς οὐ δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτριωτάτην σφίσθαι καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατάστασιν ἀπαρτώντες, 2 καὶ μήτε σῖτου μήτε μισθοφορᾶς παρασκευὴν 3 ποιούμενοι.

16 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἔστών, ἐσβαλλόντος 4 δὲ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τοῦ Κράσσου ὁσπέρ εὐρηται, ὁ Ὀρῶδης ἐπεμψε μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρέσβεις, τῆς τε ἐσβολῆς αἰτιώμενος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου πυνθανόμενος, ἐπεμψε δὲ πρὸς τε τὰ 5 ἐαλακότα τὰ τε μεθεστηκότα

2 Σουρῆναν σὺν στρατῷ αὐτῶς γὰρ τῇ ᾽Αρμενίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Τιγράνου ποτὲ γενομένη διενεκεῖτο ἐπιστρατεύσαι, ὡς ὁ Ὅρταβάζης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς ὁ τότε αὐτῆς βασιλείων μηδεμίαν τοῖς ῾Ῥωμαίοις, ἄτε καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας δεδιώς, βοήθειαν

3 πέμψῃ. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος ἐκεῖνῳ τε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ (ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, πλεῖστον τὸ ᾽Ελληνικὸν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσα) τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου ἐρείν ἐφῆ καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Πάρθων τις ἐς τὴν χείρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῖς τῆς ἑτέρας δακτύλιοις κρούσας εἶπεν ὅτι “θᾶσσον ἐντεῦθεν τρῖχες ἀνα- 

φύσονται 6 ἣ σὺ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ γενήσῃ.”

17 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ χειμῶν ἐν ὁ ᾽Ιναιός τε Καλοῦνοις 7

1 ἀπαντῇ καὶ Βκ., ἀπαντάκα L.
2 ἀπαρτώντες Βκ., ἀπαρτώνται L.
3 μισθοφορᾶς παρασκευὴν Reim., μισθοφόρα σκεύη L.
4 ἐσβαλλόντος R. Steph., ἐσβάλλοντος L.
5 τὰ added by Leuncl.
6 ἀναφύσονται Βκ., ἀναφύσουσι L.
7 Καλοῦνοις H. Steph., καλοῦνοις L.
BOOK XL

easily repel the invaders of their land. Outside of this district beyond the Euphrates they have once or twice gained some success in pitched battles and in sudden incursions, but they cannot wage an offensive war with any nation continuously and without pause, both because they encounter an entirely different condition of land and sky and because they do not lay in supplies of food or pay. Such is the Parthian state.

When Crassus had invaded Mesopotamia, as has been stated, Orodes sent envoys to him in Syria to censure him for the invasion and to ask the causes of the war; at the same time he sent Surenas with an army to the captured and revolted districts. For he had it in mind to lead an expedition in person against that part of Armenia which had once belonged to Tigranes, in order that Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, the king of the land at that time, should send no assistance to the Romans through fear for his own land. Now Crassus said that he would tell him in Seleucia the causes of the war; this is a city in Mesopotamia which even at the present day has a very large Greek population. And one of the Parthians, striking the palm of his left hand with the fingers of the other, exclaimed: "Sooner will hair grow here than you shall reach Seleucia."

And when the winter set in, in which Gnaeus
καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπάτευσαν ἐνέστη, ἕνα ἔστη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ βύαι καὶ λύκοι ὠφθησαν, οἵ τε κύνες περιφοιτήτων ὄρυσσον, καὶ ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν
2 ὕδρωσε τὰ δὲ ἐκεραυνώθη, τὰς τε ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν τι φιλονεικία, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστων ὕπο τοῖς ὅρνιθων καὶ ὑπὸ δισσημών μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μὴν ἀπεδείξαν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνα μὲν οὐδὲν σαφὲς διδήλου ἐστὶν τελευτῆσαι· τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἑταρατ-τετο καὶ οἱ Γαλάται ἐκνηθήσαν αὖθις, πρὸς τε τοὺς Πάρθους οὐδ' εἰδότες πῶς ὅπως ἀνυπολογίζεν-3 σαν· τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ Ζεύγμα (οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας τὸ χωρίον ἔκεινο, ὅτι ταύτῃ ἐπεραιώθη, κέκληται) διαβαίνοντι καὶ προφανῆ καὶ εὐσύμβολα συνηνέχθη. ὁ γὰρ ἀετός ὠνομασμένος (ἐστὶν δὲ νέως μικρός, καὶ εἰν αὐτῷ ἀετός χρυσός, εὐνιδρυται· καθὸ καταταται τε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατευόμενοι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐκ τῶν χειμάδων, πλὴν
18 εἰ ποι σύμπας οἱ στρατὸς ἐξίοι, κινεῖται· καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ, εἰς ὅξιν τῶν στύρακα ἀπηγμένον ὅστε καὶ ἐν τῷ δάπεδῳ καταπήρνησθαι, φέρεται)—τούτων οὖν τῶν ἀετῶν εἰς οὐκ ἱθέλησε τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτῷ τότε συνδιαβῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐνέσχητο ὅσπερ ἐμπεθυκός, πρὶν δὴ πολλοὶ
3 περιστάντες βία τούτῳ ἀνέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἄκων ἐπηκολούθησε, σημεῖον δὲ τῶν μεγάλων, τῶν τοῖς ἱστίοις ἑοικότων καὶ φοινικὰ γράμματα

1 ἐνέστη supplied by Rk., space of some eight letters left in L. 2 ἐκνιχώντο Polak, ἡκισόντο L. 3 εἰδότες τω δως Bs., εἰδότες ... τῶς L. 4 μακροῦ Leuncl., from Xiph., μικροῦ L.

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BOOK XL

Calvinus and Valerius Messalla became consuls, many portents occurred even in Rome itself. Owls and wolves were seen, the dogs prowled about and whined, some sacred statues exuded sweat and others were struck by lightning. The offices, partly through rivalry but chiefly by reason of the omens and portents, were with difficulty filled at last in the seventh month. Those signs, however, gave no clear indication as to what the event would be; for affairs in the city were in a turmoil, the Gauls had risen again, and, though the Romans knew not how as yet, they had become involved in war with the Parthians. But to Crassus signs that were both evident and easy to interpret appeared as he was crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, a place so called from the campaign of Alexander, because he crossed at this point. One portent had to do with the so-called “eagle” of the army. It is a small shrine and in it perches a golden eagle. It is found in all the enrolled legions, and it is never moved from the winter-quarters unless the whole army takes the field; one man carries it on a long shaft, which ends in a sharp spike so that it can be set firmly in the ground. Now one of these eagles was unwilling to join him in his passage of the Euphrates at that time, but stuck fast in the earth as if rooted there, until many took their places around it and pulled it out by force, so that it accompanied them quite reluctantly. But one of the large flags, that resemble sails, with purple letters upon them to
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ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς¹ πρὸς δηλωσι τοῦ τε στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐχόντων, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας περιτραπένι ἐνέπεσε. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ὑντὸς σφοδροῦ ἐγένετο. 4 ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἱσομήκη ὁι συντε-μῶν, ὅπως βραχύτερα καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ βεβαιώ-τερα φέρειν εἰ, προσεπηύξησε τὰ τέρατα. καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάσει τοσαύτη τοῖς στρατιώταις περιεχύθη ὡστε περὶ τε ἀλλήλους αὐτοὺς σφαλήραι καὶ μηδὲν τῆς πολεμίας, πρὶν ἐπιβιβαίωσεν αὐτῆς, ἰδείν καὶ τὰ δια-βατήρια τὰ τε ἀπόβαθρὰ σφια δυσχερέστατά ἐγένετο. κὰν τούτῳ ἀνεμὸς τε πολὺς ἐπέπεσε καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατέσκηψαν, ἢ τε γέφυρα, πρὶν πάντας αὐτοὺς διελθεῖν, διελύθη. καὶ ἤν γὰρ τὰ γυγνόμενα ὅλα² πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν πάνω ἀγωνόμων τε καὶ ἀσυνέτων ἐκδιδάξαι ὅτι κακῶς ἀπαλλάξουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσονται, φόβος καὶ κατήφεια ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένετο δεινή. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος παρα-μυθούμενος αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὅτι ὃς καταπλήττεσθε, ἀνδρεῖς στρατιῶταις, εἰ τε γέφυρα διέφθαρται, μηδὲ οἰέσθε ἐκ τοῦτον χαλέπτον τι ἐπισημαίνεσθαι. 19 ἡ γὰρ ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπομνυμένος λέγω ὅτι δι' Ἀρμε-νίας τὴν ἐπάνων ποιήσασθαι ἐγνωκα." ἤκ μὲν δὴ ὡς τοῦτον ἐθάρσυνε, νῦν δὲ προσεπειπὼν τινὰ ἔφη, μέγα ἀναβοήτας, "θαρσείτε οὖν γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐνευθεῖα ἐπανηξεί." ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τούθ’ οἱ στρατιῶται οἰωνόν τε σφίσσων οὐδενός τῶν ἄλλων ἢττω γεγονέναι ενόμισαν καὶ ἐσ ἀθυμάν πλεῖον κατέπεσον, ὡστε μηδὲν ἔτι μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ παραινέσεων φρονίσας, δι' ὁν τόν τε βάρβαρον

¹ εἰς αὐτοῖς Rk., εἰς αὐτῆς L. ² ola Oddey, oI L.
BOOK XL

distinguish the army and its commander-in-chief, n.c. 53
was overturned and fell from the bridge into the river. This happened in the midst of a violent wind. Then Crassus had the others of equal length cut down, so they might be shorter and hence steadier to carry; but he only increased the prodigies. For at the very time of crossing the river so great a fog enveloped the soldiers that they fell over one another and could see nothing of the enemy's country until they set foot upon it; and the sacrifices both for crossing and for landing proved most unfavourable. Meanwhile a great wind burst upon them, bolts of lightning fell, and the bridge collapsed before they had all passed over. The occurrences were such that any one, even the most indifferent and un instructed, would interpret them to mean that they would fare badly and not return; hence there was great fear and dejection in the army. Now Crassus, trying to encourage them, said: "Be not alarmed, soldiers, because the bridge has been destroyed nor think because of this that any disaster is portended. For I declare to you upon oath that I have decided to make my return march through Armenia." By this he would have emboldened them, had he not added in a loud voice the words: "Be of good cheer; for none of us shall come back this way." When they heard this, the soldiers deemed that it had been an omen for them as great as the others, and they fell into greater discouragement; and so it was that they paid no heed to the remainder of his exhortation, in which he belittled
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ἐφάνετο καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεκωμάζει, χρή-4 ματά τε αὐτοῦς ἐδίδον καὶ γέρα ἐπηγγέλλετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς εἴποντο, καὶ οὔτε ἀντείπειν οἱ οὐδεὶς οὔτ’ ἀντέπραξε, τάχα μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἡδυ δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ μήτε τι βουλεύσαι μήτε πρά-ξαι σωτήριον δυνάμενοι. πάντα γοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, καθάπερ ὑπὸ δαιμονίου τινὸς κατακεκριμένοι, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσφάλλοντο.

20 Μέγιστν δὲ ὅμως αὐτούς ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς ο̣ ὁ Ὀρ-ροηνὸς ἐλυμήνατο· ἐνσπονδὸς γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις έπι τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενοι ἀνθέλετο τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀλχανδόνιος ὁ Ἀράβιος ἐποίησε· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἄει μεθί-2 στατο. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἀπέστη, καὶ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ὅπου δυσφύλακτον ἦν· ὁ δ’ ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς ἐφρόνει μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πάρθου, ἐπιλάττετο δὲ τῷ Κράσσωνοι φιλικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ χρήματα τε ἀφείδοις αὐτῷ ἀνήλισκε, καὶ τὰ τε βουλεύματα αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐμάνθανε καὶ ἐκεῖνο διήγγελλε, καὶ προσέτει εἰ μὲν τι χρηστῶν σφόν ἦν, ἀπέτρεπεν

3 αὐτόν, εἰ δ’ ἀσύμφορον, ἐπέστρεψε· καὶ δὴ καὶ τοιόῦτε τι τελευτῶν ἔπραξε. τοῦ γὰρ Κράσσου πρὸς Σελευκείαν ὥρμησαι διανοούμενον, οὕτω ἐκεῖσθε τε ἀσφαλῶς παρὰ τὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ τε στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις κομι-σθῆναι, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν (προσποιήσεσθαι· γὰρ σφᾶς ἀτε καὶ Ἑλληνας ραδίως ἠλπίζεν) ἐπὶ

4 Κτησιφῶντα μὴ χαλέπως περαιωθῆναι, τοῦτοι μὲν ὡς καὶ χρονίου ἐσομένου ἀμελήσαι αὐτῶν ἐποίησε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σούρηνα ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς καὶ μετ’ ὅλην δὲν τε συμμίξατε ἐπεισέ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο

1 Ἀβγαρὸς Bs., Ἀβγαρός L (here and in following chapters).
BOOK XL

the barbarian and glorified the Roman state, offered them money and announced prizes for valour. Still, even as it was, they followed and no one said a word or did anything to oppose him, partly, perhaps, out of regard for the law, but also because by this time they were terrified and could neither plan nor carry out any measures of safety. At any rate, in all else that they did also, as if predestined to ruin by some divinity, they were helpless in both mind and body.

Nevertheless, the greatest injury was done them by Abgarus of Osroène. For he had pledged himself to peace with the Romans in the time of Pompey, but now chose the side of the barbarians. The same was done by Alchaudonius, the Arabian, who always attached himself to the stronger party. The latter, however, revolted openly, and hence was not hard to guard against; but Abgarus, while favouring the Parthian cause, pretended to be well disposed toward Crassus. He spent money for him unsparingly, learned all his plans and reported them to the foe, and further, if any of them was advantageous for the Romans, he tried to divert him from it, but if disadvantageous, urged him forward. At last he was responsible for the following occurrence. Crassus was intending to advance to Seleucia so as to reach there safely with his army and provisions by proceeding along the banks of the Euphrates and on its stream; accompanied then by the people of that city, whom he hoped to win over easily, because they were Greeks, he would cross without difficulty to Ctesiphon. Abgarus caused him to give up this course, on the ground that it would take a long time, and persuaded him to assail Surenas, because the latter was near by and had only a few men. Then,
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παρασκευάσας τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀπόληται τὸν δ’ ὡς κρατήσῃ 1 (συνεχῶς γὰρ προφάσει κατα-
σκοπῆς τῷ Σουρῆνα συνεγύγνετο), ἔξηγαγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφρονιστοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἔτοιμον,
καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἑργῳ συνεπέθετο.

2 Ἐπράξθη δὲ ὁδε. οἱ Πάρθοι τὸ πλείον τοῦ
στρατοῦ σφῶν ἀποκρύψαντες (ἡ γὰρ 2 χώρα ἀνώ-
μαλὸς τε πη ἡν καὶ δενδρα εἰκεν) ἀπήντησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἵδιν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος, οὐκ ἐκεῖ-
νος ἀλλ’ ὁ νεώτερος (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἐκ τῆς

3 Γαλατίας παρῆν), καὶ καταφρονήσας σφῶν ὡς
καὶ μόνων, ἀντεξῆγαγε τῷ ἑπτικῷ, καὶ τραπε-
μένους ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδίωκων ὡς καὶ κρατῶν
ἀπήχθη 3 πολὺ ἀπὸ 4 τῆς φάλαιγγος, κάνταυθα

22 περιστοιχεῖσθεὶς κατεκόπη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου
οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἀπετράποντο μέν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ προθύμως τοῖς Πάρθοις, ὡς καὶ τμωρή-
σοντες αὐτῷ, συνέμιξαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἄξιον σφῶν
οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς
μάχης αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀβγάρου

2 ἐπιβουλευθέντες, ἐποίησαν. εἰτε γὰρ συνασπίζαι
γνώσαν 5 ὡς καὶ τῇ πυκνότητι τῆς τάξεώς σφῶν
τὰ τοξεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκφευξόμενοι, προσπίπτοντες
σφισὶν οἱ κοντοφόροι βύμη τοὺς μὲν κατέβαλλον,
τοὺς δὲ πάντως γοῦν ἐσκεδάνυσαν· εἰτε καὶ δια-
σταίειν ὅπως τούτῳ γε ἐκκλίνοιεν, 6 ἐτοξεῦντον.

3 κἂν τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς προσελά-
σεως τῶν κοντοφόρων ἐκπληττόμενοι ἔθνησκον,
πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπτέων ἐγκαταλαμβανό-

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1 κρατήσῃ R. Steph., κρατήσει L.
2 γὰρ Rk., τε L. 3 ἀπήχθη Turn., ὡς L.
3 ἀπὸ Xyl., ὡς L. 5 γνώσαν Bk., ἐγνώσαν L.
4 ἐκκλίνοιεν H. Steph., ἐκκλίνειεν L.
BOOK XL

when he had arranged matters so that the invader should perish and the other should conquer (for he was continually in the company of Surenas, on the pretext of spying), he led out the Romans in their heedlessness to what he represented as a victory in their very hands, and in the midst of the action joined in the attack against them.

It came about in this way. The Parthians confronted the Romans with most of their army hidden; for the ground was uneven in spots and wooded. Upon seeing them Crassus—not the commander, but the younger Crassus, who had come to his father from Gaul—felt scornful of them, since he supposed them to be alone, and so led out his cavalry against them, and when they turned purposely to flight, pursued them, thinking the victory was his; thus he was drawn far away from the main army, and was then surrounded and cut down. When this had taken place, the Roman infantry did not turn back, but valiantly joined battle with the Parthians to avenge his death. Yet they accomplished nothing worthy of themselves because of the enemy’s numbers and tactics, and particularly because Abgarus was plotting against them. For if they decided to lock shields for the purpose of avoiding the arrows by the closeness of their array, the pikemen were upon them with a rush, striking down some, and at least scattering the others; and if they extended their ranks to avoid this, they would be struck with the arrows. Hereupon many died from fright at the very charge of the pikemen, and many perished hemmed in by

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mevnoi ἐβθέαροντο· ἀλλοι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀνετρέποντο

4 ἢ καὶ ἀναπειρόμενοι ἐφέροντο. τά τε βέλη καὶ
πυκνὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἄμα αὐτοῖς ἐμπίπτοντα
συχνοὺς μὲν καιρίαντι πληγή κατέβαλλε, συχνοὺς
δὲ ἀπομάχους εἰργάζετο, πᾶσι δὲ ἀσχολίαν ἔνε-
ποίετε· ἐς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς σφων ἐσπετο-
μενα καὶ πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ τε ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν
καὶ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων χωροῦντα τὴν τε προφυλακὴν
αὐτῶν ἀφηρεῖτο, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαί σφας πρὸς τὸ
5 ἀεὶ τυρώσκοιν ἰνάγκαζεν, ὡστε ἐν ὧ τις τὸξευμα
ἐφυλάττετο ἢ καὶ ἐμπαγέν ἐξηρεῖτο, πλειώ
τραύματα ἀλλὰ ἐπ’ ἀλλοίς ἐλάμβανε. κὰκ τού-
τοι ἄπορον μὲν σφισὶ κινηθῆναι, ἄπορον δὲ καὶ
ἀτρεμίζειν ἦν· οὐτε γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν οὐδέτερον αὐ-
τοῖς εἰχε, καὶ τὸν ὄλθρον ἀμφότερα ἐπέφερε, τὸ
μὲν ὦτι οὐκ ἐδύναντο, τὸ δὲ ὦτι ῥάον ἐτυτρώ-
σκοιν.

23 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔως ἐτί πρὸς μόνους τοὺς
ἐμφανεῖς πολεμίους ἐμάχοντο, ἐπασχον· ὦ γὰρ
Ἄβγαρος ὦν ἐνθὺς αὐτοῖς ἑπεχείρησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
καὶ ἑκεῖνοι ἐπεθέτο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ὁρρηνοὶ αὐτοί
tε ὑπισθεν· ἐς τά γυμνά ἀπεστραμμένους σφαῖς
ἐπαίου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥάον φονεύειν παρεῖχον.
τὴν γὰρ τάξιν, ὅπως ἀντιπρόσωποι αὐτοῖς γένον-
tαι, ἐξελέξαντες ὑπισθεν σφῶν τοὺς Πάρθους
ἐποιήσαντο. αὐθίς τε οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετεστρά-

1 ἀνετρέποντο H. Steph., ἀνετάριστον L.
2 καιρία Xyl., κεραλαί L. 3 κατέβαλλε Xyl., ἀπέβαλλε L.
4 γυμνοῦσθαί Leuncl., γυμνοὺς τε L.
5 τυρώσκον Rk., τυρώσκομένου L.
6 ἐξηρεῖτο Rk., ἐξηρεῖτο L. 7 ἐπ’ ἀλλο ᪍ddey, ἐν πολλοῖς L.
8 ἐδύναντο R. Steph., ἐδύναντο L. 9 ἔως St., ὡς L.
10 Εἴτε Xyl., Εἴτε L. 11 πολεμίους Leuncl., πολέμους L.
12 ἀπεστραμμένους Rk., ἀπεστραμμένους L.
the horsemen. Others were knocked over by the pikes or were carried off transfixed. The missiles falling thick upon them from all sides at once struck down many by a mortal blow, rendered many useless for battle, and caused distress to all. They flew into their eyes and pierced their hands and all the other parts of their body and, penetrating their armour, deprived them of their protection and compelled them to expose themselves to each new missile. Thus, while a man was guarding against arrows or pulling out one that had stuck fast he received more wounds, one after another. Consequently it was impracticable for them to move, and impracticable to remain at rest. Neither course afforded them safety but each was fraught with destruction, the one because it was out of their power, and the other because they were then more easily wounded.

This was what they suffered while they were fighting only against the enemies in sight; for Abgarus did not immediately make his attempt upon them. But when he, too, attacked, thereupon the Osroëni themselves assailed the Romans on their exposed rear, since they were facing the other way, and also rendered them easier for the others to slaughter. For the Romans, in altering their formation, so as to be facing them, put the Parthians behind them. Again they wheeled round to face the Parthians,
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φησαν, καὶ πάλιν αὐθις πρὸς ἑκεῖνους, εἶτα πρὸς
tούτους. καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον μᾶλλον ἐπιταραχθέντες,
ἀτε καὶ συνεχῶς δεύρο κάκεισε μεθυστάμενοι καὶ
πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ τιτρώσκον ἀποβλέπειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι,
tοῖς τε χέφει τοῖς σφετέροις περιέπεπτον καὶ
3 πολλοὶ καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο. τέλος δὲ ἔς
στενὸν οὖτω κατεκλείσθησαν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τῶν
πολεμῶν ἀεὶ σφισὶ πανταχόθεν ἀμα προσπιτῶν-
tων, ταῖς τῶν παραστατῶν ἀσπίσι ὑπὲρ γνωσῶν
σφῶν προστέλλειν, ὡστε μὴ δὲ κινηθῆναι ἔτι δυνη-
θήναι. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ τὴν στάσιν βεβαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πλῆθους τῶν νεκρῶν εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἑκεῖνος
4 ἀνετρέπτοντο. τὸ τε καῦμα καὶ τὸ δίψος (μεσοῦν-
tός τε γὰρ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ταῦτ᾽
ἐγύγνετο) καὶ ὁ κονιορτὸς (ὅπως γὰρ ὃτι πλεῖστος
αἴροιτο, πάντες σφῆς οἱ βάρβαροι περιίππευνον)
δεινῶς τοὺς λουτοῦς συνήρει, καὶ συχνῶς καὶ ὑπὸ
24 τούτων ἀτρωτῶν ἔπεσον. καὶ πασοῦδι ἀπώλοντο,
eἰ μὴ οὐ τε κοντοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν ἀπεστρά-
φησαν οἱ δὲ ἐκλάσθησαν, καὶ αἱ νεωρεῖ τῇ συνεχείᾳ
τῆς βολῆς ἔρραγκαν, τά τε βέλη ἐξετοξεύθη, καὶ
τὰ εἶφη πάντα ἀπημβλύνθη, τό τε μέγιστον οἱ
2 ἀνδρεῖς αὐτοῖς φοιεύοντες ἐξέκαμον. οὔτω γὰρ δὴ
(καὶ γὰρ 1 νῦς ἐγύγνετο καὶ πόρρω ποι ἀφιππεύσαι
αὐτοὺς ἔχρην) ἀπεχώρησαν· οὔδέποτε γὰρ πλη-
σιόν οὖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις στρατοπεδεύοντα
διὰ τὸ μηδεμα ταφρείς χρῆσαι καὶ διὰ τὸ, ἃν
τις ἐπέλθη σφίσιν ἐν τῷ σκότω, 2 ἀδύνατοι μὲν τῇ
ἵππῳ ἀδύνατο δὲ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ ἱσχυρισάσθαι
3 εἰναι. οὐ μένωτοι καὶ ξωντά τινα τῶν Ῥωμαίων
tόθ᾽ εἴλου· ἐστῶτάς τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις

1 γὰρ added by Reim. 2 σκότῳ Xyl., σκότωι L.

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then back again to face the Osroëni, then to face the Parthians once more. Thrown into still greater confusion by this course, because they were continually turning this way and that and were forced to face the enemy that was wounding them at the time, they fell upon their own swords and many were even killed by their comrades. Finally, as the enemy continually assaulted them from all sides at once, and they were compelled to protect their exposed parts by the shields of those who stood beside them, they were shut up in so narrow a place that they could no longer move. Indeed, they could not even get a sure footing by reason of the number of corpses, but kept falling over them. The heat and thirst (it was midsummer and this action took place at noon) and the dust, of which the barbarians raised as much as possible by all riding around them, told fearfully upon the survivors, and many succumbed from these causes, even though unwounded. And the Romans would have perished utterly, but for the fact that some of the pikes of the barbarians were bent and others were broken, while the bowstrings snapped under the constant shooting, the missiles were exhausted, the swords all blunted, and, most of all, that the men themselves grew weary of the slaughter. Under these conditions, then, the assailants retired, for night was coming on and they were obliged to ride off to a distance. For they never encamp near even the weakest forces, because they use no intrenchments, and because, if any one attacks them in the darkness, they are unable to employ their cavalry or their archery to advantage. However, they captured no Roman alive at that time; for seeing them standing
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ὄρωντες, καὶ μήτε τινὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπορριπτοῦντα μήτ' αὐτὸν φεύγοντα αἰσθανόμενοι, ἵσχυειν τε ἔτι σφᾶς ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβῆσθαι.

25 Ὁὔτως ὦ τε Κράσσος καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι γε ἡδυνήθησαν ἐς τὰς Κάρρας ὁρμήσαν, βεβαιοῦσι σφίσιν ὕπο τῶν καταμενώντων ἔνδον Ῥωμαίων τηρηθέσαις. πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τετρωμένων μήτε βαδίσαι οἶοι τε ὄντες μήτ' ὀχυμάτων εὐποροῦντες ἢ καὶ ποδηγέτας ἔχοντες (ἀγαπητὸς γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ έαυτοῦ ἀνέφερον) κατὰ χώραν ἐμείναν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἢ καὶ ἐαυτοῦ καταχρησάμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐάλωσαν τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ καὶ τῶν διαδεδρακότων συχνὸι μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ προλύτρων σφᾶς τῶν σωμάτων, συχνὸι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐφθάρμεθαν, θεραπεῖας παραχρῆμα ἀκριβῶς μὴ δυνηθέντες τυχεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Κράσσος ἀθυμήσας οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσφαλῶς έθ.thresholds ὑπομείναι δυνηθέσθαι ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλὰ δρασμὸν εὕθυς ἐβουλεύσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἶον τε ἦν αὐτῷ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξιόντι μὴ οὐ καταφώρῃ γενέσθαι, ἐπε- χείρησε μὲν νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι, προδοθεὶς δὲ ύπο τῆς σελήνης, πανσελήνου οὕσης, οὐκ ἔλαβεν.  

4 προσεμειώναν τε οὖν μέχρι τῶν ἀσελήνων νυκτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἀραντες δὴ, οἱ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ ἐν ἀλυτρίᾳ καὶ προσέτι καὶ πολεμίᾳ γῆ φόβῳ τε ἵσχυρῷ, ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλοντες ἡμέρας γενομένης ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐσ τῆς Συρλαν

1 Κάρπας Χιλ., ἀκρας Λ.
2 ἐάλωσαν τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ Τυρν., ἐάλων τῇ ἑτέραι Λ.
3 διαδεδρακότων Πολακ, ἐσκαλκότων Λ.
4 προλύτρων Τυρν., προελίσκον Λ.
5 καταφώρῃ Η. Στεφ., καταφώρει Λ.
6 ὰ ṝ Ρειμ., ὀ ῃ Λ.
7 ἵσχυρῷ Ρ. Στεφ., ἵσχυρῶς Λ.
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upright in their armour and perceiving that no one either threw away his weapons or fled, they supposed they still had some strength, and feared to lay hold of them.

So Crassus and all the rest who could set out for Carrhae, which had been kept loyal to them by the Romans who remained behind within the walls. But many of the wounded remained on the field, being unable to walk and lacking vehicles or even guides, since the others had been glad enough merely to drag themselves away. Some of them died of their wounds or by making away with themselves, and others were captured the next day. And of those who had escaped many perished on the road, as their strength gave out, and many later because they were unable to obtain proper care immediately. For Crassus, in his discouragement, believed he could not hold out safely even in the city any longer, but planned flight at once. And since it was impossible for him to go out by day without being detected, he undertook to escape by night, but failed to secure secrecy, being betrayed by the moon, which was at its full. The Romans accordingly waited for moonless nights, and setting out thus, in darkness and in a land at once strange and hostile, and in overpowering fear, they became scattered. And some were caught when it became day and lost their lives, others got
μετὰ Κασσίου Δονγίνου τοῦ ταμίου διεσώθησαν. 5 ἄλλοι τῶν ὅρων μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κράσσου λαβόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ δὴ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν φευξόμενοι.

26 Γνωσὶ δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Σουρήνας, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ μεταστάντες ποι αὐθίς σφισὶ προσπολεμῶσι, προσβαλεὶν μὲν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἄφιντα ὅντα οὐκ ἦθέλησεν (ὁπλῖται τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ εξ ὑπερδεξίων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τι καὶ 1 ἀπονοίαι ὑπ' ἀπογνώσεως ἔχοντες, οὐ ράδιοι προσμύξαι οἱ ἐγένοντο), πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς στοινδᾶς δηθέν σφας προκαλούμενος, ἐφ' ὃ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου πάσαν ἐκλίπωσι. 2 καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κράσσος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας ἐπίστευεν· ἐν τε γὰρ ἀκμῇ τοῦ δεός ὃν καὶ ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τῆς τε ἱδίας ᾃ καὶ τῆς δημοσίας συμφορᾶς τεθολωμένος, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν τε ὄδόν ὡς πολλήν καὶ τραχεῖαν ὄκνούντας καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην φοβομένους ὅρων, 3 οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων προιδέσθαι ἡδυνήθη. ἔτοιμον 3 οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς στοινδᾶς γενομένου ὁ Σουρήνας οὐκ ἦθέλησε δι' ἐτέρων σπείρασθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸν μετ' ὁλίγων ἀπολαβῶν συλλάβῃ, αὐτῷ

4 ἐκείνῳ ἐφ' ἑφ' βουλεσθαί ἐς λόγους ἐλθείν. κακὸν τοῦτο δοξάν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ μεταχειμένῳ 4 μετ' ἵσων ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν συμβαλεῖν ἄλληλοις, οὗ τοῦ Κράσσου ἐς τὸ ὅμαλν ὑποκατέβη, καὶ ὁ Σουρήνας ὑπέπον αὐτῷ δῶρον, ἵνα δὴ θάσσον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄφικηται, ἐπεμψε. καὶ οὐτό διαμέλλοντα τὸν Κράσσου, καὶ βουλευόμενον ὅ τι ποιήσῃ, συναρ-

1 kal Reim., καὶ δ' L.  2 ἐκλίπωσι Bk., ἐκλίπωσι L.  
3 ἔτοιμον R. Steph., ἔτοιμος L.  
4 μεταχειμένος Turn., μεταχειμένος L.
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safely away to Syria in the company of Cassius Longinus, the quaestor, and still others, with Crassus himself, gained the mountains and prepared to escape through them into Armenia.

Surenas, learning this, was afraid that if they should escape anywhere they might make war on them again, but still he was unwilling to assail them on the higher ground, which was inaccessible to horses; for as they were heavy-armed men, fighting from higher ground, and felt also a touch of frenzy because of despair, contending with them was not easy. So he sent to them, inviting them to agree to a truce on condition of their abandoning all territory east of the Euphrates; and Crassus, without hesitation, trusted him. For he was in the very extremity of fear, and was distraught by the terror of the calamity that had befallen both himself and the state; and seeing, moreover, that the soldiers shrank from the journey, which they thought long and arduous, and that they feared Orodes, he was unable to foresee anything that he ought. Now when he declared himself ready for the truce, Surenas refused to negotiate it through others, but in order to get him off with only a few followers and seize him, he said that he wished to hold a conference with the commander personally. Thereupon they decided to meet each other in the space between the two armies with an equal number of men from each side. So Crassus descended to the level ground and Surenas sent him a present of a horse, to make sure of his coming to him more quickly; and while Crassus even then delayed and considered what he should
πάσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι βλα ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἀνέβαλον. ¹ καὶ τοῦτο ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι αὐτοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τε κεῖράς σφισι ἦλθον, καὶ τέως μὲν ἱσοπαλεῖς ἐγένοντο, ἐπειτα δὲ προσβοηθησάντων τινῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπεκράτησαν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἐν τῇ πέδιῳ ὄντες καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένοι ἐφθησαν τοὺς ἀνὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἀμύναντες σφισι. καὶ οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι ἐπέσον καὶ ὁ Κράσσος, εἰτ' ὅσω ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων τινὸς ὅπως μὴ ξυγνηθῇ, εἰτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπειδῆ κακῶς ἐτέρωτο, ἐσφάγη. ² καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τούτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν ἐς τὸ στόμα οἱ Πάρθοι, ὡς γε τινὲς λέγουσιν, ἐνέτηξαν ἐπισκώπτοντες· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τοιο πολυχρήματος ὃν, ἐσπονδάκει ὅσε καὶ ³ ὡς πένητας οἰκείας τοὺς μὴ δυναμενούς στρατόπεδον ἐκ καταλόγου οὐκοθέν θρέψαι· ⁴ τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιώτων τὸ μὲν πλεῖον διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀπέφυγε, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔδωλο.

28 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι τότε μὲν οὐ περαιτέρω τοῦ Εὐφράτου προεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀνεκτήσατο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Σύριαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν πλῆθει τις, ὡς μὴτε στρατηγὸν μὴ στρατιώτας ἔχουσαν, ἐνέβαλον· ἀφ' οὔτε Κάσσιος Ῥ. Στεφ., ἀρδίως αὐτοῦς, ἀτε μὴ πολ.- λοῦς ὄντας, ἀπεσατό. οὕτως γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς Κάρραις τῶν τε στρατιώτων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῶν ἤγεμονιάν μίσει τοῦ Κράσσου διδόντων, καὶ

¹ ἀνέβαλον Xyl., ἀνέλαβον L.
² ὡστε καὶ supplied by Leuncl. (ὡςτε) and Xyl. (ὡς καὶ).
³ θρέψαι v. Herw., θρέψειν L.
⁴ Κάσσιος R. Steph., from Xiph., κράσσος L., and so just below.
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do, the barbarians took him forcibly and threw him on the horse. Meanwhile the Romans also laid hold of him, came to blows with the others, and for a time held their own; then aid came to the barbarians, and they prevailed; for their forces, which were in the plain and had been made ready beforehand brought help to their men before the Romans on the high ground could to theirs. And not only the others fell, but Crassus also was slain, either by one of his own men to prevent his capture alive, or by the enemy because he was badly wounded. This was his end. And the Parthians, as some say, poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men. Of the soldiers the majority escaped through the mountains to friendly territory, but a part fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Parthians at this time did not advance beyond the Euphrates, but won back the whole country east of it. Later they also invaded Syria, though not in great numbers, because the province had neither general nor soldiers; and for this reason Cassius easily thrust them out, since they were not many in number. For when at Carrhae the soldiers through hatred of Crassus had offered him the supreme command over themselves, and Crassus himself on
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προσέτι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἔθελοντι διὰ τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος ἐπιτρέποντος, οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη τῆς Συρίας ἐν τῇ πάροντι καὶ 3 μετὰ ταύτα προέστη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ χειρὶ αὐθεὶς μείζονεν. Πακόρων μὲν ὄνόματι, τοῦ νικῶν τοῦ Ὄρωδου, ἔργον δὲ (παῖς γὰρ ἔτι ἐκείνος ἦν) Ὅρσάκου ἡγουμένου σφίσιν, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἴηθον, 4 πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι. καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καταστρέψεσθαι, 2 μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄξιομάχοι τινὶ δυνάμει παρόντων, καὶ τῶν δήμων τῇ τε ἐκείνων δεσποτείᾳ ἀρχηγοῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄτε καὶ γείτονας καὶ συνήθεις σφίσιν δύναται 29 ἀποκλίνοντων. ἀμαρτώντες δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας (ὅ τε γὰρ Κάσσιος ἱσχυρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀδύνατοι πολιορκησάντας τι ήσαν) ἐπ’ Ἀντι- γόνιαν ἐτράποντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε προάστειον αὐτῆς σύμφωνον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν, ἀλλ’ 2 οὐδὲ ἡδυνήθησαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσελάσαι, ἐνενόησαν μὲν τὰ τε δένδρα κόψαι καὶ τὸ χωρίον πᾶν ψιλώσαι, ὅπως καὶ θαρσοῦντος καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τῇ πόλει προσμέλωσαι, μὴ δυνηθέντες δέ (ὅ τε γὰρ πόνος πολὺς ἐγύρνητο καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἄλλως ἀνάλυτο, ὁ τε Κάσσιος τοὺς ἀποσκεδασμένους σφῶν ἔλυπε) ἀπανέστησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ άλλο τε ἐπιστρατεύ- 3 σόντες. 3 καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Κάσσιος ἐς τὴν ὀδὸν δὴ ἦς ἀποπορεύεσθαι ἐμελλόν ἐλόχισε, κάνταυθα ἐπιφανείς σφιαὶ μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐς τῇ διώξει αὐτοῦ ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος ἄλλους τε καὶ

1 αὐτοῦ St., παρ’ αὐτοῦ L.
2 καταστρέψεσθαι Turn., καταστρέψασθαι L.
3 ἐπιστρατεύσοντες R. Steph., ἐπιστρατεύσοντες L.
BOOK XL

account of the greatness of the disaster had voluntarily allowed it, he had not accepted the command; now, however, he took charge of Syria perforce, both for the time being and subsequently. For the barbarians would not keep away from it, but made another campaign with a larger band, nominally under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of Orodes, though actually under that of Osaces, since the other was still a child. They came as far as Antioch, subduing the whole country before them. And they had hopes also of subjugating what remained, since the Romans were not at hand with a force fit to cope with them, and the districts were fretting under Roman rule and were ready to turn to the invaders, as to neighbours and people of kindred ways. But when they failed to take Antioch, since Cassius effectively repulsed them and they were unable to carry on a siege, they turned to Antigonea. And since the neighbourhood of this city was overgrown with timber, and they did not dare, nay were not even able to penetrate this with cavalry, they formed a plan to cut down the trees and lay bare the whole place, so that they might approach the town with confidence and safety. But finding themselves unable to do this, because the task was a great one and their time was spent in vain, while Cassius harassed those of them who scattered abroad, they retired with the intention of proceeding against some other place. Meanwhile Cassius set an ambush on the road along which they were to depart, and confronting them there with a few men, he induced them to pursue, and then surrounding them, killed a number, including
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τον Ὀσάκην ἀπέκτεινε. τελευτήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου πάσαν τὴν Συρίαν ὁ Πάκορος ἐξέλυπε, καὶ οὐδ' αὐθὲς ποτε ἐσ αὐτὴν ἐσέβαλεν.

30 Ἀμα δὲ οὕτος ἀνεκεκχωρήκει καὶ ὁ Βιβουλος ἀρξάν τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ περ ἐν ὑποπαρεοντα ἐπὶ ὑπατοῦ ὑπὲρ τὸ πρὸ πέμπτου ἑτεροῦ ἀπὸ τὰς ἕξω ἡγεμονίας ἐξεῖνε, ὅποια μή διὰ τοῦτο σπουδαρχοῦσας στα-καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ ὑπόκοιν διήγαγε, τους δὲ δὴ Πάρθους ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἔτρεψε. Ὁρνοδαπάτην γάρ τινα σατράπην ἀρχόμενον τῷ Ὀρώδη προσποιευμένος, ἀνέπεισε δὲ ἀγγέλων τῶν τῇ Πάκορον βασιλεά στήσασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν τῷ αὐτῷ στρατεύσαι.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος οὕτος, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων, τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἄφ' οὐ ἢξατο, ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Σουλπικίου τῇ Ἡθοφαρμομένος ὑπάρχετο ἡ δύναμις μάχαις κατέλαβε, πολλὰ πάνυ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστράτηγοι πράξεως, ὁ μὲν ἡγότα ἀξιολογώτατα διήγησομαι μόνα. ὁ γὰρ Ἁμβζώριξ τοὺς Τρηνεύρους χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ καὶ τότε τῷ τῷ Ἰνδουτιουμάρου θανάτῳ ἔχοντας παραλαβόν τὰ τῇ αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ πλείον συνέστησα, καὶ παρά τῶν Κελτῶν μισθοφορικὸν μετεπέμψατο.

3 Βουληθεὶς οὖν ὁ Δαβίδων, πρὶν ἐκείνον ἐπελθεῖν, συμμίξαι σφισι, προκένεβαλεν ἐσ τῆν τῶν Τρη-νεύρων χώραν. καὶ ἔπειδὴ μὴ ἦμύνοντο τῆν

1 Ὁρνοδαπάτην Bs., ὁρνοδαπάτη L.
2 δʼ τε ἰδιαίτερον Πάρθων regarded by v. Herw. as a gloss.
3 ἢξατο Reim., ἢξατο L.
4 Μαρκέλλου Xyl., μαρκέλλου L.
5 ἐπὶ R. Steph., ἐπὶ L.

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Osaces. Upon the latter’s death Pacorus abandoned all Syria and never invaded it again.

He had scarcely retired when Bibulus arrived to govern Syria. His coming, to be sure, was in violation of a decree, intended to prevent rivalry for office with its consequent strife, that no praetor or consul should either immediately or at any time within five years go abroad to govern a province. He administered the subject territory in peace, and turned the Parthians against one another. For after winning the friendship of Ornodapates, a satrap, who had a grudge against Orodes, he persuaded him through messengers to set up Pacorus as king, and with him to conduct a campaign against the other.

So this war between the Romans and Parthians came to an end in the fourth year after it had begun, and while Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were consuls. In that same period Caesar by battle again gained control of Gallic affairs, which had become disturbed. Of the numerous exploits performed either by himself alone or through his lieutenants I will relate only the most important. Ambiorix, after joining to himself the Treveri, who at this time were still angry over Indutiomarus’ death, had formed a greater conspiracy in that quarter and sent for a mercenary force from the Germans. Now Labienus, wishing to join battle with them before these recruits should arrive, promptly invaded the country of the Treveri. And when the latter did not defend themselves, as they
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ἐπικουρίαν ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸν τινα διὰ μέσου ποιησάμενοι ἦσύχαζον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοιάδε ἀφ’ οὗ τοὺς τε σφετέρους καταπλήξεων καὶ ἐκείνους... 1 ἐμέλλει.

4 χρήναι τέ σφας ἔλεγε, πρὶν τοὺς Κελτοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπαμύναι, πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἁσφαλὲς ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐσήμηνε 2 τε εὐθὺς συσκευάσασθαι. καὶ ἐξανέστη οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον, προσδοκήσας 5 ἐσεθαί τούτῳ ὦ καὶ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα (ἡν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελέσ, καὶ δι’ αὐτό γε τοῦτο καὶ φανερῶς ἐλέγχθη) δεδίεναι 3 τε αὐτῶν ὄντως καὶ φυγήν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖσθαι ἐπιστευσαν, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν σπουδῇ διαβάντες θυμῷ ἐπ’ αὐτῶς ἔχωρουν, ὡς τάχους ἐκαστος εἶχε.

6 καὶ οὕτως ὁ Δαβίδρος ὑπέστη τε σφας ἐσκε- δασμένους, καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκπλήξας ῥαδίως καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δι’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐτρέψατο. κακὸ τούτου φευγόντων τε σφών τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλήλως ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὥθουμένων πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε.

32 Διαφυγόντων τε καὶ ὡς συχνῶν, ὁ Καίσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ Ἄμ- βιόριγα διαδιδράσκοντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη καὶ πολλὰ κακουργοῦντα καὶ ξητῶν καὶ διώκων πράγματα ἐσχε. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα τρόπον λαβεῖν ἤδυνήθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὡς καὶ τοῖς Τρησυρίῳς βοηθῆσαι ἐθελήσαντας εστράτευσε.

2 καὶ ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδὲν, ἄλλα καὶ διὰ ταχέων φόβῳ τῶν Σουήβων ἐπανεγιόρησεν, ἔδοξε δ’ 4 οὖν αὐθής τὸν Ρήνον διαβεβηκέναι, καὶ τῆς τε

1 Lacuna recognized by Leunel. 2 ἐσήμηνε Bk., σημηναί L. 3 δεδίεναι Rk., διεναι L. 4 ἔδοξε δ’ Rk., ἔδοξεν L.
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were awaiting the reinforcements, but put a river between the two armies and remained quiet, Labienus assembled his soldiers and addressed them in such words as were likely to alarm his own men and [encourage] the foe, declaring that they must withdraw to Caesar and safety before the Germans should come to the aid of the enemy; and he immediately gave the signal to pack up the baggage. Not much later he actually set out on the march, expecting the very result that occurred. For the barbarians heard of his speech, for they were very diligent in such matters and it was for just that reason, indeed, that it had been delivered publicly, and they thought he was really afraid and truly taking to flight. Hence they hastily crossed the river and eagerly advanced against the Romans, as fast as each one could. Thus Labienus met their attack while they were scattered, and after terrifying the foremost easily routed the rest by means of these first fugitives. Then, as they were fleeing in disorder, falling over one another and crowding toward the river, he killed many of them.

Many escaped even as it was, but Caesar took no account of these, except in the case of Ambiorix. This man, by escaping now to one place and now to another and doing much injury, caused Caesar trouble in seeking and pursuing him. When he was unable to catch him in any way, he made an expedition against the Germans, alleging that they had wished to help the Treveri. On this occasion likewise he accomplished nothing, but retired rapidly through fear of the Suebi; yet he gained the reputation of having crossed the Rhine
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γεφύρας μόνα τὰ προσέχῃ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐλυσε, καὶ φρούριον ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ὦς καὶ ἂει διαβησεῖτων

3 φώκοδόμησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὅργη τῆς τοῦ Ἀμβιόρυγος διάφυγιν φέρων, τῆν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καίτως μηδέν νεωτερίσσασαν διαρπάζαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπέτρεψε, προεπαγγείλας σφίσιν αὐτὸ τοῦθ', ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι συνέλθωσιν· ὠθεντερ πολλοὶ μὲν Γαλάται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Σύναμβροι

4 πρὸς τὰς ἄρτας ἡλθον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Σύναμβροις τὰ ἐκείνων λήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο· τηρήσαστε γὰρ σφας πρὸς σίτου κομιδὴν ἀπίστως ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦτῳ πρόσβοήσασάν των σφῶν, ἐπείπερ ὡς θυσιον, συχνοὺς ἐφούνεσαν.

5 καὶ οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες διὰ τοῦτο τῶν Καίσαρα διάκαδε σπουδὴ ἀνέχωρησαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδενός, διά τε τοῦ χειμῶνα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στασιάζεσθαι, οὐδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐπούσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν στρατιώτας πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια διαπέμψας αὐτὸς τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πρόφασιν μὲν τῆς ἐκεῖ Γαλατίας ἔνεκα, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ὅπως ἐγγύθεν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δρωμένοις ἐφεδρεύῃ, ἀπήλθεν.

33 Καὶ τοῦτῳ οἱ Γαλάται αὖθις ἐνεόχωμοσαν. Ἀργευρνοὶ γὰρ ἤγουμένου σφῶν Οὐκερκαγγετόργος ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους, ὅσους ἐν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σφῶν εὐρον, πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχία αὐτῶν χωρῆ-

1 διαβησεῖων Dind., διαβασιέων L.
2 διαρπάζαι Bs., διαρπάσειν L.
3 ἀπέχρησε R. Steph., ἀπεχώρησε L.
4 ἐκεῖνος Reim., ἐκεῖνοις L.
5 οὐδενός Reim., οὐδὲν L. 6 τε Rk., γε L.
again, and of the bridge he destroyed only the portions near the barbarians, constructing upon it a guard-house, as if he might at any time have a desire to cross. Then, in anger at the successful flight of Ambiorix, he permitted that chieftain's country, although it had been guilty of no rebellion, to be plundered by any who wished. He gave public notice of this in advance, so that as many as possible might assemble; hence many Gauls and many Sugambri came for the plunder. Now it did not suffice the Sugambri to make spoil of Gallic territory, but they even attacked the Romans themselves. They watched until the Romans were absent securing provisions and then made an attempt upon their camp; and when the soldiers, perceiving it, came to the rescue, they killed a good many of these. Then, becoming afraid of Caesar as a result of this affair, they hurriedly withdrew homeward; but he inflicted no punishment upon any of them because of the winter and the turmoil in Rome, but after dismissing the soldiers to their winter-quarters, went himself to Italy on the plea of looking after Cisalpine Gaul, but really in order that he might watch from close at hand the events that were taking place in the city.

Meantime the Gauls rebelled again. The Arverni under the leadership of Vercingetorix revolted, killed all the Romans they found in their cities and their country, and proceeding against the tribes in alliance with the foreigner, bestowed favours upon such as
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σαντες τους μεν συναποστήναι σφίσιν ἐθελήσαντας περιείπουν, τους δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκακούργον. 2 μαθῶν οὗν ταῦθ' ὁ Καίσαρ ἄνεκομίσθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐσι Βιτούριγας ἐσβεβληκότας ἐκείνους μὲν (οὐ γὰρ πω πάντες οἱ στρατιώται αὐτοῦ παρῆσαν) οὐκ ἐπήμουν, ἐσὶ δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἀρονερύδα ἀντεμβαλῶν ἐπανήγαγεν οἰκαδε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει πω ἀξιώμαχος αὐτοῖς εἶναι)

34 προσαπεχώρησεν. αὕτης οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τε τους Βιτούριγας ἐπανήλθον, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν Ἀουαρικῶν ἐλύντες ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν αὐτῇ ἀντέσχον. ὦστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιορκούμενοι—τὸ τε γὰρ τεῖχος δυσπρόσιτον ἦν, τῇ μὲν ἐλῶν δυσδιαβάτων τῇ δὲ ποταμοῦ ῥόδων αὐτὸ περιέχοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ παμπληθεῖσι οὗτες τὰς τε προσβολάς σφῶν ῥαδίως ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ ἐπεξ- 2 ἰόντες πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐλύουν. καὶ τέλος τά τε πέριξ πάντα, οὐχ ὅπως ἀγροὺς ἢ κώμας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ἄφ' ὧν ὠφελοῦν τινὰ ἐσεσθαί σφὶς προσεδόκων, κατέφλεξαν, εἰ τε τι παρὰ τῶν πόρωθεν συμμάχων ἐκομίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἥρπαξον, ὡστε πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δοκοῦντας

3 τὰ τῶν πολιορκούμενων πάσχειν, πρὸν δὴ ύπερ τοῖς λάβροις καὶ πνεύμα μέγα προσβάλλουσι τῷ αὐτοῖς ἐπιγενόμενον (ὁ γὰρ χειμῶν ἐνειστήκει) πρώτους μὲν ἐκείνους ἀπήλασε καὶ ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπανήγαγεν, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὰς οἰκίας κατέκλεισεν. ἀπελθόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσβαλόν ἐξαίφνης

1 ἄνεκομίσθη Reim., ἐκομίσθη L. 2 Βιτούριγας Bk., ουμότιριγας L. 3 ἐπανήλθον R. Steph., ἐπανήλθεν L. 4 Ἀουαρικῶν Leuncl., εὐάκον L. 5 ὁ Bk., ὁ τε L.
had been willing to join their revolt, and injured the rest. Caesar on learning this returned and found that they had invaded the territory of the Bituriges. He made no attempt to help the latter, since not all his soldiers were at hand as yet, but by invading the Arvernian country in his turn drew the enemy home again, whereupon he retired in good season, not deeming himself yet a match for them. They accordingly went back to the Bituriges, captured Avaricum, a city of theirs, and held out in it for a long time; for the wall was hard to approach, being bordered on one side by almost trackless swamps and on the other by a river with a swift current. When, therefore, they were later besieged by the Romans, their great numbers made it easy for them to repel the assaults, and they also made sallies, inflicting many injuries. Finally they burned up everything in the vicinity, not only fields and villages, but also cities from which they thought assistance could come to their enemies, and if anything was being brought to these from allies at a distance, they seized it for booty. Therefore the Romans, while appearing to besiege the city, were really suffering the fate of the besieged; this continued until a furious rain and great wind sprang up (the winter having now set in) during their attack on a point in the wall, which first drove the assailants back, making them seek shelter in their tents, and then shut up the barbarians also in their houses. When they had retired from the battlements, the Romans suddenly attacked again, while there were
4 αὕτης αὐταῖς ἔρημοις ἀνδρῶν οὐσαίς· καὶ πῦργον τινὰ παραχρῆμα, πρῶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς πολε-μοὺς τῆς παρουσίας σφῶν, ἑλόντες ἕπειτα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν πᾶσαν διήρησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πάντας ὅργῃ τῆς τε προσεδρεύας καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἔσφαξαν.

35 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἑπειδή πολεμοῦμενοι τὰς γεφύρας οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀρουερνοὶ προεκκρατήκε-σαν διὸ διὰ διαβῆναι αὐτῶν ἐχρῆν, ἀπορίσας ὅπως περαιωθῇ, ἐπιπαρήλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ὁχθην, ἐὰ πως ἐπιτηθείου τυφώς χωρίου ὡστε πεζῇ δὴ 2 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὑδατὸς διελθεῖν λάβοιτο. καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τοι ὑλῶδει τινὶ καὶ ἐν συσκίῳ τόπῳ γενόμενος τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλεῖον προεπέμψε, μακρὰν ἕκτεταμένῃ τάξει κελεύσας αὐτοὺς προιέναι, ὡστε καὶ πάντας σφᾶς ἑνταῦθα

3 εἶναι δοκεῖν αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτων ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ξύλα τε ἐτεμε καὶ σχεδίας ἐποίησε καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν διέβη τὸ ἰδεῖα, τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν πορευμένους τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μετ’ αὐτῶν εἶναι

4 λογιζομένων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε προεληλυθό-\t

36 στὸν πόλου μάτην αὐτοῖς προσεδρεύων ἔσχε. τό 

τε γὰρ φορύριον ἐπὶ τε λόφου καρτεροῦ ὡς καὶ

1 ὁχθην R. Steph., ὁχθαν L.  

2 μακρὰν Reim., μακρὰ L.  

3 Γεργουλάν (Γεργουλάν) Louncl., γοργουλάν L.
BOOK XL

no men there; and capturing a tower forthwith, before ever the enemy became aware of their presence, they then without difficulty got possession of the remaining works, plundered the whole city, and in anger at the siege and their hardships slew all the people.

After accomplishing this Caesar made an expedition into their territory. Now the rest of the Arverni, in view of the war being made upon them, had already secured possession of the bridges which he must cross; and he, being in doubt how he should get across, proceeded a considerable distance along the bank to see if he could find any place suitable for crossing on foot through the stream itself. At length he reached a wooded and shady place, from which he sent ahead the baggage and most of his army, bidding them go forward with their line extended over a great distance, so that all his troops might appear to be in that one division. He himself with the best troops remained behind, and cutting down timber and constructing rafts, he crossed the stream by means of these while the barbarians still had their attention fixed on those marching on ahead, supposing that Caesar was among them. After this he called back the advance party by night, transferred them across in the same way, and conquered the country. The people fled in a body to Gergovia, carrying thither all their most valued possessions, and Caesar had a great deal of toil to no purpose in besieging them. For their fort was on a strong hill and was protected by mighty walls;
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teίχεσιν ἰσχυρῶς ἐκεκράτυντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πέριξ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες περιεφροῦρον, ὡστε καὶ μένειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἑπικαταθέουσι πλεονεκτεῖν 2 τὰ πλεῖω. ἐν τε γὰρ πεδίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑιλίξετο (οὐ γὰρ εὐπόρησεν ἐχυρωῦ χωρίου), καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτε προσγύγωσκεν 1···, οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ ὑπερδεξίων κρατοῦντες, 2 τὸ τε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ κατεδώντο καὶ ταῖς καταδρομαῖς ἐπικαλέοις 3 ἐχρώντο. εἰ τὲ τῇ περαιτέρῳ τοῦ καιρῷ προ- χωρήσαντες ἀνεκόπτοντο, 3 δὴ ὑλίκου αὐθεῖς ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρατείας σφῶν ἐγκύωντο· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδένα τρόπον, ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ τε λύθοι καὶ τὰ ἀκόμητα 4 ἔξικνεῖτο, πελάσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐδύναντο. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλύτῳ, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὀρθίον, ἐφ' οὐ τὸ πόλισμα ἤν, προσβαλὼν μέρους μὲν τινὸς ἐκράτησεν αὐτοῦ ὡστε καὶ ἑντειχίσασθαι τι δέῳ τε 4 ἐκείθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τάλλα ἐφόδου ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ῥοὲν ἀπεκρούετο, καὶ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν συχνῶς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀλῆτης έώρα ὄντις, τά τε τῶν Αἴδοον ἐν τούτῳ ἐκινήθη, καὶ προσετὶ καὶ πρὸς τούτος ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ κακῶς οἱ κατα- λειφθέντες ἀπήλλαξαν, ἀνέστη.

37 Οἱ γὰρ Αἴδοοι κατ' ἄρχας μὲν ταῖς τε ὁμο- λογίαις ἐνέμειναν καὶ ἑπικουρίας αὐτῷ ἐπεμπον, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἀκοντες ἐπολέμησαν, ἀπατησάντων σφῶς ἄλλων τε καὶ Δυταυκίκου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπειθεὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως τούτο ποιήσαι, διεπράξατο

1 προσγύγωσκεν Leuncl., προσγύγωσκεν L.
2 κρατοῦντες Bs., ἄνεσε L.
3 ἀνεκόπτοντο Rk., ἀνέκοπτον L. 4 τε Bk., γε L.

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and the barbarians were keeping guard over it, after
seizing all the high ground around, so that they
could both safely remain in position, and, if they
charged down, would usually have the advantage.
For Caesar, in default of a strong position, was
encamped in the plain, and never knew before-
hand ...; but the barbarians, in possession of the
heights, could look down upon his camp and kept
making opportune charges. And if they ever ad-
vanced farther than was fitting and were beaten
back, they quickly got within their own lines again;
for the Romans could not in any way come near
enough to the places for their stones and javelins to
reach their mark. So Caesar's time was being spent
to no purpose; to be sure, after frequent assaults
against the very height upon which the fortress was
located, he did capture a certain portion of it, so that
he could wall it in and advance more easily from
there against the rest of it, yet on the whole he was
being repulsed. He lost a number of his soldiers
and saw that the enemy could not be captured;
moreover, there was at this time an uprising among
the Aedui, and while he was absent attending to
them, the men left behind fared badly. All these
considerations led Caesar to raise the siege.

The Aedui at first lived up to their agreement
and sent him assistance, but later they went to war,
although reluctantly, being deceived by Litaviccus
and others. This man, being unable in any other
way to persuade them to adopt this course,
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προσταχθήναι οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπαγαγεῖν
2 τινας ἐπὶ συμμαχία δήθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὄρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ τούτῳ ποιήσων, προπέμψας δὲ ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύσας τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθοῦσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἱ τε ἑσπερίμφθεντες σφίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σφῶν οὗτες συνειλημμένοι τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσι καὶ ἀπολόλασι, προσπαράξουν τοὺς στρατιώτας δημηγορήσας ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἀγγέλους. 3 καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανέστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμετέστησαν.2 καὶ τότε μὲν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τούτ' ἵσθετο, τοὺς τε Αἰδούνους οὕς εἶχε καὶ ἑδόκει πεφυκεῖνα ἐπεμψῆν αὐτοῖς, ὡστε φανερῶς πάσιν ξύνης γενέσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἱππικῷ ἑσπέρῳ) μετενόησαν καὶ συνηλάγησαν αὖθις δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τε τῇ Γεργούλα τῇ 3 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποσοία πταισάντων, καὶ μετὰ τούτο παντάπασιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποχωρήσαντον, ἐφοβηθησάν οἱ τὴν τε ἐπανάστασιν πράξαντες καὶ νεωτέροις ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενοι μὴ 4 σχολάζοντες . . . ποιῆσωνται, καὶ ἑνεόχωσαν. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθεν οἱ συστατεύοντες 5 αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ἥττησαντο ἐπιτραπῆναι σφῶν οἰκάδε ἄπελθεῖν, ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα καταστήσειν. καὶ οὕτως ἀφεθέντες πρὸς τε Νουοιδουνὸν, 6 ἐνθα τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὸν σῖτον ὄμηροι 7 τε πολλοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

1 οἱ τε added by Rk., following Leuncl. (οἱ).
2 συμμετέστησαν R. Steph., συμμέτεσαν L.
3 Γεργούλα τῇ supplied by Leuncl. and Rk.
4 μὴ added here by Rk., after σχολάζουσι by Leuncl.
5 συστατεύοντες Melber, στρατεύοντες L.
6 Νουοιδουνὸν Leuncl., νουοιδουνὸν L.
7 ὄμηροι R. Steph., ὄμοροι L.
BOOK XL

managed to get himself appointed to convey some men to Caesar ostensibly to serve as the latter's allies. He did, indeed, set out as if to fulfil this mission, but sent ahead some horsemen bidding some of them return and say that their companions and the rest of their men in the camp of the Romans had been arrested by the latter and put to death. He then further excited the wrath of the soldiers by delivering a speech in keeping with the messengers' report. In this way the Aedui themselves rose and induced the others to revolt with them. As soon as Caesar became aware of this, he sent to them the Aedui whom he had and was thought to have slain, so that they might be seen by all to be alive, and followed on with his cavalry. On this occasion, then, they repented and became reconciled; but when later the Romans, by reason of Caesar's absence, were defeated at Gergovia and entirely withdrew from that place, those who had caused the uprising and were ever eager for revolution feared that [the Romans might take vengeance upon them], now that they were free to do so, and consequently they rebelled. And members of their tribe who were campaigning with Caesar, when they learned of this, asked him to allow them to return home, promising that they would put everything in order. Released on these conditions, they came to Noviodunum, where the Romans had deposited their money and grain and many hostages, and with the
κατετέθειντο, ἦλθον, καὶ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς αὐτῶν, συναιρομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπταχωρίων, μὴ προσ- 
δεχομένους ἔθθειραν, καὶ ἐν κράτει πάντων αὐτῶν
3 ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐκείνην τε τὴν πόλιν ἐπίκαιρον
οὖσαν κατέπρησαν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὀρμητή-
ροι τοῦ τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσωσιν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
τῶν Αἰδώνων προσαπέστησαν. ἡνὶν Καῖσαρ ἐπ-
εχείρησε μὲν παραχρήμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσαι,
μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸν Λίγρον ἐπὶ
4 Λίγγονας ἐτράπετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖ κατόρ-
θωσεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιήνος τὴν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ
Σηκονανῷ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, τοὺς τε προκυιόνυσα-
σανας ἐν τῇ ἑπείρῳ κρατήσας καὶ τὴν διάβασιν
πολλαχῇ ἀμα κατὰ τὲν τὸν ρόην καὶ ἀνάπαλιν,
ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν περαιούμενος κωλυθῇ, ποιησά-
μενος, κατέσχε.

39 Πρὶν δὲ τούτῳ γενέσθαι, καταφρονήσας ὁ Οὐνερ-
κυγγετόρες τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐξ δὲ ἐπταίκει ἐπ' Ἀλλό-
βρυγας ἐστράτευσε. καὶ τούτῳ ὀρμήσαντα αὐτῶν
ὡς καὶ βοηθήσωσι τῇ σφίσιν, ἀπέλαβεν ἐν Σηκονα-
2 νοῖς γενόμενον καὶ ἐνεκυκλώσατο, οὐ μέντοι κακὸν
τι εἰρήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦνατὸν τοὺς τε
Ῥωμαίοις ἡνάγκασεν ἄγαθος εἶναι ἀπογυνώσει τῆς
σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ὑπὸ
tοῦ θράσους ἐπταίσε, καὶ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν
3 τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμμαχοῦντων ἐσφάλης ταῖς
tε γᾶρ ὀρμαῖς ἀπληστοὶ ὄντες καὶ τοῖς 5 σώμασι τῆς
τόλμαν προσεπισχυρίσαντες διέρρηξαν τὴν περί-
sχεσιν. εὑρὸν δὲ ὅτι τὸ εὐφημα τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ

1 κατετέθειντο Bk., κατέθειντο L.
2 συναιρομένων R. Steph., συναρμαμένων L.
3 Λίγρον L., αὐγρον L. 4 ἐν added by Bk.
5 ἀπληστοὶ ὄντες καὶ τοῖς Bk., ἀπλήστοις L.

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aid of the natives destroyed the garrisons, which were looking for no hostile act, and gained possession of everything there. And they burned down the city, because of its advantageous situation, to prevent the Romans from making it a base for the war, and next they caused the remainder of the Aedui to revolt. Caesar, therefore, attempted to march against them at once, but being unable to do so, on account of the river Liger, he turned his attention to the Lingones; and he did not meet with success there either. Labienus, however, occupied the island in the river Sequana after conquering its defenders on the nearer bank and sending his troops across at many points at once, both down and up stream, in order that he might not be hindered if he attempted the crossing at one spot.

But before this happened, Vercingetorix, filled with contempt for Caesar because of the latter’s reverses, had marched against the Allobroges. And intercepting the Roman general, who had thereupon set out to aid them, when he was among the Sequani, he surrounded him, but did him no harm; on the contrary, he compelled the Romans to be brave through despair of safety, whereas he himself failed by reason of his numbers and audacity. His defeat was due in part to the Germans who were acting as allies of the Romans; for with their unquenchable enthusiasm and their mighty bodies which added strength to their daring they succeeded in breaking through the enclosing ranks. Having met with this good fortune, Caesar did not give ground, but
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οὐκ ἀνήκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεσίαν τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν κατακλείσας ἔπολιόρκει.

40 Κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Ὄιερος ἡγετήρις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ἱππέας, πρὶν παντελῶς ἀποτεθηκῆναι, ἐξέ-πεμψε, τῆς τε τροφῆς τῶν ἱππῶν ἔνεκα (οὐ γὰρ ἦν) καὶ ὅπως ἔσ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι σφῶν κομι-σθέντες τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ ἀγάγωσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν τε ἔχρονιζον καὶ τὰ σιτία σφᾶς ἐπιλείπειν ἦρξατο, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ἐξέ-βαλεν, ἐλπίζας μάτην ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς λείας ἔνεκα σωθήσονται, ἢ οἳ γε λοιποὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον χρησάμενοι
3 περιγενήσονται. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὖν αὐτῶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὅστε καὶ ἐτέρους τρέφειν, εὐπόρει τοῖς δ' οὐν πολεμίως ἱσχυρότερον τὴν σιτιόδειαν ἐπανελθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐλπίζε τοῦ πάντως σφᾶς καταδεχθῆσεθαι, ποιήσεις νομίσας πάντας
4 αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσατο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μηδετέρων σφᾶς δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπόλοντο· ἢ δὲ ἐπικουρία τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἑν' αὐτῶν ἀχθέντων ἐπήλθε μὲν οὖν ἐς μακρὰν τοῖς βαρ-βάροις, ἱσπομαχία δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ βοη-5 θείᾳ. . . καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ πειράσαντες νυκτὸς διὰ τῶν περιτεχνισμάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν ἱσχυ-ρῶς ἐπονήσαν· τάφρους τε γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι κρυπτᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἱππασίμοις ἐπεπονήσαν καὶ σκόλοπας ἐς αὐτὰς ἐνεπεπήχεσαν, πάντα ἐπι-

1 καὶ supplied by R. Steph.
2 ἐξέβαλεν R. Steph., ἐξέβαλον L. 3 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L
4 ἐπονήσαν H. Steph., ἐπολήσαν L.
5 ἐνεπεπήχεσαν Dind., ἐμπεπήχεσαν L.

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shut up and besieged in Alesia such of the foe as escaped.

Now Vercingetorix had at first, before he had been entirely cut off by the wall, sent out the cavalry to get fodder for the horses, as there was none on hand, and in order to let them disperse, each to his native land, and bring thence provisions and assistance. But as these delayed and food supplies began to fail the besieged, he thrust out the children and the women and the most useless among the rest, hoping either that the outcasts would be saved as booty by the Romans or else that those left in the town might survive by enjoying for a longer time the supplies that would have belonged to their companions. But he hoped in vain, for Caesar did not have sufficient food himself to feed others; and believing, moreover, that by returning the expelled he could make the enemy's lack of food more severely felt (for he expected that they would of course be received again), he forced them all back. Now these perished most miserably between the city and the camp, because neither party would receive them. As for the relief looked for, the horsemen and the others they were bringing reached the barbarians before long, but these were then [defeated (?)] in a cavalry battle, as the Romans with the aid [of the Germans (?)] . . . Thereupon they tried to enter the city by night through the wall of circumvallation, but met with dire disaster; for the Romans had dug secret pits in the places which were passable for horses and had fixed stakes in them, afterward making the whole
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πολής τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ περὶ χωρίῳ ὁμοιώσαντες, 6 ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἔποιους ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπερισκέπτως ἐστὶ ἐμπεσόντας σφαλήναι. οṽ μέντοι καὶ ἐνέδοσαν πρὸς ἐκ παρατάξεως αὕθις ἐπρὸς αὐτῶς τοῖς τευχῆσας αὐτοῖ τῷ ἀμα καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξελθόντες πταίσαι.

41 'Ὁ δ' οὖν Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ἡδυνήθη μὲν ἐκφυγεῖν (οὗτε γὰρ ἐάλω καὶ ἀτρωτός ἦν), ἐπίσασα δ', ὅτι ἐν φιλίᾳ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγεγόνει, συγγράμμας παρ' αὐτοῦ τευξεθῆαι, ἤλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπικηρυκευμένος, καὶ καθημένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ βήματος ἐξαίφνης ὁφθη, ὥστε καὶ ταραχθῆναι τινας. ἀλ- λως τε γὰρ περιμένης ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς δεινῶς 2 ἐνέπρεπεν· ἡσυχίας δ' οὖν γενομένης εἰπε μὲν οὖ- δέν, πεσὼν δὲ ἐν γόνυ τῷ τε χείρε πιέσας ἔδειτο. 4· ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἶκτον τῇ τῇ ποτὲ προτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης ἀναμνήσει καὶ τῷ τῇ παρούσῃ ῥήμας περιπαθεί ἐνεβάλευ· ὅ δ' ἰδ' Καίσαρ αὐτὸ τε αὐτῷ τούτῳ, δι' ὧ μάλιστα σωθήσεθαι προσε- 3 δόκησεν, ἐπεκάλεσε (τῆς γὰρ φιλίας τῆς ἀντίταξιν ἀντιθεῖς χαλεπῶτέραν τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπέφηγε), καὶ διὰ τοῦτον οὔτε ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα αὐτῶν ἠλέ- ησεν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔδησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπι- νίκια μετὰ τούτῳ πέμψας ἀπέκτεινε.

42 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογία τῶν λοιπῶν προσέθετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μάχη κρατήσας ἐδούλωσατο. ο' τε γὰρ Βελγικοὶ ἐν

1 τῷ ἄλλῳ Rk., τῶν ἄλλων L. 2 αὕθις Bk., ἄρθεις L. 3 πιέσας Reim. (from two late Mss.), ποίησας L. 4 ἐδείτο Dind., ἐδέετο L. 5 Βελγικοὶ Leuncl., Βελτίκοι L.
BOOK XL

resemble on the surface the surrounding ground; thus B.C. 52 horse and man, falling into them absolutely without warning, came to grief. The men did not give up, however, until they had arrayed themselves once more beside the very walls and had been defeated along with the people from the city who came out to fight.

Now Vercingetorix might have escaped, for he had not been captured and was unwounded; but he hoped, since he had once been on friendly terms with Caesar, that he might obtain pardon from him. So he came to him without any announcement by herald, but appeared before him suddenly, as Caesar was seated on the tribunal, and threw some who were present into alarm; for he was very tall to begin with, and in his armour he made an extremely imposing figure. When quiet had been restored, he uttered not a word, but fell upon his knees, with hands clasped in an attitude of supplication. This inspired many with pity at remembrance of his former fortune and at the distressing state in which he now appeared. But Caesar reproached him in this very matter on which he most relied for his safety, and by setting over against his claim of former friendship his recent opposition, showed his offence to have been the more grievous. Therefore he did not pity him even at the time, but immediately confined him in bonds, and later, after sending him to his triumph, put him to death.

This, however, was a later occurrence. At the time B.C. 51 mentioned he gained some of the remaining foes by capitulation and enslaved others after conquering them in battle. The Belgae who lived near by had
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οἱ πλησιόχωροι, 1 Κόμμιον τίνα Ἀτρέβαν προστη-
σάμενοι σφων, ἕπτε πλείστον ἀντέσχον, καὶ δύο
τε ἰππομαχίαις ἀγχώμαλι πη 2 ἡγωνίσαντο, καὶ
tρίτη πεζομαχία ἵσσαλες 3 τὸ πρῶτον συνεν-
χθέντες ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ κατὰ νότον
σφίσων ἀνελπίστως προσπεσόντος 4 ἐτράπησαν.
2 κακὰ τούτο τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ περι-
λεπτεῖς ἐξέλιπον, καὶ διελθόντες ὑλὴν τωδὲ ἐκείνην
tε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μόνας ὑπελίπουσον, 5
ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τα ταύτας καὶ διὰ τὸ πῦρ
χρωσάντων φθάσωσιν ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές ἀποχωρή-
3 σαντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγέ-
νοντο οἱ γὰρ Ὀρμαῖοι ὡς τάχιστα τῆς φυγῆς
ἀυτῶν ἃθοντο, ἐπεδιωξάν σφας, καὶ ἐνυχύοντες
τὸ πυρὶ τὰ μὲν κατέσβεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ διέκοψαν,
καὶ τίνες καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς δραμόντες
κατέλαβον αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ παμπληθεῖς
43 ἐφόνευσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τινές
ὀμολόγησαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀτρέβας διαφυγὼν οὐδὲ ἦς
ἐσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Δαβίδην ἐπεξείρησεν
2 ἐνεδρέυσαι ποτὲ. ἠττηθεὶς δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεπείσθη
μὲν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, πρὶν δὲ ἡ ὀπιοῦν συμ-
βῆναι τρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν Ὀρμαίων ἀπιστία
τοῦ μὴ ἃν ἀκριβῶς εἰρηνήσαι διέφυγε, καὶ χαλε-
pὸς αὐθεσ αὐτῶς ἐγένετο, μέχρις ὅπως ἀπογούσι
τὰ πράγματα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοῖς συνοφύσι οἱ ἀκέ-
ραιοι τὴν ἀδειαν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σφετέρους ἐπράξεν,
αὐτὸς 6 δὲ ἐαυτῷ τὸ μηδέποτε, ὃς γέ τινες φασιν, 7

1 πλησιόχωροι R. Steph., πλησιοχώροι L.
2 τὴ Bk., τε L. 3 ἰσσαλει Bs., ἰσσαλει L.
4 προσπεσόντος R. Steph., προσπεσόντες L.
5 ὑπελίποντο Bk., ὑπελίποντο L.
6 αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L. 7 φασιν added by Bs.

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put at their head Commius, an Atrebatian, and resisted for a long time. They fought two indecisive cavalry battles and the third time in an infantry battle, although at first they held their own, they were later turned to flight when attacked unexpectedly in the rear by the cavalry. After this the remainder abandoned the camp by night, and as they were passing through a wood set fire to it, leaving behind only their waggons, in order that the enemy might be delayed by these and by the fire, and they themselves might thus reach safety. Their hope, however, was not realized. For the Romans, as soon as they were aware of their flight, pursued them and on encountering the fire they extinguished it in places or hewed their way through the trees, and some even ran through the midst of the flames; thus they came upon the fugitives without warning and slaughtered great numbers. Thereupon some of the others came to terms, but the Atrebatian, who escaped, would not remain quiet even then. He undertook at one time to ambush Labienus, but after being defeated in battle was persuaded to hold a conference with him. Before any terms were made, however, he was wounded by one of the Romans, who surmised that it was not his real intention to make peace; but he escaped and again proved troublesome to them. At last, despairing of his project, he secured for his associates unconditional amnesty for all their acts, and pardon for himself, as some say, on the condition of his never appearing again
3 ἐς ὄψιν μηδενὸς Ῥωμαίου ἔλθειν. ἐκεῖνοι τε οὖν οὐτῳ κατελύσαντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ τούτο, οἱ μὲν ἐκούσιοι οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπολεμηθέντες, ἔχειρωθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ φρουράς καὶ δικαιώσει χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξει καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξει τοὺς μὲν ἐταπείνωσε τοὺς δὲ ἠμέρωσε.

44 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ τε Δουκίου Παῦλου καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίου Μαρκέλλου υπάτου ἐτελευτήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν Γαλατῶν ἐνεκα καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ δοθέντος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν ’Ῥώμην ἐπανακομισθῆναι ὁφείλεται ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ ἦν καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐπέπαυτο, καὶ οὐδεμιᾶν ἐτ’ εὐπρεπὴ σκῆψιν πρὸς τὸ μή οὗ τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἰδιωτεύσαι εἶχεν.

2 ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰ τε ἐν τῷ ἀστείῳ ἐστασίαζετο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐτεθνήκει, ο τε Πομπήιος ἐν τε δυνάμει αὐθιν, ἀτε τρίτων ὑπατευκός καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἐτὴ δοθήναι οἱ διαπεραγμένοι, ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐκέτ’ οἰκεῖος,

3 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ παιδίου, ὁπερ πον καὶ μόνον ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ αὐτοῦ κατείχε, τετελευτηκότος, διέκειτο, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ψυλωθέοις ἐπὶ τε ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχθροις γένηται, καὶ οὕ διηκεῖν αὐτοῖς.

45 Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐτεσίων ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ πόλει στασιώδῃ πολλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαιεσίαις μάλιστα ἐγένετο, ὡστε μῆνπ ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ τόν τε Καλούινου καὶ τόν Μεσσάλαν υπάτους ἀποδεῖ. 2 χθήνας καὶ οὐδὲ ἀν τότε ἠρέθησαν, εἰ μὴ Κυντός

1 ἐκεῖνος Leuncl., eikòs L. 2 αὐτοῖς R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L. 3 διέκειτο supplied by Rk.
within sight of any Roman. So these foes became reconciled on these terms, and later the rest were subdued, some voluntarily and some when conquered in war; and Caesar by means of garrisons and punishments and levies of money and assessments of tribute humbled some of them and tamed others.

Thus these wars came to an end in the consulship of Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus. It was now time for Caesar, in view of the subjugation of the Gauls and the period for which his command had been assigned him, to leave Gaul and return to Rome. For his term was about to expire, the war had ceased, and he had no longer any plausible excuse for not disbanding his troops and returning to private life. But affairs in the city at this time were in a state of turmoil, Crassus was dead, and Pompey had again come to power, since he had been consul for the third time and had managed to have the government of Spain granted to him for five years longer; moreover, he no longer was on intimate terms with Caesar, especially now that the child, who alone had kept them on friendly terms, had died. 1 Caesar was therefore afraid that if he were deprived of his soldiers he might fall into the power of Pompey and of his other enemies, and so did not dismiss them.

During these same years many tumults had occurred in the city, especially in connection with the elections, so that it was not until the seventh month that Calvinius and Messalla were appointed consuls. And not even then would they have been chosen, had not

1 Cf. xxxix, 64.
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te Πομπήιος ὁ Ῥούφος ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, καίτοι τοῦ τε Σύλλου θυγατριδοῦς ὄν καὶ δημαρχῶν, ἐνεβλήθη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κακουργήσαει τε ἐθελήσασιν ἐψηφίσθη, τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ ἢ πρὸς αὐτοὺς βοήθεια ἐνεχειρίσθη.

3 ἦστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ οἱ ὄργιθες τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐπέσχον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῖς μεσοβασιλεύσι γενέσθαι· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ δημαρχοὶ, τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει διέπουντες ὡστε καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ποιεῖν, ἔκώλυναι τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεθήναι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ

4 ὁ Ῥούφος ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα ἔσεπε. καὶ οὕτως μὲν τὸν Φαουώνιον ἀγορανομοῦντα ἐς αὐτὸ ὑστερον ἀπὸ τίνος οὐ μεγάλης αἰτίας, ἢν δὴ κοινῶν τῆς ἀτιμίας λάβῃ, κατέθετο· πάντες δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἄλλας τε σκήψεως ἐμποδίους ἐσέφερον, καὶ χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὡς πλεῖους ἄρχοντες ὠσπερ ποτὲ ἀποδεικνύονται, καθισταθαι1 ἔσηγοντο. ἐπειδή τ’ οὔδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπείσθη, δικτάτορα γοῦν τὸν Πομπήιον λεγοθήναι δεῖν ἔφασκον. καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ διέτριψαν· ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ἀπεδήμηκε, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε ψηφίσασθαι τίς αὐτὸ (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου ὁμότητα ἐμίσουν πάντες τὸ πολίτευμα) οὔτε αὐτῇ μὴ ἑλέσθαι διὰ

5 τοῦ τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβου υπέμεινε. τέλος δὲ ὧν ὑπὲρ ποτε αὐτῶς ἠλθὼν τὴν μὲν δικτατορίαν διδομένην οἱ δῆθεν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι διαδόχους σφίσι διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν σφαγῶν 2

1 καθίστασθαι Bs., καθίσται L.
2 σφαγῶν v. Herw., σφαγέων L.
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Quintus Pompeius Rufus, though he was the grandson of Sulla and was serving as tribune, been cast into prison by the senate; and the same penalty was voted in the case of the others who had desired to commit some outrage, while the task of proceeding against them was entrusted to Pompey. Sometimes the omens had checked the elections by refusing to favour the interreges; above all else the tribunes, by managing affairs in the city so that they instead of the praetors should conduct the games, prevented the remaining magistrates from being chosen. This also was the reason why Rufus was put in jail. He later on brought Favonius, the aedile, to the same fate on some trifling charge, in order that he might have a companion in his disgrace. All the tribunes offered various objections, and proposed, among other things, that consular tribunes should replace the consuls, so that more magistrates might be elected, as formerly. And when no one would heed them, they declared that in any case Pompey must be chosen dictator. By this pretext they secured a very long delay; for he was out of town, and of those on the spot there was no one who would venture to vote for the demand, since in remembrance of Sulla's cruelty they all hated that institution, nor yet would venture to refuse to choose Pompey, on account of their fear of him. At last, very late, he came himself, refused the dictatorship offered to him, and took measures to have the consuls named. These, likewise, on account of the turmoil arising from murders, did not appoint any successors, though they
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tάραχον κατέστησαν, καίπερ καὶ τὴν βουλευ-
tικὴν ἐσθήτα καταθέμενοι καὶ τῇ ἱππάδι τὴν
γερουσίαν ὡστε πεταίρι μεγάλῳ των πενθεὶ συνά-
γοντες. δόγμα τε ἑποιήσαντο μηδένα μὴ ἱπτα-
tηγῆσαντα μὴ δ’ ὑπατεύσαντα τὰς ἐξω ἱγεμο-
νίας, πρὶν ἂν πέντε ἐτη διέλθη, λαμβάνειν, εἰ πως ὑπὸ
tοῦ μὴ παραντίκα ἐν δυνάμει τοὺς αὐτοὺς γίγνε-
σθαι παύσαμιντο σπουδαρχούντες. οὕτε γὰρ ἐμε-
τρίαζον οὖθ’ ὑγίες οὐδὲν ἐπόσουν, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀλλη-
λοὺς παρὀμμηντο πολλὰ μὲν δαπανώμενοι πολλὰ
δ’ ἐτ’ πλεῖον μαχόμενοι, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ὑπατὸν
ποτὲ τοῦ Καλουίνων τρωθήναι. οὐκοῦν οὖθ’
ὑπατος οὕτε στρατηγὸς οὕτε πολιαρχὸς τῆς
σφας διεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ ἀναρκτοι κατὰ τοῦτο
παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ έτους
ἐγένοντο.

47 Καὶ τούτου οὕτε τι ἀλλο θρηστον συνέβη, καὶ
ἡ ἄγορα ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἀεὶ Ἐμερῶν ἀγομένη ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νουμηνία ἡχθῇ. καὶ
tούτῳ τε αὐτοῦς, ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταύταματον συμβαίν
ἀλλ’ ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ γενόμενον, ἔθοροῦσθε, καὶ
ὅτι βύας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὠφθη καὶ συνελήφθη,
ἄγαλμα τέ τι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἱδρωσε, καὶ λαμ-
pᾶς ἐκ τῶν νοτίων πρὸς ἀνατολάς διέδραμε, καὶ
πολλοί μὲν κεραυνοί πολλοί δὲ καὶ βόωλοι λίθοι
τε καὶ ὀστράκα καὶ αἴμα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἤνεχθη.

3 δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει, ἐπ’
ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τε τῶν Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν
Ἰσιων ψηφισθέν τέρας οὐδενὸς ἤττον γενέσθαι:
tοὺς γὰρ ναοὺς αὐτῶν,3 οὕτε ἰδίᾳ τινὲς ἑπεποίηντο,

1 δόγμα τε R. Steph., δόγματα L.
2 αὐτοὺς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L. 3 αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτῶν L.

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laid aside their senatorial garb and in the dress of knights, as on the occasion of some great calamity, convened the senate. They also passed a decree that no one, either an ex-praetor or an ex-consul, should assume a command abroad until five years had elapsed; they hoped that such men, by not being in a position of power immediately after holding office, would cease their craze for office. For there was no moderation and no decency at all being observed, but they vied with one another in expending great sums and, going still further, in fighting, so that once even the consul Calvinus was wounded. Hence no consul or praetor or prefect of the city had any successor, but at the beginning of the year the Romans were absolutely without a government in these branches.

No good came of all this, and among other things the market that was held on every ninth day, came on the very first day of January. This seemed to the Romans to be no mere coincidence but rather in the nature of a portent, and it accordingly caused them trepidation. The same feeling was increased when an owl was both seen and caught in the city, a statue exuded perspiration for three days, a meteor darted from the south to the east, and many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air. But it seems to me that that decree passed the previous year, near its close, with regard to Serapis and Isis, was a portent equal to any; for the senate had decided to tear down their temples, which some individuals had
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4 καθελεύν τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξεν. οὔ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ οὗτοι ἕξενικησεν ὡστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἐξω τοῦ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἰδρύσαντο.

48 Τοιαύτης οὖν τότε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ καταστάσεως οὔσης, καὶ μιθεύδος τοὺς πράγμασιν ἐπιτεταγμένου, σφαγαί καὶ θα’ ἐκάστην ἦμερὰν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγίγνοντο, τάς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας, καίτοις πεποίηται ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δεκασιών καὶ φῶνως δι’ αὐτὰς χρώ-2 μενοι, οὐκ ἔπετέλουν. οὗ γὰρ Μίλων ὑπατεῖαν αἰτῶν τὸν Κλώδιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπλίᾳ ὁδὸ εὐνυχώτατα οἱ τὸ μέν πρῶτον ἀτλός πως ἔτρωσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθεῖς μὴ ἐπεξέληθα τῷ γεγονότι κατέσφαξεν, ἐλπίσας, ἔπειδη πάντας τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ποιήσατο εὐθὺς ἡλευθέρωσε, ράθος τοῦ φῶνου τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ τραύματος εἰ περί-3 γίγνοτο ἀφεθήσεσθαι. ἀκούσαντες οὖν τοῦθ’ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεινῶς ἐταράχθησαν ταῖς τε γὰρ στάσεων ἀφορμῇ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου, εἰ καὶ ἐμίσουν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὁμοι διὰ τὸ τὸ 4 ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Μίλωνος στερηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη 49 ἡθελον, ἡγανάκτων. παραλαβὼντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἔχοντας ὁ τε Ρούφος καὶ Τίτος Μουνάτιος Πλάγκοις προσπαραξεύναν δημαρχοῦντες γὰρ ἐς τε τὴν ἄγοραν τὸν 5 νεκρὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔσθεκομισαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐπέθεσαν πᾶσι τε ἐπεδείκνυσαν, καὶ ἐπέλεγον οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ὁδυρόμενοι, ὡστε τὸν ὁμιλοῦν καὶ ἐξ ὄν ἐφέρων καὶ ἐξ ὄν ἢκουν συν-

1 διε Rk., διτι L. 2 ἐπεξέλῃ R. Steph., ἐέλῃ L.
3 πάντας R. Steph., πάντες L.
4 ἡλευθέρωσε Leounol., ἡλευθερώσει L.
5 τὸ R. Steph., τὸν L. 6 τὸν added by Rk.

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built on their own account. Indeed, for a long time they did not believe in these gods, and even when the rendering of public worship to them gained the day, they settled them outside the pomerium.

Such being the state of things in the city at that time, with no one in charge of affairs, murders occurred practically every day, and they could not hold the elections, although men were eager to win the offices and employed bribery and assassination to secure them. Milo, for instance, who was seeking the consulship, met Clodius on the Appian Way and at first simply wounded him; then, fearing he would avenge the deed, he slew him, hoping that after he had immediately freed all the servants concerned in the affair, he would be more easily acquitted of the murder, once the man was dead, than he would be of the assault, in case he should survive. The people in the city heard of this toward evening and were thrown into a terrible uproar; to the factions it served as an incentive to war and misdeeds, while those who were neutrals, even though they hated Clodius, yet on account of humanity and because on this excuse they hoped to get rid of Milo also, showed indignation. While they were in this frame of mind Rufus and Titus Munatius Plancus took them in hand and excited them to greater wrath. As tribunes they conveyed the body into the Forum just before dawn, placed it on the rostra, exhibited it to all, and spoke appropriate words over it with lamentations. So the populace, as a result of what it both saw and heard, was deeply stirred.
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taráxhēnai, kai μήτε τοῦ ὀσίου ἑτὶ φροντίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα συνηχείαν, πᾶσαν δὲ ὅλγου τὴν πόλιν κατα-
πρῆσαι. τὸ γὰρ σώμα τοῦ Κλωδίου ἀράμενοι ἐς τὲ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆνεγκαν, καὶ εὐθεῖαν, καὶ 
μετὰ τοῦτο πυρὰν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων συνήσαντες 2
3 ἔκαναν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ συνέδριον. οὕτω τε οὕς ὀρμὴ τινὶ, οἳ ποὺ τοὺς ὄχλους ἑξαπιναία κατα-
λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως αὐτὸ ἐπραξαν 
ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην τὸ περὶδειπνου ἐν αὐτῇ 
η ἀγορᾷ, τυφομένου ἐτὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ποιῆσαι, 
καὶ προσέται καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος
4 καταφλέξαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ἑκείνῃ μὲν οὕς πολλῶν
ἀυτῆ ἀμυνατῶν οὐκ ἐκαύθη. ὁ δὲ δὴ Μίλων τέως 
μὲν περίφοβοι ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὄν ἐκρύπτετο, οὕς 
ὑπὸ ἱδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππεῶν βουλευτῶν 
τὴν τινῶν προμιχλαμοὺς. ἔπει δὲ τοῦτο τε ἐγένετο 
καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἐς τὸ τῶν ἀντιστα-
5 σωτῶν μίασμα περιχωρήσειν ἡλπίσειν (εὐθὺς 
γοὺς τῆς δείλης ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο 
συλλεγέντες τὸν τῇ μεσοβασιλέα προχειρισθῆναι, 
καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς 
threnχοὺς καὶ προσέται καὶ τὸν Πομπῆιον ἐπι-
μεληθῆναι ὡστε μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι, 
ἐγκαθίσαστο), προφεί τε ἐς τὸ 3 μέσον καὶ τῆς 
ἀρχῆς ὀμολογῆς ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀντεποιητο.
50 Μάχαι τε οὕς ἑκ τοῦτου πολλὰ καὶ σφαγαὶ 
ἀθικὸς ἐγγύνοντο, ὡστε τὴν βουλῆν ἑς τε προερ-
μένα ἐπικυρωῦσαι, καὶ τὸν Πομπῆιον μεταπέμψα-
σθαι, καταλόγους τε αὐτῷ καινοὺς ποιῆσασθαι

1 μήτε τοῦ ὀσίου supplied by Bk.
2 συνήσαντες Polak, ἑνήσαντες L.
3 τὸ added by St.

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and no longer showed any regard for things sacred or profane, but overthrew all the customs of burial and burned down nearly the whole city. They took up the body of Clodius and carried it into the senate-house, laid it out properly, and then after heaping up a pyre out of the benches burned both the corpse and the building. They did not do this under the stress of such an impulse as often takes sudden hold of crowds, but with such deliberate purpose that at the ninth hour they held the funeral feast in the Forum itself, with the senate-house still smouldering; and they furthermore undertook to apply the torch to Milo's house. It was not burned, however, because many defended it. But Milo, in great terror because of the murder, was meanwhile in hiding, being guarded not only by ordinary citizens but also by knights and some senators; and when this other deed occurred, he hoped that the wrath of the senate would shift to the outrage of the opposing faction. The senators, indeed, did at once assemble on the Palatine late in the afternoon for this very purpose, and they voted that an interrex should be chosen, and that he and the tribunes and Pompey should look after the guarding of the city, so that it should suffer no harm. Milo, accordingly, made his appearance in public, and pressed his claims to the office as strongly as before, if not more strongly.

Thereupon conflicts and much bloodshed occurred once more, so that the senate adopted the aforementioned measures, summoned Pompey, allowed him to make fresh levies, and changed their
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2 ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὰ ἔσθήματα ἀλλάξασθαι. ἑλθόντος τε αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλῷ ύστερον ἔξω τοῦ πωμήριον πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ αὐτοῦ σὺν φρούρα ᾱθροίσθησαν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ὡστὰ ἀνελέσθαι ἐγνωσαν, τὸ τε βουλευτήριον τῷ Φαύστῳ τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου νυὲι ἀνουκοδομῆσαι προσέταξαν.

3 ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ Ὄστιλλον, μετεσκέυαστο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου. διὸ τοῦτο τε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔδοξε, καὶ ὅπως ἔξωκοδομηθὲν τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα ἀπολάβη. μετεώρον δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὀύσης ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρξοντὶς σφών, καὶ διαθροούντων τῶν μὲν ὡς δικτάτορα τῶν Πομπηίων, τῶν δὲ ὡς ὑπατον τῶν Καίσαρα

4 αἰρεθῆναι δεὶ (οὔτω γὰρ ποὺ ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐπὶ τοὺς κατειργασμένους αὐτὸν ἐτίμων ὡστε καὶ ἐξήκουσι ήµέρας θύσαι ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ψυχίσασθαι), φοβηθέντες ἐκάτερον οί τε ἄλλοι βουλευταί καὶ Βίβουλος, ὅσπερ ποὺ τὴν γνώµην πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεῖς ποιήσεσθαι ἐμελλε, προκατέλαβον τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ὀρµήν, τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν ὑπατείαν, ὡστε μὴ δικτάτορα αὐτὸν λεχθῆναι, καὶ μόνῳ γε, ἵνα μὴ ὁ

5 Καίσαρ αὐτῷ συνάρχῃ, δόντες. ξένων μὲν δὴ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μηδένος ἄλλου γενόμενον ἐπραξαν, καίτοι ὅρθῶς αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦττον τοῦ Καίσαρος τῷ ὀµίλῳ προσέκειτο, ἀπορρήξειν τε αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἐκείνου παντάπασι καὶ σφετερισθεὶς ἠλπίσαν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὔτως· τῷ τε γὰρ καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπαρθεῖς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν τῶν τῶν πολλῶν χάριν ἐβούλευσεν, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ τῇ βουλῇ ἀρέσκοντα ἐπραξαν.

1 αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτῶι L. 2 ἡθροίσθησαν Rk., ἡθροίσαν L. 3 διὸ Bk., διὰ L. 4 αὐτοῦ Xyl., αὐτοῦς L. 5 ἀπολάβῃ Reim., ἀποθάλη L. 6 δεὶ supplied by Rk. 7 καίτοι Carpe, καὶ L.
garments. Upon his arrival not long afterward they assembled under guard near his theatre outside the pomerium, and resolved to take up the bones of Clodius, and also assigned the rebuilding of the senate-house to Faustus, the son of Sulla. It was the Curia Hostilia, which had been remodelled by Sulla; hence they came to this decision about it and ordered that when restored it should receive again the name of the same man. The city was in a fever of excitement about the magistrates who should rule it, some talking to the effect that Pompey should be chosen dictator and others that Caesar should be made consul. They were so determined to honour the latter for his achievements that they voted a thanksgiving of sixty\(^1\) days because of them. Fearing both of the men, the rest of the senate and Bibulus, who was first to be asked and to declare his opinion, forestalled the enthusiasm of the populace by giving the consulship to Pompey, so as to prevent his being named dictator, and to him alone, in order that he might not have Caesar as his colleague. This action of theirs was novel, having been taken in no other case; and [yet] they seemed to have acted with good judgment. For since Pompey favoured the populace less than Caesar, they hoped to detach him from them altogether and to make him their own. And this expectation was fulfilled. Elated by the novelty and unexpectedness of the honour, he no longer formed any plan to gratify the populace, but was careful to do everything that pleased the senate.

\(^{1}\) Twenty days according to Caesar (B. G. vii, 90). Reimar thought "sixty" an error of the copyists.
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51 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνος ἀρξαί ἠθέλησεν· τὴν γὰρ εὐκλειαν ἐν τῷ δεδόχθαί τοῦτ’ ἔχων, τὸν φθόνον τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐξέκλινε. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μήποτε κενῆς τῆς χώρας οὐσίς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκ τε τῆς τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλῆθους συνοδῆς συνάρχων 2 αὐτῷ δοθῆ, ἐκείνῳ μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς παρημελήσθαι νομίσῃ κακτοῦ τινὰ ὅργην δικαίαν ποιήσηται, παρεσκέυασε διὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιτραπήναι καὶ ἀπότεινε τὴν ἀρχήν, όταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκη, 4 αἰτήσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ Κύντων Σκιπίωνο πενθερὸν τέ ὁ ὄντα καὶ δεκασμοῦ αἰτίαν

3 ἔχοντα προσελέστω. οὐτός γὰρ γονός μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Νασικοῦ ὃν, ἐκ δὲ δὴ κλήρου διαδοχῆς ἐστὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς γένους ποιηθεὶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ φέρον, τὴν τε θυγατέρα τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔξεδωκε, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ὑπατειάν καὶ τὸ μὴ κακηγορηθῆναι ἀντέ-

52 λαβε. πάνω γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκλῆματι τοῦτῳ εὐδύνησαν, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτι τὰ δικαστήρια ἀκριβέστερον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου νόμων συνήγησαν. πάντας τε γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐξ ὧν τοὺς δικάσιον ἀποκληρουθεῖν ἔδει Αὐτός ἐπέλεγεν, καὶ τὸν τῶν συναγορευσόντων ἐκατέρθη τῷ μέρει ἀριθμὸν ἀριστεῖν, ὥστε μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀποκληρομένους ἐκταράτεσθαι. χρόνου τε τῷ μὲν διώκοντι δύο ὡραῖς, τῷ δὲ φεύγοντι τρεῖς δίδονται ἐκέλευσε. καὶ δὴ μάλιστα πλείστος ἐλημαίνετο, τὸ τίνας ἐπανεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κρινο-

1 τὸς added by Bk. 2 ἐκεῖνῳ Xyl., ἐκείνῳ L.
3 νομίσῃ Bk., νομισθῆ L.
4 καθήκη B. Steph., καθήκη L. 5 ἔδει Bk., ἔδοκει L.
6 συναγορευσόντων Rk., συναγορευσόντων L.
7 τὸ added by Rk.

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He did not, however, wish to hold office alone. For now that he had the glory that lay in the passing of such a vote, he wished to avoid the envy attaching to it. He also feared that, if the place were vacant, Caesar might be given him as colleague through the enthusiasm of his troops and the populace alike. First of all, therefore, in order that his rival might not think he had been entirely neglected and therefore show some just displeasure, he arranged through the tribunes that Caesar should be permitted even in his absence to be a candidate for the office, when the proper time came according to law; he then chose as his colleague Quintus Scipio, who was his father-in-law and was under a charge of bribery. This man, by birth the son of Nasica, had been adopted into the family of Metellus Pius as the latter’s heir, and for that reason also bore his name. He had given his daughter in marriage to Pompey, and now received in turn from him the consulship and immunity from accusation. Very many had been called to account on the charge mentioned, especially because the trials, by Pompey’s laws, were more carefully conducted. He himself selected the entire list of names from which drawings for jurors must be made, and he limited the number of advocates on each side, in order that the jurymen might not be confused and embarrassed by their number. And he ordered that the time allotted to the plaintiff should be only two hours, and to the defendant three. But what grieved a great many most was his reform of the custom whereby character-witnesses were brought forward by those on trial, with the result that great
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μένων δίδοσθαι (πάμπολλοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξιοπιστῶν ἐπαινούμενοι ἐξηρπάζοντο), ἐπηνώθωσε, νομοθετήσας μηδένα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐπαινέτην. 3 τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἄλλα τέτινα κατὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐτάχθη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ περὶ 2 τὰς ἀρχὰς δεκαξιοῦσι καὶ τοὺς προεαυλώκοτας ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ 3 τινὶ καθηγόρους ἐπέστησεν, ἄθλων σφισιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον προθείς.

4 εἰ γὰρ τις ἤτοι δύο τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν τε ἐλαττόνων ἢ καὶ ἕνα τῶν μειξόνων τῆς 4 καθ' ἐαυτὸν αἰτίας εἴλεν, ἀδειαν εὑρίσκετο.

53 Ἀλλοι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ ἐάλωσαν 5 καὶ Πλαύτιος Ἠσαίος ἀνταιτήσας τῷ τε Μίλωνι καὶ τῷ Σκιτῶν τὴν υπατείαν. τῶν γὰρ δὴ τριῶν 2 δωροφορησάμενων μόνος ἐκεῖνος κατεδικάσθη. ὡς τε γὰρ Σκιτῶν ἐγράφη μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ δυοῖν γε, οὐκ ἐκρίθη δὲ διὰ τὸν Πομπήιον 6 καὶ οἱ Μίλων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ οὐκ ἑσθήκη (τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φόνου ἔγκλημα μείζον εἶχεν), ὑπαχθέος δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐάλω, μηδὲν δυνῆτε διὰ βίαιον δρᾶσαι. ὡς γὰρ Πομπήιος τὴν τε ἀλλην πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ 3 ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον σὺν ὀπλίταις ἐσῆλθε, θορυβησάμενων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τινῶν προσέταξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκδιώξει αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πλαγιῶς καὶ πλατέσι τοῖς ξίφεσι παῖσιν εἰς ὑπείρακον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπειδὴ τε οὖν ὑπείρακον ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐν παίδια την πλαγιοξόμενον υβρίζων, καὶ ἑτρώθησαν τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

54 Τά τε οὖν δικαστήρια ἡσύχως ἐκ τούτων συνή-

1 ἐπαινέτην Bk., ἄξειναι εἰν L.
2 περὶ added by Cary.
3 τοιούτῳ Oddey, τοιούτῳ L.
4 τῆς Rk., ἡ τῆς L.
5 ἐάλωσαν Bs., καὶ ἐάλωσαν L.
6 τούτῳ St., τούτῳ L.
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numbers were snatched from justice because they were commended by credible witnesses; he had a measure passed that no character-witnesses at all should henceforth be allowed to such persons. These and other reforms he applied to all the courts alike; and against those who practised bribery for office he raised up as accusers those who had formerly been convicted of some such offence, setting before the latter no small prize. For if any one secured the conviction of two men on charges similar to the one against himself, or even on slighter charges, or of one man on a greater charge, he gained pardon himself.

Among many others who were thus convicted was Plautius Hypsaeus, who had been a rival of Milo and of Scipio for the consulship. Though all three had been guilty of bribery, he alone was convicted. Scipio was indicted, and by two persons at that, but had not been tried, thanks to Pompey’s influence; and Milo was not charged with this crime, since he had the more serious charge of murder against him, but when he was brought to trial on this latter charge, he was convicted, as he was unable to use any violence. For Pompey kept the rest of the city well under guard and entered the court himself with armed soldiers. When some raised an outcry at this, he ordered the soldiers to drive them out of the Forum by striking them with the side or the flat of their swords; and when they still would not yield, but jeered as if they were being struck in sport, some of them were wounded and killed.

The courts convened in quiet in consequence of
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gero, kal éndikaiôthísan épí te étérous tisî pollloi kai épí tòv toû Kloudhîou fónw álloi te kal o Mílôn, káitoi toû Kikérwvva svnagwngisthn íxwv.

2 ó gâr rçêwv èkeívous tón te Poomhîon kai tòu svstratwvta én tò dikasthîrwv pârâ tò kathêsthtkôs ídów eîxplâgh kai kâtêdeisven, òste tòw mév pâreskenvswmévwn mhûdevn eûpeîn, brâchû dé tì kai tevnikôs ëalêpâvâs fhevèxâmévnon âgasptôtos metasyñnav. tòuv tòv gâr tòv lîgon toû tòn fêrîmewn ós kai úpèr tòv Mílwnos tòte lexhênta chrîwv pòth ùsterev kai kata sçholhn ânâbarhsas ëgrâphe.

3 kai ðh kai toûwde tì perî autôv pàradêdota. o Mílôn tòv lîgon pevmhênti oû up' autôv èntugíwv (èpêvugádeutô gâr) anntêstêilel égân oû én tûxh autô ègrêneto tò mh taûth ouxw kai én tòv dikasthîrwv lexhêhînai. ou gâr ãn toiaûtás én tì Mâssalía (èn ð kàtâ tìn fynîh ën) trîglas

4 èsthîeun, eîper tì toûwûvôn àpellelougðto. toûto dè ègrapheun oux òti toûs pàroûvôn ërêskeu (pòllâ gâr épî tì kathôdou èpetómhesen) âll' ès toû Kikérwvva ápòsçwptovn, òti mhûdevn chrêstouv én tòv 
tûs àpologías kairfè eîpôv èpêiva àkáprous lîgous kai èmélêta kai èpêmpuneî 2 autôv, òsper tì ëfêlêsas toût auûtvôn ònâmêvous. 3

55 'O te ouv Mîlôn ouûs ëalâo, kai o 'Róûfous o te Plâgkon 4 èpêidh pròtvon èk tûs àrhûs èxhîlhou, állloi te sùn autôv sçxhov diâ tûn toû boulênthrwv ëmprhsewn, káitoi tòf

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1 anntêstêile Reim., antâstêile L.
2 èpêmpune Leuncl., èpêven L.
3 ònâmêvous Leuncl., ònâmèvos L.
4 Plâgkon R. Steph., plâkhnos L.
these reforms, and many were convicted on various charges, among others, Milo for the murder of Clodius, though he had Cicero to defend him. That orator, seeing Pompey and the soldiers in the court, contrary to custom, was alarmed and overwhelmed with dread, so that he did not deliver the speech he had prepared at all, but after uttering with difficulty a few words that all but died on his lips, was glad to retire. The speech which is now extant, purporting to have been delivered at that time in behalf of Milo, he wrote some time later and at leisure, when he had recovered his courage. Indeed, the following story has come down about it. When Milo, in banishment, had read the speech sent to him by Cicero, he wrote back saying that it was lucky for him those words had not been spoken in that form in the court; for he should not be eating such mullets in Massilia (where he was passing his exile), if any such defence had been made. This he wrote, not because he was pleased with his condition,—indeed, he made many efforts to secure his return,—but as a joke on Cicero, because the orator, after saying nothing useful at the time of the defence, had later composed and sent to him these fruitless words, as if they could then be of any service to him.

In this way Milo was convicted; and so were Rufus and Plancus, as soon as they had finished their term of office, together with numerous others, on account of the burning of the senate-house. Plancus
Πλάγκῳ καὶ τοῦ Πομπήίου συσπουδάσαντος,1 ὡστε καὶ βιβλίον ἐπαινών τε ἀμα αὐτοῦ καὶ
2 ἱκετείαν ἔχουν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐπεμψεν· οὐκ ἡτανόμεν δὲ ἐμελλένιον ὅ
ἐφη τῶν ἐπαινήτων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νόμων
καταλύσει προσίεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτι τὴν
ψήφου ἐδώκεν· οὐκ Ὁπλάγκῳ ὡς καὶ την
καθαιρήσουσαν αὐτὸν οἴσοντα ἐξέκρινεν (ἐξὶν
γάρ, ἐκ τῶν Πομπήίων νόμων, πέντε ἐκατέρφι
τῶν διαδικούντων ἐκ τῶν δικάσεων σφίσι μελ-
3 λότων ἀπολέγειν). οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι δικασταὶ
κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς
ἐχειν ἐδοξέσας σφίς, τοῦ Ρούφου κατεγραφόμενων,
ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς κρινόμενον ἀφεῖναι· καὶ
ἐπειδὴ τὸν Πομπήίον συνανρόμενον οἱ εἰδοῦν,
ἀντεπούδασαν αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ δούλοι τινες ἄν-
τικρις αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ δικασταῖ νομισθῶσιν
4 εἶναι. καὶ περὶ τὸν Κλήρον οὐδὲν βέλτιον
tοῦ Πλάγκου κατηγόρησεν ἡ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος
ἀπελογήσατο. ἡ τε γὰρ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅψις
ἡ αὐτῇ ἦν, καὶ ὁ Πομπήίος ἐν ἐκατέρφῳ τάναντια
οἱ καὶ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ ἔπραττεν, οἶχεν οὐχ ἡκιστὰ
αὐθεὶς αὐτῷ προσέκρουσε.
56 Ταύτᾶ τε ὅνν ἀμα διώκει, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν
ἀρχαιερείων νόμων τῶν κελεύοντα τοὺς ἄρχην
tινα ἐπαγγέλλωντας ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάντως
ἀπαντῶν, ὡστε μηδένα ἀπόλυτα αἴρείσθαι, παρη-
μελημένοι πως ἀνενεώσατο· τὸ τε δόγμα τὸ μι-
κρὸν ἐκπροσθῆ γενόμενον, ὡστε τοὺς ἀρχηγὰς ἐν
tῇ πόλει μὴ πρότερον ἐς τὰς ἐξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν

1 συσπουδάσαντος R. Steph., σπουδάσαντος L.

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was not saved even by the efforts of Pompey, who was a.c. 52 so zealous in his behalf that he sent to the court a pamphlet containing both a eulogy of Milo and an entreaty in his behalf. But Marcus Cato, who was to be a juryman, said he would not allow the character-witness to appear to the destruction of his own laws; however, he got no opportunity to cast his vote, since he was rejected by Plancus, who felt sure he would vote for his condemnation. By the laws of Pompey, it should be explained, each of the parties to a suit was allowed to set aside five of the men who were to be on the jury. The other jurors, however, voted against Milo, since it did not seem right to them after they had condemned Rufus to acquit Plancus, who was on trial on the same charge; and particularly when they saw Pompey cooperating with him, they became zealous in opposing him, for fear they might be thought to be absolute slaves of his rather than jurors. It should be said that on this occasion, too, Cicero accused Plancus no more successfully than he had defended Milo; for the appearance of the courtroom was the same, and Pompey in each case was advising and acting against him—a circumstance that was important in bringing about another collision between them.  

Besides attending to these matters Pompey revived the law about elections that commanded those who seek an office to present themselves without fail before the assembly, so that no one who was absent might be chosen; this law had somehow fallen into disuse. He also confirmed the decree, passed a short time previously, that those who had held office in the city should not be assigned to command abroad until

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1 See chap. 52.
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πέντε ἦτη παρελθείν, κληροῦσθαι, ἐπεκύρωσεν. 2 οὖδ' ἁγχύνθη τότε μὲν τοιαύτα γράψας, υστερον δὲ οὗ πολλῷ αὐτός τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐς πέντε ἄλλα ἑτη λαβών, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπόντι (οἱ γὰρ φίλοι αὐτοῦ δεινὸς ἡγανάκτου) αἰτήσατι τὴν 3 ὑπατείαν, ὡσπερ ἐψῆφιστο, δοὺς. προσέγραψε 2 μὲν γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τὸ μόνοις αὐτὸ ἐξείναι ποιεῖν οἷς ἄν ὄνομασί τε καὶ ἀντικριν ἐπιτραπῇ, διέφερε δ᾽ οὐδὲν τούτο τοῦ μηδ’ ἀρχὴν κεκωλύσθαι: πάντως γὰρ οἳ 3 τι δυνάμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψηφισθὲναι σφικι διαπραξαθῆ εἰμελλον.

57 'Ο μὲν οὖν Πομπήιος τοιαῦτ’ ἐπολιτεύετο, ο δὲ δὴ Σκυπίών οὔτε ἐνομοθέτησε τι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου περὶ τῶν τιμητῶν γραφέντα κατέλυσε. καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων χάριν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ πρὶν 2 εἰχον ἀπέδωκε, περιέστη δὲ ἐς τοὺς ναυτίους. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ 4 πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ φλαύρους ἀνδρὰς εἶναι, τέως μὲν μηδένα μήτε κατηγορηθέντα μὴθ’ ἀλὸντα διαγράψῃ σφίσιν ἐξῆν, οὐδέμιαν τῶν οὐκ ἀπαλει-

3 φυμένων αἰτιῶν εἰχον’ ἀπολαβῶντες δὲ τὴν ἀρ-

χαίαν ἵσχυν, ὡς’ ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ἐξετάζουσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐδέδοτο, οὔτε πολλοὶς προσκρούειν ὑπέμεινον, οὔτ’ αὖ ἐν μέμψῃ τινὶ ὡς μὴ διαγράφοντες τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτη-

δεῖσιν γίνεσθαι θελεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐφίετο 5 ἐτὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐμφρόνων οὐδὲ εἰς.

1 τότε μὲν Rk., μὲν τότε L.
2 προσέγραψε R., προσέγραψε L.
3 οἱ Xyl., ο Λ.
4 τοῦ Xyl., τοῦ L.
5 ἐφίετο R., ἐφίετο L.

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five years had passed. And yet, after proposing these measures at this time, he was not ashamed a little later to take Spain himself for five years more and to grant to Caesar, whose friends were in a terrible state of indignation, the right to canvass for the consulship even in his absence, as had been decreed. For he had amended the law to read that only those should be permitted to do it who were granted the privilege by name and without disguise; but this was no different from its not having been prohibited at all, for men who had any influence were certainly going to manage to get the right voted to them. Such were the political acts of Pompey.

Scipio, without enacting any new laws, abolished the laws emanating from Clodius with regard to the censors. It looked as though he had done this out of favour to them, since he had restored to them the authority which they formerly had; but it turned out to be the opposite. For in view of the fact that there were many unworthy men both in the equestrian and in the senatorial orders, so long as it had not been permitted them to expel any one who had been either accused or convicted, no fault was found with them on account of those whose names were not expunged. But when they got back their old power and were allowed to do this on their own authority after examining into the life of each man, they had not the hardihood to come to an open break with many, nor had they, on the other hand, any desire to incur censure for failing to expel men who were unfit to retain their rank, and for this reason no sensible person had any desire for the office any longer.

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58 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς τιμητὰς ταῦτ’ ἐψηφίσθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἀλλως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχής ἐδείτο, ἱδὼν δὲ τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας αὐξανομένους, καὶ ὑποτοπήσας ἦτοι καὶ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς τὰ πράγματα ἔξειν, ἢ καὶ διενεχθέντας ἀλλήλων στάσιν τε μεγίστην ποιήσει καὶ τὸν κρατήσαντα αὐτῶν μοναρχήσειν, ἤθελησε μὲν σφᾶς πρὶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι καταλῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔτησεν, ἐπειδὴ τετελεῖσθε ἱδωτεύων οὐδὲν ἵσχύσεων ἐμελλεν, ὑποπτευκείς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἢ ἐκείνων προτότοκων τοιοῦτον τι δράσειν οὐκ ἀπεδέιχθη, ἀλλ’ ὦ τε Μάρκελλος ὦ
3 Μάρκος καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Σουλπτίκιος, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐμπειρίαν ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δύναμιν, ἤρεθησαν, ἀλλως τε καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν ἢ βιαίῳ τινί ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ γε ἐπὶ θεραπεῖα καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει πολλῇ πρὸς πάντας ἔχρησαντο, ὦ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὐδένα αὐτῶν
4 ἐθεράπευσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτ’ αὖθις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσατο, λέγων ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον εἶναι μὴ’ ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν, ἄν γέ τινες χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἐθελήσωσι, μὴθ’ ὑπὲρ
59 τὸ προσέκον αὐτῆς ἐφίεσθαι. Μάρκελλος δὲ πάντ’ εὔθυς ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλύσει (τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδος ἢν) ἔπραττε, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ αὐτῷ πολλά, καὶ ὅστε καὶ διάδοχον οἱ ἢ δὴ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πεμφθήναι, ἐσπεργήσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὦ τε Σουλπτίκιος καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τινῶν ἀντεπράξαν, οὕτως μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα χάριτι ἐκείνος δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώσατο

1 ἤρεθησαν Xyl., δηρέθησαν L. 2 γε Bk., τε L.
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This was the vote passed with regard to the censors. Cato did not really want any office, but seeing Caesar and Pompey outgrowing the constitution, and surmising that they would either get control of affairs together or would quarrel with each other and cause a great civil war, the victor in which would be sole ruler, he wished to overthrow them before they became antagonists, and sought the consulship to use it against them, because as a private citizen he would have no influence. His designs were guessed, however, by the adherents of the two men and he was not appointed, but instead Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were chosen, the one on account of his acquaintance with the law and the other for his ability as an orator. One special reason was that they, even if they did not employ money or violence, yet showed great deference to all and were wont to appeal frequently to the people, whereas Cato was deferential to none of them. He never again became a candidate for the office, saying that it was the duty of an upright man not to shirk the leadership of the state if any wished to use his services in that way, nor yet to pursue it beyond the limits of propriety. Marcellus at once directed all his efforts toward compassing the downfall of Caesar, inasmuch as he was of Pompey's party; among the many measures against him that he proposed was one to the effect that a successor to him should be sent out even before the appointed time. He was resisted by Sulpicius and some of the tribunes; the latter acted out of good-will toward Caesar, and Sulpicius made common cause with them and with the multitude, because he
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καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι 1 οὐκ ἦρεσκε τὸ 2 τινα μεταξὺ 2 ἀρχοντα μηδὲν ἥδικηκότα παυθῆναι. μαθὼν οὖν ταυτ’ ὁ Πομπήιος (ἀπήρε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὡς καὶ ἐσ τῆν Ἰβηρίαν στρατεύσων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπο- στρατήγοις πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ προορίζας αὐτὸς τῇ 3 πόλει ἐφήδρευεν) τὸ μὲν δὴ τὸν Καῖσαρα τῆς ἠγε- μονίας παραλυθῆναι οὐδὲ ἐαυτῷ ἄρεσκειν ἐπιλάτ- τετο, ἐπραττε δ’ ὅπως, ὅταν τὸν δεδομένον οἱ χρόνοι διάρξης 3 (τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν ἀλλ’ εἰθὺς τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει γενήσεσθαι ἐξελλε) τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθνῄται καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθη. 4 καὶ διὰ τούτο τοῦ Γάιον τοῦ Μάρκου 4 ἀνεφίλον ἢ καὶ ἀδελφὸν (λέγεται γὰρ ἐκατερον) ὑπατεύσαι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Καῖσαρι καὶ περ ἕξ ἐπιγαμίας προσήκων ἐχθρὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸν Κου- ρίωνα τὸν Γάιον, δι’ ἐχθρας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ ὅντα, δημαρχῆσαι ἐποίησεν.

60 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μῆτ’ ἄλλως ὑπομένων ἐκ τε τηλικαύτης καὶ ἐκ χρόνιον ἡγεμονίας ἰδιωτεύσαι, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπί τοῖς ἐχθροὶς γένναι, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ ἐμμενῶν, καὶ στρατιώτας προσκατελέγετο καὶ χρήματα ἔκφρωζεν ὅπλα τε ἐποίει, καὶ καθ’ 2 ἡδονήν πᾶσιν ἤγειτο. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ οἰκον εἰργῶν τινά, τοῦ μὴ πάντα 5 βλα ἄλλα καὶ πει- θοὶ πράττεν δοκεῖν, προδιοικήσας ἐθελήσας

1 τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι Madvig, δτι τοῖς πολλοῖς L.
2 ἦρεσκε τό Rk., ἦρεσκετὸ L.
3 διάρξη Rk., διαπάραξ L.
4 τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου supplied by Bk., Μάρκου (only) by Leuncl.
5 πάντα Rk., πάντη L.

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did not like the idea of a magistrate who had done no wrong being removed in the middle of his term. Pompey had set out from the city as if he were going to make an expedition into Spain, but he did not even at this time leave the bounds of Italy; instead, he assigned the entire business in Spain to his lieutenants and himself kept close watch on the city. Now when he heard how things were going, he pretended that the plan of having Caesar relieved of his command did not please him, either, but he arranged matters so that when Caesar should have served out the time allowed him,—an event not of the distant future, but due to occur the very next year,—he should lay down his arms and return home to private life. It was in pursuance of this object that he caused Gaius Marcellus, a cousin of Marcus, or a brother (both traditions are current), to obtain the consulship, because, although allied to Caesar by marriage, he was hostile to him; and he caused Gaius Curio, who was also an old-time foe of his rival, to become tribune.

Caesar was on no account inclined to become a private citizen after holding so important a command and for such a long time, and in particular he was afraid of falling into the power of his enemies. Therefore he made preparations to stay in office in spite of them, collected additional soldiers, gathered money, provided arms, and administered affairs in such a manner as to please all. Meanwhile, desiring to arrange matters at home beforehand in some fashion, so as not to seem to be using violence in all things, but also persuasion to gain his ends, he decided to effect a reconciliation with

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ἐγώ συναλλαγήναι τῷ Κουρίων. τοῦ τε γὰρ τῶν Κουρίων γένος ἦν, καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὄξυς, εἰπεῖν τε δεινός, τῷ τε πλήθει πιθανότατος, καὶ χρήματον ἔσ πάντα ἀπλῶς ἔξ ὧν ἦ αὐτὸς τι πλεονεκτήσειν ἤ καὶ έτέρῳ διαπράξειν ἡλπίζειν αφεδέστατος.

3 καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ μὲν ἑπελπίσας, πάντων δὲ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, συχνῶν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δαπανᾶσθαι ὄντων, ἀπαλλάξας ἀνρητήσατο. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν παρούσαν δὲν ἐπραττε σπουδὴν οὔτε ἀργυρίον, ἀτε καὶ εἴ καποῖον ἐκεῖνοι ἀργυρολογῶν, ἐφείδετο, καὶ προσυπισχεῖτο τις παμπληθῇ ὧν οὐδὲ πολὺ

4 λοστὸν μέρος δῶσειν ἐμελλε. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς τι καὶ ὅπωςον παρὰ τοὺς δεσπότας σφῶν δυναμένους θεράπευσε καὶ συνυπολοίκα ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν θουλευτῶν ὑπηρέταν.

61 'Ο δ' οὖν Κουρίων ἐφρόνησε μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καισαροῦ, οὖν μέντοι καὶ παρακρήμα φανερῶς αὐτὰ πράττειν ἤξετο, πρόφασιν τε γὰρ εὐπρήπη τοῦ μὴ καὶ ἐκῶν ἄλλα ἀναγκασθεῖς δὴ μεθεστηκέναι δόξαν ἐξῆτε, καὶ ἐνόμισεν, ὅσφ 5 ἄν ἐπὶ πλείον τοῖς ἐχθροῖσ αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ φίλος σφῶν συγγενῆται, καὶ πλείον καὶ μείζω τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν μαθῇ 2 σεσθαί. δι' οὖν τάντα ἐπὶ μακρότατον τε ἐπεκρύφατο, καὶ ὅπως μηδένα τρόπον ὑποπτευθῆ μεταβεβλῆσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ ἄνα πρώτοις καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τότε ἑτε καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ ἐδημηγόρει κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀφ' οὐ γε καὶ δημαρχεῖν ἠξετα, καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο

1 συναλλαγήναι Reim., συλλαγήναι L.
2 πολλὰ μὲν Bk., μὲν πολλὰ L. 3 οὔτε Xyl., οὔτε γὰρ L.
4 γε H. Steph., τε L. 5 ὅσφ Rk., ὡς L.

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Curio. For the latter belonged to the family of the Curiones, had a keen intellect, was eloquent, was greatly trusted by the populace, and most lavish of money for all objects by which he hoped either to gain advantage for himself or benefit others. So, by buoying him up with many hopes and relieving him of all his debts, which on account of his extravagance were numerous, Caesar attached him to himself. In view of the present importance of the objects for which he was working Caesar did not spare money, since the attainment of these ends would afford him an abundance, and he also promised various persons large sums, of which he had no intention of giving them even the smallest fraction. He courted not only the free but the slaves who had any influence whatever with their masters, and as a result a number of the knights and of the senators joined his side.

Thus Curio espoused Caesar's cause; but he did not immediately begin to serve him openly, since he was seeking a plausible excuse, so as to appear not to have transferred his allegiance willingly, but under compulsion. He also took into consideration that the more he should associate with Caesar's enemies in the guise of their friend, the more and the greater would be the secrets of theirs he should learn. For these reasons he dissembled for a long time, and to prevent any suspicion of the fact that he had changed sides and was not still at this time among the foremost in feeling and expressing unqualified opposition to Caesar, he even delivered public speeches against him, as soon as he had entered upon the tribuneship, and introduced many strange
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3 πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα. καὶ τίνα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς τε δυνατώτατος σφόν, οὔπερ που καὶ τὰ 1 τοῦ Πομπήιον μάλιστ᾿ ἐπραττον, ἐγραφεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἤθελεν ἢ καὶ ἤπιεζε τι αὐτῶν γενήσεθαι,2 ἀλλ᾿ ἵνα μὴ προσδεχομένων μήτε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τι ψηφισθείη (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐγράφετο) καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ 62 μετασταίη. συνιὼν οὖν ἐκ τούτου χρόνου ἀλλοτε ἄλλαις σκήψεσι, ὡστε μηδὲν αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν κυριωθήναι, κατατρίγας ἀγανακτεῖν τε προσ- εποιεῖτο, καὶ ἤξιον μήρα ἄλλον πρὸς τὰς ὑπ᾿ 3 αὐτῶν δὴ νομοθεσίας ἐπεμβληθήναι. τούτο δὲ ἐγύρισε μὲν ὁσάκις γε καὶ καθήκον ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατ᾿ 4 ἐκεῖνο συνῆθαιν, ὡσπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς 2 ἄτε ποντίφιξ ὅπως ἤταντο. δέμως δ᾿ οὖν 5 δεῖν τε αὐτὸ γενέσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ τοὺς συνιερέας ὅσον ἀπὸ βοής ἐξεβιάζετο· καὶ τέλος μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς πείσαι συγκαταθέσθαι οἱ, ὡσπερ οὔδε ἔβουλετο, οὐδ᾿ ἄλλο τι διὰ τούτο ψηφισθῆναι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ήδη τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος 3 διαδικαιῶν, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν κατ᾿ αὐτὸν ἀδήθην ἡδυνήθη ποιῆσαι, πάν τι τὸ ποτὲ ἐνεδέχέτο ὡς δεχθήναι προϊσχέτο, καὶ μάλιστ᾿ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς τὰ ὁπλα ἔχοντας ταύτα τε καταθέσαι καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα διαλύσαι χρῆ, ἡ μηδ᾿ ἐκεῖνον ψιλόσαντας αὐτῶν 6 ταῖς δυνάμεις ταῖς τῶν ἀντιστασιώτων ἐκδούναι.

4 ἔλεγε δὲ τούτῳ οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ ἤθελεν, ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον εὐ ἕπιστατο

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1 τὰ Xyl., κατὰ L. 2 γενήσεθαι Naber, γνώσεθαι L.
3 ὡπ’ v. Herways, ὡπ’ L. 4 κατ᾿ supplied by St.
5 οὔν Rk., οὔδὲν L. 6 αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτὸν L.

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measures. Some bills he offered against the senate and its most powerful members, men who were especially active in Pompey's behalf, not because he either wished or expected that any one of them would be passed, but in order that, if they did not accept them, no measure might be passed against Caesar either (for many motions directed against him were being offered by various persons), and that he might himself use this as an excuse for changing sides. Thus, after having used up considerable time on different occasions on various pretexts, so that not a single one of his measures was adopted, he pretended to be vexed and asked that an extra month be intercalated for the enactment of the senate's measures. This practice used to be followed as often as occasion demanded, but not for any such reason as his, and he himself, being pontifex, understood that fact. Nevertheless he declared that it ought to be done and made a fine show of using compulsion on his fellow-priests. At last, not being able to persuade them to assent to his proposal, as indeed he did not desire them to do, he would not permit any other matter to be voted upon on this account. On the contrary, he already began openly to justify Caesar's actions, since, as he claimed, he was unable to accomplish anything against him, and he brought forward every possible proposition which was sure of not being accepted. The chief of these was that all persons in arms must lay these down and disband their legions, or else they should not strip Caesar of his weapons and expose him to the forces of his rivals. This he said, not because he wished Caesar to do it, but because he well understood that Pompey
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μὴ πειθαρχήσοντα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνῳ πρόφασις εὐλογος τοῦ μὴ διέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδοτο.

63 Ὡς οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἄλλως πρᾶττον ἦνε, πρὸς τε τὸ τραχύ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ὄρμησε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔποιει κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξε τι.

2 ἄλλοι τε γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πολλοί καὶ Δούκιος Παῦλος ὁ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχοι, ὁ τε Πίσων ὁ Δούκιος ὁ πευθερός αὐτοῦ τιμητὴς ὃν συνηγονίζοντο· καὶ γὰρ τιμηταὶ τὸν χρόνον τούτον ὁ τε Κλαύδιος ὁ Ἀππίους καὶ ὁ Πίσων, καὶ τοῦ τὴν βουληθεῖσα, ἐγένοντο. καὶ οὔτος μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ὑπῆρχε τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ἠναντιοῦτο 4 μὲν αὐτῷ (τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἤρετο), οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκων ὁφέλησε· πλεῖστοις γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διέγραψεν, ἐκβιασά-μενος τὸν συνάρχοντα, κὰκ τούτοι πάνται αὐτοὺς 4 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Πίσων οὕτ' ἄλλως πράγματ' ἔχειν ἐθέλων καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γαμβροῦ φιλίαν πολλοὺς θεραπεύουν αὐτός μὲν οὔδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀντε-πραξεί πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὄπλευθερῶν συκνοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πάν τε γενναίων, ἄλλους τε καὶ τῶν Κρίσπον τὸν Σαλούστιον τὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν 5 γράφαντα, ἀπελάσαντι ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. τὸν μέντοι Κοῦρίωνα μελλήσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλει-φθήσεθαι ἐξητήσατο μετὰ τοῦ Παῦλου, οὕτερ

1 ὁ added by Bk.  2 καὶ γὰρ Reim., καὶ τοι L.
3 ὁ added by B. Steph.
4 ἠναντιοῦτο R. Steph., ἠναντιοῦτο L.
5 πράγματ' Rk., πράγμα L.

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would not yield obedience to it, and thus a plausible b.c. 50 excuse was offered the other also for not dismissing his soldiers.

Pompey, accordingly, as he could effect nothing in any other way, proceeded without any further disguise to harsh measures and openly said and did everything against Caesar; yet he failed to accomplish anything. Caesar had many supporters, among them Lucius Paulus, the colleague of Marcellus, and Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, who was censor; for at this time Appius Claudius and Piso were made censors, the latter against his will. So Piso on account of his relationship belonged to Caesar, while Claudius, though opposing him, since he favoured Pompey's cause, yet quite involuntarily rendered Caesar very efficient aid. For he expelled a great many both of the knights and senators, overruling his colleague, and in this way made them all favour Caesar's cause. Piso, who was in any case disposed to avoid trouble, and for the sake of maintaining friendship with his son-in-law paid court to many people, was himself responsible for none of the above acts, but he did not resist Claudius when he drove from the senate all the freedmen and numbers even of the exclusive nobility, among them Sallustius Crispus, who wrote the history. When, however, Curio's name also was about to be expunged, Piso, with the help of Paulus, whose kinsman he was, did beg him
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64 συγγενής ἦν καὶ διὰ τούτο, τὴν μέντοι γυώμην ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἐκδημωσίευσεν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὡστε ἐκείνου ἀγανακτήσαντα τὴν ἔσθητα αὐτοῦ πειραρχῇ. παραλαβὼν οὖν τούτον ὁ Μάρκελλος, καὶ νομίσας ἐπὶ τῷ Κουρίωνι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι δεινόν τι τὴν γερουσίαν ψηφιεῖσθαι, γυώμαις 2 περὶ αὐτοῦ προεθηκεν. οὐδὲν Κουρίων τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἦν ἀντιούτοι μηδεμίαν περὶ αὐτοῦ 2 γυώμην δοθήναι γυνοῖς δὲ τὸ πολὺ τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τότε παροῦντων τοὺς μὲν καὶ φρονούντας ὄντως τὰ τού Καίσαρος τοὺς δὲ πάνυ αὐτὸν δεδιότας, 3 ἐπέτρεψε σφισι διαγρόνων, τοσοῦτον ὅπειρον ὅτι σύνοδα μὲν ἐμαντῷ τὰ τῇ ἁριστῇ καὶ τὰ συμφορώτατα τῇ πατρίδι πράττωντι, ὑμῖν μέντοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παραδίδωμι χρήσασθαι δ' τι βούλευσθε. κατηγορήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Μάρκελλος ὡς καὶ πάντως ἄλωσομένου, ἐπειτ' ἐπείδη 4 πρὸς τῶν πλεοῦνων ἀφείθη, δεινὸν τε ἐποίησάτο καὶ ἐκτετῆσάς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πρὸς τοὺς Πομπήιου ἐν τῷ προαστέλῳ ὄντα ἦλθε, καὶ τὴν τε φυλακὴν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δύο στρατόπεδα πολιτικὰ αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, μηδενὸς ἐψηφισμένου, ἔδωκεν.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οὐτοὶ ὅδε τέ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε 5. 65 συνειλεγμένοι καὶ παρόντες τότε ἦσαν. ὁ Πομπήιος πρῶτον μὲν, ἔως ἐτι τὴν Καίσαρα διὰ φιλίας εἰχε, στράτευμα ἐν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου αὐτῷ 4 στρατευομένῳ ἐδεδώκει 6 (οὔτε γὰρ οὗτος

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1 οὐκ ἀπῆλλαξε Bs., οὖν ἀπῆλλαξε Rk., οὐ διῆλλαξε L.
2 αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L. 3 τῷ Leuncl., τοῖ L.
4 αὐτῷ Xyl., αὐτῶν L. 5 στρατευομένῳ Rk., στρατευομένων L.
6 ἐδεδώκει Bk., ἔδωκεν L.

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off. Consequently Claudius did not expel him, but made public in the senate the opinion that he had of him, so that the other, indignant, tore Claudius' clothes. So Marcellus seized him, and thinking that the senate would pass some severe vote against Curio and, because of him, against Caesar, brought forward motions about him. Curio at first opposed the rendering of any decision regarding himself; but on coming to realize that the majority of the senators then present were either actually attached to Caesar's cause or else thoroughly feared him, he allowed them to decide, merely remarking: "I am conscious of doing what is best and most advantageous for my country; to you, however, I surrender both my body and life to do with as you please." Marcellus accordingly accused him, thinking that he would certainly be convicted; but when he was acquitted by the majority, the accuser took it greatly to heart, and rushing out of the senate, he came to Pompey, who was in the suburbs, and on his own responsibility, without the formality of a vote, entrusted him with the protection of the city and likewise with two legions of citizens.

These soldiers were then present, having been collected in the following way and for the following purpose. Pompey had previously, while still on friendly terms with Caesar, given him one of the enrolled legions for use in his campaign, inasmuch as he was not conducting any war himself and

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πόλεμών τίνα διεχείριζε, καὶ ἐκείνη χρεία στρα-
2 τιωτῶν ἐγένετο), ἐπεὶ δὲ διηνέχθησαν, ἔθελήσας
tούτο τε ἀπολαβεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο
αὐτοῦ προσαφελέσθαι ἐλογοποίησεν ὡς τοῦ Ἱπ-
βούλου στρατιώτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους δεομένου,
καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ κανονὶ δὴ τινὲς καταλογοῦν γένομον
(τὸ τε γὰρ πράγμα κατεπείγειν καὶ περιουσίαν
σφίσι στρατοπέδων εἶναι ἔλεγε), ψηφισθήναι
ἐποίησεν ὡστε ἐκάτερον σφον, ἕαυτόν τε καὶ τὸν
3 Καίσαρα, ἐν δὲ ἓν1 αὐτῷ πέμψας. κακὸ τούτον
tῶν μὲν συσταθεῖσας ὀμοῖα ὀυδένα ἀπέστειλε, τὸ
dὲ δὴ στράτευμα ἐκεῖνο ὅπερ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδε-
δώκει ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθεῖσιν αἰτήσας.
καὶ οὔτω τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δ’ ἄλληθες ὁ
4 Καίσαρ μόνος τὰ δύο ἐπεμψεν. ἥδει μὲν γὰρ τὸ
γιγνόμενον, ἐπειθάρχησε δὲ μὴ βουλθεῖσε αἰτίαν
ὡς καὶ ἀνηκουστήκος λαβεῖν, ἅλλως τε καὶ μέλ-
λων ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη πολλῷ πλέον ἐποιήσει στρα-
τιώτας ἀντικαταλέξειν.

66 Ταύτα οὖν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους πεμφθησόμενα, ἔπει δ’
οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐδέση (οὐδὲ γὰρ χρεία σφῶν ἢ), ὁ
Μάρκελλος πρότερον μὲν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῷ Καί-
σαρι ἀποδοθῇ, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δειν ἐναι ἐλεγεν,
tοτε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὅσπερ εἶπον, ἐνεχείρισε.
2 καὶ ἣν γὰρ ἐπ’ ἕξοδῷ τοῦ ἑτοὺς τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ
ἐμελλέναν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἀτε μήτε τῇ βούλῃ μήτε
tῷ δήμῳ δύσαντα, ἵσχυσει, ἐπήγγετο2 πρὸς τὸν
Πομπηίου Κορνήλιον τε Δέντουλον καὶ Γάιον
Κλαῦδιον τοὺς τῷ ύστέρῳ ἔτει ὑπατεύσει καὶ μέλ-
BOOK XL

Caesar had need of soldiers. But when they fell out with each other, in his desire to get this one back from him and to deprive him of yet another he represented that Bibulus required soldiers against the Parthians; and in order that no new levies should be made, since the matter was urgent, as he claimed, and they had an abundance of legions, he got it voted that each of them, himself and Caesar, must send one to him. Thereupon he failed to send any of his own soldiers, but ordered those whose business it was to demand that legion which he had given to Caesar. So nominally both of them contributed, but in reality Caesar alone sent the two. For though he knew what was being done, he complied with the demand, not wishing to incur the charge of disobedience, particularly because on this excuse he intended to collect many more troops in place of these.

These legions, therefore, were apparently made ready to be sent against the Parthians, but when there proved to be no need of them, there being really no use to which they could be put, Marcellus, fearing that they might be restored to Caesar, at first declared that they must remain in Italy, and then, as I have said, gave them into Pompey’s charge. These proceedings took place near the close of the year and were destined not to remain long in force, since they had been approved neither by the senate nor by the people. Accordingly he won over to Pompey’s side Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius, who were to hold the consulship the next
Λοντας, καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ αὐτὰ προσ-καὶ τάξαι ἔπειδή γὰρ καὶ γράμματα τοῖς ἀποδεδείγ-μένοις ἐσ τὰς ἅρχας ἐκτιθέναι καὶ ἄλλα των τῇ ἣγεμονίᾳ σφῶν προσηκόντων, καὶ πρὶν ἐνί-στασθαί αὐτήν, πράττειν ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔξη, καὶ τούτου κύριοι ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ ὃ γε Ἡμεῖς, καὶ περ ἐς πάντα τὰλλα ἀκριβῆς ὃν, ὅμως οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν στρατιωτῶν χρείαν ἐπολυτραγμόνησεν, οὐτε ἄφ᾽ ὧν οὐθ᾽ ὑπὸς αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάννυ ἄσμενός σφαι ἐδέξατο. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπράξεθι τι οἷον ἀν τις ἐπὶ τῆς κούτῳ τολμήματι γενήσεσθαι προσεδοκήσαν, ἄλλα τὴν ἐχθραν-μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνεπεχαίμενοι αὐτοῖ-μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἱσχυρὸν παρεσκευάζαντο, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πρόφασιν εὐλογοῦν ἐς τὸ τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ συνόντα οἱ κατασχεῖν παρέχον. ὁ γὰρ Κουρών ἐπὶ τε τούτος πολλὴν ἐν τῷ πλῆθει κατηγορίαν κατὰ τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πομπήίου ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διήρκε, πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἀφωρμήσῃ.

1 γε Ρκ., τε Λ. 2 γενήσεσθαι Ρκ., γεγενήσεθαι Λ. 3 τὸ added by Reim.
BOOK XL

year, and caused them to issue the same commands. For since magistrates-elect were still allowed to issue proclamations and to perform some other functions pertaining to their office even before they entered upon it, they believed that they had authority also in this matter. And Pompey, although he was very scrupulous in all other matters, nevertheless on account of his need of soldiers did not either enquire at all from what sources he was getting them, or in what way, but accepted them very gratefully. Yet no such result was accomplished as one would have expected to come from such a bold move; they merely displayed their enmity toward Caesar, and then made no further preparations themselves to strengthen their position, while they had furnished to him a plausible excuse for retaining the legions that were with him. For Curio, taking these acts as his text, delivered before the populace a violent arraignment both of the consuls and of Pompey, and when he had finished his term of office, he at once set out to join Caesar.
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