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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ νικήσας περὶ Ἄκτιον τὰ παρόντα διέθετο.
- β. Περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ ὧν ἔπραξαν μετὰ τὴν ἤτταν.
- γ. Ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἠττηθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.
- δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Αἴγυπτον ἐχειρώσατο.
- ε. Ὡς Καῖσαρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἦλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγεν.
- ς. Ὡς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον καθιερώθη.
- η. Ὡς Μυσία ἐάλω.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ γ' καὶ Μ. Οὐαλερίου Κοροίνου Μεσσάλου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη δύο ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Καῖσαρ τὸ δ'

Μ. Λικίννιος Μ. υἱ. Κράσσος¹ ὕπ.

Καῖσαρ τὸ ε'

Σέξτος Ἀπουλείος² Σέξτου υἱ. ὕπ.³

Τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶωθα αὐτὸ ποιεῖν) ἀλλ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ κράτος πᾶν μόνος ἔσχεν,² ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν τῆς μοναρχίας

¹ Κράσσος supplied by H. Steph.

² Ἀπουλείος Cary, ἀπουλήιος M, ἀπουιλίος V.

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

How Caesar after his victory at Actium settled matters of immediate concern (chaps. 1-4).

Concerning Antony and Cleopatra and their movements after their defeat (chaps. 5-8).

How Antony, defeated in Egypt, killed himself (chaps. 9-10).

How Caesar subdued Egypt (chaps. 15-18).

How Caesar came to Rome and celebrated his triumph (chap. 21).

How the Curia Iulia was dedicated (chap. 22).

How Moesia was conquered (chaps. 23-27).

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

B.C.

30 Caesar (IV), M. Licinius M. F. Crassus.

29 Caesar (V), Sextus Apuleius Sexti F.

SUCH was the naval battle in which they engaged B.C. 31
on the second of September. I do not mention this date without a particular reason, nor am I, in fact, accustomed to do so ; but Caesar now for the first time held all the power alone, and consequently

³ ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

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- αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀκριβοῦσθαι. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀκτίῳ τριήρη τε καὶ τετρήρη, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐξῆς μέχρι δεκῆ- ρους, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ναὸν μείζω ὠκοδόμησεν, ἀγῶνά τέ τινα καὶ γυμ- νικὸν καὶ μουσικῆς ἵπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν ἱερόν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὀνομά- ζουσι) κατέδειξεν, Ἀκτια αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας.
- 3 πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιο- χῶρων, συνώκισε, Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δούς. τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμη- σεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἰδρυσάμενος.
- 4 Ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ μέρος μὲν¹ τι τῶν νεῶν ἐς δίωξιν τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔστειλε· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει² ἐφαίνοντο, ἀνεχώρησαν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τὸ τάφρευμα αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου δι' ὀλιγότητα, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακε- δονίαν ἀπιόντα καταλαβὼν ἀμαχεὶ παρεστήσατο.
- 5 ἤδη δὲ καὶ διέφυγον ἄλλοι τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι οἱ συμμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ οἴκαδε. οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ ἀντεπολέμησαν οὗτοι γε ἔτι τῷ Καίσαρι,

¹ μὲν Bk., ἔν VM.

² ἐν καταλήψει R. Steph., ἐγκαταλήψει VM.

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the years of his reign are properly reckoned from that day.¹ In honour of the day he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the total number of the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme, and the other ships in order up to one of ten banks of oars; and he built a larger temple. He also instituted a quadrennial musical and gymnastic contest, including horse-racing,—a “sacred” festival, as they call those in connexion with which there is a distribution of food,—and entitled it Actia. Furthermore, he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighbouring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis.² On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured beaks, and erected on it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo. B.C. 31

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

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

² *i.e.* “City of Victory.” The same name had been given by Pompey to a town founded after his defeat of Mithridates. See xxxvi. 50.

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ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι
 πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ πρότερον ἐρρωμαίζον, οἱ μὲν
 2 εὐθύς οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὠμολόγησαν. καὶ ὅς
 τὰς μὲν πόλεις χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξει καὶ τῆς
 λοιπῆς ἐς τοὺς πολίτας σφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 ἐξουσίας παραιρέσει μετήλθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ δυνάστας
 τοὺς τε βασιλέας τὰ μὲν χωρία, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ
 Ἄντωνίου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴν τοῦ τε Ἀμύν-
 2 του καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα
 δὲ τὸν Ταρκονδιμότου καὶ Λυκομήδην ἐν μέρει
 τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου βασιλεύοντα τὸν τε
 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἀδελφὸν καὶ
 τῶν δυναστειῶν ἔπαυσε· καὶ τοῦτον, ὅτι μισθὸν
 αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκείνου κατηγορίας εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τὰ
 3 ἐπινίκια παραγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λυκο-
 μήδους Μηδείῳ τινὶ ἔδωκεν, ὅτι τοὺς τε Μυσοὺς
 τοὺς¹ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄντωνίου πρὸ τῆς
 ναυμαχίας ἀπέστησε, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ
 μερίδι αὐτοῦ οὖσιν ἐπολέμησε. Κυδωνιάτας² τε
 καὶ Λαμπαίους ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῶ
 συνήραντο· καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 4 ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατώκισε. τῶν τε βουλευτῶν
 καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων
 τῶν συμπραξάντων τι τῶ Ἄντωνίῳ πολλοὺς μὲν
 χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καί
 τινων καὶ ἐφείσατο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ὃ τε
 Σόσσιος ἐπιφανῆς ἐγένετο (πολλάκις τε γὰρ
 ἀντιπολεμήσας αὐτῶ καὶ τότε φυγῶν καὶ κατα-
 κρυφθεὶς, χρόνῳ τε ὕστερον εὐρεθεὶς, ὅμως ἐσώθη)
 5 καὶ Μάρκος τις Σκαῦρος· ἀδελφός τε γὰρ τοῦ
 Σέξτου ὁμομήτριος ὢν καὶ θανατωθῆναι κελευσθεὶς

¹ τοὺς supplied by St.

² Κυδωνιάτας Bk., κυδωνεάτας VM.

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against Caesar, but both they and all the peoples which had long been subject to Rome remained quiet and made terms, some at once and others later. Caesar now punished the cities by levying money and taking away the remnant of authority over their citizens that their assemblies still possessed. He deprived all the princes and kings except Amyntas and Archelaus of the lands which they had received from Antony, and he also deposed from their thrones Philopator, the son of Tarcondimotus, Lycomedes, the king of a part of Cappadocian Pontus, and Alexander, the brother of Iamblichus. The last-named, because he had secured his realm as a reward for accusing Caesar, he led in his triumphal procession and afterwards put to death. He gave the kingdom of Lycomedes to one Medeios, because the latter had detached the Mysians in Asia¹ from Antony before the naval battle and with them had waged war upon those who were on Antony's side. He gave the people of Cydonia and Lampe² their liberty, because they had rendered him some assistance; and in the case of the Lampaeans he helped them to found anew their city, which had been destroyed. As for the senators and knights and the other leaders who had aided Antony in any way, he imposed fines upon many of them, slew many others, and some he actually spared. In this last class Sosius was a conspicuous example; for though he had often fought against Caesar and was now hiding in exile and was not found until later, nevertheless he was saved. Likewise one Marcus Scaurus, a half-brother of Sextus on his mother's side, had been condemned to death,

B.C. 31

¹ Cf. note on xlix. 36.

² Usually called Lappa.

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εἶτα διὰ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῆν Μοικίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν
 δὲ καλαστῶτων Ἀκουλία τε Φλάουσι καὶ Κουρίαν
 ἔπειρα καλῶς ἔσχευ. οὕτως μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίου
 ἐκεῖνος τοῦ ποτε τοῦ Καίσαρος τῷ πατέρῳ πολλά
 6 σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἦν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Φλάουσι ἔτι τὴν
 ἔπειραν τὴν λαχόντα κελεύσαντες αὐτοῦ σθαγῆμαι
 ἀσθενέστεροι διεσφύρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ
 τε καὶ παῖς ὡς εἴ οὕτως πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
 τῷ σθαγῆι ἐσὼν παρέδωκε. περιμνησέ τε ἐκεῖνος
 καὶ αἰτοχρησίᾳ αὐτῷ ἐπαπέτασεν.

5 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν οἶτος ἀπὸ Λαζαν. ὁ δ' ὄμιλος
 τῶν Ἀπυλαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 στρατόπεδα κατατάχθη. καὶ ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν
 πελίας τοῖς ἔξω τῆς Πυλίας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων,
 ἀπὸ δὲ μηδενὸς ἑσῆς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέπεμψε.
 2 τοῖς δὲ δὴ λοιποῖς διέσπειρεν ἑπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ
 Σικελίᾳ ἐσθλαί οἱ μετὰ τὴν εἴκητ ἐγένοντο,
 ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ αἴετα ἐσθουθήσονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'
 ἔπεισε, πρὶν καὶ ἐπειτῶν ἰτακινηθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν
 παντελῶς ἐς τὴν ὄπλαν ἀπελάσαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ
 3 πλῆθος διασπᾶσαι. τοῖς τε ἐξελευτέροις δὲ
 ὑποψίας ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχων τὴν τετάρτην αὐτοῖς

4 ὑψηλῶτα σπασάλοισι. καὶ οἶτος μὲν οὖν ὅτι
 ἐστέρωντῶ πρὸν ἀπυλαίων ἔτι. ἀλλ' ὅς καὶ

τῷ τεταρτῷ ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔπειτα, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς
 τῶν στρατηγῶν καταχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστοι

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but was later released for the sake of his mother Mueia. Of those who were punished, the Aquilii Flori and Curio were most talked about, the latter because he was a son of that Curio who had once been of great assistance to the former Caesar, and the Flori because, when Octavius commanded that the one of them who should draw the lot should be slain, they both perished. They were father and son, and when the son, without waiting for the lot, voluntarily offered himself to the executioner, the father was exceedingly distressed and died upon his son's body by his own hand. B.C. 51

These men, then, fared in the manner described. The mass of Antony's soldiers was incorporated in Caesar's legions, and he later sent back to Italy the citizens of both forces who were over the military age, without giving them anything, and scattered the rest. For they had caused him to fear them in Sicily after his victory there, and he was afraid they might create a disturbance again; hence he made haste, before they gave the least sign of an uprising, to discharge some entirely from the service and to scatter the majority of the others. As he was still at this time suspicious of the freedmen, he remitted to them the fourth payment which they still owed of the money levied upon them.¹ So they no longer bore him any grudge because of what had been taken from them, but rejoiced as if they had actually received the amount they had been relieved from contributing. The men still left in the rank and file also made no trouble, partly because they were held in check by their commanders, but chiefly because of their hopes

¹ *i.e.* one-quarter of the tax of 12½ per cent. levied upon them a little earlier. See 1. 10, 4.

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εἶτα διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Μουκίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων Ἀκύλιοί τε Φλῶροι καὶ Κουρίων ὄνομα μάλιστα ἔσχον, οὗτος μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐκείνου τοῦ ποτε τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ πολλὰ
6 συναραμένου υἱὸς ἦν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Φλῶροι ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τὸν λαχόντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀμφοτέροι διεφθάρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς· ὡς δ' οὗτος πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ σφαγῆι ἐκὼν παρέδωκε, περιήλγησέ τε ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὐτοχειρία αὐτῷ ἐπαπέθανεν.

3 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν, ὁ δ' ὄμιλος τῶν Ἀντωνιείων στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν πολίτας τοὺς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, μηδὲν μηδενὶ δούς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέπεμψε,
2 τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς διέσπειρεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φοβεροὶ οἱ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένοντο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ αὐθις θορυβήσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔσπευσε, πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν ὑποκινηθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπελάσαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ
3 πλῆθος διασπάσαι. τοὺς τε ἐξελευθέρους δι' ὑποψίας ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχων τὴν τετάρτην αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰν ἀφήκεν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν προσταχθέντων σφίσι χρημάτων ἐπώφειλον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὐχ ὅτι ἐστέρηντό τινων ἐμνησικάκου ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ
4 λαβόντες ὅσα μὴ συνεσήνεγκαν ἔχαιρον· οἳ τε ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔτι¹ καὶ τότε ὄντες, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τῶν στρατιάρχων κατεχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον

¹ ἔτι Leuncl., ἔτει VM,

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but was later released for the sake of his mother Mucia. Of those who were punished, the Aquilii Flori and Curio were most talked about, the latter because he was a son of that Curio who had once been of great assistance to the former Caesar, and the Flori because, when Octavius commanded that the one of them who should draw the lot should be slain, they both perished. They were father and son, and when the son, without waiting for the lot, voluntarily offered himself to the executioner, the father was exceedingly distressed and died upon his son's body by his own hand. B.C. 31

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¹ *i.e.* one-quarter of the tax of 12½ per cent. levied upon them a little earlier. See l. 10, 4.

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- τῆ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλούτου ἐλπίδι, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχ-
 μωσαν· οἱ δὲ δὴ συννικήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς
 στρατείας ἀφεθέντες ἤσχαλλον ἅτε μηδὲν γέρας
 εὐρόμενοι, καὶ στασιάζειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἤρξαντο.
- 5 καίτοι¹ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τε αὐτούς, καὶ
 φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου, ᾧ καὶ τότε ἦ τε Ῥώμη
 καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἰταλία προσετέτακτο, καταφρονή-
 σωσιν ὅτι ἰππεὺς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς καὶ κατ'
 ἄλλο τι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοσαύτην
 γ' ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαικήνῳ ἐξουσίαν
 ἔδωκεν ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς τῆ τε
 βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγραφε, προαναγιγνώσκειν,
 καὶ τούτου καὶ μεταγράφειν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο.
- 6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ,
 ἵν' ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι αὐτὰς ἔχωσι. διπλῆν γὰρ
 δὴ σφραγίδα, ἣ μάλιστα τότε ἐχρήτη, ἐπεποίητο,
 σφίγγα ἐν ἑκατέρῃ ὁμοίαν ἐκτυπώσας. ὕστερον
 γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐγγλύψας ἐκείνη τὰ
- 7 πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα
 αὐτοκράτορες, πλὴν Γάλβου, ἐχρήσαντο· οὗτος
 γὰρ προγονικῶ τινι σφραγίσματι, κύνα ἐκ πρῶρας
 νεῶς προκύπτοντα ἔχοντι,² ἐνόμισεν. ἐπέστελλε
 δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις,
 ὅποτε τι δέοιτο δι' ἀπορρήτων σφίσι δηλῶσαι, τὸ
 δεύτερον αἰεὶ στοιχείον τοῦ τῷ ῥήματι προσή-
 κοντος ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἀντεγγράφων.
- 4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἔτι δεινοῦ παρὰ τῶν
 ἐστρατευμένων ἐσομένου, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 διώκησε καὶ τῶν τοῖν θεοῖν μυστηρίων μετέλαβεν,
 ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκαθί-

¹ καίτοι M, καίτοι καὶ V.

² ἔχοντι Xiph., ἔχοντα VM.

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

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

¹ Demeter and Korê.

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2 στατο, τά τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἅμα ἐκαραδόκει· οὐ
 γάρ πω σαφές τι ὄπη διεπεφεύγει ἐπέπυστο, καὶ
 παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμήσων, ἄν τι
 ἀκριβώση. θορυβησάντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ
 φανερώς ἅτε καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπαρτῶντος
 αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθη μή τι κακὸν προστάτου τινὸς
 3 λαβόμενοι δράσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν
 ἄλλοις ἀναζητῆσαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν ἠπέιχθη μεσοῦντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ τὸ
 τέταρτον μετὰ¹ Μάρκου Κράσσου ἦρχεν· οὗτος
 γάρ, καίπερ τά τε τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντω-
 νίου πράξας, τότε μηδὲ στρατηγῆσας συνυπά-
 τευσεν αὐτῷ. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον οὐκέτι
 4 περαιτέρω προυχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦ τε γερουσία
 πυθομένη τὸν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἐκείσε,
 πλὴν τῶν τε δημάρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο κατὰ
 δόγμα καταμεινάντων, ἀπήντησε, καὶ ἡ ἰππὰς
 τοῦ τε δήμου τὸ πλεῖον καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ
 πρεσβείας οἱ δὲ ἐθελονταί, πολλοὶ συνῆλθον,
 5 οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς πρὸς τε τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πλειόνων σπουδὴν ἐνεοχμώθη.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίσιν, οἱ δὲ
 καὶ μετάπεμπτοι, πρὸς² τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκοντο·
 καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα
 ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι
 6 καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε.³ τοὺς γὰρ δήμους τοὺς

¹ μετὰ Μ, μετα τοῦ V. ² πρὸς Μ, ἐς V.

³ προσκατένειμε Μ, προσκατέμεινε V.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντας
 ἐξοικίσας τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τὰς τε πόλεις
 καὶ τὰ χωρία αὐτῶν ἐχαρίσατο, ἐκείνων δὲ δὴ
 τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τό τε Δυρράχιον καὶ τοὺς Φι-
 λίππους ἄλλα τε ἐποικεῖν ἀντέδωκε, τοῖς δὲ λοι-
 ποῖς ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας τὸ μὲν ἔνειμε τὸ
 7 δ' ὑπέσχετο. συχνὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νίκης
 ἐκτήσατο, πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ἀνήλισκε. καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ προέγραψεν ἐν τῷ πρατηρίῳ τὰ τε
 ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ἵνα ἂν τε
 πρίασθαί τι αὐτῶν ἂν τε καὶ ἀντιλαβεῖν τις
 8 ἐθελήσῃ, τοῦτο ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐπράθη μὲν οὐδέν,
 οὐδ' ἀντεδόθη οὐδέν· τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐτόλμησεν
 ὀποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν πράξαι; τῆς δὲ δὴ ἐπαγγελίας¹
 ἀναβολὴν ἐκ τούτου εὐπρεπῆ λαβὼν ὕστερον
 αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λαφύρων ἀπήλλαξε.

5 Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπείγοντα διοι-
 κήσας, τοῖς τέ τινα ἄδειαν λαβοῦσι καὶ ἐν τῇ
 Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτᾶσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν) δούς, καὶ τὸν
 δῆμον τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπολειφθέντα παρέμενος
 ὅτι μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 αὐθις τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν ἡμέρᾳ ἀπῆρε,
 2 καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς
 ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερευεγκῶν οὕτω ταχέως
 ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
 τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκάτερον ἅμα, καὶ ὅτι ἀφωρ-
 3 μῆθη καὶ ὅτι ἐπανῆλθε, μαθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἐκ
 τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔφυγον, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Πελοπον-

¹ ἐπαγγελίας Xyl., ἀπαγγελίας VM.

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communities in Italy which had sided with Antony he was able to grant to his soldiers their cities and their farms. To most of those who were dispossessed he made compensation by permitting them to settle in Dyrrachium, Philippi, and elsewhere, while to the remainder he either granted money for their land or else promised to do so ; for though he had acquired great sums by his victory, yet he was spending still more by far. For this reason he advertised at auction both his own possessions and those of his companions, in order that any one who desired to purchase any of them, or to take any of them in exchange for something else, might do so. And although nothing was purchased, and nothing taken in exchange, either—for who, pray, would ever have dared follow either course?—yet he secured by this means a plausible excuse for delay in carrying out his promise, and later he discharged the debt out of the spoils of Egypt. B.C. 30

After settling this and the other business that pressed, giving to those who had received a grant of amnesty the right also to live in Italy, not before permitted them, and forgiving the populace which had remained behind in Rome for not having gone to meet him, he set out once more for Greece on the thirtieth day after his arrival. Then, because it was winter, he carried his ships across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus¹ and got back to Asia so quickly that Antony and Cleopatra learned at one and the same time both of his departure and of his return. They, it appears, when they had made their escape from the naval battle at Actium, had gone as far as the

¹ In order to avoid the dangerous passage around Cape Malea.

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νήσου ὁμοῦ ἀφίκοντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τῶν συνόντων
 τινάς, ὅσους ὑπώπτειον, ἀποπέμψαντες (πολλοὶ
 δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἀπεχώρησαν) Κλεοπάτρα
 μὲν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μή τι τῆς συμφορᾶς σφῶν
 4 προπυθόμενοι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἠπείχθη, καὶ ὅπως
 γε καὶ τὸν πρόσπλουν ἀσφαλῆ ποιήσεται, τὰς τε
 πρῶρας ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκυῖα κατέστρεψε καὶ ῥῥῆσας
 τινὰς ἐπινικίους ὑπ' αὐλητῶν ἦδεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ
 ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένετο, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πρώτων, ἅτε
 καὶ αἰεὶ οἱ¹ ἀχθομένων καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ
 5 αὐτῆς ἐπηρμένων, ἐφόνευσε, πολὺν δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον
 ἔκ τε τῶν ἐκείνων κτημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων
 καὶ ὀσίων καὶ θείων, μηδενὸς μηδὲ τῶν πάντων
 ἀβάτων ἱερῶν φειδομένη, ἠθροίζε, δυνάμεις τε
 ἐξηρτύετο καὶ συμμαχίας περιεσκόπει, τὸν τε
 Ἄρμένιον ἀποκτείνασα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ
 Μήδῳ, ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρήσουσιν σφισι διὰ τοῦτ',
 6 ἔπεμψεν. Ἄντωνιος δὲ ἔπλευσε μὲν ἐς τὴν
 Λιβύην πρὸς τε Πινάριον Σκάρπον καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 στράτευμα τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
 φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα προσυνειλεγμένον· ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε
 προσδέξεσθαι αὐτὸν ἔφη,² καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς
 προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσφαξε, τῶν τε στρα-
 τιωτῶν ὧν ἦρχεν ἀγανακτήσαντάς τινὰς ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ διέφθειρεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μηδὲν περάνας ἐκομίσθη.

6 Καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ παρε-
 σκευάζοντο, καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς, Κλεοπάτρα μὲν
 Καισαρίωνα Ἄντωνιος δὲ Ἄντυλλον, ὃν ἐκ τῆς
 Φουλουίας γεννηθέντα οἱ εἶχεν, ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσέ-

¹ οἱ M, om. V.

² ἔφη supplied by Leuncl.

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

Now among the other preparations they made for speedy warfare, they enrolled among the youths of military age, Cleopatra her son Caesarion and Antony his son Antyllus, who had been born to him by Fulvia and was then with him. Their purpose was

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γραψαν, ἵν' οἷ τε Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς καὶ ἀνδρός τινος
 ἤδη βασιλεύοντός σφῶν προθυμηθῶσι, καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι προστάτας ἐκείνους, ἂν γέ τι δεινόν σφισι
 2 συμβῆ, ἔχοντες καρτερήσωσι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν
 μειρακίοις καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο·
 οὐδετέρου γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ἀνδρῶν
 ὄντων καὶ πρόσχημά τι προστασίας ἐχόντων,
 ἐφείσατο· ἐκείνοι δ' οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς
 καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶ πολεμή-
 3 σουντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὁμόχωρα
 τοὺς τε βασιλέας τοὺς φιλίους σφίσι προσπαρε-
 κάλουν, ἠτοιμάζοντο δ' οὐδὲν ἠττον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν
 Ἰβηρίαν, ἂν τι κατεπείξῃ, πλευσούμενοι καὶ τὰ
 ἐκεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων
 ἀποστήσοντες, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν
 4 μεταστησόμενοι. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐπὶ πλείστον
 βουλευόμενοι ταῦτα διαλάβωσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐξαπατή-
 σωσί πη τὸν Καίσαρα ἢ καὶ δολοφονήσωσιν,
 ἔστειλάν τινας ἐκείνῳ μὲν λόγους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης
 τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ χρήματα φέροντας.
 5 κὰν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σκῆπτρόν τε τι¹
 χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τόν τε δίφρον τὸν
 βασιλικόν, κρύφα τοῦ Ἄντωνίου, ὡς καὶ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν οἱ δι' αὐτῶν² διδοῦσα ἐπεμψεν, ἵν' ἂν καὶ
 6 ἐκείνον ἐχθήρῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν γε ἐλεήσῃ. ὁ δὲ τὰ
 μὲν δῶρα ἔλαβεν οἰωνὸν ποιούμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο
 δὲ τῷ μὲν Ἄντωνίῳ οὐδέν, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρῃ
 φανερώς μὲν ἄλλα τε ἀπειλητικὰ καὶ ὅτι, ἂν τῶν
 τε ὄπλων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστήῃ, βουλεύσεται

¹ τι M, om. V.

² αὐτῶν M, αὐτὸν V.

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

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περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα χρὴ πράξαι, λάθρα δὲ ὅτι, εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκέραιον δώσει.

7 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἀραβικῷ κόλπῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐς¹ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλοῦν ναυπηγηθείσας οἱ Ἀράβιοι, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Κυίντου Διδίου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἀρχοντος, κατέπρησαν, καὶ τὰς ἐπικουρίας καὶ οἱ
2 δῆμοι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ἀπηρνήσαντο. καί μοι θαυμάσαι ἐπέρχεται ὅτι ἄλλοι μὲν συχνοί, καίπερ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφότες, ἐγκατέλιπόν σφας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμώτατα
3 τρεφόμενοι προθυμία τε ἐς αὐτοὺς πλείστη ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἀνδρειότατα ἠγωνίσαντο. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν Κυζίκῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἀγῶνας, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἄξιον ἠλπίζον, ἀσκούμενοι, τότε ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν γεγονότων ἤσθοντο, ὤρμησαν
4 ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀμύνταν ἐν τῇ Γαλατία πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου παῖδας ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, φίλους μὲν σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενομένους, τότε δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεταστάντας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Δίδιον κωλύοντά σφας τῆς διόδου ἔδρασαν.
5 οὐ μέντοι καὶ διαπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν περιεστοιχίσθησαν, λόγον μὲν οὐδ' ὧς οὐδένα, καίτοι τοῦ Διδίου συχνὰ σφισιν ὑπισχνουμένου, προσεδέ-

¹ ἐς M, πρὸς V.



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ξαντο, τὸν δὲ Ἀντώνιον μεταπέμψαντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρία ἄμεινον μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσונτες, 6 ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος μήτ' αὐτὸς ἦλθε μήτ' ἀγγελίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, οὕτω δὴ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἄκοντες ὠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μονομαχήσαι, καὶ τήν γε Δάφνην παρὰ τοῦ Διδίου, τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον, ἐνοικεῖν μέχρις ἂν τῷ Καίσαρι ταῦτα δηλωθῆ ἔλαβον.

7 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλου ὕστερον ἀπατηθέντες ἐπέμφθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλοσε ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καταλεχθησόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τρόπου δὴ 8 τινος ἐπιτηδείου ἐφθάρησαν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκούσαντες τῶν πρέσβων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρός σφισιν ἐπισταλέντα, ἔπεμψαν αὐθις, ἣ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένη, ὃ δὲ τῆς τε φιλίας καὶ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτὸν ἀναμιμνήσκων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας τῆς πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτίαν ἀπολογούμενος, ὅσα τε συνηράσθησάν ποτε καὶ ὅσα 2 συνενεανιεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις ἐξαριθμούμενος. καὶ τέλος Πούπλιον Τουρούλλιον βουλευτὴν τε ὄντα καὶ σφαγέα τοῦ Καίσαρος γεγονότα τότε τε φιλικῶς οἱ συνόντα ἐξέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἂν γε καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἣ Κλεοπάτρα σωθῆ, κατα- 3 χρήσεσθαι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καίσαρ δὲ τὸν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε (καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὕλης ξύλα ἐς ναυτικὸν κεκοφώς, δίκην τινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐδικαιώθη, δοῦναι ἔδοξε), τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε 4 ἀπεκρίνατο. τρίτην τε οὖν πρεσβείαν ἔστειλε,

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them many promises. Instead, they sent for Antony, feeling that they would fight better even in Syria if he were with them; and then, when he neither came himself nor sent them any message, they at last decided that he had perished and reluctantly made terms, on condition that they were never to fight as gladiators. And they received from Didius Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, to dwell in until the matter should be brought to Caesar's attention. B.C. 30

These men were later deceived by Messalla and sent to various places under the pretext that they were to be enlisted in the legions, and were then put out of the way in some convenient manner. Antony and Cleopatra, for their part, upon hearing from the envoys the demands which Caesar made of them, sent to him again. Cleopatra promised to give him large amounts of money, and Antony reminded him of their friendship and kinship, made a defence also of his connexion with the Egyptian woman, and recounted all the amorous adventures and youthful pranks which they had shared together. Finally, he surrendered to him Publius Turullius, who was a senator and one of the assassins of Caesar and was then living with Antony as a friend; and he offered to take his own life, if in that way Cleopatra might be saved. Caesar put Turullius to death (it chanced that this man had cut wood for the fleet from the grove of Aesculapius in Cos, and since he was executed in Cos, he was thought to be making amends to the god as well as to Caesar), but this time also he gave no answer to Antony. So Antony despatched a

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καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Ἄντυλλον μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ διὰ κενῆς ἀνταπέστειλε, μηδεμίαν ἀπόκρισιν δούς. τῇ μέντοι Κλεοπάτρα πολλά, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τό τε
 5 τρίτον καὶ ἐπηπείλησε καὶ ὑπέσχετο. φοβηθεὶς δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς μή πως ἀπογνόντες συγγνώμης παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι διακαρτερήσωσι, καὶ ἦτοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περιγένωνται, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν τε Γαλατίαν ἀπάρωσιν, ἢ καὶ τὰ χρήματα,
 6 ἃ παμπληθῆ ἤκουεν εἶναι, φθείρωσιν (ἢ γὰρ Κλεοπάτρα πάντα τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ κατεσκεύαζεν, ἠθροίκει, καὶ πάντα, ἂν γέ τις καὶ ἐλαχίστου διαμάρτη, κατακαύσειν μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἠπεῖλει), Θύρσον ἐξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ φιλόφρονα αὐτῇ
 7 ἐροῦντα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τυγχάνει, εἴ πως ἔκ γε τούτου, οἷα ἀξιοῦσα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐρᾶσθαι, τὸν τε Ἄντωνιον ἀναχρήσαιτο καὶ ἑαυτὴν τὰ τε χρήματα ἀκέραια τηρήσειε. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως.

9 Πρὶν δὲ δὴ¹ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι, μαθὼν ὁ Ἄντωνιος ὅτι Κορνήλιος Γάλλος τό τε τοῦ Σκάρπου στράτευμα παρείληφε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ Παραιτόνιον ἐξαίφνης παρελθὼν κατέσχηκεν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, καίτοι βουλευθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν μονομάχων μετάπεμψιν ὀρμηῆσαι, οὐκ ἐπο-
 2 ρεύθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐχώρησεν ὡς μάλιστα μὲν ἀκουσιπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσθησόμενος (ἦσαν γὰρ εὐνοϊάν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἔχοντες), εἰ δὲ μή, βία γε χειρωσόμενος ἅτε καὶ

¹ δὴ Leuncl., ἤδη VM.

BOOK LI

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

But before this happened, Antony learned that Cornelius Gallus had taken over Scarpus' army and had suddenly marched with these troops upon Parætonium and occupied it. Hence, although he wished to set out for Syria in response to the summons of the gladiators, he did not go thither, but proceeded against Gallus, in the hope of winning over the troops without a struggle, if possible, inasmuch as they had been with him on campaigns and were fairly well disposed toward him, but otherwise of subduing them by force, since he was leading

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δύναμιν πολλήν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν ἐπαγό-
 3 μενος. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ¹ διαλεχθῆναί τι αὐτοῖς
 ἠδυνήθη, καίπερ πρὸς τε τὸ τεῖχος προσελθὼν
 καὶ γεγωνὸν βοήσας· ὁ γὰρ Γάλλος τοὺς σαλ-
 πικτὰς² συνηχεῖν κελεύσας οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ ἔσακοῦσαι
 ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπεκδρομῇ αἰφνιδίῳ
 ἔπταισε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐσφάλῃ.
 4 ἀλύσεις γὰρ τινὰς ὑφύδρους νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ στό-
 ματος τοῦ λιμένος ὁ Γάλλος διατείνας οὐδεμίαν
 αὐτοῦ φανερὰν φυλακὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πάνυ ἀδεῶς εἴσω μετὰ καταφρονήματος ἐσ-
 πλέοντάς σφας περιεΐδεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔνδον
 ἐγένοντο, τὰς τε ἀλύσεις μηχαναῖς ἀνέσπασε, καὶ
 πανταχόθεν ἅμα τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν ἔκ τε τῆς γῆς
 καὶ ἔκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῆς τε θαλάσσης περισχῶν
 5 τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τὰς δὲ κατεπόντωσε. καὶ
 τούτῳ καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ, λόγῳ μὲν
 κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἔργῳ δὲ προδοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς
 Κλεοπάτρας, ἔλαβεν. ἐκείνη γὰρ ὡς οὔτε τις
 ἐβοήθησέ σφισι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνανταγώνι-
 στον ὄντα ἦσθετο, τό τε μέγιστον ἀκούσασα τοὺς
 διὰ τοῦ Θύρσου πεμφθέντας οἱ λόγους, ἐπίστευσεν
 ὄντως ἐρᾶσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλετο,
 ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν τε
 6 Ἄντωνιον ὁμοίως ἐδεδούλωτο. καὶ τούτου οὐχ
 ὅπως τὴν τε ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βα-
 σιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἔξειν
 προσεδόκησε, τό τε Πηλούσιον εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προή-
 κατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσελαύνοντι πρὸς τὴν
 πόλιν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας λάθρα ἐπεξελ-

¹ οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε VM.

² σαλπικτὰς M, σαλπικτὰς V.

BOOK LI

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

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θεῖν, ἐπεὶ ὅσον γε ὑπὸ βοῆς καὶ πάνυ σφᾶς προετρέψατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

- 10 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Παραιτονίου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πελουσίου πύστιν ἐπανελθὼν προ-
 ἀπήντησε πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ
 αὐτὸν κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὑπολαβὼν τοῖς
 2 ἵππεῦσιν ἐνίκησεν. ἀναθαρσήσας τε ἔκ τε τούτου
 καὶ ὅτι βιβλία ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ τοξεύ-
 μασιν ἐσέπεμψε πεντακοσίας σφίσι καὶ χιλίας
 δραχμὰς ὑπισχνούμενος, συνέβαλε καὶ τῷ πεζῷ
 3 καὶ ἠττήθη· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς τὰ βιβλία
 ἐθελοντῆς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνέγνω, τὸν τε Ἀντώ-
 νιον διαβάλλων καὶ ἐκείνους ἔς τε τὴν τῆς προ-
 δοσίας αἰσχύνην καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προθυ-
 μίαν ἀντικαθιστάς, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς τῆ
 τε τῆς πείρας ἀγανακτῆσει καὶ τῆ τοῦ μὴ ἐθελο-
 4 κακεῖν δόξαι ἐνδείξει σπουδάσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπει-
 δὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἠλαττώθη, πρὸς τε τὸ ναυτικὸν
 ἀπέκλινε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ναυμαχῆσων
 ἢ πάντως γε ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πλευσοῦμενος· ἰδοῦσα
 δὲ τοῦθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς τε ναῦς αὐτομολῆσαι
 5 ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐς τὸ ἠρίον ἐξαίφνης ἐσεπήδησε,
 λόγῳ μὲν ὡς τὸν Καίσαρα φοβουμένη καὶ προ-
 διαφθεῖραι τρόπον τινὰ ἑαυτὴν βουλομένη, ἔργῳ
 δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκέισε ἐσελθεῖν προκαλου-
 μένη· ὑπετόπει μὲν γὰρ προδίδοσθαι, οὐ μέντοι
 καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον
 6 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκείνην ἢ ἑαυτὸν¹ ἠλέει. ὅπερ που ἡ
 Κλεοπάτρα ἀκριβῶς εἰδυῖα ἠλπισεν² ὅτι, ἂν πύ-
 θηται αὐτὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν, οὐκ ἐπιβιώσεται
 ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔς

¹ ἑαυτὸν M, ἑαυτὴν V.

² ἠλπισεν M, ἠλπιζεν V.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τε τὸ μνημεῖον σὺν τε εὐνούχῳ τινὶ καὶ σὺν θερα-
 παίνοις δύο ἐσέδραμε, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγγελίαν αὐτῷ
 7 ὡς καὶ ἀπολωλυῖα ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅς ἀκούσας τοῦτο
 οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπαποθανεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπεθύμησε.
 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν παρόντων τινὸς ἐδεήθη ἵνα
 αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος σπασάμενος τὸ
 ξίφος ἑαυτὸν κατειργάσατο, ζηλώσαί τε αὐτὸν
 ἠθέλησε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔτρωσεν, καὶ ἔπεσέ τε ἐπὶ
 στόμα καὶ δόξαν τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς καὶ τεθνηκῶς
 8 παρέσχε. θορύβου τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου ἤσθετό
 τε ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ ὑπερέκυψεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνη-
 μείου· αἱ μὲν γὰρ θύραι αὐτοῦ συγκλεισθεῖσαι
 ἅπαξ οὐκέτ' ἀνοιχθῆναι ἐκ μηχανήματός τινος
 ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ' ἄνω πρὸς τῇ ὀροφῇ οὐδέπω παν-
 9 τελῶς ἐξείργαστο. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὑπερκύψασαν
 αὐτὴν ἰδόντες τινὲς ἀνεβόησαν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀν-
 τώνιον ἐσακοῦσαι· καὶ ὅς μαθὼν ὅτι περίεστιν,
 ἐξανέστη μὲν ὡς καὶ ζῆσαι δυνάμενος, προχυθέν-
 τος δ' αὐτῷ πολλοῦ αἵματος ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτη-
 ρίαν, καὶ ἰκέτευσε τοὺς παρόντας ὅπως πρὸς τε
 τὸ μνήμα αὐτὸν κομίσωσι καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων
 τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολκὴν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνι-
 μήσωσι.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κλεο-
 11 πάτρας κόλποις ἐναπέθανεν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἐθάρσησε
 μὲν πως τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονός
 ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ μὲν καὶ πάνυ ἐπίστευε μηδὲν κακὸν
 πείσεσθαι. κατεῖχεν οὖν ἑαυτὴν ἔνδον, ἵν' εἰ καὶ
 διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο σωθείη, τῷ γε φόβῳ τῶν χρημά-
 των καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκπρίηται.
 2 οὕτω που καὶ τότε ἐν τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ οὔσα
 τῆς δυναστείας ἐμέμνητο, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ἔν τε τῷ

BOOK LI

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

So Antony died there in Cleopatra's bosom ; and she now felt a certain confidence in Caesar, and immediately informed him of what had taken place ; still, she was not altogether convinced that she would suffer no harm. She accordingly kept herself within the building, in order that, even if there should be no other motive for her preservation, she might at least purchase pardon and her kingdom through his fear for the money. So thoroughly mindful was she even then, in the midst of her dire misfortune, of her royal rank, and chose rather to

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ὀνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ σχήματι αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ
 ἰδιωτεύσασα ζῆν, ἠρέϊτο. ἀμέλει εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὸ
 πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρημασιν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἄλλα
 τε ἔρπετὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ, προπειραθεῖσα αὐτῶν ἐν
 ἀνθρώποις, ὄντινα τρόπον ἕκαστόν σφων ἀποκτίν-
 3 νυσι. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν
 ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν τε συλλα-
 βεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια ἀναγαγεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 αὐτὸς πίστιν τινὰ αὐτῇ δούς ἀπατεῶν δόξαι γεγο-
 νέναι ἠθέλησεν, ἵν' ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ ἀκουσία
 4 τρόπον τινὰ χειρωθείσῃ χρήσῃται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'
 ἐπέμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν Γαίον τε Προκουλείον¹ ἰππέα
 καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐξελεύθερον, ἐντειλάμενός σφι-
 σιν ὅσα καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πράξαι ἐχρῆν. καὶ οὕτως
 ἐκείνοι συμμίξαντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ καὶ μέτριά
 τινὰ διαλεχθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης συνήρπασαν
 5 αὐτὴν πρὶν τι ὁμολογηθῆναι. κακὰ τούτου ἐκποδῶν
 πάντα ἀφ' ὧν ἀποθανεῖν ἐδύνατο ποιησάμενοι,
 ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς κατὰ χώραν αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ Ἄν-
 τωνίου σῶμα ταριχευούσῃ διατρῖψαι ἐπέτρεψαν,
 ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια αὐτὴν ἠγάγον, μήτε τῆς
 ἀκολουθίας τι μήτε τῆς θεραπείας τῆς συνήθους
 οἱ παραλύσαντες, ὅπως ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλπίσῃ τε
 ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν ἑαυτὴν δράσῃ.
 6 ἀμέλει καὶ ὀφθῆναι καὶ διαλεχθῆναί τι τῷ Καίσαρι
 ἐθελήσασα ἐπέτυχεν· καὶ ἵνα γε ἐπὶ πλείον ἀπα-
 τηθῇ, αὐτὸς ἀφίξασθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπέσχετο.
 12 Οἶκόν τε οὖν ἐκπρεπῆ καὶ κλίνην πολυτελεῆ
 παρασκευάσασα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἡμελη-
 μένως πως κοσμήσασα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πενθίμῳ

¹ Προκουλείον Bs., προκούλιον VM.

BOOK LI

die with the name and dignity of a sovereign than B.C. 30
to live in a private station. At all events, she kept
at hand fire to consume her wealth, and asps and
other reptiles to destroy herself, and she had the
latter tried on human beings, to see in what way
they killed in each case. Now Caesar was anxious
not only to get possession of her treasures but also to
seize her alive and to carry her back for his triumph,
yet he was unwilling to appear to have tricked her
himself after having given her a kind of pledge,
since he wished to treat her as a captive and to a
certain extent subdued against her will. He there-
fore sent to her Gaius Proculeius, a knight, and
Epaphroditus, a freedman, giving them directions
as to what they were to say and do. Following out
this plan, they obtained an audience with Cleopatra,
and after discussing with her some moderate pro-
posals they suddenly seized her before any agree-
ment was reached. After this they put out of her
way everything by means of which she could cause
her own death and allowed her to spend some days
where she was, occupied in embalming Antony's
body; then they took her to the palace, but did not
remove any of her accustomed retinue or attendants,
in order that she should entertain more hope than
ever of accomplishing all she desired, and so should
do no harm to herself. At any rate, when she ex-
pressed a desire to appear before Caesar and to have
an interview with him, she gained her request;
and to deceive her still more, he promised that he
would come to her himself.

She accordingly prepared a splendid apartment
and a costly couch, and moreover arrayed herself
with affected negligence,—indeed, her mourning

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σχήματι δεινῶς ἐνέπρεπεν) ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, πολλὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπὰς παραθεμένῃ, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου οἱ πεμφθείσας ἐς τὸν κόλπον
 2 λαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσελθόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεπήδησέ τε ἐρρυθμισμένη,¹ καὶ ἔφη “χαῖρε ὦ δέσποτα· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφείλετο. ἀλλ' ὄρας μὲν που καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν πατέρα σου τοιοῦτον οἷος πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐσῆλθεν, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅπως τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησέ με καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
 3 ἐποίησεν. ἵνα δ' οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου περὶ ἐμοῦ πύθῃ, λάβε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὰ γράμματα ἃ μοι αὐτοχειρία ἐπέστειλε.”

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἔλεγε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐρωτικὰ αὐτοῦ ῥήματα ἀνεγίνωσκε. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔκλαε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς κατεφίλει, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ προσέπιπτε καὶ ἐκείνας προσεκύνει.
 4 τά τε βλέφαρα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπενέκλα, καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἀνωλοφύρετο, θρυπτικόν τέ τι προσεφθέγγετο, ἄλλοτε μὲν λέγουσα “ποῦ μοι, Καῖσαρ, ταῦτά σου τὰ γράμματα;” ἄλλοτε δὲ ὅτι “ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ σύ μοι ζῆς,” εἶτα αὖθις “εἴθε σου προετεθνήκειν,” καὶ μάλα αὖθις “ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἔχουσα σὲ ἔχω.”

5 Τοιαύτη τινὶ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων ἐχρήτο, μελιχρὰ ἅττα καὶ² προσβλέπουσα αὐτῷ καὶ λαλοῦσα. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ συνίει μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαινομένης καὶ πληκτιζομένης,

¹ ἐρρυθμισμένη is the reading of VM; some editors have preferred ἠρυθριασμένη, the reading found in Xiphilinus' *Epitome*.
² καὶ M, om. V.

BOOK LI

garb wonderfully became her,—and seated herself upon the couch; beside her she placed many images of his father, of all kinds, and in her bosom she put all the letters that his father had sent her. When, after this, Caesar entered, she leaped gracefully¹ to her feet and cried: “Hail, master—for Heaven has granted you the mastery and taken it from me.² But surely you can see with your own eyes how your father looked when he visited me on many occasions, and you have heard people tell how he honoured me in various ways and made me queen of the Egyptians. That you may, however, learn something about me from him himself, take and read the letters which he wrote me with his own hand.”

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

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

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

² That is, the power she had exercised over Caesar, in consequence of which he had become her willing subject, was of no avail in the case of Augustus.

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οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς
ὄφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον εἶπεν, “ θάρσει, ὦ
γύναι, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐδὲν γὰρ κακὸν
6 πείσῃ.” περιαλγήσασα οὖν ἐκείνη ὅτι μήτε προσ-
εἶδεν αὐτὴν μήτε τι ἢ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἢ καὶ
ἐρωτικόν τι ἐφθέγγετο, πρὸς τε τὰ γόνατα, αὐτοῦ
προσέπεσε καὶ ἀνακλαύσασα “ ζῆν μὲν ἔφη,
“ Καῖσαρ, οὔτε ἐθέλω οὔτε δύναμαι· ταύτην δέ σε
τὴν χάριν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην αἰτῶ, ἵν'
ἐπειδὴ με Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' ἐκείνον ὁ δαίμων παρέ-
7 δωκε, μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθάνω. εἴθε μὲν γὰρ
ἀπωλώλειν εὐθὺς τότε μετὰ τὸν Καίσαρα· ἐπεὶ
δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἐπέπρωτο, πέμψον με
πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, μηδέ μοι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ ταφῆς
φθονήσης, ἵν' ὥσπερ δι' ἐκείνον ἀποθνήσκω, οὕτω
καὶ ἐν Αἰδοῦ αὐτῷ συνοικήσω.”

13 Καὶ ἡ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὡς καὶ ἐλεηθησομένη ἔλεγε,
Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο,
φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ ἑαυτὴν διαχρήσηται,¹ θαρσεῖν τε
αὐτῇ αὐθις παρεκελεύσατο, καὶ οὔτε τὴν θερα-
πείαν αὐτῆς ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐτὴν
2 ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπιλαμπρύνῃ. τοῦτό
τε οὖν ὑποτοπήσασα, καὶ μυρίων θανάτων χαλε-
πώτερον αὐτὸ νομίσασα εἶναι, ὄντως τε ἀποθανεῖν
ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅπως
τροπον τινὰ ἀπόληται, ἐδεῖτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ
3 ἐμηχανᾶτο. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε, μεταγιγνώ-
σκειν τε ἐπλάσατο ὡς καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν μὲν καὶ
ἐς ἐκείνον πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιουίαν ἔχουσα,
καὶ ἐκουσία τε πλευσεῖσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ κόσμους
τινὰς ἀποθέτους ἐς δῶρα ἡτοιμάζετο, εἴ πως πί-

¹ διαχρήσηται R. Steph., διαχρήσεται VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

στιν ἐκ τούτων μὴ τεθνήξειν¹ λαβοῦσα ἡττόν τε
 4 τηρηθείη καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐξεργάσαιτο. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο.
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὥπερ²
 ἐπετέτραπτο, πιστεύσαντες ταῦθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς φρο-
 νεῖν, τῆς ἀκριβοῦς φυλακῆς ἡμέλησαν, παρεσκευ-
 ᾶζετο ὅπως ὡς ἀλυπότατα ἀποθάνη. καὶ γραμ-
 ματεῖόν τι, δι' οὗ ἐδεήθη τοῦ Καίσαρος ἵνα αὐτὴν
 μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ταφῆναι κελεύσῃ, αὐτῷ τῷ
 5 Ἐπαφροδίτῳ σεσημασμένον, ὅπως προφάσει τῆς
 ἀποκομιδῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἔχοντος ἐκπο-
 δῶν οἱ γένηται, δοῦσα ἔργου εἶχετο. τὴν τε γὰρ
 ἐσθῆτα τὴν περικαλλεστάτην ἐνδύσα, καὶ ἑαυτὴν
 εὐπρεπέστατα εὐθετήσασα, τό τε σχῆμα τὸ βασι-
 λικὸν πᾶν ἀναλαβοῦσα, ἀπέθανε.

14 Καὶ τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὧς τρόπῳ δι-
 εφθάρη· κεντήματα γὰρ λεπτὰ περὶ τὸν βραχίονα
 αὐτῆς μόνα εὐρέθη· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἀσπίδα
 ἐν ὑδρίᾳ³ ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄνθεσί τισιν ἐσκομισθεῖσάν οἱ
 2 προσέθετο, οἱ δὲ ὅτι βελόνην, ἣ τὰς τρίχας ἀν-
 εἶρεν, ἰῶ τινι, δύναμιν τοιαύτην ἔχοντι ὥστε ἄλλως
 μὲν μηδὲν τὸ σῶμα βλάπτειν, ἀν δ' αἵματος καὶ
 βραχυτάτου ἄψηται, καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα
 αὐτὸ φθείρειν, χρίσασα τέως μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ
 κεφαλῇ ἐφόρει ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τότε δὲ προκατανύ-
 ξασά τι⁴ τὸν βραχίονα ἐς τὸ αἷμα ἐνέβαλεν.
 3 οὕτω μὲν, ἣ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα, μετὰ τῶν δύο θερα-
 παινῶν ἀπώλετο· ὁ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος ἅμα τῷ συλ-
 ληφθῆναι αὐτὴν τοῖς τε ἔρπετοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐθελουτῆς

¹ τεθνήξειν Dind., τεθνήσειν VM.

² ὥπερ M, ὥσπερ V.

³ ὑδρία R. Steph., ὑδρεῖαι VM.

⁴ τι Oldey, τινι VM.

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in the hope that by these means she might inspire belief that it was not her purpose to die, and so might be less closely guarded and thus be able to destroy herself. And so it came about. For as soon as the others and Epaphroditus, to whose charge she had been committed, had come to believe that she really felt as she pretended to, and neglected to keep a careful watch, she made her preparations to die as painlessly as possible. First she gave a sealed paper, in which she begged Caesar to order that she be buried beside Antony, to Epaphroditus himself to deliver, pretending that it contained some other matter, and then, having by this excuse freed herself of his presence, she set to her task. She put on her most beautiful apparel, arranged her body in most seemly fashion, took in her hands all the emblems of royalty, and so died. B.C. 30

No one knows clearly in what way she perished, for the only marks on her body were slight pricks on the arm. Some say that she applied to herself an asp which had been brought in to her in a water-jar, or perhaps hidden in some flowers. Others declare that she had smeared a pin, with which she was wont to fasten her hair, with some poison possessed of such a property that in ordinary circumstances it would not injure the body at all, but if it came in contact with even a drop of blood would destroy the body very quickly and painlessly; and that previous to this time she had worn it in her hair as usual, but now had made a slight scratch on her arm and had dipped the pin in the blood. In this or in some very similar way she perished, and her two handmaidens with her. As for the eunuch, he had of his own accord delivered himself up to the serpents at the very time

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παρέδωκε, καὶ δηχθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς σορὸν προ-
 παρεσκευασμένην οἱ ἐσεπεπηδήκει. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ
 Καῖσαρ τὴν τελευταίην αὐτῆς ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ τότε
 σῶμα αὐτῆς εἶδε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ καὶ Ψύλ-
 4 λους, εἴ πως ἀνασφήλεια, προσήνεγκεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ
 Ψύλλοι οὗτοι ἄνδρες μὲν εἰσι (γυνὴ γὰρ οὐ γί-
 γνεται Ψύλλα), δύνανται δὲ πάντα τε ἰὸν παντὸς
 ἔρπετοῦ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν θνήσκειν τινά, ἐκμυζᾶν,
 καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δηχθέντες
 5 βλάπτεσθαι. φύονται δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων, καὶ δοκι-
 μάζουσι τὰ γεννηθέντα ἤτοι μετ' ὄφρων που εὐθύς
 ἐμβληθέντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν σπαργάνων αὐτῶν ἐπι-
 βληθέντων τισίν· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ παιδίῳ τι λυμαί-
 νονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτοῦ ναρκῶσι.
 6 τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ μηδένα
 τρόπον ἀναβιώσασθαι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δυνηθεὶς
 ἐκείνην μὲν καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἠλέησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ
 δόξης ἐστερημένος.

15 Ἄντωνιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα, πολλῶν μὲν
 τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
 κακῶν αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, οὕτω τε ἐπολέμησαν καὶ
 οὕτως ἐτελεύτησαν, ἔν τε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐταρι-
 χεύθησαν, κὰν τῇ αὐτῇ θήκῃ ἐτάφησαν. ἔσχον
 δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ
 2 βίου τοιάνδε. ὁ μὲν συνεῖναί τε τὸ δέον οὐδενὸς
 ἤσσων ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἀφρόνως ἔπραξεν,
 ἀνδρεία τε ἔν τισι διέπρεψε καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας συχνὰ
 ἐσφάλῃ, τῇ τε μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ δουλοπρεπείᾳ

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of Cleopatra's arrest, and after being bitten by them had leaped into a coffin already prepared for him. When Caesar heard of Cleopatra's death, he was astounded, and not only viewed her body but also made use of drugs and *Psylli*¹ in the hope that she might revive. These *Psylli* are males, for there is no woman born in their tribe, and they have the power to suck out any poison of any reptile, if use is made of them immediately, before the victim dies; and they are not harmed themselves when bitten by any such creature. They are propagated from one another and they test their offspring either by having them thrown among serpents as soon as they are born or else by having their swaddling-clothes thrown upon serpents; for the reptiles in the one case do no harm to the child, and in the other case are benumbed by its clothing. So much for this matter. But Caesar, when he could not in any way resuscitate Cleopatra, felt both admiration and pity for her, and was excessively grieved on his own account, as if he had been deprived of all the glory of his victory.

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

¹ Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 78.

3 ἐξ ἴσου ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τά τε ἀλλότρια ἤρπαζε καὶ
 τὰ οἰκεῖα προίετο, ἠλέει τε ἀλόγως συχνούς καὶ
 4 ἐκόλαζεν ἀδίκως πλείονας· κακὰ τούτων ἰσχυρό-
 τατός τε ἐξ ἀσθενεστάτου καὶ πλουσιώτατος ἐξ
 ἀπορωτάτου γενόμενος οὐδετέρου αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνος ἔξειν
 5 ἐλπίσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ
 ἄπληστος μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἄπληστος δὲ χρημάτων
 γενομένη, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ φιλοδόξῳ
 πολλῇ δὲ καὶ περιφρονήσει θρασεῖα χρησαμένη,
 τήν τε βασιλείαν τήν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπ' ἔρωτος
 ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τήν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λήψεσθαι δι'
 αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσασα ταύτης τε ἐσφάλη καὶ ἐκείνην
 προσαπώλεσε, δύο τε ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν καθ'
 ἑαυτὴν μεγίστων κατεκράτησε, καὶ διὰ τὸν τρίτον
 ἑαυτὴν κατεχρήσατο.

5 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτοί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ οὕτως
 ἀπήλλαξαν· τῶν δὲ δὴ παίδων αὐτῶν Ἀντυλλος
 μὲν, καίτοι² τήν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατέρα
 ἠγγυημένος² καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἠρῶον,
 ὃ ἢ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπεποιήκει, καταφυγών, εὐθύς
 ἐσφάγη, Καισαρίων δὲ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν φεύγων κατε-
 6 λήφθη τε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ διεφθάρη. ἢ τε Κλεο-
 πάτρα Ἰούβα τῷ τοῦ Ἰούβου παιδὶ συνώκησε·
 τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
 καὶ συστρατευσαμένῳ οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν
 βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῶαν ἔδωκε, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐχαρίσατο.
 7 ταῖς τε ἀδελφίδαῖς, ἃς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἢ Ὀκτα-
 ουνία ἀνήρητό τε καὶ ἐτετρόφει, χρήματα ἀπὸ

¹ ἀπώνητο Naber, ἀπώνατο VM cod. Peir.

² ἠγγυημένος Dind., ἐγγεγυημένος M, ἐγγενημένος V.

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and by servility of mind. He would plunder the property of others and would squander his own. He showed compassion to many without cause and punished even more without justice. Consequently, though he rose from utter weakness to great power, and from the depths of poverty to great riches, he derived no profit from either circumstance, but after hoping to gain single-handed the empire of the Romans, he took his own life. Cleopatra was of insatiable passion and insatiable avarice; she was swayed often by laudable ambition, but often by overweening effrontery. By love she gained the title of Queen of the Egyptians, and when she hoped by the same means to win also that of Queen of the Romans, she failed of this and lost the other besides. She captivated the two greatest Romans of her day, and because of the third she destroyed herself. B.C. 30

Such were these two and such was their end. Of their children, Antyllus was slain immediately, though he was betrothed to the daughter of Caesar and had taken refuge in his father's shrine, which Cleopatra had built; and Caesarion while fleeing to Ethiopia was overtaken on the road and murdered. Cleopatra was married to Juba, the son of Juba; for to this man who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave both the maid and the kingdom of his fathers, and as a favour to them spared the lives of Alexander and Ptolemy. To his nieces, the daughters whom Octavia had had by Antony and had reared, he assigned money from their father's estate. He

τῶν πατρῶων ἀπένειμε. καὶ τῷ Ἰούλλῳ τῷ τοῦ
 Ἀντωνίου τῆς τε Φουλουίας υἱεὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους
 αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα τελευτῶντάς σφας καταλιπεῖν
 αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔδει παραχρῆμα δοῦναι
 16 ἐκέλευσε. τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου
 μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ
 ἀφῆκεν, ἢ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους. ἐπειδὴ
 τε συχνοὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων
 παῖδες οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὀμηρεῖα οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ὕβρει
 τρεφόμενοι εὐρέθησαν, τοὺς μὲν οἴκαδε αὐτῶν
 ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλήλοις συνώκισεν, ἑτέρους
 2 τε κατέσχευεν. ὧν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἶασω,
 δύο δὲ δὴ μόνων ὀνομαστὶ μνησθήσομαι· τὴν μὲν
 γὰρ Ἰωτάπην τῷ Μήδῳ καταφυγόντι μετὰ τὴν
 ἥτταν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκὼν ἀπέδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀρτάξῃ
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καίπερ αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἔπεμψεν,
 ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ Ῥωμαίους
 ἀπεκτόνει.

3 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐγίνετο, τῶν
 δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τῶν τε Ἀλεξανδρέων πάντων
 ἐφείσατο ὥστε μὴ διολέσαι τινά, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς
 ὅτι οὐκ ἠξίωσε τοσοῦτους τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ
 χρησιμωτάτους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς πολλὰ ἂν γενο-
 4 μένους ἀνήκεστόν τι δρᾶσαι· πρόφασιν δὲ ὅμως
 προυβάλλετο τὸν τε θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν οἰκιστὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τρίτον
 Ἄρειον τὸν πολίτην, ᾧ πού φιλοσοφοῦντί τε καὶ
 συνόντι οἱ ἐχρήτο. καὶ τὸν γε λόγον δι' οὗ
 συνέγνω σφίσιν, ἑλληνιστί, ὅπως συνῶσιν αὐτοῦ,
 5 εἶπε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
 σῶμα εἶδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήψατο, ὥστε τι
 τῆς ῥινός, ὡς φασι, θραυσθῆναι· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Πτολεμαίων, καίτοι τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων σπουδῇ
 βουλευθέντων αὐτῷ δεῖξαι, οὐκ ἐθέασατο, εἰπὼν
 ὅτι “ βασιλέα ἄλλ’ οὐ νεκροὺς ἰδεῖν ἐπεθύμησα.”
 καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπιδι
 ἐντυχεῖν ἠθέλησε, λέγων θεοὺς ἄλλ’ οὐχὶ βοῦς
 17 προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν τε Αἴγυ-
 πτον ὑποτελῆ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ
 ἐπέτρεψε· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ πολύανδρον καὶ τῶν
 πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥάδιον τό τε
 κοῦφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοπομπίαν
 καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως
 ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐνεπι-
 2 δημεῖν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν, ἂν μὴ τιμὴ αὐτὸς
 ὀνομαστὶ συγχωρήσῃ. οὐ μόντοι οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις
 βουλευεῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
 ἄλλοις ὡς ἐκάστοις, τοῖς δ’ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἄνευ
 βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· τοσαύτην που
 3 νεωτεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγνω. καὶ σφῶν οὕτω
 τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἰσχυρῶς
 φυλάσσεται, βουλευούσι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξαν-
 δρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ
 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπ’ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ
 πρῶτον ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντες.
 4 Αἴγυπτος μὲν οὕτως ἐδουλώθη· πάντες γὰρ οἱ
 ἀντισχόντες αὐτῶν χρόνον τινὰ ἐχειρώθησαν,
 ὡς που καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον σφισιν ἐναργέστατα
 προέδειξεν. ὑσέ τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως ὕδατι, ἐνθα
 μηδὲ ἐψέκασέ ποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἵματι· ταῦτά τε
 ἅμα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ἐξέπιπτε καὶ ὄπλα παρε-
 5 φαίνετο. κτυπήματά τέ τινα ἐτέρωθι καὶ τυμ-
 πάνων καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ βοήματα καὶ αὐλῶν

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to view the remains of the Ptolemies, though the Alexandrians were extremely eager to show them, remarking, "I wished to see a king, not corpses." For this same reason he would not enter the presence of Apis, either, declaring that he was accustomed to worship gods, not cattle. Afterwards he made Egypt tributary and gave it in charge of Cornelius Gallus. For in view of the populousness of both the cities and country, the facile, fickle character of the inhabitants, and the extent of the grain-supply and of the wealth, so far from daring to entrust the land to any senator, he would not even grant a senator permission to live in it, except as he personally made the concession to him by name. On the other hand he did not allow the Egyptians to be senators in Rome; but whereas he made various dispositions as regards the several cities, he commanded the Alexandrians to conduct their government without senators; with such capacity for revolution, I suppose, did he credit them. And of the system then imposed upon them most details are rigorously preserved at the present time, but they have their senators both in Alexandria, beginning first under the emperor Severus, and also in Rome, these having first been enrolled in the senate in the reign of Severus' son Antoninus. B.C. 30

Thus was Egypt enslaved. All the inhabitants who resisted for a time were finally subdued, as, indeed, Heaven very clearly indicated to them beforehand. For it rained not only water where no drop had ever fallen previously, but also blood; and there were flashes of armour from the clouds as this bloody rain fell from them. Elsewhere there was the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of

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flutes and trumpets, and a serpent of huge size suddenly appeared to them and uttered an incredibly loud hiss. Meanwhile comets were seen and dead men's ghosts appeared, the statues frowned, and Apis bellowed a note of lamentation and burst into tears. B.C. 30

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

After accomplishing the things just related Caesar founded a city there on the very site of the battle and gave to it the same name and the same games as to the city he had founded previously.¹ He also cleared out some of the canals and dug others over again, besides attending to other important matters. Then he went through Syria into the province of

¹ See chap. 1, 3.

τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τῆς Συρίας ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα παρε-
 χείμασε, τά τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ τὰ
 2 τῶν Πάρθων ἅμα καθιστάμενος. στασιασάντων
 γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ τινος Τιριδάτου¹ τῷ Φραάτῃ
 ἐπαναστάντος, πρότερον μὲν, καὶ ἕως ἔτι τὰ τοῦ
 Ἄντωνίου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνθιστήκει,
 οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προσέθετό τῷ² αὐτῶν συμμαχίαν
 αἰτησάντων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ
 ὅτι βουλεύσεται, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν
 Αἴγυπτον ἀσχολίαν ἔχων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἴν' ἐκτροχῶ-
 3 θεῖεν ἐν τούτῳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τότε
 δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἄντωνιος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐκείνων
 ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ἠττηθεὶς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν κατέφυγεν,
 ὁ δὲ Φραάτης κρατήσας πρέσβεις ἐπέμψε, τούτοις
 τε φιλικῶς ἐχρημάτισε, καὶ τῷ Τιριδάτῃ βοη-
 θήσειν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέσχετο διαιτᾶσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ
 Συρίᾳ ἐπέτρεψε, υἱὸν τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν
 εὐεργεσίας³ μέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔς τε τὴν
 Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὀμηρείᾳ ἐποιήσατο.

19 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον συχνὰ μὲν καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκη οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι
 ἐψηφίσαντο. τά τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ
 τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἀψίδα τροπαιοφόρον ἐν τε
 τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ
 2 ἔδωκαν· τὴν τε κρηπίδα τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ἡρώου
 τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμη-
 θῆναι, καὶ πανήγυριν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἄγεσθαι,
 ἐν τε τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγ-
 γελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρᾳ ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐς
 τὴν πόλιν ἐσιόντι αὐτῷ τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς

¹ Τιριδάτου Dind., τειριδάτου VM (and so just below).

² τῷ M, om. V.

³ εὐεργεσίας M, εὐεργεσία V.

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Asia and passed the winter there settling the various affairs of the subject nations as well as those of the Parthians. It seems there had been dissension among the Parthians and a certain Tiridates had risen against Phraates; and hitherto, as long as Antony's opposition lasted, even after the naval battle, Caesar had not only not attached himself to either side, though they sought his alliance, but had not even answered them except to say that he would think the matter over. His excuse was that he was busy with Egypt, but in reality he wanted them in the meantime to exhaust themselves by fighting against each other. But now that Antony was dead and of the two combatants Tiridates, defeated, had taken refuge in Syria, and Phraates, victorious, had sent envoys, he entered into friendly negotiations with the latter; and, without promising to aid Tiridates, he permitted him to live in Syria. He received from Phraates one of his sons by way of conferring a favour upon him, and taking him to Rome, kept him as a hostage. B.C. 30

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

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ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸν τε δῆμον μετὰ
 τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαν-
 3 τῆσαι ἔγνωσαν. τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς τὰς τε εἰκόνας
 καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ τοιουτότροπα
 περιττόν ἐστιν ἤδη λέγειν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην
 ἐκείνῳ τε¹ ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἄν-
 τωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλον τὰ δ' ἀπή-
 λειψαν, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ ἔγεγέννητο μιὰρὰν
 ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπεῖπον
 4 μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι. ὡς μέντοι καὶ
 τεθνεῶτα αὐτὸν ἐπύθοντο (ἠγγέλθη δὲ τοῦτο Κικέ-
 ρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπα-
 τεύοντος), τοῦτό τε τινες ὡς² οὐκ ἀθεεὶ δὴ συμβὰν
 ἐλάμβανον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 5 Ἄντωνίου ὅτι μάλιστ' ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ προσεψη-
 φίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομη-
 νίας πολλάς, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερα ἐπινίκια ὡς καὶ
 τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀγαγεῖν ἔδοσαν· τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικη-
 θέντας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε τότε, ὡς καὶ ἐορτάζειν
 6 σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δέον, ὠνόμασαν. τὴν τε ἡμέραν
 ἐν ἧ ἢ Ἄλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ
 ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα ἔτη ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν
 νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν
 τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς
 ἐπιβοωμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ
 ἔξω μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν, ὃ μηδενὶ

¹ τε M, om. V.

² ὡς supplied by Bk.



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7 τῶν δημαρχούντων ἐξῆν, ἑκκλητόν τε δικάζειν, καὶ ψῆφόν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὡσπερ Ἀθηνᾶς φέρεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἱερέας καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὐχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὁμοίως εὐχέσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντα αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν.

20 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μετὰ Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου τά τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νουμηνία ὄρκοις ἐβεβαιώσαντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἦλθεν, ἔς τε τοὺς ὕμνους αὐτὸν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς θεοῖς ἐσγρά-
 2 φεσθαι,¹ καὶ φυλὴν Ἰουλίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τῷ τε στεφάνῳ αὐτὸν τῷ ἐπινικίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν πανηγύρεων χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς συν-
 νικήσαντάς οἱ βουλευτὰς ἐν περιπορφύροις ἱμα-
 3 τίοις τὴν πομπὴν αὐτῷ συμπέμψαι, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέλθῃ θυσίαις τε πανδημεὶ ἀγαλθῆναι καὶ ἱερὰν αἰεὶ ἄγεσθαι, ἱερέας τε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅσους ἂν αἰεὶ ἐθελήσῃ, προαιρεῖσθαι προσκατεστήσαντο· ὅπερ
 4 αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πλὴν βραχείων ἐδέξατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντῆσαι

¹ ἐσγράφεσθαι M, ἐγγράφεσθαι V.

¹ The tribunes' authority, as a matter of fact, extended to the first mile-stone outside the city: see Livy iii. 20, 7. Dio is apparently labouring under a misapprehension.

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a privilege possessed by none of the tribunes,¹—also B.C. 30
that he should judge appealed cases, and that in all
the courts his vote was to be cast as Athena's vote.²
The priests and priestesses also in their prayers in
behalf of the people and the senate were to pray for
him likewise, and at all banquets, not only public
but private as well, everybody was to pour a libation
to him.

These were the decrees passed at that time ; and B.C. 29
when he was consul for the fifth time, with Sextus
Apuleius, they ratified all his acts by oath on the
very first day of January. When the letter came
regarding the Parthians, they further arranged that
his name should be included in their hymns equally
with those of the gods ; that a tribe should be called
the "Julian" after him ; that he should wear the
triumphal crown at all the festivals ; that the senators
who had participated in his victory should take part
in the triumphal procession arrayed in purple-
bordered togas ; that the day on which he entered
the city should be honoured with sacrifices by the
whole population and be held sacred for evermore ;
and that he might choose priests even beyond the
regular number,—as many, in fact, as he should wish
on any occasion. This last-named privilege, handed
down from that time, was afterwards indefinitely
extended, so that I need not henceforth make a point
of giving the exact number of such officials. Now
Caesar accepted all but a few of these honours,
though he expressly requested that one of them, the
proposal that the whole population of the city should

² That is, in case of a tie vote, Caesar's vote, like Athena's
in the Areopagus at Athens, was to decide in favour of ac-
quittal. Cf. Aesch., *Eumen.* 737 ff.; Eur., *Iph. T.* 965 f., 1472.

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παρητήσατο ἄντικρυς μὴ γενέσθαι. πλείστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τὰς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἴανου ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἔκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἐποίησαν.
 5 καὶ γὰρ τότε δι' ἅπερ εἶπον διελέλειπτο. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι καὶ Τρήουηροι¹ Κελτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενοι καὶ Κάνταβροι² καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι καὶ Ἄστυρες· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Στατιλίου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν· ἄλλα τε ὡς καθ' ἑκάστους ταραχώδη συχνὰ ἐγίνετο· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνηνέχθη, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμῆσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὔτε ἐγὼ ἐπιφανές τι³ περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαι ἔχω.

6 Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἠῤῥωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἐν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν· αὐται γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ
 7 προετετίμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικουῦσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἑλληνᾶς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἑαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδεῖᾳ, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει,
 8 ἐγένετο. ἐν γάρ τοι τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ

¹ Τρήουηροι Bs., τρηούροι VM.

² Κάνταβροι R. Steph., ἔνταβροι VM.

³ τι M., om. V.

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go out to meet him, should not be put into effect. B.C. 29
Nevertheless, the action which pleased him more than all the decrees was the closing by the senate of the gates of Janus, implying that all their wars had entirely ceased, and the taking of the *augurium salutis*, which had at this time fallen into disuse for the reasons I have mentioned.¹ To be sure, there were still under arms the Treveri, who had brought in the Germans to help them, and the Cantabri, the Vaccaei, and the Astures,—the three last-named of whom were later subjugated by Statilius Taurus, and the former by Nonius Gallus,—and there were also numerous other disturbances going on in various regions; yet inasmuch as nothing of importance resulted from them, the Romans at the time did not consider that they were engaged in war, nor have I, for my part, anything notable to record about them.

Caesar, meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesus and in Nicaea to Rome and to Caesar, his father, whom he named the hero Julius.² These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honour to these two divinities; but he permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. This practice, beginning under him, has been continued under other emperors, not only in the case of the Hellenic nations but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in Italy

¹ Cf. xxxvii. 24.

² *i.e.* Divus Iulius.

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Ἰταλία οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μεταλλάξασι μέντοι κἀνταῦθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἄλλαι τε ἰσόθιοι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρῶα ποιεῖται.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο,¹ καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὠνομα-
 21 σμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν. τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντος οἳ τε ἄλλοι ἔθυσαν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ ὁ ὑπάτος Οὐαλέριος Ποτίτος· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πᾶν τὸ ἔτος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ πρότερα, ὑπάτευσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σέξτον ὁ
 2 Ποτίτος διεδέξατο. οὗτος οὖν δημοσίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξει ἐβουθύτησεν· ὁ μῆπω πρότερον ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγεγόνει. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς τε ὑποστρατήγους καὶ ἐπή-
 3 νεσε καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ σημείῳ κυανοειδεῖ ναυκρατητικῷ προσεπεσέμνυνε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκέ τινα· τῷ τε δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν² δραχμάς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἔς ἄνδρας τελοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν
 4 ἀδελφιδοῦν, διένειμε. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία τὸ χρυσίον τὸ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσῆκον οὐκ ἐδέξατο,

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

¹ Cf. chap. 1, 2.

² Cf. chap. 20, 3.

³ In earlier times it had been customary, when a general

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generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to do this; still, even there various divine honours are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and, in fact, shrines are built to them. B.C. 29

All this took place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the "sacred" games, as they called them, in honour of Caesar's temple.¹ In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and to Italy; and when he entered the city, not only all the citizens offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned,² but even the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar, to be sure, was consul all that year as for the two preceding years, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus. It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices in behalf of the senate and of the people upon Caesar's arrival, a thing that had never before been done in the case of any other person. After this Caesar bestowed eulogies and honours upon his lieutenants, as was customary, and to Agrippa he further granted, among other distinctions, a dark blue flag in honour of his naval victory, and he gave gifts to the soldiers; to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children because of his nephew Marcellus. In view of all this, and because he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold required for the crowns³ they had voted him, and because, won a triumph, for the cities of his province to send gold crowns, which were carried before him in the triumphal procession. By Cicero's time it was a common practice to send, instead of the crowns themselves, their value in money (*aureum coronarium*); and this was now regarded as a form of tribute.

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καὶ ὅτι¹ καὶ πάντα ἃ τε αὐτὸς ὄφειλέ τισιν ἀπέδωκε, καὶ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπώφειλον οὐκ ἐσέπραξεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν τε δυσχερῶν πάντων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ ἠδέως ὡς καὶ ἄλλοφύλων ἀπάντων τῶν ἡττη-
 5 θέντων ὄντων εἶδον· τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως ἐχώρησεν ὥστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δανείσματα ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ δραχμῇ πρότερον ὄντα τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτημορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι. ἐώρτασε δὲ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε τῶν Παννονίων καὶ τὰ τῶν Δελματῶν, τῆς τε Ἰαπυδίας² καὶ τῶν προσχώρων σφίσι,³ Κελτῶν τε καὶ Γαλατῶν τινων.
 6 Γάιος γὰρ Καρρίνας τοὺς τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς συνεπαναστάντας αὐτοῖς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τοὺς Σουήβους τὸν⁴ Ῥήνον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διαβάντας ἀπεώσατο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἤγαγε μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ νικητήρια, καίτοι τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου θανατωθέντος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρξαι ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ κωλυθεῖς, ἤγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῆς νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσα
 7 ἦν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα διεωρτάσθη, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἢ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ναυκρατία, κὰν τῇ τρίτῃ ἢ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταστροφή. ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πομπαὶ διὰ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λάφυρα ἐγένοντο (τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἠθροίσθη ὥστε πάσαις ἐπαρκέσαι), πολυτελεστάτη
 8 δ' οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτη αὕτη ἢ Αἰγυπτία. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐν τῷ

¹ ὅτι Bk., ἔτι VM.

² Ἰαπυδίας Xyl., ἰαπυγίας VM.

³ σφίσι M, om. V.

⁴ τὸν Bk., τὸν τε VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη, ὥστε τρόπον
 τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνην μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλίου, τῆς τε
 Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Σελήνης, τῶν τέκνων, ὡς
 9 πομπεῖον ὀφθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ
 ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἐσελάσας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ
 τὸ νομιζόμενον ἔπραξε, τὸν δὲ δὴ συνύπατον τούς
 τε λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας περιεΐδε παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς
 ἐπισπομένους οἱ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν
 συννευκηκότων· εἰώθεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι οἱ
 δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι.¹

22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τό τε Ἀθήναιον τὸ
 Χαλκιδικὸν ὠνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ
 Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῇ
 γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ
 ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς
 2 ἔοικεν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο· ἦν
 δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
 κομισθὲν ἐν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἰδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυ-
 πτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τοῦ
 3 Ἰουλίου ἠρώφῳ ὀσιωθέντι τότε ὑπῆρξε· συχνὰ γὰρ
 καὶ ἐς ἐκείνο ἀνετέθη, καὶ ἕτερα τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ
 Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἡρᾷ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ ἱερώθη,
 πάντων τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἀνακεῖσθαι δοκούν-
 των ἢ καὶ ἔτι κειμένων ἐκ δόγματος τότε καθαι-
 ρεθέντων ὡς καὶ μεμιασμένων.² καὶ οὕτως ἡ
 Κλεοπάτρα καίπερ καὶ ἠττηθεῖσα καὶ ἀλοῦσα

¹ ἐφέπεσθαι M, ἔπεσθαι V.

² μεμιασμένων v. Herwerden, μεμιαμμένων VM.

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in a way she, too, together with the other captives and with her children, Alexander, called also Helios, and Cleopatra, called also Selene, was a part of the spectacle and a trophy in the procession. After this came Caesar, riding into the city behind them all. He did everything in the customary manner, except that he permitted his fellow-consul and the other magistrates, contrary to precedent, to follow him along with the senators who had participated in the victory; for it was usual for such officials to march in advance and for only the senators to follow.¹ B.C. 29

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

¹ The custom was for the magistrates to issue from the city to meet the victorious general, and then to turn and march ahead of him. Octavius, by putting them behind him, symbolized his position as chief citizen of the state.

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ἔδοξάσθη, ὅτι τά τε κοσμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν ἀνάκειται καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ χρυσῇ ὀράται.

4 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ τοῦ ἡρώου ὀσιώσει ἀγῶνές τε παντοδαποὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν Τροίαν εὐπατρίδαι παῖδες ἵππευσαν, ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τε κελήτων καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἐπὶ¹ τε τεθρίππων ἀντηγωνίσαντο, Κύντος τέ τις Οὐτέλλιος
5 βουλευτῆς ἐμονομάχησε. καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ἄλλα τε παμπληθῆ καὶ ῥινόκερος ἵππος τε ποτάμιος, πρῶτον τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὀφθέντα, ἐσφάγη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὁποῖός ἐστι, πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ πολὺ πλείοσιν ἐώραται· ὁ δὲ δὴ ῥινόκερος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐλέφαντί πη προσέοικε, κέρας δέ τι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥίνα προσέχει, καὶ διὰ
6 τοῦτο οὕτω κέκληται. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἀθροοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους Δακοὶ τε καὶ Σουῆβοι ἐμαχέσαντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν Κελτοί, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ Σκύθαι τρόπον τινά· καὶ οἱ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου ὡς γε τὰ κριβῆς εἰπεῖν (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ τῶν² Σουήβων ὀνόματος ἀντιποιοῦνται), οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοῦ Ἰστρου νέμονται,
7 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰδε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Τριβαλλικῇ οἰκοῦντες ἕς τε τὸν τῆς Μυσίας νομὸν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλὴν παρὰ τοῖς πάνυ ἐπιχωρίοις, ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Δακοὶ κέκληνται, εἴτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς εἴτε καὶ Θράκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ γένους τοῦ τὴν Ῥοδόπην ποτὲ ἐνοικήσαντος ὄντες. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ Δακοὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο
8 μὲν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα,

¹ ἐπὶ Polak, τῶν VM.

² τοῦ τῶν Pflugk, τούτων τῶν V, τούτων τοῦ M.

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adornments repose as dedications in our temples and she herself is seen in gold in the shrine of Venus. B.C. 29

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

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- ὡς δ' οὐδενὸς ὧν ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον, ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδὲν μέγα ὠφέλησαν στασιάσαντες ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλόντες δὲ ἐκ τούτου τινὲς ἔπειτα τοῖς Σουήβοις συνεβλήθησαν.
- 9 ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θεωρία ἅπασα ἐπὶ πολλὰς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ διέλιπε¹ καίτοι² τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρρωστήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ δι' ἑτέρων ἐποιήθη. καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ μίαν τινὰ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἡμέραν ἐν τοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν σφῶν προθύροις εἰστιάθησαν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἐς τοῦτο προαχθέντες· οὐ γὰρ παραδέδοται.
- 23 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἔτι ὑπατεύοντος ὁ Ταῦρος ὁ Στατίλιος θέατρον τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγετικὸν λίθινον καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθιέρωσεν ὄπλομαχίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν ἓνα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατ' ἔτος αἰρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε.
- 2 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μάρκος ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεμφθεὶς τοῖς τε Δακοῖς καὶ τοῖς³ Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οἵτινές τε εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἐπο-
- 3 λεμώθησαν, εἴρηται· Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νενομίδαται, καὶ τότε τὸν Ἰστρον διαβάντες τὴν τε Μυσίαν τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρας σφῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτῇ ὄντας τοὺς τε Δαρδάνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων οἰκοῦντας ἐχειρώσαντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν σφισι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

¹ διέλιπε Bk., διέλειπε VM. ² καίτοι M, καίτοι καὶ V.

³ τοῖς supplied by Bk.

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

These were the events of those days. And while Caesar was still in his fourth consulship, Statilius Taurus both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with a gladiatorial combat a hunting-theatre of stone¹ in the Campus Martius. Because of this he was permitted by the people to choose one of the praetors each year.

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

¹ This was the first stone amphitheatre in Rome.

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4 ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν τε Λίμον ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τὴν
 Θράκην τὴν Δευθελητῶν ἔνσπονδον αὐτοῖς οὔσαν
 κατέδραμον, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κράσσος τὸ μὲν τι τῷ
 Σιτᾶ τῷ τῶν Δευθελητῶν βασιλεῖ τυφλῷ ὄντι
 ἀμύνων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον περὶ τῆ Μακεδονία
 φοβηθεὶς ἀντεπήλθέ σφισι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς
 προσόδου μόνης καταπλήξας ἐξέωσεν ἀμαχεὶ ἐκ
 5 τῆς χώρας. καὶ τούτου οἴκαδε ἀναχωροῦντας¹
 ἐπιδιώκων τὴν τε Σεγετικὴν καλουμένην προσε-
 ποιήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν Μυσίδα ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν τε
 χώραν σφῶν ἐκάκωσε καὶ πρὸς τεῖχος τι καρτερόν
 προσελάσας τοῖς μὲν προδρόμοις ἔπταισε (μόνους
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μυσοὶ οἰηθέντες εἶναι ἐπέξοδον
 ἐποιήσαντο), προσβοηθήσας δὲ σφισι παντὶ τῷ
 λοιπῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἀνέκοψεν αὐτοὺς καὶ
 24 προσεδρεύσας ἐξείλε. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα
 οἱ Βαστάρναι τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ πρὸς τῷ
 Κέδρω ποταμῷ κατέμειναν, περιορώμενοι τὰ γενη-
 σόμενα. ἐπειδὴ τε νικήσας τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ ἐπ'
 ἐκείνους ὤρμησε, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἀπαγο-
 ρεύοντες αὐτῷ μὴ διώκειν σφᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν τοὺς
 2 Ῥωμαίους ἠδίκηκότες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος
 κατασχὼν ὡς καὶ τῆ ὑστεραία τὴν ἀπόκρισιν
 δώσων, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσατο καὶ κατε-
 μέθυσε ὥστε πάντα τὰ βουλευμάτα αὐτῶν ἐκ-
 μαθεῖν· ἀπλήστως τε γὰρ ἐμφερεῖται πᾶν τὸ
 Σκυθικὸν φῦλον οἴνου, καὶ ὑπερκορὲς αὐτοῦ ταχὺ
 3 γίγνεται. Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς
 ὕλην τινὰ προχωρήσας, καὶ προσκόπους πρὸ
 αὐτῆς καταστήσας, ἀνέπαυσέ τε τὸ στράτευμα,

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



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καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Βασταρνῶν μόνους τε
ἐκείνους εἶναι νομισάντων καὶ ἐπιδραμόντων
σφίσιν, ἔς τε τὰ λάσια ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπακολου-
θησάντων, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ
4 φυγόντας ἔφθειρεν· ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ἀμαξῶν
κατόπιν αὐτοῖς οὐσῶν ἐνεποδίσθησαν, καὶ προσ-
έτι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὰς τε γυναῖκας σῶσαι
ἐθελήσαντες ἔπταισαν. καὶ τὸν γε βασιλέα
αὐτῶν Δέλδωνα αὐτὸς ὁ Κράσσος ἀπέκτεινε· κὰν
τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ τῷ Φερετρίῳ Διὶ ὡς καὶ ὀπίμα
ἀνέθηκεν, εἶπερ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς ἐγεγόνει.
5 ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὲν
ἔς ἄλσος τι καταφυγόντες περιεπρήσθησαν, οἱ δὲ
ἔς τεῖχος τι ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐξηρέθησαν. ἄλλοι ἔς
τὸν Ἴστρον ἐμπεσόντες, ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν
6 σκεδασθέντες ἐφθάρησαν. περιλειφθέντων δ' οὖν
καὶ ὡς τινων, καὶ χωρίον ἰσχυρὸν καταλαβόντων,
ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς μάτην σφίσιν ὁ Κράσσος προσ-
ἤδρευσε, ἔπειτα Ῥώλου οἱ Γετῶν τινων
7 βασιλέως ἐπικουρήσαντος ἐξεῖλεν αὐτούς. καὶ ὅ
τε Ῥώλης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔλθων φίλος τε ἐπὶ
τούτῳ καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ ἐνομίσθη, καὶ οἱ
αἰχμάλωτοι τοῖς στρατιώταις διεδόθησαν.

25 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κράσσος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς
ἐτράπετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείθων τινὰς τὰ δὲ ἐκφοβῶν
τὰ δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, πάντας μὲν πλὴν πάνυ
ὀλίγων, ἐπιπόνως δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπικινδύνως κατεστρέ-
2 ψατο. καὶ τότε μὲν (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν) ἔς τὴν
φιλίαν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους

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

After accomplishing this task Crassus turned his attention to the Moesians; and partly by persuasion in some cases, partly by terrifying them, partly also by applying force, he subdued all except a very few, though only after great hardships and dangers. And for the time being, since it was winter, he retired into friendly territory, after suffering greatly from

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πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν, δι' ὧν ὡς
 φίλων ἐπανήει, παθῶν· ὅθενπερ γνώμην ἔσχευ
 ἄρκεσθῆναι τοῖς κατειργασμένοις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 θυσίαι καὶ νικητήρια οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ
 αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, ὡς γέ τινές φασιν, ἔλαβεν,
 3 ἀλλ' ὁ Καῖσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ προσέθετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ
 Βαστάρναι ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ
 μηκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατεύσειν σφίσι πυθόμενοι,
 πρὸς τε τοὺς Δευθελήτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σιτᾶν
 αὐθις ὡς καὶ αἰτιώτατον αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν
 γεγονότα ἐτράποντο, οὕτω καὶ ἄκων ἐξανέστη,
 καὶ σπουδῇ χωρήσας ἀνέλπιστός τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέ-
 πεσε, καὶ κρατήσας σπουδᾶς ὁποίας ἠθέλησεν
 4 ἔδωκεν. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ τῶν ὅπλων αὐθις ἤψατο,
 ἐπεθύμησεν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς Θραῖκας τοὺς ἐν τῇ
 ἀνακομιδῇ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας λυπήσαντας αὐτόν·
 καὶ γὰρ τότε χωρία τε ἐντειχιζόμενοι καὶ πολε-
 μησεῖοντες ἠγγέλλοντο. καὶ σφῶν Μαίδους μὲν
 καὶ Σερδοὺς μάχαις τε κατακρατῶν, καὶ τὰς
 χεῖρας τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀποτέμνων, οὐκ ἀπόνως
 μὲν, ἐχειρώσατο δ' οὖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλὴν τῆς τῶν
 5 Ὀδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τούτων γάρ, ὅτι τῷ
 τε Διονύσῳ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων
 ἀπήντησάν οἱ, ἐφείσατο· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν
 χώραν ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχαρίσατο,
 Βησσοὺς τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος.

26 Πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα ὁ Ῥώλης Δάπυγι
 Γετῶν τινῶν καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ πολεμῶθεις μετε-

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

While he was thus engaged, Roles, who had become embroiled with Dapyx, himself also king of

πέμψατο. καὶ ὅς ἐπικουρήσας οἱ τὴν τε ἵππου
 τῶν ἐναντίων ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐσήραξε, καὶ συμ-
 φοβήσας ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους μάχην μὲν οὐδε-
 μίαν ἔτ' ἐποιήσατο, φόνον δὲ δὴ φευγόντων
 2 ἑκατέρων πολὺν εἰργάσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν
 Δάπυγα πρὸς φρούριόν τι καταφυγόντα ἀπο-
 λαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει· κὰν τῇ προσεδρεία ἑλληνιστί-
 τις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσπασάμενος ἐς τε
 λόγους οἱ ἦλθε καὶ προδοσίαν συνέθετο. ἀλισκό-
 μενοι οὖν οὕτως οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὄρ-
 μησαν, καὶ ὃ τε Δάπυξ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι
 πολλοί. τὸν μὲντοι ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ζωγρήσας ὁ
 Κράσσος οὐχ ὅτι τι¹ κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἀφῆκε.

3 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὴν Κεῖριν
 καλουμένην ἐστρατεύσατο· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστόν
 τε ἄμα καὶ ἐχυρώτατον οὕτως ὄν ὡς καὶ τοὺς
 Τιτᾶνας ἐς αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν
 δὴ σφισι γενομένην συγκαταφυγεῖν μυθεύεσθαι,
 καταλαβόντες οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πλήθει πολλῶ τά
 τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐς αὐτὸ
 4 πάσας ἐσεκομίσαντο. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος τά τε
 στόμια αὐτοῦ πάντα σκολιὰ καὶ δυσδιερεύνητα
 ὄντα ἀναζητήσας ἀπωκοδόμησε, κακ τούτου κακεί-
 νους λιμῶ κατεστρέψατο. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ
 προεχώρησεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Γετῶν, καίπερ
 5 μηδὲν τῷ Δάπυγι προσηκόντων, ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ Γένουκλα τὸ εὐερέστατον τῆς Ζυράξου ἀρχῆς
 τεῖχος ἦλθεν, ὅτι τὰ σημεία, ἃ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ
 Γαΐου οἱ Βαστάρναι πρὸς τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν²
 πόλει ἀφήρηντο, ἐνταῦθα ἤκουεν ὄντα· καὶ αὐτὸ

¹ τι M, om. V.² Ἰστριανῶν Leuncl., ἰστράνων VM.

BOOK LI

a tribe of the Getae, sent for him. Crassus went to his aid, and by hurling the horse of his opponents back upon their infantry he so thoroughly terrified the latter also that what followed was no longer a battle but a great slaughter of fleeing men of both arms. Next he cut off Dapyx, who had taken refuge in a fort, and besieged him. In the course of the siege someone hailed him from the walls in Greek, obtained a conference with him, and arranged to betray the place. The barbarians, thus captured, turned upon one another, and Dapyx was killed along with many others. His brother, however, Crassus took alive, and not only did him no harm but actually released him. B.C. 29

After finishing this campaign Crassus led his troops against the cave called Ciris. For the natives in great numbers had occupied this cave, which is extremely large and so capable of defence that the tradition obtains that the Titans took refuge there after their defeat suffered at the hands of the gods; and here they had brought together all their herds and their other most cherished belongings. Crassus first sought out all the entrances to the cave, which are tortuous and difficult to discover, walled them up, and in this way subdued the men by famine. After this success he did not leave in peace the rest of the Getae, either, even though they had no connexion with Dapyx, but he marched upon Genucla, the most strongly defended fortress of the kingdom of Zyraxes, because he heard that the standards which the Bastarnae had taken from Gaius Antonius¹ near the city of the Istrians were there. His assault was made both by

¹ Cf. xxxviii. 10.

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πεζῆ τε ἅμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου (πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ὕδατι ἐπεπόλιστο) προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ, σὺν πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πόνῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Ζυράξου
 6 μὴ παρόντος, εἶλεν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς ὀρμῆς αὐτοῦ ἤσθετο, πρὸς τε τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπήρε, καὶ οὐκ ἔφθη ἀνακομισθεῖς.

27 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Γέταις ἔπραξε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Μυσῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐπαναστάνας δι' ἑτέρων ἀνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινὰς οὐθ' ἀλόντας ποτὲ οὐτ' αὐτὸν προσχωρήσαί οἱ ἐθέλοντας, καὶ αὐτούς τε μέγιστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργὴν τε ἅμα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτὸς τ' ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ σφας τὰ μὲν βία, δράσαντας οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἀλισκομένων προσηγάγετο.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν χρόνῳ ἐγένετο, γράφω δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς που παραδέδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοί τε καὶ Γέται πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Αἴμου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου οὔσαν ἐνέμοντο, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἄλλα
 3 τινὲς αὐτῶν ὀνόματα μετέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὄνομα πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ Σάουος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμβάλλων, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Δελματίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Θράκης, ἀπὸ τῆς Παννονίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκεν. καὶ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ ποτε προσαγορευθέντες, οἳ τε Δαρδάνιοι καὶ νῦν οὕτω καλούμενοι.



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BOOK LII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν·

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐβουλεύσατο τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀφεῖναι.

β. Ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ καλεῖσθαι ἤρξατο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ ε' καὶ¹ Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου ὑπατείας.²

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τὰ τε ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι.
2 ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετὰ τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικῆνου (τούτοις γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἀνεκοίνου), καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρότερος εἶπε τοιάδε·
2 “Μὴ θαυμάσης, ὦ Καῖσαρ, εἰ μέλλω σε ἀποτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναρχίας, καίπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύσας ἂν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς σοῦ γε αὐτὴν ἔχοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοὶ ὠφέλιμος γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ πάνυ ἂν αὐτὴν ἐσπούδασα·
2 ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὐδὲν ὅμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι καὶ

¹ καὶ supplied by R. Steph.

² ἀπουλείου ὑπατείας M, om. V.

BOOK LII

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

How Caesar planned to lay aside his sovereignty (chaps. 1-40).

How he began to be called emperor (chap. 42).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (V) and Sextus Apuleius. (B.C. 29.)

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

“Be not surprised, Caesar, if I shall try to turn your thoughts away from monarchy, even though I should derive many advantages from it, at least if it was you who held the position. For if it were to be profitable to you also, I should advocate it most earnestly; but since the privileges of a monarchy

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τοῖς φίλοις σφῶν παρέχεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως πάνθ' ὅσα ἐθέλουσι καρποῦνται, τοῖς δὲ καὶ φθόνοι καὶ κίνδυνοι συμβαίνουσιν, οὐ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ ἴδιον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν τό τε κοινὸν προιδέσθαι ἐδικαίωσα.

3 “ Σκεψώμεθα δὲ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῇ, καὶ ὅπη ποτ' ἂν ὁ λογισμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάγη τραπώμεθα· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου φήσει τις δεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐλέσθαι
4 αὐτήν, κἂν μὴ λυσιτελοῦσα ᾖ. εἰ δὲ μή, δόξομεν¹ ἤτοι τῆς τε εὐπραγίας ἠττηῆσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἐκπεφρονηκέναι, ἢ καὶ πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐφιέμενοι τόν² τε πατέρα καὶ τήν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐσκῆφθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον τήν τε γερουσίαν προβεβληῆσθαι, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων σφίσιν ἀπαλλάξωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα
5 ἑαυτοῖς δουλωσώμεθα. ἐκάτερον δὲ ὑπαίτιον. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν³ ἀγανακτήσειεν ἄλλα μὲν ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς εἰρηκότας, ἄλλα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος πεφρονηκότας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον νῦν μισήσειεν ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰ κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθύς τήν τε ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπεγυμνώσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀντικρυς
6 ὠρμήσαμεν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ βίαιόν τι τολμᾶν προσήκειν πῶς τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει, κἂν πλεονεκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῇ, πεπίστευται· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ προφέρων ἐν τινι πλέον ἀξιοῖ τοῦ καταδεεστέρου ἔχειν, καὶ κατορθώσας τέ τι ἐς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς⁴

¹ δόξομεν R. Steph., δόξωμεν VM.

² τὸν M, τὸ V.

³ ἂν supplied by St.

⁴ ψυχῆς Rk., τύχης VM.

BOOK LII

are by no means the same for the rulers as for their friends, but, on the contrary, jealousies and dangers fall to the lot of the rulers while their friends reap, without incurring either jealousies or dangers, all the benefits they can wish for, I have thought it right, in this question as in all others, to have regard, not for my own interests, but for yours and the state's. B.C. 29

“Let us consider, now, at our leisure all the characteristics of this system of government and then shape our course in whichever direction our reasoning may lead us. For surely no one will assert that we are obliged to choose monarchy in any and all circumstances, even if it be not profitable. If we choose it, people will think that we have fallen victims to our own good fortune and have been bereft of our senses by our successes, or else that we have been aiming at sovereignty all the while, making of our appeals to your father and of our devotion to his memory a mere pretext and using the people and the senate as a cloak, with the purpose, not of freeing these latter from those who plotted against them, but of making them slaves to ourselves. And either explanation involves censure for us. For who could help being indignant when he finds that we have said one thing and then discovers that we have meant another? Would he not hate us much more now than if we had at the outset laid bare our desires and set out directly for the monarchy? To be sure, men have come to believe that it somehow is an attribute of human nature, however selfish that may seem, to resort to deeds of violence; for every one who excels in any respect thinks it right that he should have more than his inferior, and if he meets with any success, he ascribes his success to the force

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ἰσχὺν ἀναφέρεται, καὶ διαμαρτῶν τινος τῆ τοῦ
7 δαιμονίου φορᾶ προστίθεται. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς
καὶ κακουργίας τοιοῦτό τι ποιῶν πρῶτον μὲν
δολερὸς καὶ σκολιὸς καὶ κακοήθης καὶ κακό-
τροπος εἶναι νομίζεται ἅπερ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι περὶ
σοῦ οὐδένα ἂν ὑπομείνειας εἰπεῖν ἢ φρονῆσαι,
οὐδ' εἰ πάσης ἐκ τούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξειας·
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατορθώσας ἄδικον τὴν πλεονεξίαν
πεποιῆσθαι καὶ σφαλεῖς δικαίαν τὴν κακοπραγίαν
3 εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος,
οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον ἐπικαλέσειέ τις ἡμῖν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν
τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἔπειτα νῦν
ἐπιθυμήσαιμεν αὐτοῦ. τὸ γάρ τοι τῶν τε παρόν-
των νικᾶσθαι καὶ μήτε ἑαυτοὺς κατέχειν τοῖς τε
παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθείσι μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι πολὺ
2 χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῦ ἐκ κακοπραγίας ἀδικεῖν τινα· οἱ
μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συμφορῶν πολλάκις
ἀναγκάζονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντός σφισι
χρείαν καὶ ἄκοντες πλημμελεῖν, οἱ δ' ἐθελονταὶ
ἀκράτορες ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν γί-
γνονται. τοὺς δὲ δὴ μήθ' ἀπλότητά τινα ἐν τῇ
ψυχῇ ἔχοντας μήτε τὰ δοθέντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ
μετριάσαι δυναμένους πῶς ἂν τις προσδοκήσειεν
ἦτοι τῶν ἄλλων καλῶς ἡγεμονεύσειν ἢ ταῖς
3 συμφοραῖς ὀρθῶς χρήσεσθαι; ὡς οὖν μηδέτερον
αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, μηδ' ἀλόγως τι πράξαι ἐπι-
θυμοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν βουλευσαμένοις ἡμῖν
ἄριστον φανῆ τοῦθ' αἵρησόμενοι, τὴν διάγνωσιν

BOOK LII

of his own intelligence, whereas if he fails, he lays the blame for his failure upon the influence of the divine will. But, on the other hand, the man who, in following such a course, resorts to plotting and villainy, is, in the first place, held to be crafty and crooked, malicious, and depraved,—an opinion which I know you would not allow anyone to express or to entertain about you, even if you might rule the whole world by such practices; and, in the second place, if he succeeds, men think that the advantage he has gained is unjust, or if he fails, that his discomfiture is merited. This being the case, men would reproach us quite as much if we should now, after the event, begin to covet that advantage, even though we harboured no such intention at the outset. For surely it is much worse for men to let circumstances get the better of them and not only to fail to hold themselves in check but to abuse the gifts of Fortune, than to wrong others in consequence of failure. For men who have failed are often compelled by their very misfortunes to commit wrongs even against their will in order to meet the demands of their own interests, whereas the others voluntarily abandon their self-control even when it is unprofitable to do so. And when men have no straightforwardness in their souls, and are incapable of moderation in dealing with the blessings bestowed upon them, how could one expect them either to rule well over others or to conduct themselves properly in adversity? In the conviction, therefore, that we are guilty of neither of these shortcomings, and that we have no desire to act irrationally, but that we shall choose whatever course shall appear to us after deliberation to be best, let us proceed to make our decision

B.C. 29

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αὐτοῦ ποιησώμεθα. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλως ἂν τι εἰπεῖν δυναίμην, οὔτε σοὶ σύνοιδα τὰ ψευδῆ μετὰ κολακείας ἠδέως ἀκούοντι.

4 “ Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἰσονομία τό τε πρόσρημα εὐώ-
 νυμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον δικαιοτάτον ἔχει. τὴν τε
 γὰρ φύσιν τὴν αὐτὴν τινὰς εἰληχότας καὶ ὁμο-
 φύλους ἀλλήλοις ὄντας, ἓν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤθεσι
 τεθραμμένους καὶ ἓν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις πεπαι-
 2 δευμένους, καὶ κοινὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων καὶ
 τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν χρῆσιν τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας,
 πῶς μὲν οὐ δίκαιον καὶ τὰλλα πάντα κοινοῦσθαι,
 πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄριστον ἓν μηδενὶ πλὴν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς
 3 προτιμᾶσθαι; ἢ τε γὰρ ἰσογονία ἰσομοιρίας ὀρι-
 γνᾶται, καὶ τυχοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς χαίρει, διαμαρ-
 τοῦσα δὲ ἄχθεται· καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πᾶν, ἅτε
 ἕκ τε θεῶν γεγονὸς καὶ ἐς θεοὺς ἀφῆξον, ἄνω
 βλέπει, καὶ οὔτε ἐθέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς
 4 ἄρχεσθαι, οὔθ' ὑπομένει τῶν μὲν πόνων καὶ τῶν
 κινδύνων τῶν τε δαπανημάτων μετέχον, τῆς δὲ
 κοινωνίας τῶν κρειπτόνων στερόμενον, ἀλλὰ κἂν
 ἀναγκασθῆ τι τοιοῦτον ὑποστῆναι, μισεῖ τὸ βε-
 βιασμένον, κἂν καιροῦ λάβηται, τιμωρεῖται τὸ
 5 μεμισημένον. ἄρχειν τε γὰρ πάντες ἀξιοῦσι, καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἓν τῷ μέρει ὑπομένουσι·
 καὶ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀναγκάζονται. ταῖς τε
 τιμαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ὁμοτίμων χαίρουσι, καὶ
 6 τὰς τιμωρίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπαινοῦσι. κἂν
 οὔτω πολιτεύωνται, κοινὰ¹ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κοινὰ

¹ κοινὰ Rk., καὶ κοινὰ VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὔτε τι κακὸν οὔδενι τῶν πολιτῶν γίνεσθαι βούλονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ κρείττω πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς συνεύχονται.
- 7 καὶ ἂν τε τις αὐτὸς ἀρετὴν τινα ἔχῃ, καὶ προφαίνει αὐτὴν προχείρως καὶ ἀσκεῖ προθύμως καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἀσμενέστατα, ἂν τε καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἴδῃ, καὶ προάγει, ἐτοίμως καὶ συναύξει σπουδαίως
- 8 καὶ τιμᾷ λαμπρότατα. καὶ μέντοι κἂν κακύνηταί τις, πᾶς αὐτὸν μισεῖ, κἂν δυστυχῇ, πᾶς ἐλεεῖ, κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ζημίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζων.
- 5 “ Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τῶν δήμων κατάστασις, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς τυραννίσιν πάντα τὰναντία συμβαίνει. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν λέγοντα; τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, χρηστὸν μὲν οὔδεις οὔδεν οὔτ' εἶδέναι οὔτ' ἔχειν δοκεῖν βούλεται (πολέμιον γὰρ αὐτῶ πᾶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ κρατοῦν ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται),
- 2 τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου τις τρόπον κανόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενος, ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐλπίσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήσας ἀκινδύνως κερδανεῖν, μετέρχεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ πλείους σφῶν τό τε καθ' ἑαυτοῦς¹ μόνον σπεύδουσι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους μισοῦσι, τὰς τε εὐπραγίας αὐτῶν οἰκείας ζημίας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἴδια κέρδη ποιούμενοι.
- 3 “ Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων οὐχ ὀρῶ τί ποτ' ἂν εἰκότως ἐπάρειέ σε μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμῆσαι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοῖς δήμοις χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ πολίτευμα, πολὺ δυσχερέστερον αὐτῷ σοι γένοιτο ἂν.

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

BOOK LII

opposite as belonging to all alike, they not only wish no harm to befall any one of the citizens, but devoutly hope that nothing but prosperity will fall to the lot of each and all. And if one of them possesses any excellence himself, he readily makes it known, practises it enthusiastically, and exhibits it most joyfully ; or if he sees it in another, he readily brings it to the light, eagerly takes part in increasing it, and bestows the most splendid honours upon it. On the other hand, if any one shows himself base, everybody hates him, and if any one meets with misfortune, everybody pities him ; for each person regards the loss and the disgrace that arise therefrom as shared in by the whole state. B. C. 29

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

“Such being the state of the case, I do not see what motive could reasonably induce you to desire to become sole ruler. For that system, besides being difficult to apply to democracies, would be vastly more difficult still for you yourself to put into effect.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἢ οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅπως ἢ τε πόλις καὶ τὰ πράγματα
 4 αὐτῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ταραττεται; καὶ χαλεπὸν μὲν
 ἔστι τὸ τὸν ὄμιλον ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτοις ἔτεσιν ἐν
 ἐλευθερίᾳ βεβιωκότα, καταλῦσαι, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ
 τὸ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους, τοὺς μὲν
 ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν
 αὐτῶν ἠλευθερωμένους, ἐς δουλείαν αὐθις κατα-
 στηῆσαι, τοσοῦτων περίξ πολεμίων ἡμῖν προσ-
 κειμένων.

6 “ Καὶ ἵνα γε ἀπὸ πρώτου τοῦ βραχυτάτου
 ἄρξωμαι, χρήματά σοι πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν
 ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πορίζειν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὰς νῦν
 οὔσας προσόδους πρὸς τε τᾶλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφήν ἐξαρκέσαι. τοῦτο δὲ
 ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε
 2 πολιτείαν τινὰ ἄνευ δαπάνης συστήναι. ἀλλ' ἐν
 μὲν ἐκείναις μάλιστα μὲν ἐκόντες πολλοὶ πολλὰ
 ἐπιδιδόασιν, ἐν φιλοτιμίας μέρει τὸ πρᾶγμα
 ποιούμενοι καὶ τιμὰς ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀξίας ἀντι-
 λαμβάνοντες· ἂν δέ που καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι παρὰ
 πάντων ἐσφοραὶ γένωνται, ἑαυτοὺς τε¹ πείθοντες
 3 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν συντελοῦντες ἀνέχονται. ἐν δὲ
 δὴ ταῖς δυναστείαις τό τε ἄρχον πάντες μόνον ὡς
 καὶ ὑπερπλουτοῦν ἀξιοῦσι δαπανᾶσθαι, τὰς μὲν
 προσόδους αὐτοῦ ἐτοίμως ἐξερευνώμενοι, τὰ δ'
 ἀναλώματα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐκλογιζόμενοι· καὶ οὔτ'
 ἰδίᾳ ἠδέως ἢ καὶ ἐκόντες ἐπιδιδόασί τι, οὔτε τὰς

¹ τε R. Steph., γε VL'.

BOOK LII

Or do you not see how the city and its affairs are even now in a state of turmoil? It is difficult, also, to overthrow our populace, which has lived for so many years in freedom, and difficult, when so many enemies beset us round about, to reduce again to slavery the allies and subject nations, some of which have had a democratic government from of old, while others of them have been set free by us ourselves. B.C. 29

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

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 κοινὰς συντελείας αὐθαιρέτους ποιοῦνται. ἐκεῖνο
 μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐθελήσειέ τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ'
 ὁμολογήσειεν ἂν ῥαδίως πλουτεῖν) οὔτε συμφέρει
 τῷ κρατοῦντι γίγνεσθαι· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἂν δόξαν
 παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔχων
 ὀγκωθεῖη καὶ νεωτερίσειε. τὸ δ' ἕτερον πάνυ
 τοὺς πολλοὺς βαρύνει, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν μὲν
 ζημίαν αὐτοὶ ὑπομένουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κέρδος ἕτεροι
 5 λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ
 στρατεύονται ὡς πλήθει οἱ τὰ χρήματα συνεσ-
 φέροντες, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ αὐθις αὐτὰ ἀπο-
 λαμβάνουσιν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄλλοι μὲν ὡς
 τὸ πολὺ καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ δημιουργοῦσι καὶ
 ναυτίλλονται καὶ πολιτεύονται, παρ' ὧν περ καὶ
 αἱ λήψεις μάλιστα γίνονται, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ ὄπλα
 ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν φέρουσιν.

7 “Ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοιοῦτον ὄν πράγματά σοι
 παρέξει, ἕτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο. πάντως μὲν τινα δεῖ
 δίκην τὸν αἰεὶ κακουργοῦντα διδόναι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ
 νουθεσίας οὔτε ἐκ παραδειγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ
 σωφρονίζονται, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοὺς καὶ
 ἀτιμία καὶ φυγῇ καὶ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, οἷα ἔν-
 τε ἀρχῇ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ ἐν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων
 τοσοῦτῳ,¹ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ πολιτείας,
 2 φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τούτοις² δ' ἂν μὲν ἑτέρους
 δικαστὰς καθίξης, ἀπολύοιντό τε ἂν διασπευδό-
 μενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὄσους ἂν ἐχθραίνειν νομισθῆς·
 καὶ γὰρ προσποίησίν τινα ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες
 λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ
 3 κρατοῦντι ποιήσωσι· κἂν ἄρα τινὲς ἀλίσκωνται,³

¹ τοσοῦτῳ St., τοσοῦτων VL'. ² τούτοις Xyl., τούτους VL'.

³ ἀλίσκωνται R. Steph., ἀλίσκονται VL'.

BOOK LII

voted of their own free choice. As for the voluntary contributions, no citizen would feel free to make one, any more than he would readily admit that he was rich, and it is not to the advantage of the ruler that he should, for immediately he would acquire a reputation for patriotism among the masses, become conceited, and incite a rebellion. On the other hand, a general levy weighs heavily upon the masses, the more so because they suffer the loss while the others reap the gain. Now in democracies those who contribute the money as a general rule also serve in the army, so that in a way they get their money back again; but in monarchies one set of people usually engages in agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, and politics,—and these are the classes from which the state's receipts are chiefly derived,—and a different set is under arms and draws pay. B.C. 29

“This single circumstance, then, which is as I have described it, will cause you trouble. But here is another. It is by all means essential that whoever from time to time commits a crime should pay some penalty. For the majority of men are not brought to reason by admonition or by example, but it is absolutely necessary to punish them by disfranchisement, by exile, or by death; and such punishments are often administered in an empire as large as this is and in a population as great as ours, especially during a change of government. Now if you appointed other men to judge these wrongdoers, they would vie with each other in acquitting the accused, and particularly all whom you might be thought to hate; for judges, you know, gain an appearance of authority when they act in any way contrary to the wish of the ruler. And if an

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

διὰ σὲ δόξουσιν ἐκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψη-
 φίσθαι. ἂν δ' αὐτὸς δικάζης, πολλοὺς ἀναγ-
 κασθήσῃ καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων κολάζειν (τοῦτο δὲ
 οὐκ εὐτυχές), καὶ πάντως τινὰς αὐτῶν ὀργῇ
 4 μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιώσει δόξεις¹ εὐθύνειν· τοὺς γὰρ
 βιάζεσθαι δυναμένους οὐδεὶς δικάζοντας δικαιο-
 πραγεῖν πιστεύει, ἀλλ' οἴονται πάντες αὐτοὺς
 σχῆμα καὶ σκιαγραφίαν πολιτείας αἰσχύνῃ πρὸ
 τῆς ἀληθείας προπετανύντας, ὀνόματι ἐννόμῳ²
 δικαστηρίου τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποπιμ-
 πλάναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ταῦθ' οὕτω
 5 γίγνεται· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἂν τ' ἰδίᾳ
 τις ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν λάβῃ, ἰδίαν δίκην παρὰ δικα-
 σταῖς ἴσοις φεύγει, ἂν τε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκείνῳ
 δικασταὶ καθίζουσιν³ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων οὓς ἂν⁴ ὁ
 κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, ὥστε ῥᾶον τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, μήτ' ἰσχύι δικα-
 στοῦ μήτε χάριτι ἀναγκαστῇ⁵ νομίζοντάς τι
 πεπονθέναι.

8 “Ἐτι τοίνυν πολλοὶ χωρὶς τῶν τι ἀδικούντων,
 οἱ μὲν γένει, οἱ δὲ πλούτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπαι-
 ρόμενοι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ κακοὶ ἄνδρες, τῇ δὲ δὴ
 προαιρέσει τῇ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐναντίοι φύονται·
 καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐτ' αὔξεσθαί τις ἐὼν ἀσφαλῶς δύνα-
 ται ζῆν, οὐτ' αὖ κολούειν ἐπιχειρῶν δικαίως

¹ δόξεις L', δόξης V. ² ἐννόμῳ Naber, ἐννόμου VL'.

³ καθίζουσιν Rk., καθίζωσιν VL'.

⁴ οὓς ἂν Xyl., οὔσαν VL'.

⁵ ἀναγκαστῇ L', ἀναγκασθῇ V.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 τοῦτο ποιεῖν. τί ποτ' οὖν τούτοις χρήσι; πῶς
 αὐτοὺς μεταχειρίσει; ἂν μὲν γὰρ τά τε γένη σφῶν
 καθέλης καὶ τοὺς πλούτους ἐλαττώσης τά τε
 φρονήματα ταπεινώσης, οὐδεμίαν ἂν εὐνοίαν παρὰ
 τῶν ἀρχομένων λάβοις· πῶς γάρ, εἰ μήτε γεν-
 νηθῆναί τω καλῶς μήτε πλουτῆσαι δικαίως, μήτ'
 ἰσχυρῶ μήτ' ἀνδρείω μήτε συνετῶ γενέσθαι ἐξείη;
 3 ἂν δὲ ἐάσης ταῦθ' ὡς ἕκαστα αὖξειν, οὐκ ἂν
 ῥαδίως αὐτὰ διάθοιο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ αὐτὸς μόνος
 πρὸς τε τὸ¹ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὰ πολε-
 μικά καλῶς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πράττειν ἐξήρκεις,
 καὶ μηδενὸς συνεργοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἔχρηζες,
 4 ἕτερος ἂν ἦν λόγος· νῦν δὲ πᾶσά σε ἀνάγκη
 συναγωνιστὰς πολλοὺς, ἅτε τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης
 ἄρχοντα,² ἔχειν, καὶ προσήκει που πάντας αὐτοὺς
 καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ φρονίμους εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἂν
 μὲν τοιούτοις τισὶ τά τε στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς
 ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζης, κίνδυνος ἔσται καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ
 5 πολιτεία καταλυθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτ' ἄνευ
 φρονήματος ἀξιόλογον ἄνδρα φῦναι, οὔτ' αὖ
 φρόνημα μέγα λαβεῖν ἐκ δουλοπρεποῦς ἐπι-
 τηδεύσεως, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φρονηματίαν γεγόμενον
 μὴ οὐκ ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ πᾶν τὸ δε-
 6 σπόζον μισῆσαι. ἂν δὲ δὴ τούτοις μὲν μηδὲν
 ἐπιτρέπης, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φαύλοις καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι
 τὰ πράγματα προστάσης, τάχιστα μὲν ἂν ὀργὴν
 παρ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἀπιστουμένων λάβοις, τάχιστα
 7 δ' ἂν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις πταίσειας. τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν
 ἀγαθὸν ἀμαθῆς ἢ ἀγεννῆς³ ἄνθρωπος ἐργάσαιτο;
 τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν καταφρονήσειεν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολεμίων;

¹ τὸ supplied by Bs. ² ἄρχοντα Leuncl., ἄρχοντας VL'.

³ ἀγεννῆς V, ἀγενῆς L'.

BOOK LII

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

B.C. 20

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τίς δ' ἂν πειθαρχήσειέν¹ οἱ τῶν συμμάχων; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαξιώσειεν ὑπὸ τοιούτου τινὸς ἄρχεσθαι; καὶ μὴν ὅσα ἐκ τούτου κακὰ γίγνεσθαι πέφυκε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
8 οὐδὲν δέομαί σοι σαφῶς εἰδότι διηγείσθαι, ἐκείνο δὲ δὴ μόνον ἀναγκαίως ἐρῶ, ὅτι ἂν μὲν μηδὲν δέον ὁ τοιοῦτος πράττη, πολὺ πλείω ἂν σε των πολεμίων βλάβειεν, ἂν δέ τι τῶν προσηκόντων ποιῆ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν σοι φοβερὸς ἐκφρονήσας ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας γένοιτο.

9 “Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοιοῦτό τι πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους καὶ πλουτῶσι καὶ ἀνδρίζωνται, τόσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοί τε φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὖξουσι, καὶ σφισι καὶ ἐκείνη κέχρηται καὶ χαίρει, πλὴν ἂν τις τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμήσῃ· τοῦτον γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς κολάζουσι.
2 καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει καὶ πολλῶ κρείττους αἱ δημοκρατίαι τῶν μοναρχιῶν εἰσι, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν· τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐπολιτεύοντο, οὐδὲν μέγα κατέπραξαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνως² ζῆν
3 ἤρξαντο, ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν τυραννίσι καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαγόμενοι αἰεὶ τε δουλεύουσι καὶ αἰετοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ προστατείαις ἐπετησίοις ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω τινὰ χρόνον χρώμενοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι διατελοῦσιν
4 ὄντες. ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασιν οἰκεῖα ἔχοντας χρῆσθαι; ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄλλως τὸ πρῶτον πολιτευόμενοι,

¹ πειθαρχήσειέν (πιθαρχήσειέν) L', πιθάρχησεν V.

² ἐκείνως L', ἐκείνος V.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἔπειτα ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπάσχομεν, τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθυμήσαμεν καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν
 5 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον προήλθομεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις
 τισὶν ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγαθοῖς ἰσχύ-
 σαντες, ἐξ ὧν ἢ τε¹ γερουσία προεβούλευε καὶ ὁ
 δῆμος ἐπεκύρου τό τε στρατευόμενον προεθυμείτο
 καὶ τὸ στρατηγοῦν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν ἐν
 τυραννίδι πραχθείη.² ἀμέλει τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς διὰ
 ταῦτα μῖσος οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον ὥστε καὶ
 ἐπάρατον τὸ πολίτευμα ποιήσασθαι.

10 “ Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ περὶ τῶν
 ἰδία σοὶ αὐτῷ συμφερόντων εἰπεῖν, πῶς μὲν ἂν
 ὑπομείνειας τοσαῦτα καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ
 διοικῶν, πῶς δ’ ἂν μὴ ὑγιαίνων ἐξαρκέσειας;
 τίνοσ δ’ ἂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπο-
 λαύσειας, πῶς δ’ ἂν στερόμενος αὐτῶν εὐδαιμο-
 νήσειας; τίνι δ’ ἂν ἀκριβῶς ἤσθειης, πότε δ’ οὐκ
 2 ἂν ἰσχυρῶς λυπηθείης; πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν
 τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν πολλὰ
 καὶ δεδιέναι πολλά, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδίστων ἐλά-
 χιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστατα αἰεὶ καὶ
 πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὄραν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ
 πάσχειν. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ βάρ-
 βαροὶ τινες οὐδὲ διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας ἐδέ-
 ξαντο.

3 “ Ταῦτ’ οὖν προϊδόμενος³ προβούλευσαι πρὶν
 ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι· αἰσχρὸν γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
 ἀδύνατόν ἐστι παρακύψαντά τινα ἅπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ

¹ ἢ τε L', ἢ τε ἢ V.

² πραχθείη V, προαχθείη L'.

³ προϊδόμενος Bk., προειδόμενος VL'.

BOOK LIÏ

had gone through many bitter experiences, conceived a desire for liberty ; and when we had secured it, we advanced to our present proud eminence, strong in no advantages save those that come from democracy. It was on the strength of these that the senate deliberated, the people ratified, the soldiers in the ranks were filled with zeal and their commanders with ambition. None of these things could happen under a tyranny. At any rate the ancient Romans came to feel so great a hatred of tyranny for these reasons that they even laid that form of government under a curse. B.C. 29

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

“ Therefore I would have you foresee all these disadvantages and take counsel before you become involved in them. For it is disgraceful, or rather it is quite impossible, for a man to withdraw when

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ἀναδύναι. μηδέ σε ἐξαπατήσῃ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος
 τῆς ἐξουσίας μήθ' ἢ περιουσία τῶν κτημάτων,
 μὴ τὸ στίφος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, μὴ ὁ¹ ὄχλος
 4 τῶν θεραπευόντων. οἷ τε γὰρ πολὺ δυνάμενοι
 πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ οἷ συχνὰ κεκτη-
 μένοι συχνὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀναγκάζονται, τά τε
 πλήθη τῶν δορυφόρων διὰ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐπι-
 βουλευόντων ἀθροίζεται, καὶ οἷ κολακεύοντες ἐπι-
 τρίψειαν ἂν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ σώσειαν.² ὥσθ'
 ἔνεκα μὲν τούτων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εὖ φρονῶν αὐταρ-
 11 χῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσειεν· εἷ δ' ὅτι καὶ πλουτίζειν καὶ
 σώζειν τινὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ δρᾶν οἷ
 τοιοῦτοι δύνανται, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ὑβρίζειν σφίσι
 καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὃν ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἔξεστιν, ἀξίαν
 τις διὰ ταῦτα σπουδῆς τὴν τυραννίδα εἶναι νομί-
 2 ζει, τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσελ-
 γαίνειν καὶ κακόν τι ποιεῖν οὔθ' ὡς αἰσχρὰ οὔθ' ὡς
 σφαλερὰ καὶ μεμισημένα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς
 ἀνθρώπων ἐστί, δέομαί σοι λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως
 τοιοῦτος εἷ, οὔτ' ἂν διὰ ταῦτα μοναρχῆσαι ἔλοιο.
 προήρημαί τε ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν τις κακῶς
 τὸ πράγμα μεταχειριζόμενος ἐξεργάσαιτο εἰπεῖν,
 ἀλλ' ὅσα καὶ οἷ πάνυ ἄριστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ
 3 ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναγκάζονται. τὸ δ' ἕτερον,
 τό τινα ἀφθόνως εὐεργετεῖν ἔχειν, ἀξιοσπούδα-
 στον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἰδιώτῃ γιγνόμενον καὶ
 καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ εὐκλεές καὶ ἀσφαλές ἐστιν,
 ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς μοναρχίαις πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἀντ-

¹ δ supplied by Bk.

² ἐπιτρίψειαν . . . ἄ., ἐπιτρίψαιεν . . . σώσαιεν VL'.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αξιον τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑποπρωτέρων, ὥστε τινὰ
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα¹ ἐλέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 μέλλοντα τὴν μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἀπόλαυσιν ἑτέροις
 12 δώσειν τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀηδίαν αὐτὸν ἔξειν,
 ἔπειτα δ' οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν, ὡς τις οἶεται. οὔτε γὰρ
 ἂν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τινὸς ἐπαρκέσειέ τις. οἱ
 μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦντές τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν
 πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ μηδεμία
 2 εὐθὺς εὐεργεσία αὐτοῖς ὀφείληται· πᾶς γὰρ τις
 φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀρέσκει, καὶ γὰρ τίς
 ἐπαυρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι δυναμένου βού-
 λεται· ἃ δὲ ἐνδέχεται αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι (τιμὰς τε
 καὶ ἀρχὰς λέγω, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ χρήματα)
 πάνυ ἂν εὐαρίθμητα ὡς πρὸς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος
 εὐρεθείη. τούτου τε οὕτως ἔχοντος ἔχθος ἂν
 αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν διαμαρτανόντων ὧν χρήζουσι
 μάλλον ἢ φιλία παρὰ τῶν τυγχανόντων ὑπάρ-
 3 ξειεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενόν τι λαμ-
 βάνοντες, οὔτ' ἄλλως μεγάλην οἶονται δεῖν τῷ
 διδόντι αὐτὸ² χάριν ἔχειν ἅτε μηδὲν παρὰ δόξαν
 εὐρισκόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὀκνοῦσι τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀναξίους ἐν τούτῳ σφᾶς τοῦ
 4 καλῶς πάσχειν ἀποφήνωσιν.³ οἱ δὲ ὧν ἐλπίζου-
 σιν ἀτυχοῦντες λυποῦνται κατ' ἀμφοτέρα,
 τοῦτο μὲν ὡς οἰκείου τινὸς στερισκόμενοι (πάντες
 γὰρ ἔχειν ἤδη νομίζουσι ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσι),
 τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ⁴ ἐαυτῶν ἀδικίαν τινὰ

¹ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα Bk., δι' ἐκεῖνα καὶ τοῦτο VL'

² αὐτὸ L', αὐτῷ V.

³ ἀποφήνωσιν St., ἀποφανοῦσιν VL'.

⁴ αὐτοὶ L', ἐαυτοὶ V.

BOOK LII

of a less agreeable nature, so that a man should be induced for the sake of gaining this advantage to accept those disadvantages also, especially when the sovereign is bound to bestow upon others the benefit to be derived from this advantage and to have for himself alone the unpleasantness that results from the disadvantages. In the second place, this advantage is not without complications, as people think; for a ruler cannot possibly satisfy all who ask for favours. Those, namely, who think they ought to receive some gift from the sovereign are practically all mankind, even though no favour is due to them at the moment; for every one naturally thinks well of himself and wishes to enjoy some benefit at the hands of him who is able to bestow it. But the benefits which can be given them,—I mean titles and offices and sometimes money,—will be found very easy to count when compared with the vast number of the applicants. This being so, greater hostility will inevitably be felt toward the monarch by those who fail to get what they want, than friendliness by those who obtain their desires. For the latter take what they receive as due them and think there is no particular reason for being grateful to the giver, since they are getting no more than they expected; besides, they actually shrink from showing gratitude for fear they may thereby give evidence of their being unworthy of the kindness done them. The others, when they are disappointed in their hopes, are aggrieved for two reasons: in the first place, they feel that they are being robbed of what belongs to them, for invariably men think they already possess whatever they set their hearts upon; and, in the second place, they feel that, if they are

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καταγιγνώσκοντες, ἂν ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν
 5 ὧν ἂν προσδοκῆσωσι φέρωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀρθῶς
 διδοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τό τε κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου δῆλον
 ὅτι πρὸ πάντων προσκοπεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμᾶ τοὺς
 δὲ παρορᾶ, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τοῖς μὲν
 φρόνημα τοῖς δ' ἀγανάκτησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνει-
 δότος σφῶν προσγίγνεσθαι. ὡς ἂν γέ τις τοῦτ'
 εὐλαβούμενος ἀνωμάλως αὐτὰ διανέμειν ἐθελήσῃ,
 6 τὸ σύμπαν ἀμαρτήσεται· οἷ τε γὰρ πονηροὶ παρὰ
 τὸ προσῆκον τιμώμενοι χείρους ἂν, ἤτοι καὶ
 ἐπαινέισθαι ὡς ἀγαθοὶ ἢ πάντως γε θεραπεύεσθαι
 ὡς φοβεροὶ δοκοῦντες, γίγνοιτο, καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ
 μηδὲν πλεῖον αὐτῶν εὐρισκόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου
 σφίσιν ἀγόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους
 ἰσομοιρίας λυποῖντο ἢ τῷ¹ καὶ αὐτοὶ τινος ἀξιού-
 7 σθαι χαίροιν,² κακ' αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἐπιτήδευσιν
 τῶν κρείττωνων ἐῶεν ἂν καὶ τὴν ζήλωσιν τῶν
 χειρόνων μετέρχοιντο, καὶ οὕτω κἂν³ ἐξ αὐτῶν
 τῶν τιμῶν οὐθ' οἱ διδόντες αὐτὰς ἀγαθόν τι
 καρποῖντο καὶ οἱ λαμβάνοντες κακίους γίγνοι-
 το. ὥστε σοι τοῦτο, ὃ μάλιστα ἂν τισιν ἐν
 ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἀρέσειε, δυσμεταχειριστότατον
 συμβῆναι.

13 “ Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν

¹ τῷ supplied by Pflugk.

² χαίροιν R. Steph., χαίροιε VL'.

³ κἂν V, καὶ L'.



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εἶπον ἐνθυμηθεὶς φρόνησον ἕως ἔξεστί σοι, καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τε καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὸ ποιήσης, ἐνδοξότατός τε ἅμα ἀνθρώπων ἔσῃ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος· ἂν δ' ἀναμείνης βίαν τινά σοι προσαχθῆναι, τάχ' ἂν τι
 2 δεινὸν μετὰ κακοδοξίας πάθοις. τεκμήριον δέ, Μάριος μὲν καὶ Σύλλας καὶ Μέτελλος, καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι οὔτ' ἠθέλησαν δυναστεῦσαι οὔτ' ἔπαθον παρὰ τοῦτο δεινὸν οὐδέν· Κίννας δὲ δὴ καὶ Στράβων, ὃ τε Μάριος ὁ ἕτερος καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος, ὃ τε Πομπήιος αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα, τῆς δυναστείας ἐπι-
 3 θυμήσαντες κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. δυσχερὲς γὰρ ἔστι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, τοσοῦτοις τε ἔτεσι δεδημοκρατημένην καὶ τοσοῦτων ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσαν, δουλεῦσαί τινι ἐθελῆσαι. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὅτι τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδὴ λευκοῖς ἵπποις
 4 ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐχρήσατο, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατέλυσαν, ἐπειδὴ τινα πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, μέμνησαι δὲ ὅπως τῷ πατρί σου προσηνέχθησαν, ὅτι τινὰ ὑποψίαν ἐς αὐτὸν μοναρχίας ἔσχον. καίτοι τούτων μὲν ἀμείνους ἄνδρες οὐδένες ἄλλοι γεγόνασιν.

5 “ Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς οὕτω συμβουλεύω σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ προπρᾶξαι καὶ δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις ἀπροσῆκει κατακλείσαι, καθάπερ που καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα

BOOK LII

others which I mentioned a little while ago, be prudent while you may and duly place in the hands of the people the army, the provinces, the offices, and the public funds. If you do it at once and voluntarily, you will be the most famous of men and the most secure; but if you wait for some compulsion to be brought to bear upon you, you will very likely suffer some disaster and gain infamy besides. Consider the testimony of history: Marius and Sulla and Metellus, and Pompey at first, when they got control of affairs, not only refused to assume sovereign power but also escaped disaster thereby; whereas Cinna and Strabo,¹ the younger Marius and Sertorius, and Pompey himself at a later time, conceived a desire for sovereign power and perished miserably. For it is a difficult matter to induce this city, which has enjoyed a democratic government for so many years and holds empire over so many people, to consent to become a slave to any one. You have heard how the people banished Camillus just because he used white horses for his triumph; you have heard how they deposed Scipio from power, first condemning him for some act of arrogance; and you remember how they proceeded against your father just because they conceived a suspicion that he desired to be sole ruler. Yet there have never been any better men than these.

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

¹ Cf. xliv. 28, 1.

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ἀνετράπη, ἀλλὰ τά γε πλείω καὶ μείζω διαμένει.
 6 καὶ μὴ εἶπης ὅτι καὶ ὡς στασιάσουσί τινες, ἵνα
 μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ αὖθις εἶπω ὅτι πολλῶ μᾶλλον οὐκ
 ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο μοναρχούμενοι. ὡς εἶγε πάνθ'
 ὅσα ἐνδέχεταιί τισι συνενεχθῆναι προσκοπίμεθα,
 ἀλογώτατα ἂν τὰς διχοστασίας τὰς ἐκ τῆς
 δημοκρατίας συμβαινούσας φοβηθείημεν ἂν μᾶλ-
 λον ἢ τὰς τυραννίδας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας
 7 ἐκφυομένας. περὶ ὧν τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπε-
 χείρησά τι εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ¹ καὶ καταδραμεῖν
 ἄλλως εὐκατηγόρητον οὕτω πρᾶγμα ἠθέλησα,
 ἀλλὰ δεῖξαί σοι τοῦθ' ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τῇ φύσει
 ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἄνδρας² . . .”

14 “(. . . οὔτε πείσαι τι ῥαδίως ὑπὸ παρρησίας τοὺς
 οὐχ ὁμοίους δύνανται) κἂν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἅτε μὴ
 ὁμογνωμονούντων σφῶν κατορθοῦσιν. ὥστε εἴ τι
 κήδη τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοσοῦτους πολέμους
 πεπολέμηκας, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἠδέως ἂν
 ἐπιδοίης, μεταρρύθμισον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον
 2 πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξεῖναί τισι

¹ δὴ R. Steph., δεῖ VL'.

² L' indicates a lacuna at this point, V does not. In their common archetype L one folio was lost, containing some sixty lines. Zonaras' epitome at this point is as follows: δ δὲ Μαικήνας τούναντίον συνεβούλευεν, ἅπαν εἰπὼν ἤδη τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ διοικῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ μείναι ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι ταῦτα προέμενον, κ.τ.λ.



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πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ὅσα¹ βούλονται καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ
 λέγειν, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐξετάζης,
 εὐδαιμονίας ἅπασιν αἴτιον γίγνεται, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ
 τῶν ἀνοήτων, συμφορᾶς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τοῖς
 τοιούτοις τὴν ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς παιδὶ δὴ τινι καὶ
 μαινομένῳ ξίφος ὀρέγει, ὁ δ' ἐκείνοις τὰ τε ἄλλα
 καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ μὴ βουλομένους σώζει.
 3 διόπερ καὶ σὲ ἀξιῶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπρεπείας τῶν
 ὀνομάτων ἀποβλέψαντα ἀπατηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ
 γιγνόμενα ἐξ αὐτῶν προσκοπήσαντα τὴν τε θρα-
 σύτητα τοῦ ὀμίλου παῦσαι καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν
 κοινῶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις
 προσθεῖναι, ἵνα βουλευῶσι² μὲν οἱ φρονιμώτατοι,
 ἄρχωσι δὲ οἱ στρατηγικώτατοι, στρατεύωνται δὲ
 καὶ μισθοφορῶσιν οἳ τε ἰσχυρότατοι καὶ οἱ πενέ-
 4 στατοι. οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τε ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν
 ἕκαστοι προθύμως ποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας
 ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἀντιδιδόντες, οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττω-
 μάτων, ἐν οἷς καταδέουσί τινων, ἐπαισθήσονται,
 καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ἀληθῆ τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν
 5 τὴν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσονται· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἢ τοῦ
 ὄχλου ἐλευθερία τοῦ τε βελτίστου δουλεία πικρο-
 τάτη γίγνεται καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ὄλεθρον φέρει,
 αὕτη δὲ τό τε σῶφρον πανταχοῦ προτιμῶσα καὶ τὸ
 ἴσον ἅπασιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀπονέμουσα πάντας
 ὁμοίως εὐδαίμονας τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ ποιεῖ.

¹ ἀπλῶς ὅσα Pflugk, ὅσα ἀπλῶς VL'.

² βουλευῶσι R. Steph., βουλεύουσι VL'.

BOOK LII

the privilege of doing and saying precisely what one pleases becomes, in the case of sensible persons, if you examine the matter, a cause of the highest happiness to them all, yet in the case of the foolish it becomes a cause of disaster. For this reason he who offers this privilege to the foolish is virtually putting a sword in the hands of a child or a madman; but he who offers it to the prudent is not only preserving all their other privileges but is also saving these men themselves even in spite of themselves. Therefore I ask you not to fix your gaze upon the specious terms applied to these things and thus be deceived, but to weigh carefully the results which come from the things themselves and then put an end to the insolence of the populace and place the management of public affairs in the hands of yourself and the other best citizens, to the end that the business of deliberation may be performed by the most prudent and that of ruling by those best fitted for command, while the work of serving in the army for pay is left to those who are strongest physically and most needy. In this way each class of citizens will zealously discharge the duties which devolve upon them and will readily render to one another such services as are due, and will thus be unaware of their inferiority when one class is at a disadvantage as compared with another, and all will gain the true democracy and the freedom which does not fail. For the boasted freedom of the mob proves in experience to be the bitterest servitude of the best element to the other and brings upon both a common destruction; whereas this freedom of which I speak everywhere prefers for honour the men of prudence, awarding at the same time equality to all according to their deserts, and thus gives happiness impartially to all who enjoy this liberty.

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15 “ Μὴ γάρ τοι οἰηθῆς ὅτι τυραννῆσαί σοι, τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν δουλωσαμένῳ, παραινῶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὔτ’ ἂν ἐγὼ ποτε εἶπειν οὔτ’ ἂν σὺ πράξαι τολμήσεις· ἐκεῖνα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει γένοιτο ἂν, τότε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτόν σε μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν νομοθετεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν πολλῶν μήτ’ ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μήτ’¹ ἐναντιουμένου, 2 καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλήματα διοικεῖσθαι, πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν ἄλλων τὸ κελευόμενον ποιούντων, τότε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰρέσεις ἐφ’ ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τε τιμωρίας ὑμᾶς ὀρίζειν, ἵνα καὶ νόμος εὐθύς ἢ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν βουλευσαμένῳ σοι μετὰ τῶν ὁμοτίμων 3 ἀρέσῃ, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι κρύφα καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πολεμῶνται, οἳ τε τι ἐγχειριζόμενοι ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ κλήρῳ καὶ σπουδαρχίᾳ ἀποδεικνύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἄνευ φθόνου τιμῶνται, οἱ δὲ 4 κακοὶ ἄνευ συστάσεως κολάζονται. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τὰ τε πραττόμενα ὀρθῶς διοικηθῆι, μήτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφερόμενα μήτε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενα μήτε τοῖς² παρακελευστοῖς ἐπιτρεπόμενα μήτε ἐκ φιλοτιμίας κινδυνευόμενα, καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἡδέως ἀπολαύσαιμεν, μήτε πολέμους ἐπικινδύνους μήτε

¹ μήτ’ Bk., μηδὲ VL’.

² τοῖς Xyl., ἐν τοῖς VL’.



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5 *στάσεις ἀνοσίους*¹ *ποιούμενοι.* ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσα
 μὲν δημοκρατία ἔχει· οἱ γὰρ δυνατώτεροι, τῶν τε
 πρωτείων² ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους
 μισθούμενοι, πάντα ἄνω καὶ κάτω φύρουσι·
 πλείστα δὲ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν
 6 ὅπως ἄλλως παύσεται. τεκμήριον δέ, πάμπολυς
 ἔξ οὗ χρόνος καὶ πολεμοῦμεν καὶ στασιάζομεν.
 αἴτιον δὲ τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ
 μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων· ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ παντο-
 दाποὶ καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς φύσεις ὄντες καὶ
 ποικίλας καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσι,
 καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τοσοῦτον προῆκται ὥστε καὶ πάνυ
 δυσχερῶς ἂν διοικηθῆναι.

16 “Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, λέγω, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ
 γεγονότα. τέως μὲν γὰρ οὐτε πολλοὶ ἡμεν οὔτε
 μεγάλῳ τινὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων διεφέρομεν, καλῶς
 τε ἐπολιτευόμεθα καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τῆν Ἰταλίαν
 2 κατεστρεψάμεθα· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔξω αὐτῆς ἐξήχθημεν,
 καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἠπείρων καὶ τῶν νήσων
 ἐπεραιώθημεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν
 πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς
 δυνάμεως ἡμῶν ἐνεπλήσαμεν, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ
 μετεσχῆκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν, πρῶτον οἴκοι καὶ
 ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατὰ συστάσεις ἐστασιάσαμεν,
 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο
 3 προηγάγομεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ
 ὄλκας μεγάλη καὶ πλήρης ὄλκλου παντοδαποῦ
 χωρὶς κυβερνήτου, πολλὰς ἤδη γενεὰς ἐν κλύδωνι
 πολλῶ φερομένη σαλεύει τε καὶ ἄττει δεῦρο
 κἀκεῖσε, καθάπερ ἀνερμάτιστος οὔσα. μήτ' οὖν
 4 χειμαζομένην ἔτ' αὐτὴν περιίδης, ὀράς γὰρ ὡς

¹ ἀνοσίους Bk., ἀνοσίας VL'.

² πρωτείων Rk., πρώτων VL'.

BOOK LII

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

“Witness to the truth of my words is borne by our past. For while we were but few in number and differed in no important respect from our neighbours, we got along well with our government and subjugated almost all Italy; but ever since we were led outside the peninsula and crossed over to many continents and many islands, filling the whole sea and the whole earth with our name and power, nothing good has been our lot. At first it was only at home and within our walls that we broke up into factions and quarrelled, but afterwards we even carried this plague out into the legions. Therefore our city, like a great merchantman manned with a crew of every race and lacking a pilot, has now for many generations been rolling and plunging as it has drifted this way and that in a heavy sea, a ship as it were without ballast. Do not, then, allow her to be longer exposed to the tempest; for you see that she

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ὑπέραντλός ἐστι, μήτε περὶ ἔρμα περιρραγῆναι
 ἐάσης, σαθρὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι χρόνον
 ἀντισχεῖν δυνήσεται· ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ οἱ θεοὶ
 ἐλεήσαντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπιγνώμονά σε καὶ ἐπι-
 στάτην αὐτῆς ἐπέστησαν, μὴ προδῶς τὴν πατρίδα,
 ἴν' ὥσπερ νῦν διὰ σὲ μικρὸν ἀναπέπνευκεν, οὕτω
 καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν αἰῶνα μετ' ἀσφαλείας διαγάγη.

17 “Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς σοι παραινῶ, μοναρχεῖσθαι
 τὸν δῆμον ἀξιῶν, πάλαι σε ἠγοῦμαι πεπεῖσθαι·
 τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἐτοίμως καὶ
 προθύμως τὴν προστασίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάδεξαι, μᾶλ-
 λον δὲ μὴ προῆ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν
 τι βουλευόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι καὶ
 2 προσέτι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι. τίς γάρ σου φείσεται,
 ἂν τε ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὰ πράγματ' ἀνώσης, ἂν τε¹
 καὶ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπιτρέψῃς, παμπόλλων μὲν ὄντων
 τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λελυπημένων, πάντων δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν
 τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντιποιησομένων, ὧν οὐδεὶς οὔτε
 μὴ ἀμύνασθαί σε ἐφ' οἷς πεποίηκας οὔτ' ἀντί-
 3 παλον ὑπολιπέσθαι ἐθελήσει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι
 καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκστὰς τῆς δυναστείας καὶ κατε-
 φρονήθη καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη, κακὸν τούτου μηκέτ'
 αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν δυνηθεὶς ἐφθάρη, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ
 ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσας² προσ-
 ἀπώλετο. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Μάριος καὶ ὁ
 Σύλλας ὅμοια αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόνθεσαν, εἰ μὴ προετε-

¹ πράγματ' ἀνώσης ἂν τε Bk., πράγματα ὡς ἦσαν τε VL'.

² ποιήσας V, ποιῆσαι ἐθελήσας L'.



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4 θνήκεσαν. καίτοι τὸν Σύλλαν φασί τινες αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοβηθέντα φθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι· συχνὰ γοῦν τῶν νομοθετηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ λύεσθαι ἤρξατο. ὥστε καὶ σὺ πολλοὺς μὲν Λεπίδους πολλοὺς δὲ Σερτωρίους Βρούτους Κασσίους γενήσεσθαί σοι προσδόκα.

18 “ Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἰδὼν καὶ τὰλλα πάντα λογισάμενος, μὴ προῆ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, ἵνα¹ μὴ δόξης τισὶν ἐθελούσιος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφείσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἂν καὶ τοῦτό τις ὑποπτεύσῃ, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου τὸ ἐπιθύμημά ἐστι, καὶ καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ· ἔπειτα δὲ τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὴν ἀνάγκην ὑφ' ἧς ἐς τὰ
2 πράγματα ταῦτα προήχθης; ὥστε εἶπερ² τι αἰτίαμα αὐτῆς ἐστι, τοῖς τοῦ πατρός σου σφαγεῦσι δικαιοτάτα ἂν τις αὐτὸ ἐγκαλέσειεν· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μήτ' ἀδίκως μήτ' οἰκτρῶς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ὄπλα ἀντήρω, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξω, οὔτ' ἂν³ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Λεπίδῳ συνέθου, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἡμύνω.
3 καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως πάντα ταῦτ' ἐποίησας, οὐδεὶς ἀγγοεῖ· εἰ δ' οὖν τι καὶ πεπλημμέληται, ἀλλ' οὔτι καὶ μεταθέσθαι ἔτ' ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμεθα. ὥστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς πόλεως πεισθῶμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τὴν μοναρχίαν σοι
4 διδούσῃ. καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῇ ἔχωμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀπέλυσεν⁵

¹ ἵνα L', ἵνα δὲ V.

² ὥστε εἶπερ R. Steph., ὥσπερ VL'.

³ ἂν supplied by St. ⁴ οὔτι Dind., οὐ τοι VL'.

⁵ ἀπέλυσεν Bk., ἀνέπλησεν VL'.

BOOK LII

first. And yet some say that Sulla, fearing this very fate, forestalled it by making away with himself;¹ at any rate, much of his legislation began to be undone while he was yet alive. Therefore you also must expect that there will be many a man who will prove a Lepidus to you and many a man who will prove a Sertorius, a Brutus, or a Cassius. B.C. 29

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

¹ This tradition is found here only.

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ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιήται, ἵν' ἐπιμεληθεὶς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ προσήκει, δείξης ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἐτάραξαν καὶ ἐκακούργησαν, σὺ δὲ δὴ χρηστὸς εἶ.

5 “Καὶ μὴ μοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβηθῆς, ὅσῳ τε γὰρ πλείων¹ ὑπάρχει, τόσῳ πλείω καὶ τὰ σώζοντα ἔχει, καὶ μακρῶ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι ῥᾶόν ἐστι· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰλλότρια προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σῶσαι βραχεῖα φροντὶς
6 ἀρκεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσης ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσῃ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεις, ἂν γε ἐθελήσης αὐτὴν ὡς παραινέσω σοι διοικῆσαι. καί με μὴ νομίσης ἀπαρτᾶν² ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον, ἂν ἐπὶ πλείον σοι περὶ αὐτῆς δια-
7 λεχθῶ· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὑπ' ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀκριβῶς καταμάθῃς ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ῥάδιον τῷ γε ἔμφρονι τὸ καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἄρξαι ἐστί.

19 “Φημὶ τοίνυν χρῆναί σε κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθύς τὸ βουλευτικὸν πᾶν καὶ φυλοκρινῆσαι³ καὶ διαλέξαι, ἐπειδὴ τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὰς στάσεις βεβουλεύεασιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετὴν τινα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας κατασχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαλεῖψαι.
2 μὴ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινὰ ἀγαθὸν γε ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀπαλλάξῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δός. ἀντὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς τε γενναιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τοὺς τε πλου-

¹ πλείων V, πλείον L'. ² ἀπαρτᾶν L', ἀπαντᾶν V.

³ φυλοκρινῆσαι V, φιλοκρινῆσαι L'.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σιωτάτους ἀντεσάγαγε, μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων
 3 ἐπιλεξάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ σύ τε πολλοῖς συνεργοῖς χρήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιήσῃ, καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνα νεο-
 χμώσει τι μηδένα ἐλλόγιμον προστάτην ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ πρωτεύοντες παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλήσουσί σε ἅτε καὶ κοιωνοὶ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγονότες.

4 “Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων ποιήσον. τοὺς γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἑκασταχόθι καὶ γένει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ πλούτῳ φερομένους ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατάλεξον, τοσοῦτους ἑκατέρους ἀντεγγράψας ὅσοι ποτ' ἂν ἀρέσωσί σε, μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν πλείους εὐδόκιμοι ἄνδρες συνῶσί σοι, τοσοῦτῳ ῥᾶον αὐτός
 5 τε ἐν δέοντι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους πείσεις ὅτι οὔτε ὡς δούλοις σφίσιν οὔθ' ὡς χείροσί πη ἡμῶν οὔσι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς¹ κοινοῖ, ὅπως ὡς οἰκείαν αὐτὴν
 6 σπουδάζωσι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε δέω τοῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον ἀναθέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσί σφισι μεταδοθῆναί φημι δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης ἰσομοιροῦντες πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν ᾦσιν, ὥσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὄντως πόλιν τὰ δὲ δὴ σφέτερα ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας νομίζοντες εἶναι.

¹ αὐτοῖς L', αὐτῆς V.

BOOK LII

the best, and the richest men obtainable, selecting them not only from Italy but also from the allies and the subject nations. In this way you will have many assistants for yourself, and will have in safe keeping the leading men from all the provinces; thus the provinces, having no leaders of established repute, will not begin rebellions, and their prominent men will regard you with affection because they have been made sharers in your empire. B.C. 29

“Take these same measures in the case of the knights also, by enrolling in the equestrian order such men as hold second place in their several districts as regards birth, excellence and wealth. Register as many new members in both classes as you please, without being over particular on the score of their number. For the more men of repute you have as your associates, the easier you will find it, for your own part, to administer everything in time of need and, so far as your subjects are concerned, the more easily will you persuade them that you are not treating them as slaves or as in any way inferior to us, but that you are sharing with them, not only all the other advantages which we ourselves enjoy, but also the chief magistracy as well, and thus make them as devoted to that office as if it were their own. And so far am I from retracting this last statement as rashly made, that I declare that the citizens ought every one actually to be given a share in the government, in order that, being on an equality with us in this respect also, they may be our faithful allies, living as it were in a single city, namely our own, and considering that this is in very truth a city, whereas their own homes are but the countryside and villages.

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“ Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν¹ τούτου αὖθις ἀκριβέστερον
 σκεψόμεθα ἂν χρὴ πράξαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντα
 20 ἀθρόα αὐτοῖς χαρισώμεθα· καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρὴ
 ἔς μὲν τὴν ἰππάδα ὀκτωκαιδεκέτεις, ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ
 τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα ἢ τε τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν
 εὐεξία καὶ ἢ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπιτηδειότης διαφαίνεται,
 ἔς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον πεντεκαιεικοσιέτεις· πῶς γὰρ
 οὐκ αἰσχρὸν καὶ σφαλερόν ἐστι τὰ μὲν οἰκεία
 μηδενὶ πρὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, τὰ
 δὲ δημόσια καὶ νεωτέροις τισὶν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι;
 2 ταμιεύσαντές τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχή-
 σαντες στρατηγείτωσαν,² τριακοντούται γενό-
 μενοι. ταύτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν
 ὑπάτων μόνας οἴκοι, τῆς τε τῶν πατρίων μνήμης
 ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλ-
 λάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύναι σέ φημι χρῆναι.
 3 αὐτὸς μέντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἴρου, καὶ μήτε
 ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ἢ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔτι τινὰ αὐτῶν
 ποιήσῃ,³ στασιάσουσι γάρ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ,
 διασπουδάσονται γάρ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ τὰς δυνά-
 μεις σφῶν τὰς ἀρχαίας τηρήσῃς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ
 αὖθις γένηται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς
 δ' ἰσχύος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον ὅσον μήτε τοῦ
 ἀξιώματός τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρήσει καὶ τοῖς νεωτερίσαι
 4 τι ἐθελήσουσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει.⁴ ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἂν

¹ περὶ μὲν L', μὲν περὶ V.

² στρατηγείτωσαν L', στρατηγήτωσαν V.

³ ποιήσῃ St., ποιήσῃς VL'. ⁴ ἐπιτρέψει V, ἐπιτρέψη L'.



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τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐνδήμους αὐτοὺς ἀποφήνης, καὶ μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καιρῷ ὄπλα τινὶ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσης μήτε εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ χρόνου διελθόντος, ὅσον ἂν αὐτάρκη ἐκάστῳ σφῶν νομίσης εἶναι. οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε τινὲς νεοχμώσουσι, στρατοπέδων κύριοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων φρονήματι γενόμενοι, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἰδιωτεύσαντες πεπανθήσονται. 5 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τάς τε πανηγύρεις, οἳ γε καὶ προσήκοντές σφισιν, ἐπιτελείωσαν, καὶ τὰς δίκας πάντες ὡς ἕκαστοι, πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐνδήμου ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ δικαζέτωσαν· συναγέσθω μὲν γὰρ δικαστήρια καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἰππέων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς ἐκείνους ἀνακείσθω.

21 “Πολίρχος δὲ δὴ τις ἐκ τε τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα προπεπολιτευμένων ἀποδεικνύσθω, οὐχ ἵνα ἀποδημησάντων που 2 τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχῆ, ἀλλ' ἵνα τά τε ἄλλα αἰεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατῆ, καὶ τὰς δίκας τάς τε παρὰ πάντων ὧν εἶπον ἀρχόντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν ἂν εἶπω, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίων¹ σταδίων οἰκοῦσι κρίνη.

3 “Ἐτερός τέ τις ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰρείσθω ὥστε τά τε γένη καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τοὺς τε

¹ ἑπτακοσίων Casaub., ἑξακοσίων VM.

BOOK LII

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

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

“Let still another magistrate be chosen, this man also from the class described, whose duties shall be to pass upon and supervise all matters pertaining to

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τρόπους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἀν-
 δρῶν τε ὁμοίως καὶ παίδων γυναικῶν τε τῶν προσ-
 4 ηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς, ἐξετάζειν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ
 τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπανορθοῦν ὅσα μήτε τινὸς τιμωρίας
 ἄξιά ἐστι καὶ παρορώμενα πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
 κακῶν αἴτια γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ δὴ μείζω σοὶ ἐπικοι-
 νοῦσθαι. βουλευτῇ γάρ τινι, καὶ τῷ γε ἀρίστῳ
 μετὰ τὸν πολίαρχον, μᾶλλον ἢ τινι τῶν ἰππέων
 5 προστετάχθαι τοῦτο δεῖ. καὶ τό γε ὄνομα ἀπὸ
 τῆς σῆς τιμαρχίας (πάντως γάρ σε προεστάναι
 τῶν τιμήσεων προσήκει) εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ὥστε
 ὑποτιμητῆς καλεῖσθαι. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ οἱ δύο
 οὔτοι¹ διὰ βίου, ἂν γε μὴ κακυνθῇ τις αὐτῶν
 τρόπον τινὰ ἢ καὶ νοσώδης ἢ καὶ ὑπεργήρως
 6 γένηται. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρονίου ἀρχῆς οὐδὲν
 ἂν δεινόν, ἅτε ὁ μὲν παντελῶς ἄοπλος ὢν, ὁ δ'
 ὀλίγους τε στρατιώτας ἔχων καὶ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς
 7 ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ πλεῖστον ἄρχων, ἐργάσαιντο· ἐκ δὲ
 δὴ τοῦ ἐτείου² καὶ ὀκνήσειαν³ ἂν προσκροῦσαί
 τινι καὶ φοβηθεῖεν ἐρρωμένως τι πράξαι, τὴν τε
 ἑαυτῶν ἰδιωτεῖαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλων⁴ τινῶν δυνα-
 στεῖαν προορώμενοι. καὶ μισθόν γέ τινα φερέ-
 τωσαν καὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως.
 8 “ Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ταύτην σοι τὴν γνώμην

¹ οὔτοι M, om. V.

² ἐτείου Sauppe, ἐτέρου VM.

³ ὀκνήσειαν Dind., ὀκνήσαιεν VM.

⁴ ἄλλων Leuncl., ἄλλην VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δίδωμι, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατηγήσαντες ἀρχέτωσάν τινα
 ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις (πρὶν γὰρ στρατηγήσαί
 σφας οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι δεῖν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι· ἐκεῖνοι
 δ' ὑποστρατηγεῖτωσαν οἷς ἂν εἴπω, καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ
 δεύτερον), εἶθ' οὕτως ὑπατευέτωσαν, ἂν γε καὶ
 ὀρθῶς διάρξωσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μείζους
 22 ἡγεμονίας λαμβανέτωσαν. ὧδε γὰρ συμβουλεύω
 σοι διατάξαι. τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ
 πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως
 σταδίουσ οὔσαν, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς
 νήσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς¹ ἠπείροις ὁμολογοῦντα
 ἡμῖν, κατάνειμον ἑκασταχόθι κατὰ τε γένη καὶ
 ἔθνη, τὰς τε² πόλεις ἀπάσας, ὅσας γε καὶ
 αὐτάρκες ἐστὶν ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτοτελοῦς ἄρχε-
 2 σθαι· κἀνταῦθα στρατιώτας ἐγκατάστησον, καὶ
 ἄρχοντας καθ' ἑκάστους ἓνα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπα-
 τευκότων ἐπὶ πᾶσι πέμπε, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν
 ἐστρατηγηκότων,³ τὸν μὲν ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐξιόντα, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ τε ἰδιωτικὰ πράγματα καὶ
 ἢ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρασκευὴ προσκείσθω, τὸν δὲ
 ἐκ τῶν τοῦτο πεποιηκότων, ὃς τὰ τε κοινὰ τῶν
 πόλεων διοικήσει καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξει,
 3 πλὴν ὅσα ἀτιμίας ἢ θανάτου ἔχεται. ταῦτα γὰρ
 ἐς μόνον τὸν ὑπατευκότα ἄρχοντα ἀνηκέτω, πλὴν
 περὶ τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις
 ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις
 πρώτων· τούτους γὰρ δὴ ἐκατέρους μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ

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

³ ἐπὶ πᾶσι—ἐστρατηγηκότων M, om. V.

BOOK LII

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

B.C. 29

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4 κολάζειν ἐπιτρέψῃς, ἵνα μὴ οὕτω τινὰ αὐτῶν
 φοβῶνται ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τι πράξαι. ὁ
 δ' εἶπον, ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἐπὶ
 τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτετάχθαι δεῖ, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.
 ἂν μὲν ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ξενικοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ καὶ ἐν
 ἐνὶ πολιτικῷ στρατεύωνται, καλῶς ἔχει τοῦτο
 γίνεσθαι· ἂν δὲ δύο πολιτικὰ στρατεύματα ἐν
 ταύτῳ ἔθνῃ χειμάζῃ (πλείω γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἂν
 συμβουλεύσαιμί σοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτρέψαι),
 5 δεήσει που τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας καὶ
 ἐκείνων, ἰδία ἑκατέρου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε
 πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ὁμοίως προΐστασθαι.
 ὁ δ' οὖν ὑπατευκῶς ταῦτά τε . . .¹ καὶ προσέτι καὶ
 τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐκκλήτους καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίμους
 τὰς ἀπὸ² τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῷ³ φοιτώσας κρινέ-
 6 τω. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαῦτα
 μέρη νεῖμαί σοι παραινῶ· πολλή τε γὰρ καὶ
 πολυάνθρωπος οὖσα ἀδύνατός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν
 τῷ ἄστει ἀρχόντων, καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι. δεῖ γὰρ
 τοῖς τε δήμοις τὸν ἀρχοντα ἀεὶ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῖς
 ἄρχουσι τὰ δυνατὰ προστάσσεσθαι.

23 “ Λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ μισθὸν πάντες οὗτοι οἱ τὰς
 ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, πλείω μὲν
 οἱ μείζους, ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεέστεροι, μέσον δὲ
 οἱ μέσοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οἶόν τέ ἐστιν
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποζῆν, οὔτ' ἀορίστῳ καὶ
 2 ἀσταθμῆτῳ ἀναλώματι ὥσπερ νῦν χρῆσθαι. καὶ
 ἀρχέτωσαν μήτε ἔλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μὴ τις
 ἀδικήσειέ τι, μήτε πλείον πέντε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἱ

¹ Lacuna recognised by Bk.

² ἀπὸ Rk., ὑπὸ VM.

³ αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτοῦ VM.



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ἐνιαύσιοι καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιοι ἀρχαὶ διδάξασαί τινας τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπέμπουσι πρὶν τι αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι αἱ μακρότεραι καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι ἐπαίρουσί πως πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς νεωτεροποιίαν
 3 ἐξάγουσι. διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπαλλήλας τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας οἶμαί τισι προσήκειν¹ δίδοσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ διαφέρει τι ἂν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔθνει ἂν τε καὶ ἐν πλείοσιν ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἀρχῶσι· καὶ ἀμείνονες γίνονται, ἐπειδὴν διαλίπωσί² τέ τινα χρόνον καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθωσι καὶ ἰδιωτεύσωσι.

“Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευτὰς³ ταῦτά τε καὶ οὕτω
 24 διέπειν φημὶ χρῆναι, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἰππέων δύο τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς περὶ σὲ φρουρᾶς ἀρχεῖν· τό τε γὰρ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλερὸν καὶ τὸ
 2 πλείοσι ταραχῶδές ἐστι. δύο τε οὖν ἔστωσαν οἱ ἑπαρχοὶ οὗτοι, ἵν’ ἂν καὶ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαίσθηταί τι τῷ σώματι, μήτι⁴ γε καὶ ἐνδεῆς τοῦ φυλάξοντός σε εἴης· καὶ καθιστάσθωσαν ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις τε ἐστρατευμένων καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
 3 διωκηκόντων. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ⁵ τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντων, ὥστε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτῶν πλὴν τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀρχουσι προστετα-
 4 γμένων. τούτους μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι δικαιοῦ-

¹ προσήκειν Bk., προσῆκον VM.

² διαλίπωσί Bk., διαλείπωσί VM.

³ οὖν βουλευτὰς Bs., συμβουλευτὰς VM.

⁴ μήτι Dind., μήτοι VM. ⁵ δὴ M, om. V.

BOOK LII

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

“As regards the senators, therefore, I declare that they ought to discharge the duties named and in the way described. Of the knights the two best should command the bodyguard which protects you, for it is hazardous to entrust it to one man, and sure to lead to confusion to entrust it to more than two. Therefore let the number of these prefects be two, in order that, if one of them feel indisposed, you may still not lack a person to guard you. And men should be appointed to this office who have served in many military campaigns and have, besides, held many administrative positions. And they should have command both of the Pretorians and of all the other soldiers in Italy, with power even to put to death any of them who do wrong, with the exception of the centurions and of those in general who have been assigned to the staffs of magistrates of senatorial rank. For these soldiers should be tried by the

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τωσαν, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως σφίσι χρήσθαι, ἅτε
 καὶ κολάσαι καὶ τιμῆσαί σφας ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες,
 δύνωνται· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρα-
 τιωτῶν οἱ ἔπαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι προστατεῖτωσαν, ὑπάρ-
 χους ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν Καισαρείων¹
 τῶν τε ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ σου ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 5 τῶν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσή-
 κοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη αὐτοῖς διάγειν ἔσται,² ἵνα μὴ
 καὶ πλείω πράγματα ὧν καλῶς φέρειν δυνήσονται
 ἐπιτάχθέντες ἄσχολοι πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἢ καὶ
 ἀδύνατοι πάντων αὐτῶν προϊστασθαι γένωνται.
 6 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ βίου, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ πολί-
 αρχος ὃ θ' ὑποτιμητής, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχέτωσαν·
 νυκτοφύλαξ δὲ ἕτερος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου τῆς τε
 ἀγορᾶς τῆς λοιπῆς ἕτερος ἕκ τε τῶν ἰππέων τῶν
 πρώτων μετ' ἐκείνους καὶ ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀπο-
 δεικνύσθωσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ
 25 προχειριζόμενοι. τὰς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημά-
 των, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω,
 καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰς
 2 ἔξω πάσας οἱ ἰππῆς³ διαχειριζέτωσαν, καὶ μισθὸν
 οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 τέλους διοικοῦντές τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ δὲ ἐλάτ-
 τονα,⁴ πρὸς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
 3 πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι⁵ οὐχ οἶόν τε

¹ Καισαρείων H. Steph., καισαρίων VM.

² διάγειν ἔσται Bs., διαγίνεσθαι VM.

³ ἰππῆς M (ἰππῆις), ἰππεῖς V.

⁴ ἐλάττονα R. Steph., τὸν ἐλάττονα VM. ⁵ ὅτι M, om. V.



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ἔστιν αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ πενεστέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν
 ὄντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τι
 πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὅτι μήτε δυνα-
 τὸν μήτε συμφέρον ἐστὶ σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε¹
 4 δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυρίους γίνεσθαι.
 πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ καλῶς ἔχει διὰ πλειόνων πάντα
 τὰ τῇ² ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διάγεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ
 ὠφελῶνται ἅμα συχνοὶ καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν πρα-
 γμάτων γίνωνται· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τε ἀρχόμενοι
 μᾶλλον εὐνοήσουσί σοι, πολυειδῆ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν
 κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν καρπούμενοι, καὶ σὺ ἀφθονώτατα
 τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀρίστοις πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα χρήσῃ.
 5 ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει καθ' ἕκαστον χρη-
 ματίσεως εἶδος, ἔξω δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, εἰς
 τις ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων, ὑπομείονας ὅσους ἂν ἡ χρεία
 ἀπαιτῇ³ ἐκ τε τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευ-
 θέρων σου ἔχων· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς
 συζευγνύναι σφίσιν, ἵνα ἢ τε θεραπεία σου ἀθλόν
 τι ἀρετῆς ἔχη, καὶ σὺ μὴ ἀπορῆς παρ' ὧν καὶ
 ἀκόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἂν γέ τι πλημμεληθῇ,
 μαθεῖν δυνήσῃ.
 6 “Ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἰππέων διὰ πολλῶν διεξελ-
 θὼν ἐλλόγιμος ὥστε καὶ βουλευῆσαι γένηται, μηδὲν
 αὐτὸν ἢ ἡλικία ἐμποδιζέτω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς
 τὸ συνέδριον καταλεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν
 καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κἂν λελοχαγηκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς
 7 πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὦσι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ
 τεταγμένῳ ἐστρατευμένων. τούτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν

¹ τε M, om. V. ² τὰ τῇ M, τὰ ἐν τῇ V.

³ ἀπαιτῇ V, ἀπαιτεῖ M.

BOOK LII

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

“ If any of the knights, after passing through many branches of the service, distinguishes himself enough to become a senator, his age ought not to hinder him at all from being enrolled in the senate. Indeed, some knights should be received into the senate, even if they have seen service only as company commanders in the citizen legions, except such as have served in the rank and file. For it is both a shame

καὶ φορμοφορησάντων καὶ λαρκοφορησάντων καὶ αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπονείδιστόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ τινὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑκατονταρχησάντων οὐδὲν κωλύει τοὺς ἔλλογιμωτάτους αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν.

26 “ Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἰππέων ταῦτά σοι συμβουλεύειν ἔχω, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα,¹ ἵνα ἕως τε ἔτι παιῖδες εἰσιν, ἐς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα συμφοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐς μειράκια ἐκβάλωσιν, ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τρέπωνται, διδασκάλους ἑκατέρων δημοσιεύοντας
2 ἐμμίσθους ἔχοντες. οὕτω γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πάνθ' ὅσα χρὴ ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες καὶ μελετήσαντες ἐπιτηδειότεροί σοι πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον γενήσονται. τὸν γὰρ² ἄρχοντα τὸν ἄριστον, οὐ τέ τι ὄφελός ἐστι, δεῖ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπως ὡς ὅτι βέλτιστοι
3 γίγνωνται, προνοεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρξειεν ἂν σοι οὐκ ἂν ἐάσας³ αὐτοὺς ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ἔπειτ' ἐπιτιμᾶς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἂν πρὶν τι πλημμελεῖσθαι, προδιδάσκησιν πάνθ' ὅσα ἀσκήσαντες χρησιμώτεροι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ σοὶ γενήσονται, καὶ μηδενί γε τὸ παράπαν πρόφασιν
4 παρέχης,⁴ μήτε διὰ πλοῦτον μήτε δι' εὐγένειαν μήτε δι' ἄλλο τι ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενον, ῥαθυμίαν ἢ μαλακίαν ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευσίν τινὰ κίβδηλον προσποιεῖσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ διὰ

¹ καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα M, om. V.

² δεῖ flor., δεῖν VM.

³ οὐκ ἂν ἐάσας Rk., οὐκ ἂν ἐάσης VM flor. (cod. B), εἰ οὐκ ἂν ἐάσης flor. (cod. A).

⁴ παρέχης R. Steph., παρέχοις VM.



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τοιοῦτό τι καὶ φθονηθῶσι καὶ κινδυνεύσωσι,
 πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦσιν ὡς καὶ ἀσφα-
 5 λέστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν βιωσόμενοι· κακ τοῦτου
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἔλεοῦνται ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀδικού-
 μενοι, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐξεῖναί σφισιν ὀρθῶς ζῆν, τῷ
 δ' ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν καὶ ζημία ἅμα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν
 στερομένῳ καὶ κακοδοξία τῆς αἰτιάσεως συμβαίνει.
 μήτ' οὖν περιίδης ποτὲ τοῦτο πραχθέν, μήτ' αὐ
 δείσης ὅτι τραφεῖς τέ τις καὶ παιδευθεῖς ὡς ἐγὼ
 6 λέγω¹ νεώτερόν τι τολμήσει. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον
 τοὺς τε ἀμαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς ὑποτοπεῖν δεῖ.²
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ τὰ αἴσχιστα
 καὶ τὰ δεινότατα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ῥαδίως ποιεῖν προ-
 ἄγονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ καλῶς τραφέντες τε καὶ παιδευ-
 θέντες οὔτ' ἄλλον τινὰ ἀδικεῖν προαιροῦνται, καὶ
 πάντων ἥκιστα τὸν τῆς τε τροφῆς καὶ τῆς παι-
 7 δείας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθέντα. ἂν δ' οὖν τις καὶ
 κακὸς καὶ ἀχάριστος γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦ-
 τον ἐπιτρέψῃς ἐξ οὗ δεινόν τι δράσαι δυνήσεται·
 κἂν γε καὶ ὡς νεοχμώση τι, καὶ ἐλεγχθήτω καὶ
 κολασθήτω. μὴ γὰρ δὴ φοβηθῆς ὅτι σὲ αἰτιάσεται
 τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἂν γε πάνθ' ὅσα εἴρηκα πράττης.
 8 σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀμαρτήσῃ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα
 τιμωρησάμενος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ ἰατρὸς καύσας τινὰ
 καὶ τεμών· ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ πάντες δικαιώσουσιν,

¹ λέγω R. Steph., λέγων VM.

² δεῖ M, δὴ V.

BOOK LII

some such advantage, they may incur jealousy or danger, do many things that are unworthy of themselves, expecting by such behaviour to live in greater security. As a consequence, not only do they, on their part, become objects of pity as being victims of injustice in precisely this respect, that men believe that they are deprived of the opportunity of leading upright lives, but their ruler also, on his part, suffers not only a loss, in that he is robbed of men who might have been good, but also ill-repute, because he is blamed for the others' condition. Therefore never permit this thing to happen, and have no fear, on the other hand, that anyone who has been reared and educated as I propose will ever venture upon a rebellion. On the contrary, it is the ignorant and licentious that you should suspect; for it is such persons who are easily influenced to do absolutely any and every thing, even the most disgraceful and outrageous, first toward themselves and then toward others, whereas those who have been well reared and educated do not deliberately do wrong to any one else and least of all to the one who has cared for their rearing and education. If, however, one of these does show himself wicked and ungrateful, you have merely to refuse to entrust him with any position of such a kind as will enable him to do any mischief; and if even so he rebels, let him be convicted and punished. You need not, I assure you, be afraid that anyone will blame you for this, provided that you carry out all my injunctions. For in taking vengeance on the wrongdoer you will be guilty of no sin, any more than the physician is who resorts to cautery and surgery; but all men will assuredly say that the offender has got his deserts,

B.C. 29

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ὅτι καὶ τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις μετασχὼν ἐπεβούλευσέ σοι.

“ Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς τε ἰππέας
 27 ταῦτα γιγνέσθω· τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἀθανά-
 τους, ἕκ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε
 συμμάχων, τῇ μὲν πλείους τῇ δὲ ἐλάττους, καθ’
 ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ὅπως ἂν ἡ χρεία τῶν πραγμάτων
 2 ἀπαιτῇ, τρέφεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ τε ἐν
 τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν
 διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, χειμάδιά τε ἐν τοῖς ἐπι-
 καιροτάτοις χωρίοις κατεσκευασμένους καὶ χρόνον
 τακτὸν στρατευομένους, ὥστε τι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ
 3 τοῦ γήρως τῆς ἡλικίας περιεῖναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ
 τῶν καιρῶν βοηθείαις τισὶν ἔτι χρῆσθαι δυνά-
 μεθα, αὐτοὶ τε τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἐσχατιῶν ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ πολεμίους ἐκασταχόθι
 προσοικοῦντας ἔχοντες· ἂν τε ἐπιτρέψωμεν πᾶσι
 τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὔσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κεκτήσθαι
 καὶ τὰ ἐμπολέμια ἀσκεῖν, στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι
 4 ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐμφύλιοι αἰεὶ γενήσονται. καὶ μέντοι
 κἂν κωλύσαντές σφας ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἔπειτα συμ-
 μαχίας τινὸς παρ’ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν, κινδυνεύσο-
 μεν¹ ἀπείροις τε καὶ ἀγυμνάστοις στρατιώταις αἰεὶ
 χρώμενοι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνώμην ποιῶμαι
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἄνευ τε ὅπλων καὶ ἄνευ
 τειχῶν ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ βίου
 μάλιστα δεομένους καταλέγεσθαί τε καὶ ἀσκεῖν.
 5 αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἄμεινον πολεμήσουσι τούτῳ μόνῳ

¹ κινδυνεύσομεν R. Steph., κινδυνεύσωμεν VM.



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τῷ ἔργῳ σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ῥᾶον γεωργήσουσι καὶ ναυτιλοῦνται τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ εἰρήνῃ προσήκοντα πράξουσι μήτε ἐκβοηθεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι καὶ προφύλακὰς σφῶν ἑτέρους ἔχοντες, τότε ἀκμαιότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἐκ ληστείας μάλιστα ζῆν ἀναγκαζόμενον ἀλύπως τραφήσεται, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ἀκινδύνως βιώσεται.

28 “ Πόθεν οὖν χρήματα καὶ ἐς τούτους καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀναγκαίως ἀναλωθησόμενα ἔσται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο διδάξω, σμικρὸν ἐκείνο ὑπειπὼν, ὅτι κἂν δημοκρατηθῶμεν, πάντως πού χρημάτων δεησόμεθα.¹ οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε οὔτ' ἄνευ στρατιωτῶν ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι οὔτ' ἀμισθί² τινας³ στρατεύεσθαι. μὴ οὖν ὡς καὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ μόνῃ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τῶν χρημάτων ἀθροίσεως προσηκούσης βαρυνώμεθα, μηδὲ δι' αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀποτρεπώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀναγκαῖον ὂν ἡμῖν, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν πολιτευώμεθα, καὶ ἀργυρίζεσθαί τινα, οὔτω⁴ βουλευώμεθα. φημὶ τοίνυν χρῆναί σε πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὄντα (πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὄρω διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεγονότα) πωλῆσαι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν καὶ πάνυ χρησίμων σοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ τόκοις ἐκδανείσαι. οὔτω γὰρ ἢ τε γῆ ἐνεργὸς ἔσται, δεσπότηαις αὐτουργοῖς δοθεῖσα, καὶ ἐκείνοι ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες εὐπορώτεροι γενήσονται, τό τε

¹ δεησόμεθα Dind., δεηθησόμεθα VM.

² ἀμισθί St., ἀμισθει VM.

³ τινας M, τινα V. ⁴ οὔτω M, οὔτως V.

BOOK LII

business, and the rest will find it easier to carry on their farming, seafaring, and the other pursuits appropriate to peace, if they are not compelled to take part in military expeditions but have others to act as their defenders. Thus the most active and vigorous element of the population, which is generally obliged to gain its livelihood by brigandage, will support itself without molesting others, while all the rest will live without incurring dangers. B.C. 29

“From what source, then, is the money to be provided for these soldiers and for the other expenses that will of necessity be incurred? I shall explain this point also, prefacing it with a brief reminder that even if we have a democracy we shall in any case, of course, need money. For we cannot survive without soldiers, and men will not serve as soldiers without pay. Therefore let us not be oppressed by the idea that the necessity of raising money belongs only to a monarchy, and let us not be led by that consideration to turn our backs upon this form of government, but let us assume in our deliberations that, under whatever form of government we shall live, we shall certainly be constrained to secure funds. My proposal, therefore, is that you shall first of all sell the property that belongs to the state,—and I observe that this has become vast on account of the wars,—reserving only a little that is distinctly useful or necessary to you; and that you lend out all the money thus realized at a moderate rate of interest. In this way not only will the land be put under cultivation, being sold to owners who will cultivate it themselves, but also the latter will acquire a capital and become more prosperous, while the treasury will gain a permanent revenue that will

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δημόσιον διαρκῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον πρόσοδον ἔξει.
 εἶτα συλλογίσασθαι ταῦτά τε καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἔκ
 τε μεταλλείας καὶ εἰ δὴ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν βεβαίως
 5 δύναται προσιέναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀντιλογίσα-
 σθαι μὴ μόνον τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα
 πάντα δι' ὧν καλῶς πόλις οἰκεῖται, καὶ προσέτι
 καὶ ὅσα ἔς τε τὰς αἰφνιδίους στρατείας καὶ ἔς τὰ
 λοιπὰ ὅσα εἴωθεν ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβαίνειν, ἀναγ-
 6 καῖον ἔσται δαπανᾶσθαι· κακὸν τούτου πρὸς πᾶν
 τὸ λείπον φόρον τε ἐπιτάξαι πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς
 ἐπικαρπίαν¹ τινὰ τῷ κεκτημένῳ αὐτὰ παρέχουσι,
 καὶ τέλη καταστήσαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ὧν ἄρχομεν
 (καὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ προσῆκόν ἐστι μηδένα
 αὐτῶν ἀτελῆ εἶναι, μὴ ἰδιώτην, μὴ δῆμον, ἅτε καὶ
 τῆς ὠφελίας τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις
 7 ἀπολαύσοντας²), καὶ σφῶν ἐκλογέας τοὺς ἐπι-
 τροπεύσοντας ἕκασταχόθι ποιῆσαι, ὥστε αὐτοὺς
 πᾶν τὸ τῷ τῆς ἐπιτροπείας αὐτῶν χρόνῳ προσῆ-
 κον ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν προσόδων ἐσπράττειν. τοῦτο
 γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις ῥᾶω τὴν ἔσπραξιν ποιήσει καὶ
 τοῖς διδοῦσί τι ὠφελίαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην παρέξει·
 8 λέγω δὲ τὸ³ κατ' ὀλίγον σφας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν
 ὅσα ὀφείλουσιν ἐσφέρειν, καὶ μὴ, βραχὺν ῥαθυ-
 μήσαντας χρόνον, ἐπικεφαλαιωθέντα πάντα ἐσά-
 παξ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.

29 “ Καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τε φόρων καὶ
 τῶν τελῶν καθισταμένων ἀχθεσθήσονται· ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐκεῖνο οἶδα ὅτι, ἂν μήτε προσεπηρεάζωνται
 καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ

¹ ἐπικαρπίαν M, ἐπὶ καρτίαν V.

² ἀπολαύσοντας R. Steph., ἀπολαύσαντας VM.

³ τὸ R. Steph., τοῦ VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας σφῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ
 2 ἀδεῶς καρποῦσθαι συνεσοίσουσι, καὶ προσέτι¹
 τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν οὐχ ἕτεροί τινες ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ
 ἐκείνοι, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες οἱ δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντες οἱ
 δὲ στρατευόμενοι, λήψονται, καὶ πάνυ πολλὴν
 χάριν εἴσουναί σοι, βραχέα ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἂν
 μηδὲν ἐπηραζόμενοι καρπῶνται διδόντες, ἄλλως
 τε κἂν ὀρώσῃ σε σωφρόνως τε διαιτώμενον καὶ
 3 μηδὲν μάτην παραναλίσκοντα. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν
 ἰδὼν σε πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεία φειδωλότατον πρὸς δὲ
 τὰ κοινὰ ἀφειδέστατον ὄντα, ἐθελοντὶ συντελέσειέ
 τι, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σὲ
 πλουτεῖν εἶναι νομίζων;

30 “Χρήματα μὲν δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἐκ τούτων
 ὑπάρξειεν ἂν· τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον
 διοικεῖν σοι παραινῶ. τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ
 κατακόσμη πάσῃ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε
 παντὶ εἶδει πανηγύρεων· προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς
 πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ
 φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς συμ-
 μάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατά-
 2 πληξιν. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὧδε δέειπε. πρῶτον
 μὲν οἱ δῆμοι μήτε κύριοί τινος ἔστωσαν μήτε ἐς
 ἐκκλησίαν τὸ παράπαν φοιτάτωσαν· οὔτε γὰρ
 ἀγαθὸν² οὐδὲν φρονήσειαν ἂν καὶ συχνὰ ἂν αἰεὶ³
 τaráξειαν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν δῆμον οὔτε⁴
 ἐς δικαστήριον οὔτε ἐς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οὔτε ἐς ἄλλοι
 τινὰ τοιοῦτον σύλλογον ἐν ᾧ τι καὶ χρηματι-

¹ προσέτι R. Steph., πρὸς ἐπὶ VM.

² ἀγαθὸν M, om. V.

³ αἰεὶ M, om. V.

⁴ οὔτε R. Steph., οὐδὲ VM.

BOOK LII

security and for their fearless enjoyment of the rest of their property, and that, again, the larger part of their contributions will be received by none but themselves, as governors, procurators, or soldiers, they will be exceedingly grateful to you, since they will be giving but a slight portion of the abundance from which they derive the benefit without having to submit to abuses. Especially will this be true if they see that you live temperately and spend nothing foolishly. For who, if he saw that you were quite frugal in your expenditures for yourself and quite lavish in those for the commonwealth, would not willingly contribute, believing that your wealth meant his own security and prosperity?

“So far as funds are concerned, therefore, a great abundance would be supplied from these sources. And I advise you to conduct as follows the administration of such matters as have not yet been mentioned. Adorn this capital with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with festivals of every kind. For it is fitting that we who rule over many people should surpass all men in all things, and brilliance of this sort, also, tends in a way to inspire our allies with respect for us and our enemies with terror. The affairs of the other cities you should order in this fashion: In the first place, the populace should have no authority in any matter, and should not be allowed to convene in any assembly at all; for nothing good would come out of their deliberations and they would always be stirring up a good deal of turmoil. Hence it is my opinion that our populace here in Rome, for that matter, should not come together either as a court or to hold the elections, or indeed in any meeting whose object is

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3 σθῆναι δεῖ, συνιέναι φημὶ χρῆναι. ἔπειτα δὲ μήτ' οἰκοδομημάτων πλήθεσιν ἢ καὶ¹ μεγέθεσιν ὑπὲρ τὰναγκαῖα χρήσθωσαν, μήτ' ἀγώνων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναλώμασι δαπανάσθωσαν, ἵνα μήτε σπουδαῖς ματαίαις ἐκτρύχωνται μήτε φιλοτιμίαις
 4 ἀλόγοις πολεμῶνται. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεωρίας τινάς, χωρὶς τῆς ἵπποδρομίας τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ποιουμένης, μὴ μέντοι ὥστε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους λυμαίνεσθαι, ξένον τέ τινα ἀναγκάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀναλίσκειν, καὶ σίτησιν ἀθάνατον πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἀγῶνά τινα νικήσασι δίδοσθαι.
 5 τοὺς τε γὰρ εὐπόρους ἀλογόν ἐστιν ἔξω τι τῶν πατρίδων ἀναγκαστοὺς δαπανᾶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀπόχρη τὰ ἄθλα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τιθέμενα, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἢ
 6 Πύθια ἢ τινα ἐνταῦθα ἀγῶνα ἀνέλοιτο.² τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους μόνους σιτεῖσθαι δεῖ, ἵνα μήτε αἱ πόλεις μάτην ἐπιτρίβωνται μήτε ἔξω τις τῶν ἀξιονίκων ἀσκῆ, δυνάμενος ἄλλο τι χρησιμώτερον καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ μετιέναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων
 7 ταῦτα γινώσκω, τὰς δ' ἵπποδρομίας τὰς ἄνευ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιτελουμένας οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι δεῖν ἄλλη τινὲ πόλει ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅπως μήτε χρήματα παμπληθῆ εἰκῆ παραπολλύηται μήθ'

¹ καὶ M, om. V.

² ἀνέλοιτο Rk., ἂν ἔλοιτο V, ἂν ἔλοιτο M.



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οἱ ἄνθρωποι κακῶς ἐκμαίνωνται, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἵν' οἱ στρατευόμενοι τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἵπποις ἀφθό-
 8 νως χρῆσθαι ἔχωσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύω παντάπασι μηδαμόθι ἄλλοθι πλὴν ἐνταῦθα γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐμετρίασα, ἵν' εὐδαπάνους τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὡς ἕκαστοι ποιούμενοι καὶ σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἀστασιαστότερον διάγωσι.

9 “Μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίαι τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν· μήτε πρεσβείαν τινὰ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ πράγμα τι διαγνώσεως ἐχόμενον εἴη, πεμπέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε ἄρχοντί σφων δηλούτωσαν ὅσα βούλονται, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου¹ σοι² τὰς ἀξιώσεις, ὅσας ἂν δοκιμάσῃ, προσφερέτωσαν.
 10 οὔτω γὰρ οὔτ' ἀναλώσουσί τι οὔτ' αἰσchrῶς διαπράξονται, ἀλλ' ἀκεραίους τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄνευ δαπάνης ἢ καὶ πραγματείας τινὸς λήψονται.

31 “Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰλλα ὧδ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖς³ ἄριστα διατάξαι, ἂν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δήμων ἀφικνουμένας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγῃς (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ ἀξιόλογόν ἐστι τό τε τὴν βουλὴν πάντων κυρίαν δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς

¹ ἐκείνου M, ἐκείνους V. ² σοι V, σου M.

³ δοκεῖς Bk., δοκῆις VM.

BOOK LII

keep the populace from becoming deplorably crazed over such a sport, and, above all, to give those who are serving in the army an abundant supply of the best horses. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I would altogether forbid the holding of such races anywhere else than here in Rome; as to the other games, I have proposed to keep them within bounds, in order that each community, by putting upon an inexpensive basis its entertainments for both eye and ear, may live with greater moderation and less factious strife. B.C. 29

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

“Moreover (to pass to other matters), it seems to me that you would be adopting the best arrangement if you should, in the first place, introduce before the senate the embassies which come from the enemy and from those under treaty with us, whether kings or democracies; for, among other considerations, it is both awe-inspiring and calculated to arouse comment for the impression to prevail that the senate has full authority in all matters and for all men to be fully aware that those envoys who are unfair in their

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ἀντιπάλους τοῖς ἀγνωμονοῦσιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι),
2 ἔπειτα δὲ ἂν πάντα τὰ νομοθετούμενα δι' αὐτῶν
ποιῆ, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἄλλο ἐπὶ πάντας
ὁμοίως φέρη πλὴν τῶν ἐκείνης δογμάτων· οὕτω
γὰρ τό τε ἀξίωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μᾶλλον ἂν
βεβαιοῖτο, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τὰκ τῶν νόμων κα
ἀναμφίλογα καὶ διάδηλα πᾶσιν ἅμα γίγνοιτο.¹
3 τρίτον, ἂν τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γερου-
σίας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὰς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, ἂν
ποτέ τινα αἰτίαν βαρυτέραν, ὥστε τὸν ἀλόντα
σφῶν ἀτιμίαν ἢ φυγὴν ἢ καὶ θάνατον ὀφλεῖν,
λάβωσιν, ὑπὸ τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ὑπάγης μηδὲν
4 προκαταγνοὺς, καὶ ἐκείνῳ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν
διαψήφισιν ἀκέραιον ἐπιτρέπης, ἵν' οἷ τε ἀδικοῦν-
τές τι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις ἐλεγχόμενοι κολά-
ζωνται χωρὶς τοῦ σοῦ φθόνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦθ'
ὄρῶντες βελτίους γίγνωνται φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι.
5 “Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀδικη-
μάτων, περὶ ὧν οἷ τε νόμοι κεῖνται καὶ αἱ κρίσεις
αἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς γίγνονται, λέγω. τὸ γὰρ ὅτι τις
ἐλοιδώρησέ σε ἢ καὶ ἕτερόν τι ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶπε,
μήτ' ἀκούσης ποτὲ κατηγοροῦντός τινος μήτε
6 ἐπεξέλθης. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πιστεύειν ὅτι
τις μήτε τι ἀδικοῦντά σε καὶ εὐεργετοῦντα πάντας

¹ γίγνοιτο St., γίγνοιτο VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προεπηλάκισε, καὶ μόνοι τοῦτο ποιούσιν οἱ κακῶς
 ἄρχοντες· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ τὸ πιστὸν
 7 τῶν λεγομένων εἰρῆσθαι τεκμαίρονται· δεινὸν δὲ
 καὶ τὸ χαλεπαίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἅ εἰ μὲν
 ἀληθῆ εἶη, κρεῖττόν ἐστι μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ψευδῆ,
 μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλοὶ γε ἤδη διὰ τούτου
 πολὺ πλείω καὶ χαλεπώτερα λογοποιεῖσθαι καθ'
 8 ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν λόγῳ τι
 προπηλακίζειν αἰτιαζομένων ταῦτ' ἐγὼ φρονῶ·
 κρείττω τε γὰρ καὶ ὑψηλότερον πάσης ὕβρεως
 εἶναί σε χρή, καὶ μηδ' ἐς ἔννοιάν ποτε μήτ' αὐτὸν
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους προάγειν ὅτι
 δύναταί τις ἀσελγᾶναί τι ἐς σέ, ἴν' ὡς περὶ τῶν
 θεῶν, οὕτω¹ καὶ περὶ σοῦ φρονῶσιν ὅτι σεπτὸς
 9 εἶ. ἂν δὲ δῆ τις ἐπιβουλεύειν σοι αἰτίαν λάβῃ
 (γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ τοιούτου), αὐτὸς μὲν μηδὲ
 περὶ ἐκείνου τι μήτε δικάσης μήτε προδιαγνῶς
 (ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικα-
 στήν γίγνεσθαι), ὑπὸ² δὲ δῆ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν
 ἀγαγὼν ἀπολογήσασθαί τε ποιήσον, κἂν ἐλεγχθῆ,
 κόλασον μετριάσας ὡς οἶόν τέ ἐστι τὸ τιμώρημα,
 10 ἵνα καὶ πιστευθῆ τὸ ἀδίκημα. χαλεπώτατα γὰρ
 οἱ πολλοὶ πείθονται ὅτι τις ἄοπλος ὢν ἐπιβου-
 λεύει τῷ ὀπλισμένῳ· καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτως αὐτῶν
 τύχοις, εἰ μήτε πρὸς ὀργὴν μήτ' ἀνηκέστως, ἐφ'
 ὅσον γε καὶ ἐνδέχεται, τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῖο.
 λέγω δὲ ταῦτα χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις στρατεύματι ἔχων

¹ οὕτω M, om. V.

² ὑπὸ Bs., ἐπὶ VM.

BOOK LII

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

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ἀντικρυς ἐπανασταίη· οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζεσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτόν που προσῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολεμίου μοίρα κολλάζεσθαι.

32 “ Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ πλείιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ προσηκόντων, τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀνατίθει· τά τε γὰρ κοινὰ κοινῶς διοικεῖσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ἔστι που πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔμφυτον καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ὡς καὶ ἰσότιμοι αὐτῷ ὄντες ἀξιοθῶσι, καὶ τὸ πάντα τὰ μετὰ σφῶν τινι γνωσθέντα καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ὡς οἰκεία καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς αὐθαίρετα.

2 ἐς μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρεσθαί φημι χρῆναι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς παρόντας γνώμην διδόναι, ὅταν δὲ δὴ κατηγορηταί τις αὐτῶν, μὴ πάντας, πλὴν ἂν τις ἢ μηδέπω βουλευῆ ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖς

3 τεταμιευκοσιν ἔτι ὦν κρίνηται. ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν μηδέπω δεδημαρχηκότα ἢ ἡγορανομηκότα ψῆφον κατὰ τινος τῶν τοιούτων φέρειν, ἢ νῆ Δία τούτων τινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων κατὰ τῶν ὑπατευκότων. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας τὴν τοῦ τι ἀποφήνασθαι ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτωσαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους.

33 “ Δίκαζε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τά τε ἐφέσιμα καὶ τὰ ἀναπόμπιμα, ὅσα ἂν παρά τε τῶν μειζόνων

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ἀρχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τοῦ τε
 πολιάρχου καὶ τοῦ ὑποτιμητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων
 τοῦ τε τὸν σῖτον ἐπισκοποῦντος καὶ τοῦ νυκτοφυ-
 λακοῦντος, ἀφικνῆται· μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μήτ'
 αὐτοτελής οὔτω τις τὸ παράπαν ἔστω ὥστε μὴ
 2 οὐκ ἐφέσιμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίνεσθαι. ταῦτά
 τε οὖν κρίνε,¹ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν τε ἑκατον-
 τάρχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
 τῶν πρώτων, ὅταν περὶ θανατώσεως ἢ καὶ ἀτιμίας
 τινὸς ἀγωνίζονται. σοὶ γὰρ δὴ² τὰ τοιαῦτα
 μόνῳ προσκείσθω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος περὶ αὐτῶν
 αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτόν, δι' ἅπερ εἶπον, δικαζέτω.
 3 μετὰ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ ἀεὶ μὲν οἱ ἐντιμώτατοι καὶ τῶν
 βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτεροί
 τινες ἐκ τε τῶν ὑπατευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρα-
 τηγηκότων ἄλλοι ἄλλοτε διαγιγνωσκέτωσαν, ἵνα
 σύ τε τοὺς τρόπους αὐτῶν ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τούτῳ
 προκαταμανθάνων ὀρθῶς σφισιν ἔχης χρῆσθαι,
 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσυγγιγνόμενοι³ τοῖς τε ἠθεσι καὶ
 τοῖς βουλευμάσι σου οὔτως ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν
 4 ἡγεμονίας ἐξίωσι. τὰς μέντοι γνώμας αὐτῶν μὴ⁴
 φανερώς, ὅσαι γε καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀκριβεστέρας
 δέονται, διαπυνθάνου, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς προήκουσί⁵
 σφῶν ἐφεπόμενοι, κατοκνῶσι παρρησιάζεσθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεία γραφομένας, οἷς αὐτὸς μόνος
 ἐντυχών, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐκδήλους αὐτὰς
 γίνεσθαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς ἀπαλείφεσθαι κέλευε·
 οὔτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην διακρι-

¹ κρίνε R. Steph., κρίναι VM.

² δὴ R. Steph., δεῖ VM.

³ προσυγγιγνόμενοι Xyl., προσυγγιγνόμενοι VM.

⁴ μὴ M, om. V.

⁵ προήκουσί Rk., προσήκουσι VM.

BOOK LII

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

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¹ *Praefectus annonae* and *praefectus vigilum*.

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βώσεως, εἰ ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πιστεύσειαν ἔσεσθαι.

- 5 “Καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν πόλεων τὰς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀξιώσεις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσει προσήκει, συνεργούς τέ τινας καὶ ὑπηρέτας ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων ἔχε· ῥᾶόν τε γὰρ οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστα διαχωρήσει, καὶ σὺ οὐτ’ αὐτογνω-
- 6 μονῶν σφαλῆση οὐτ’ αὐτουργῶν ἐκκαμῆ. τὴν τε παρρησίαν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὀτιοῦν συμβουλευσαί σοι μετὰ ἀδείας νέμε· ἂν τε γὰρ ἀρεσθῆς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὠφελήση,¹ ἂν τε καὶ μὴ πεισθῆς, οὐδὲν βλαβήση.
- 7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπαίνει καὶ τίμα (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐξευρήμασιν αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσεις); τοὺς δ’ ἀμαρτόντας μήτ’ ἀτιμάσης ποτὲ μήτ’ αἰτιάσης· τὴν γὰρ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτυχίαν μέμφεσθαι.
- 8 τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φύλαττε, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ δυστυχίᾳ ἀκουσίῳ χαλεπήνης τινὲ μήτε ἐπ’ εὐτυχίᾳ φθονήσης, ἵνα καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἠδέως πάντες ὑπὲρ σοῦ κινδυνεύωσι, πιστεύοντες ὅτι οὔτε πταίσαντές τι κολασθήσονται
- 9 οὔτε κατορθώσαντες ἐπιβουλευθήσονται. πολλοὶ γοῦν τὸν παρὰ τῶν τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων φθόνον

¹ ὠφελήση R. Steph., ὠφελήσει VM, ὠφεληθήση flor.



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φοβούμενοι σφαλῆναί τι μᾶλλον ἢ καταπράξαι προείλοντο, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς ἔσχον, τὸ δὲ δὴ¹ ζημίωμα ἐκείνοις προσετρίψαντο. ὥστε αὐτὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν χειρόνων καὶ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἀπολαύσων, μηδέποτ' ἐθελήσης λόγῳ μὲν ἄλλοις ἔργῳ δὲ σαυτῷ φθονῆσαι.

34 “ Πάνθ' ὅσα τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ πράττειν βούλει, καὶ λέγε καὶ ποίει. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον παιδεύσειας αὐτοὺς ἢ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις² δειματώσειας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζῆλον τὸ δὲ φόβον ἔχει, καὶ ῥᾶόν τις μιμεῖται τὰ κρείττω, ὁρῶν ἔργῳ γιγνόμενα, ἢ φυλάττεται τὰ² χείρω, ἀκούων λόγῳ κεκωλυμένα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκριβῶς³ πάντα πράττε, μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην σεαυτῷ³ νέμων, ὥστε καὶ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι παραχρῆμα πάντες καὶ ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃς καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιήσης μαθήσονται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνί τινι τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης θεάτρῳ ζήσῃ, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι ἔσται οὐδὲ βραχύτατον ἀμαρτόντι δια-³λαθεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ μόνας ποτὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ³ συγχνῶν ἀεί τι πράξεις, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσι³ πῶς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων γιγνόμενα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἠδιστα, ὥστ' ἂν ἅπαξ καταμάθωσί σε ἀλλὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς προαγορεύοντα ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλάς σου φοβηθήσονται⁴ ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται.

4 “ Τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων βίον ἐπισκόπει μὲν, μὴ μέντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐξέταζε, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἂν ὑφ'

¹ δὴ M, om. V flor. ² τιμωρίαις flor., om. VM.

³ σεαυτῷ flor. B, ἑαυτῷ VM flor. A.

⁴ φοβηθήσονται VM, φοβήσονται flor.

BOOK LII

part of those in power have chosen to accept defeat rather than achieve success, and as a result have gained safety for themselves while inflicting the loss upon their rulers. Therefore, since you yourself stand to reap the major part of the fruits of both outcomes, the failures as well as the successes, you should never consent to become jealous, nominally of others, but really of yourself. B.C. 29

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

“You should, of course, supervise the lives of your subjects, but do not scrutinise them with too much rigour. Sit in judgment upon all offences reported

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5 *έτέρων τινῶν ἐσάγηται, κρίνε,¹ ὅσα δ' ἂν ὑπὸ
 μηδενὸς αἰτιάζηται, μηδὲ προσποιουῦ εἰδέναί, ἔξω
 τῶν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πλημμελουμένων. ταῦτα μὲν
 γὰρ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιστροφῆς, κἂν μηδεὶς
 ἐγκαλῆ, τυγχάνειν ὀφείλει· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ
 ἰδιωτικὰ ἴσθι μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ² σφαλῆς ποτε
 ἀνεπιτηδείῳ τινὶ ὑπηρέτῃ πρὸς τι χρησάμενος,
 6 μὴ μέντοι καὶ ἐξέλεγχε. πολλὰ γὰρ ἢ φύσις καὶ
 παρὰ τὸν νόμον πολλοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν ἐξάγει, οἷς
 ἂν μὲν ἀκριβῶς τις ἐπεξίῃ, ἢ τινα ἢ οὐδένα ἂν
 αὐτῶν ἀτιμώρητον καταλίποι, ἂν δ' ἀνθρωπίνως
 τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τῷ νενομισμένῳ παραμιγνύῃ, τάχ' ἂν
 7 καὶ σωφρονίσειεν αὐτούς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νόμος,
 καίτοι ἰσχυρὰ τὰ κολάσματα ἀναγκαίως ποιού-
 μενος, οὐ δύναται τῆς φύσεως ἀεὶ κρατεῖν· τῶν δ'
 ἀνθρώπων τινὲς λανθάνειν μὲν δόξαντες ἢ καὶ
 μετρίως πως νουθετηθέντες ἀμείνους γίγνονται, οἱ
 μὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐλεγχθῆναι οἱ δὲ αἰδούμενοι
 8 πάλιν σφαλῆναι, φανερωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀπερυθριά-
 σαντες ἢ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κολασθέντες τά τε
 νενομισμένα πάντα συγχέουσι καὶ καταπατοῦσι,
 καὶ μόναίς ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ὀρμαῖς δουλεύουσι.
 κακὸν τούτου οὔτε τὸ πάντας αὐτοὺς κολάζειν
 ῥάδιον, οὔτε τὸ περιορᾶν φανερῶς τινὰς ἀσελγαί-
 νοντας εὐπρεπὲς γίγνεται.*

9 “Τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἀμαρτήματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 τοῦτόν σοι τὸν τρόπον, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ ἀνηκέστων,

¹ κρίνε R. Steph., κρίναι VM.

² μὴ καὶ M, καὶ μὴ V.



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μεταχειρίζεσθαι παραινῶ, τὰ δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 γιγνόμενα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων τιμᾶν·
 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα ποιήσεως αὐτοὺς τῶν τε
 χειρόνων ἀπέχεσθαι, τῇ φιλανθρωπία, καὶ τῶν
 10 βελτιόνων ἐφίεσθαι, τῇ μεγαλοδωρία. μὴ γάρ τοι
 καταδείσης μήθ' ὅτι ἐπιλείψει σέ ποτε ἢ χρήματα
 ἢ τᾶλλα οἷς τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἀμείψῃ
 (πολὺ γὰρ μάλλον ἔγωγε ἐλάττους αὐτῶν τοὺς εὖ
 τι παθεῖν ἀξίους οἶμαι γενήσεσθαι, τοσαύτης σοῦ
 καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντος), μήθ' ὅτι τινὲς
 11 εὐεργετηθέντες ἀχαρίστως τι πράξουσιν· οὐδὲν
 γὰρ οὕτω καὶ δουλοῖ καὶ οἰκειοῦταί τινα, κἂν
 ἀλλότριος κἂν ἐχθρὸς ᾖν τύχη, ὡς τὸ μήτ' ἀδικεῖ-
 σθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὖ πάσχειν.
 35 “ Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους οὕτω σοι προσφέ-
 ρεσθαι γνώμην δίδωμι, σαυτῷ δὲ δὴ μήτε ἔξαλλόν
 τι μήθ' ὑπερήφανον μητε παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μήτε
 παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ δοθὲν περι-
 2 ἴδης. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις κόσμον ἢ παρὰ σοῦ
 τιμὴν φέρει, σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ μείζον μὲν τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
 των οὐδὲν ἂν δοθείη, ὑποψία δ' ἂν κιβδηλίας
 πολλὴ προσγένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ τοι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
 οὐδεὶς ἐκῶν τοιοῦτό τι τῷ κρατοῦντι ψηφίζεσθαι
 δοκεῖ, πάντα δὲ δὴ τις αὐτὰ αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ
 λαμβάνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαινον ἴσχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 3 γέλωτα προσοφλισκάνει. τὴν τε οὖν ἄλλην
 λαμπρότητα σαυτῷ¹ διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων
 παρασκεύαζε, καὶ εἰκόνας σου χρυσᾶς μὲν ἢ καὶ
 ἀργυρᾶς μηδέποτε ἐπιτρέψῃς γενέσθαι (οὐ γὰρ
 μόνον δαπανηραὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεπιβούλευτοι καὶ

¹ σαυτῷ R. Steph., ἑαυτῷ VM.

BOOK LII

persons who are utterly incorrigible ; and you should honour their good actions even beyond the merits of the deeds themselves. For you can best induce men to refrain from evil ways by kindness, and to desire better ways by liberality. You need have no fear that you will ever lack either money or the other means of rewarding those who do good deeds. On the contrary, I fancy that those who will deserve your favours will prove far too few, seeing that you hold empire over so vast an extent of land and sea. Nor need you fear that any who have received your benefactions will ever act ungratefully ; for nothing so captivates and conciliates a man, be he foreigner or foe, as being not only the object of no wrongs but, in addition, the recipient of kindness. B.C. 29

“ As regards your subjects, then, you should so conduct yourself, in my opinion. So far as you yourself are concerned, permit no exceptional or prodigal distinction to be given you, through word or deed, either by the senate or by any one else. For whereas the honour which you confer upon others lends glory to them, yet nothing can be given to you that is greater than what you already possess, and, besides, no little suspicion of insincerity would attach to its giving. No subject, you see, is ever supposed to vote any such distinction to his ruler of his own free will, and since all such honours as a ruler receives he must receive from himself, he not only wins no commendation for the honour but becomes a laughing-stock besides. You must therefore depend upon your good deeds to provide for you any additional splendour. And you should never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be made, for they are not only costly but also invite

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ὀλιγοχρόνιοί εἰσιν), ἄλλας δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους καὶ ἀθανάτους
 4 ἐξ εὐεργεσιῶν δημιουργεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ ναόν
 ποτε περιίδης σαυτῷ γενόμενον. μάτην γὰρ
 παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλίσκεται,
 ἃ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανᾶσθαι
 (πλοῦτος γὰρ ἀκριβῆς οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ
 λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀθροί-
 ζεται), καὶ ἐς εὐκλειαν οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσγί-
 5 γνεται. ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσοθέους πολλοὺς ποιεῖ,
 χειροτερευτὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε θεὸς ἐγένετο, ὥστε
 σοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τε ὄντι καὶ καλῶς ἄρχοντι πᾶσα
 μὲν γῆ τεμένισμα ἔσται, πᾶσαι δὲ πόλεις ναοί,¹
 πάντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀγάλματα (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς γνώ-
 6 μαις αὐτῶν αἰεὶ μετ' εὐδοξίας ἐνιδρυθήσῃ), τοὺς δ'
 ἄλλως πως τὰ κράτη διέποντας οὐ μόνον οὐ
 σεμνύνει τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἂν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν
 ἐξαιρεθῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιαβάλλει, τρόπαιά τέ
 τινα τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀδικίας
 γιγνόμενα· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ πλείον ἀνταρκέσῃ,
 τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον καὶ ἢ κακοδοξία αὐτῶν διαμένει.
 36 ὥστ' εἶπερ ἀθάνατος ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι,
 ταῦτά τε οὕτω πράττε, καὶ προσέτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον
 πάντῃ πάντως αὐτός τε σέβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκαζε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ξενί-
 2 ζοντάς τι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, μὴ
 μόνον τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκα, ὧν ὁ² καταφρονήσας οὐδ'

¹ ναοί M, om. V.

² ὁ supplied by St.



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ἄλλου ἂν τινος προτιμήσειεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ καινά
 τινα δαιμόνια οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀντεσφέρουντες πολλοὺς
 ἀναπείθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν, κακ τούτου καὶ
 συνωμοσίαι καὶ συστάσεις ἑταιρεῖαί τε γίνονται,
 ἅπερ ἤκιστα μοναρχία συμφέρει. μήτ' οὖν ἀθέω
 3 τινὲ μήτε γόητι συγχωρήσης εἶναι. μαντικὴ μὲν
 γὰρ ἀναγκαία ἐστί, καὶ πάντως τινὰς καὶ ἱερόπτας
 καὶ οἰωνιστὰς ἀπόδειξον, οἷς οἱ βουλόμενοί τι
 κοινώσασθαι συνέσονται· τοὺς δὲ δὴ μαγευτὰς
 πάνυ οὐκ εἶναι προσήκει. πολλοὺς γὰρ πολλάκις
 οἱ τοιοῦτοι, τὰ μὲν τινα ἀληθῆ τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω
 4 ψευδῆ λέγοντες, νεοχμοῦν ἐπαίρουσι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
 τοῦτο καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων οὐκ
 ὀλίγοι δρῶσι· διὸ καὶ ἐκείνους φυλάσσεσθαί σοι
 παραινῶ. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Ἄρειου καὶ Ἀθηνο-
 δώρου καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπέρασαι,
 πίστευε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν
 λέγοντας ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς εἶναι· μυρία γὰρ κακὰ
 καὶ δήμους καὶ ἰδιώτας τὸ πρόσχημά τινες τοῦτο
 προβαλλόμενοι δρῶσι.

37 “Τῇ μὲν οὖν γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς πλείονος
 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰρηνικώτατον εἶναί σε
 χρή, ταῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς πολεμικώτατον, ὅπως
 μάλιστα μὲν μήτε ἐθελήσῃ μήτε ἐπιχειρήσῃ τις
 ἀδικῆσαί σε, εἰ δὲ μή, ῥαδίως καὶ παραχρήμα
 2 κολασθῆ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστί καὶ διὰ
 ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα καὶ ὠτακουστῆν τινας καὶ
 διοπτρεύειν πάντα τὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ σου προσήκοντα,
 ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν φυλακῆς τινος καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως

BOOK LII

honour to any other being), but because such men, B.C. 29
by bringing in new divinities in place of the old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices, from which spring up conspiracies, factions, and cabals, which are far from profitable to a monarchy. Do not, therefore, permit anybody to be an atheist or a sorcerer. Soothsaying, to be sure, is a necessary art, and you should by all means appoint some men to be diviners and augurs, to whom those will resort who wish to consult them on any matter; but there ought to be no workers in magic at all. For such men, by speaking the truth sometimes, but generally falsehood, often encourage a great many to attempt revolutions. The same thing is done also by many who pretend to be philosophers; hence I advise you to be on your guard against them, too. Do not, because you have had experience of good and honourable men like Areius and Athenodorus,¹ believe that all the rest who claim to be philosophers are like them; for infinite harm, both to communities and to individuals, is worked by certain men who but use this profession as a screen.

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

¹ For Areius see li. 16, 4; for Athenodorus, lvi. 43, 2.

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δεομένων ἀγνοῆς, μέμνησο ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πᾶσιν
ἀπλῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πιστεύειν, ἀλλ'
3 ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνοὶ γάρ, οἱ μὲν
μισοῦντές τινας, οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὧν ἔχουσιν,
ἄλλοι χαριζόμενοί τισιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτή-
σαντές τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἐπηρεάζουσιν
αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτή-
δειον κατὰ τοῦ αὐταρχοῦντος ἢ φρονοῦντας ἢ
4 λέγοντας. οὐκ οὐκ εὐθὺς οὐδὲ ῥαδίως προσέχειν
αὐτοῖς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντα διελέγχειν.
βραδύνας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πιστεῦσαί τινα οὐδὲν
μέγα ἀδικηθήσῃ, σπεύσας δὲ τάχ' ἂν τι καὶ
ἔξαμάρτοις, ὃ μὴ δυνηθήσῃ ἀνακέσασθαι.

5 “Τιμᾶν μὲν οὖν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν
ἀπελευθέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνόντων σοι
καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ κόσμον καὶ
ἀσφάλειάν σοι μεγάλην τοῦτο οἴσει. μὴ μέντοι
καὶ ὑπέρογκόν τι ἰσχυέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς
πάντες σωφρονεῖτωσαν, ὥστε σε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν
6 διαβληθῆναι· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἂν ἢ καλῶς ἢ
κακῶς πράξωσι, σοὶ προστεθήσεται, καὶ τοιοῦτος
αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἀπάντων νομισθήσῃ ὅποια ἂν ἐκείνοις
ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπῃς.

“Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν δυνατοὺς μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν τινὰ
μηδὲ αὖ συκοφαντεῖσθαι ἔα· μηδὲ ἔστω τινὲς αὐτῶν



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αὐτὸ¹ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα, ὅτι δύναται, κἂν μηδὲν
 7 ἀμαρτάνῃ. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολλοῖς ἄμυνε μὲν ἰσχυ-
 ρῶς ἀδικουμένοις, μὴ πρόσεχε δὲ ῥαδίως αἰτιω-
 μένοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐξέταζε,
 μήτε ἐς τὸ προέχον πᾶν ὑποπτεύων μήτε τῷ
 8 καταδεεστέρω παντὶ πιστεύων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 ἐργαζομένους χρήσιμόν τέ τι τεχνωμένους τίμα,
 τοὺς δ' ἀργοῦντας ἢ καὶ φλαυρὸν τι πραγματευο-
 μένους μίσει, ἵνα τῶν μὲν διὰ τὰς ὠφελίας ὀριγνώ-
 μενοι, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ζημίας ἀπεχόμενοι, πρὸς τε
 τὰ οἰκεία ἀμείνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ συμφωρώ-
 τεροί σοι γίνωνται.

9 “ Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
 ἀμφισβητήματα ὡς ἐλάχιστα ποιοῦντα τὰς δια-
 λύσεις αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα καθιστάναι, κάλλιστον
 δὲ τὸ τὰς τῶν δήμων ὁρμὰς κολοῦειν, κἂν ἐπευχό-
 μενοί τινα τῇ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τε τύχῃ
 σου ἐκβιάζεσθαι τινὰς ἢ πράξαι τι ἢ ἀναλώσαι
 10 παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιχειρῶσι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς τε
 ἔχθρας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ μήτε ἐπωνυμίας
 τινὰς κενὰς μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἐξ οὗ διενεχθήσονται
 τισιν ἐφίενοι σφίσι ποιείσθαι. ῥαδίως δέ σοι
 πάντες καὶ ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ
 κοινῇ πειθαρχήσουσιν, ἂν μηδὲν παρὰ ταῦτα

¹ αὐτὸ M, om. V.

BOOK LII

possesses power be imputed to him as a crime even though he commit no offence. But in the case of the masses, vindicate them vigorously when they are wronged and be not too ready to give heed to accusations against them; but make the accused persons' actions alone and by themselves the object of your scrutiny, neither harbouring suspicion against whatever is superior nor placing your trust in whatever is inferior. Honour those who are diligent and those who by their skill devise something useful, but abhor those who are slothful or who busy themselves with trivial things, in order that your subjects, cleaving to the former by reason of your emoluments and holding themselves aloof from the latter by reason of your punishments, may become, as you desire, more competent in respect to their private affairs and more serviceable in respect to the interests of the state. B. C. 29

“It is well to make the number of disputes on the part of private citizens as few as possible and to render as expeditious as possible their settlement; but it is most important to restrain the rash enterprises of communities, and if they are attempting to coerce others or to go beyond their capacity or means in any undertaking or expenditure, to forbid it, even though in their petitions they invoke blessings upon the empire and pray for your welfare and good fortune. It is important also to eradicate their mutual enmities and rivalries, and not to permit them to assume empty titles or to do anything else that will bring them into strife with others. And all will readily yield obedience to you, both individuals and communities, in this and in every other matter, provided that you make no exceptions

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μηδέποτε συγχωρήσης τινί·¹ ἢ γὰρ ἀνωμαλία καὶ
 11 τὰ καλῶς πεπηγότα διαλύει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐδ'
 αἰτεῖν τι ἀρχήν, ὅ γε μὴ δώσεις, ἐπιτρέπειν σφίσιν
 ὀφείλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἰσχυρῶς
 φυλάττειν σφᾶς ἀναγκάζειν, τὸ μηδὲν ἀξιούν τῶν
 κεκωλυμένων.

38 “Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἐκείνων λέγω, καθ' ἀπάντων
 δέ σοι συμβουλεύω μὴτ' ἀποχρήσασθαί ποτε τῇ
 ἐξουσία, μὴτ' οἰηθῆναι μείωσίν τινα αὐτῆς εἶναι ἂν
 μὴ πάντα ἀπαξαπλῶς ὅσα δύνασαι καὶ ποιήσης·
 ἀλλ' ὅσω μᾶλλον πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν βουληθῆς καὶ
 δυνήσῃ πράξαι, τόσω μᾶλλον προθυμοῦ πάνθ'
 2 ὅσα προσήκει βούλεσθαι. καὶ αἰεὶ γε αὐτὸς παρὰ
 σαυτῷ ἐξέταζε, εἴτε ὀρθῶς τι ποιεῖς εἴτε καὶ
 μὴ, τί τε πράττοντά σε φιλήσουσί τινες καὶ
 τί μὴ, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ποιῆς αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ ἐκκλίνης.
 μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἠγήσῃ² δεόντως τι παρὰ τοῦτο πράτ-
 τειν δόξειν, ἂν μηδενὸς αἰτιωμένου σε ἀκούσης·
 μηδ' ἀναμείνης οὔτω τινὰ ἐκφρονήσαι ποτε ὥστε
 3 σοι φανερῶς τι ἐξονειδίσαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐ-
 δεῖς ἂν ποιήσειεν, οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα ἀδικηθείη· πάν
 γὰρ τοῦναντίον καὶ ἐπαινεῖν πολλοὶ ἔν γε τῷ
 φανερῷ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς σφας ἀναγκάζονται,
 ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίζεσθαι. τὸν δ'
 ἄρχοντα χρὴ μὴ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσί τινες τεκμαίρε-
 σθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν φρονεῖν
 αὐτοὺς εἰκός ἐστι.

39 “Ταῦτά σε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βούλομαι πράττειν·

¹ τιν R. Steph., τι VM.

² δὴ ἠγήσῃ M, διηγήσῃ V.



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πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ παραλείπω διὰ τὸ μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι πάντα αὐτὰ καθάπαξ συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. ἐν δ' οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ 2 κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν φράσω. ἂν γὰρ ὅσα ἂν ἕτερόν τινα ἄρξαντά σου ποιεῖν ἐβελήσης, ταῦτα αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος πράσσης, οὔτε τι ἁμαρτήση καὶ πάντα κατορθώσεις, καὶ τούτου καὶ ἥδιστα καὶ 3 ἀκινδυνότατα βιώση. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὡς πατέρα, πῶς δ' οὐχ ὡς σωτήρα καὶ προσόψονταί σε ἅπαντες καὶ φιλήσουσιν, ὅταν σε ὀρώσι κόσμιον εὐβίοντον εὐπόλεμον εἰρηναῖον ὄντα, ὅταν μήθ' ὑβρίξης τι μήτε πλεονεκτῆς, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ 4 ὁμοίου σφίσι προσφέρῃ, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς μὲν πλουτῆς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀργυρολογῆς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν τρυφᾶς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταλαιπωρῆς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκολασταίνῃς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους νουθετῆς, ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως ὁμοιοτροπώτατα αὐτοῖς ζῆς; ὥστ' αὐτὸς παρὰ σαυτῷ μέγα φυλακτήριον ἐν τῷ μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδικῆσαι ἔχων θάρσει, καὶ πίστευέ μοι λέγουσι ὅτι οὔτε μισηθήση ποτὲ οὔτε 5 ἐπιβουλευθήση. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος πᾶσά σε ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡδέως βιώσαι· τί μὲν γὰρ ἥδιον, τί δὲ εὐδαιμονέστερόν ἐστι τοῦ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀπολαύοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὰ διδόναι δύνασθαι;

40 “ Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσα εἴρηκα ἐννοήσας πείσθητί μοι, καὶ μὴ πρόη τὴν τύχην, ἥτις σε ἐκ πάντων ἐπελέξατο καὶ προεστήσατο. ὡς

BOOK LII

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

“Think upon these things and upon all that I have told you, and be persuaded of me, and let not this fortune slip which has chosen you from all mankind and has set you up as their ruler. For, if you

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- εἶ γε τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας αἰρῆ, τὸ δ' ὄνομα τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς καὶ ἐπάρατον φοβῆ, τοῦτο μὲν μὴ προσλάβης, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 2 προσηγορίᾳ χρώμενος αὐτάρχει. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπικλήσεων προσδέη, δώσουσι μὲν σοι τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ πατρί σου ἔδωκαν, σεβιοῦσι δέ σε καὶ ἕτερα τινὲ προσρήσει, ὥστε σε πᾶν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἔργον ἄνευ τοῦ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτῆς ἐπιφθόνου καρποῦσθαι.”
- 41 Μαικῆνας μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀμφοτέρους μὲν σφας καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυνοίᾳ καὶ, ἐπὶ τῇ πολυλογίᾳ τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπηνεσε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Μαικῆνου μᾶλλον εἴλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα εὐθύς ὥσπερ ὑπετέθειτο ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ σφαλῆ τι, ἀθρόως
 2 μεταρρυθμίσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐθελήσας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα μετεκόσμησε τὰ δ' ὕστερον, καὶ τινὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἄρξουσι ποιῆσαι κατέλιπεν ὡς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ γενησόμενα. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς πάντα, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν σφίσι γνώμην δούς, προθυμότατα συνήρατο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ ἐσηγητῆς αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει.
- 3 Ταῦτά τε ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ¹ ὅσα ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου εἴρηται, ἔπραξεν ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτευσε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκρά-

¹ ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ R. Steph., καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ VM.

¹ A reference to the title of “Augustus.” The Greek verb *σεβίζειν*, here rendered by this long phrase for the sake



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τορος ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἄρχαϊον διδομένην τισὶν (ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, 4 ὥστε καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις¹ ὄνομα αὐτοκράτορος σχεῖν) ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὥσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἐκγόνοις² ἐψήφιστο.

42 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητεύσας σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινα διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐξήτασε. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἵππῆς πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐβούλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς χιλίους τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γερουσίας 2 αὐξηθῆναι. τούτους οὖν ἐκκρίναι βουλευθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἀπήλειψε, προτρεψάμενος δέ σφας ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ βίου δικαστὰς ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεντήκοντά που ἔπεισεν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσ- 3 σαράκοντα μιμήσασθαι σφας ἠνάγκασε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἠτίμωσε μὲν οὐδένα, τὰ δ' ὀνόματα τῶν δευτέρων ἐξέθηκε· τοῖς γὰρ προτέροις, ὅτι μὴ ἐχρόνισαν ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐπειθάρχησάν οἱ, ἀφῆκε τὸ ὀνειδισμα, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν³ ἐκούσιοι δῆθεν ἰδιώτευσαν, Κύντον δὲ δὴ Στατίλιον καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντα τῆς

¹ ἅπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις Reip., ἐν εἰκόσιν VM.

² ἐκγόνοις VM, ἐγγόνοις Xiph. ³ οὖν M, om. V.

BOOK LII

assumed the title of *imperator*. I do not here refer B.C. 29
to the title which had occasionally been bestowed, in
accordance with the ancient custom, upon generals
in recognition of their victories,—for he had re-
ceived that many times before this and received it
many times afterwards in honour merely of his
achievements, so that he won the name of *imperator*
twenty-one times,—but rather the title in its other
use, which signifies the possession of the supreme
power, in which sense it had been voted to his
father Caesar and to the children and descendants of
Caesar.

After this he became censor with Agrippa as his
colleague, and in addition to other reforms which he
instituted, he purged the senate. For as a result of
the civil wars a large number of knights and even of
foot-soldiers were in the senate without justification
in merit, so that the membership of that body had
been swollen to a thousand. Now though it was
his wish to remove these men, he did not erase any
of their names himself, but urged them rather, on the
strength of their own knowledge of their families and
their lives, to become their own judges; he thus first
persuaded some fifty of them to withdraw from the
senate voluntarily, and then compelled one hundred
and forty others to imitate their example. He dis-
franchised none of them, but posted the names of
the second group only; for he spared the members
of the first group the reproach of the publication of
their names, because they had not delayed but had
straightway obeyed him. So all these men returned
to private life of their own free will, so far as ap-
pearances were concerned; but Quintus Statilius
was deposed, decidedly against his will, from the

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4 δημαρχίας, ἐς ἣν ἀπεδέδεικτο, εἶρξεν. ἑτέρους τέ
 τινας βουλευεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔς γε τοὺς ὑπατευκό-
 τας δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευόντων, Κλούουιόν
 τέ τινα καὶ Φούρνιον Γαίους, ἐγκατέλεξεν, ὅτι
 προαποδεδειγμένοι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, ἄλλων τινῶν
 τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόντων, ὑπατεῦσαι.
 5 τό τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσεν, τῆς
 βουλῆς οἱ δῆθεν ἐπιτρεψάσης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι,
 ἐπειδὴ τό τε πλείστον σφῶν ἀπωλώλει¹ (οὐδὲν
 γὰρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέ-
 μοις ἀναλίσκεται) καὶ ἐς τὴν ποίησιν τῶν
 6 πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι αἰεὶ εἶναι νομίζονται. ταῦτά
 τε οὖν ἔπραξε, καὶ προσαπέειπε πᾶσι τοῖς βου-
 λεύουσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἂν μὴ
 αὐτός τιμι κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ. καὶ τοῦτο
 καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ φυλάσσεται· πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἔς τε
 τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ
 Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμόσε ἄλλοσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδη-
 7 μῆσαι ἔξεστιν. ἐκεῖσε γὰρ διὰ τε τὸ σύνεγγυς
 καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄοπλον τό τε εἰρηναῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 δέδοται τοῖς γέ τι κεκτημένοις αὐτόθι καὶ ἄνευ
 παραιτήσεως, ὅσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν, ἀπιέναι.
 8 ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὺς ἔτι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἄντωνίου σπουδασάντων
 ὑπόπτως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἑώρα, καὶ
 ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεοχμώσῃ· τι, πάντα ἔφη τὰ
 γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις αὐτοῦ εὐρεθέντα
 ατακεκαυκέναι. καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς γε διεφθάρκει
 τινά· τὰ γὰρ δὴ πλείω καὶ πάνυ ἐτήρει, ὥστε μηδ'
 ὀκνηῆσαι ὑστερον αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι.

¹ ἀπωλώλει Dind., ἀπολώλει VM.



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43 Τούτο τε οὖν οὕτως ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπαπώκισεν, ὅτι ὁ Λέπιδος μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἡρημώκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἀποικίας σφῶν λελυκέσαι ἐδόκει. τὸν τε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν μετεπέμψατο, ὅτι τινὰ πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφόρου οἱ ὄντος σταλέντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδολοφόνησε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον² ἐσήγαγε καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τὴν Καπρίαν παρὰ τῶν Νεοπολιτῶν, ὧνπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν, ἀντιδόσει χώρας ἠλλάξατο. κεῖται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς κατὰ Συρρεντὸν¹ ἠπείρου, χρηστόν μὲν οὐδέν, ὄνομα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐνοίκησιν ἔχουσα.

¹ Συρρεντὸν H. Steph., συρεντὸν VM.

BOOK LII

So much for these matters. Caesar also settled Carthage anew, because Lepidus had laid waste a part of it and by this act, it was held, had abrogated the rights of the earlier colonists. And he sent a summons to Antiochus of Commagene, because he had treacherously murdered an envoy who had been despatched to Rome by his brother, who was at variance with him. Caesar brought him before the senate, and when judgment had been passed against him, put him to death. He also obtained Capreae from the Neapolitans, to whom it originally belonged, giving other territory in exchange. It lies not far from the mainland in the region of Surrentum and is good for nothing, but is renowned even to the present day because Tiberius had a residence there. B.C. 29

BOOK LIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καθιερώθη.
- β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὡς τῆς μοναρχίας ἀφιστάμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνείματο.
- γ. Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένων.
- δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος ἐπεκλήθη.
- ε. Περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὧν οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λαμβάνουσιν.
- ς. Ὡς τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.
- η. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἀστυρσι καὶ Καντάβροις ἐπολέμησεν.
- θ. Ὡς Γαλατία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.
- ι. Ὡς ἡ στοὰ ἡ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καθιερώθη.
- κ. Ὡς τὸ Πάνθειον καθιερώθη.
- λ. Ὡς Αὔγουστος ἀφείθη τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πείθεσθαι.
- μ. Ὡς ἐπ' Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα στρατεία ἐγένετο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο

Καῖσαρ τὸ ς'
 Μ. Οὐψάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ β'¹ ὑπ.
 Καῖσαρ τὸ ζ'
 Μ. Οὐψάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ γ' ὑπ.
 Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος τὸ η'
 Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ.² Ταῦρος τὸ β' ὑπ.
 Αὔγουστος τὸ θ'
 Μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός ὑπ.
 Αὔγουστος τὸ ι'³
 Γ. Νωρβανδς Γ. υἱ. Γ. ἕγγ. Φλάκκος ὑπ.⁴
 Αὔγουττος τὸ ια'
 Γν. Καλπούρνιος⁵ Γν. υἱ. Γν. ἕγγ. Πίσων⁶ ὑπ.⁴

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς ἔτει ἕκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤρξε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζό-

¹ τὸ β' Xyl., τὸ γ' VM. ² Τ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.

³ Μ. Ἰούνιος Σιλανός Αὔγουστος τὸ ι' supplied by Xyl., Μ. υἱ. added by Bs. ⁴ ὑπ. supplied by Bs.



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μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς
 φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντί
 οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτός τε ταῖς
 2 ἑτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ
 τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὐθις ταῦτ'
 ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερ-
 βολὴν ἐτίμα· ἀμέλει τήν τε ἀδελφιδῆν¹ αὐτῷ
 συνώκισε, καὶ σκηνήν, ὅποτε συστρατεύοιντο,
 ὁμοίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρείχε, τό τε σύνθημα παρ'
 3 ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐδίδοτο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε
 παρόντι τά τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἴθιστο ἔπραξε, καὶ
 τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πρό-
 κριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ
 ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατίᾳ ἐνενόμιστο. τό τε Ἀπολ-
 λώνιον² τὸ³ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα
 τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων,
 4 ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν
 τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένην
 ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ
 ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν διὰ τε τῶν παίδων
 5 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ
 αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε αἰεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ⁴ ἐγί-
 γνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς
 μέλουσα,⁵ λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς
 οἰωνιστὰς τοὺς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα
 ἄνδρας καλουμένους· τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν

¹ ἀδελφιδῆν M (ἀδελφιδῆν), ἀδελφὴν V Xiph. Zon.

² Ἀπολλώνιον St., ἀπολλώνειον VM. ³ τὸ Bk., τό τε VM.

⁴ μέχρι τοῦ v. Herw., μέχρις οὗ VM.

⁵ μέλουσα R. Steph., μέλλουσα VM.

·BOOK LIII

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

B.C. 28

¹ Augustus seems to have used twenty-four lictors until 29 B.C., and thereafter twelve, first as consul (until 23), then as proconsul (until 19), and later on all occasions. Cf. liv. 10, 5.

² The customary oath taken by the consuls at the close of their term of office to the effect that they had done nothing contrary to the laws and had acted for the highest interests of the state. Cf. xxxvii. 38, 2, and xxxviii. 12, 3.

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σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὄπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰ-
 6 χμαλώτων ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ¹ ἐπὶ πλείους
 ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι νοσήσαντος
 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ
 ἐκείνου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου.

2 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ἔς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν
 ἰδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ
 δημοσίῳ ἐδέησεν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν
 αὐτῷ, πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησίν σφῶν δύο κατ' ἔτος
 ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων αἰρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ
 τῷ πλήθει τετραπλάσιον τὸν σῖτον ἔνειμε, βου-
 2 λευταῖς τέ τισι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο· οὕτω γὰρ
 δὴ πολλοὶ σφῶν πένητες ἐγεγόνεσαν ὥστε μηδ'
 ἀγορανομήσαί τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλω-
 μάτων ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικα-
 στήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρα-
 τηγοῖς, καθάπερ εἴθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ
 ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προσταχθῆναι.
 3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτὸς ἀπέ-
 δειξεν· ὃ καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς
 ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ
 Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένης, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκο-
 δομήματα, ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια
 4 τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων ἔκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν
 ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἴσω τοῦ πωμη-
 ρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοϊαν ἐποιήσατο· τοὺς
 μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινῶν γεγεννημένους τοῖς τε
 παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἶγε τινὲς περιῆσαν,
 ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνε-

¹ καὶ M, om. V.



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5 κτήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆ-
σεώς σφῶν ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς
τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτούς. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ
πάνυ κατὰ τε τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου
συναρχία, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα
αὐτὰ δι' ἑνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν
6 ἕκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατεῖαν προθείς.¹ εὐδοκιμῶν τε
οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ
ἑτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου μᾶλλον τιμηθεῖη, καὶ παρ'
ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βε-
βαιώσασθαι τοῦ² μὴ δοκεῖν ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς βε-
7 βιάσθαι. κακ τοῦτου τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους
οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παρασκευάσας ἔς τε τὴν
γερουσίαν ἐσήλθεν ἑβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ἀνέγνω
τοιάδε·

3 “ Ἀπιστα μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν,³
ὦ πατέρες, προηρῆσθαι· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν
ἀκούοντων οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ
ἑτέρου λέγοντος πιστεύειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλισθ'
ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἐτοιμότερον
2 ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν λεγομένοις. καὶ προσέτι
καὶ γιγνώσκω τοῦθ', ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα
εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσὶ τινας, ἀλλὰ
καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν
τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελλόμην ὃ μὴ παραχρῆμα ποιή-
σειν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα ἂν ἀπώκνησα αὐτὸ ἐκφῆναι,
μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω·

¹ προθείς Rk., προαθείς VM.

² τοῦ R. Steph., τὸ VM.

³ ὑμῶν M, ὑμῖν V.

BOOK LIII

he restored himself. He did not, however, appropriate to himself the credit for their erection, but allowed it to go as before to the original builders. And inasmuch as he had put into effect very many illegal and unjust regulations during the factional strife and the wars, especially in the period of his joint rule with Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by a single decree, setting the end of his sixth consulship as the time for their expiration. When, now, he obtained approbation and praise for this act, he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honoured all the more and might have his sovereignty voluntarily confirmed by the people, so as to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. Therefore, having first primed his most intimate friends among the senators, he entered the senate in his seventh consulship and read the following address: B.C. 28

“ I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous im- B.C. 27

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ
 ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνυ θαρσύντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον
 μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὀφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ
 4 καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία νικήσειν. ὅτι μὲν
 γὰρ πάρεστί μοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῶν ἄρχειν, καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε· τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν πᾶν ἦτοι
 δικαιωθὲν πέπαυται ἢ καὶ ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνι-
 σται,¹ καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν
 εὐεργεσιῶν ὠκείωται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πρα-
 2 γμάτων ὠχύρωται, ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμήσαί τινα
 νεωτέρων ἔργων, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται,
 τὸ γοῦν βοηθήσον ἡμῖν ἔτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον
 εἶναι. τά τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία
 καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ
 τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διά-
 κεισθε πρὸς με ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἂν προστατεῖσθαι²
 3 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐθελῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον
 ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ τις ὡς ἐγὼ τῆς
 αὐταρχίας ἔνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα
 ἔπραξα· ἀλλὰ ἀφήμι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν καὶ
 ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς
 νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς
 4 ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν
 προσεκτησάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων
 καταμάθητε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυνα-
 στείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ
 δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ
 μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἠθέ-
 5 λησα. ὄφελον μὲν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπιστῆναί ποτε
 οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὄφελον μὴ

¹ ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνισται M, ἐλεηθέντες σωφρόνισται V.

² προστατεῖσθαι M, προστατεῖσθε V.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δεδεῆσθαί μου πρὸς τοιοῦτό τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
 2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὥστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἔτι τότε ὄντος, καὶ χρεῖαν σχεῖν καὶ πείραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὐ¹ τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρηζε, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα·
 3 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψέ με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρῆσαι, οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἢ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιεστηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα
 4 καὶ ἔπαθον ἄπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιῆσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιούσα ἢ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὡσπερ εἰώθειτε.

6 “Καὶ μήτε² θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶ, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειάν μου καὶ πραότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὁρῶντες, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐθ' ὑπέρογκον οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς, καίπερ πολλὰ πολλάκις ψηφισαμένων
 2 ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην· μήτ' αὖ μωρίαν μου καταγνώτε,

¹ οὐ Bk., που VM.

² μήτε Bk., μήτοι VM.

BOOK LIII

required me for any such task, but that we of this generation also might have lived from the beginning in peace and harmony, as our fathers lived of yore. But since some destiny, as it appears, brought you to a position where you had need even of me, young as I still was at the time, and put me to the test, I did everything with a zeal even beyond my years and accomplished everything with a good fortune even beyond my powers, so long as the situation demanded my help. And nothing in the world could deter me from aiding you when you were in danger,—neither toil, nor fear, nor threats of foes, nor prayers of friends, nor the multitude of the conspirators, nor the desperation of our adversaries; nay, I gave myself to you unstintingly for any and all the exigencies which have arisen, and what I did and suffered, you know. From all this I have derived no gain for myself except that I have kept my country from perishing; but as for you, you are enjoying both safety and tranquillity. Since, then, Fortune, by using me, has graciously restored to you peace without treachery and harmony without faction, receive back also your liberty and the republic; take over the army and the subject provinces, and govern yourselves as has been your wont. B.C. 27

“You should not be surprised at this purpose of mine, when you see my reasonableness in other respects, my mildness, and my love of quiet, and when you reflect, moreover, that I have never accepted any extraordinary privilege nor anything beyond what the many might gain, though you have often voted many of them to me. Do not, on the

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ὅτι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τηλικαύτην
 ἡγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βού-
 λομαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἂν τε τὸ δίκαιόν τις ἐξετάζη,
 δικαιοτάτον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς
 διέπειν, ἂν τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφορώτατον
 ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μήτε πράγματα ἔχειν μήτε
 φθονεῖσθαι μήτε ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ μετ'
 ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύ-
 3 εσθαι· ἂν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὐπερ ἔνεκα πολλοὶ
 καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἰροῦνται,
 πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοξότατόν μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης
 ἀρχῆς ἀφέσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλεέστατον ἐκ
 τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὄγκου ἐθελοντὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι;
 ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον
 καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι,
 4 ἔμοιγε πιστευσάτω. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα
 καταλέξει ἔχων ὅσα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πατρός μου εὐηργέτησθε, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς
 ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ φιλοῖητε καὶ τι-
 μώητε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τούτου μάλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ'
 ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ μάλλον σεμνυναίμην, ὅτι τὴν
 μοναρχίαν μήτε ἐκεῖνος καίτοι διδόντων ὑμῶν
 λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων ἀφίημι.

7 “Τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ παρεξετάσειεν αὐτῷ; τὴν
 Γαλατίας ἄλωσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἢ
 τὴν Μυσίας χείρωσιν ἢ τὴν Αἰγύπτου κατα-
 στροφῆν; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην τὸν Ἰούβαν τὸν
 Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείαν,



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ
 τοιαῦτα ταῦτά ἐστιν ὅσα καὶ οἶα οὐδὲ σύμπαντες
 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ
 2 πεποιήκασιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ
 παρόντι ἔργῳ παραβαλεῖν ἐστὶν ἄξιον, οὔθ' ὅτι
 τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ποι-
 κιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολε-
 μήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιλανθρώπως, τοῦ
 μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς¹ κρατή-
 σαντες, τὸ δ' ὑπεῖξαν ὡς καὶ φίλιον πᾶν περισώ-
 3 σαντες, ὥστ' εἶπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὐθις πεπρωμένον
 εἶη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν² νοσήσαι, τοῦτον αὐτὴν τὸν
 τρόπον εὐξασθαί τινα στασιάσαι· τὸ γάρ τοι
 τοσοῦτόν τε ἰσχύσαντας ἡμᾶς καὶ οὕτω καὶ τῇ
 ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἀκμάσαντας ὥστε καὶ ἐκόντων
 καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν αὐταρχῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε
 ἐκφρουῆσαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διδομένην αὐτὴν ἀπώσασθαι
 καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπόν
 4 ἐστὶν. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν
 (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ ὀτιοῦν
 πλεονεκτήσῃν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμελλον), ἀλλ' ἵνα
 εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἔς τε τὸ κοινὸν
 εὐεργετημάτων καὶ ἔς τὰ οἰκεῖα σεμνολογημάτων
 ἡμῖν ὄντων, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀγαλλόμεθα ὅτι,
 ὧν ἕτεροι καὶ βιαζόμενοί τινες ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταῦθ'
 8 ἡμεῖς οὐδ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσιέμεθα. τίς μὲν
 γὰρ ἂν μεγαλοψυχότερός μου, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸν
 πατέρα τὸν μετηλλαχότα αὐθις εἶπω, τίς δὲ δαι-
 μονιώτερος εὐρεθείη; ὅστις, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς,

¹ παντὸς M, τινὸς V.

² εἶη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν V, ἡμῶν εἶη τὴν πόλιν M.

BOOK LIII

the crossing of the Rhine? Yet these are greater and more important deeds than even all our forefathers together performed in all previous time. Nevertheless, no one of these exploits deserves a place beside my present act, to say nothing of our civil wars, of all which have ever occurred the greatest and most varied in its changing fortunes, which we fought to an honourable conclusion and brought to a humane settlement, overpowering as enemies all who resisted, but sparing as friends all who yielded; therein setting an example, so that if it should be fated that our city should ever again be afflicted, one might pray that it should conduct its quarrel in the same way. Indeed, I will go further: that we, when we possessed a strength so great, and when we so clearly stood at the summit of prowess and good fortune, that we could exercise over you, with or without your consent, our arbitrary rule, did not lose our senses or conceive the desire for sole supremacy, but that he thrust that supremacy aside when it was offered him and that I return it after it has been given me,—that, I say, transcends the deeds of a man! I say this, not by way of idle boasting,—indeed, I should not have said it at all, if I were going to derive any advantage whatever from it,—but in order that you may see that, although we can point to many benefits conferred upon the state at large and to many services rendered to individuals of which we might boast, yet we take the greatest pride in this, that what others so desire that they are even willing to do violence to gain it, this we do not accept even under compulsion. Who could be found more magnanimous than I,—not to mention again my deceased father,—who more nearly divine? For

B.C. 27

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στρατιώτας τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους, καὶ πολίτας
καὶ συμμάχους, φιλοῦντάς με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης
μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης
πλὴν ὀλίγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἠπείροις
2 καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη κεκτημένος, καὶ μήτ' ἄλλο-
φύλου τινὸς ἔτι προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μήτ' οἰκείου
στασιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρηνούν-
των καὶ ὁμονοούντων καὶ εὐθενούντων¹ καὶ τὸ
μέγιστον ἐθελουθηδὸν πειθαρχούντων, ἔπειθ' ἐκού-
σιος αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ ἀρχῆς τηλικαύτης ἀφί-
σταμαι καὶ οὐσίας τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι.
3 ὥστ' εἶπερ ὁ Ὀράτιος ὁ Μούκιος ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ
Ῥήγουλος οἱ Δέκιοι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἀπο-
θανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι
δόξαι ἠθέλησαν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπι-
θυμήσαιμι τοῦτο πράξαι ἐξ οὗ κακείνους καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους ἅμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλεία ζῶν
4 ὑπερβαλῶ; μὴ γάρ τοι νομίση τις ὑμῶν² τοὺς
μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας
ἐφείσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ
ἀνδρῶδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὑποπτέυση
ὅτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ πονηροῖς τισιν ἀνδράσιν
ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ καὶ ὀχλοκρατία τινί, ἐξ ἧς οὐ μόνον
οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα αἰεὶ
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδοῦναι βούλομαι.
5 ὑμῖν γάρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις
πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐ-
δέποτ' ἂν ἐποίησα, οὐδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν
ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαί με ἔδει· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ
6 ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ. αὐτός τε

¹ εὐθενούντων Dind., εὐθηνούντων Rk., εὐσθενούντων VM.

² ὑμῶν M, ἡμῶν V.



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γὰρ καὶ πεπόννημαι καὶ τεταλαιπώρημαι, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ οὔτε τῷ σώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μῖσος, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐγγίγνεταιί τισι, τὰς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλάς προορῶμαι.

7 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἢ μοναρχῆσαι ἐπικινδύνως αἰροῦμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς ἂν πολὺ βέλτιον ἄτε¹ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἅμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἓνα τινὰ ἀνηρτημένα διοικοῖτο.

9 “ Δι’ οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἰκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὁμοίως καὶ συνεπαινέσαι καὶ συμπροθυμηθῆναί μοι, λογισαμένους πάνθ’ ὅσα καὶ πεπολέμηκα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολίτευμαι, κἂν τούτῳ πᾶσάν μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χάριν ἀποδόντας, ἐν τῷ συγχωρῆσαί μοι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἤδη ποτὲ καταβιῶναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα ἄλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπιταχθῆναι δύναμαι.

2 μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζήσειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ κακὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶ· τοσοῦτόν που τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, ἐξ

3 ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. ἂν δέ τι καὶ πάθω, οἷα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει (οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τέ ἐστι πᾶσί τινα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν ὀθνείοις τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενον καὶ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντα, ἀρέσαι), καὶ πάνυ ἐτοίμως καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἴμαρ-

¹ βέλτιον ἄτε Rk., βελτίονά τε VM.

BOOK LIII

I myself have undergone both labours and hardships and am no longer able to stand the strain, either in mind or in body. Furthermore, I foresee the jealousy and hatred which are engendered in certain persons against even the best men and the plots which arise therefrom. It is for these reasons that I choose the life of a private citizen and fair fame rather than that of a sovereign and constant peril. And as for the business of the commonwealth, it would be carried on far better by all in common, inasmuch as it would be transacted by many men together instead of being dependent upon some one man. B.C. 27

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

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μένου μοι χρόνου τελευτήσαι μάλλον ἰδιωτεύσας,
 ἢ καὶ ἀθάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι, αἰρούμαι.
 4 ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐκλείαν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἴσει ὅτι
 οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ μοναρχῆσαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ τολμήσας ἀποκτεῖναί
 με πάντως που καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ὑφ'
 5 ὑμῶν κολασθήσεται. ἄπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 πατρός μου γέγονεν· ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἰσόθεος
 ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν αἰδίων ἔτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἀπο-
 σφάξαντες αὐτὸν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. ἀθάνα-
 τοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δυνηθείημεν γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ
 δὴ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς τελευ-
 6 τῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κτώμεθα. ἀφ'
 οὔπερ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἤδη ἔχων τὸ δὲ ἔξειν ἐλπίζ-
 ζων, ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς
 τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον
 ὑπειπών, ἵνα μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμετα-
 χείριστον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσητε,
 μήτ' αὖ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ῥαδίως
 διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσητε.

10 “Καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἂν
 ὀκνήσαιμι ὑμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ὅσα χρὴ πράττειν
 ὑποθέσθαι. τίνα δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι; πρῶτον μὲν
 τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττετε, καὶ
 μηδένα αὐτῶν μεταβάλητε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταῦτῳ
 μένοντα, κὰν χείρω ἦ, συμφωρότερα τῶν αἰεὶ
 καινοτομουμένων, κὰν βελτίω εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν.
 2 ἔπειτα δέ, ὅσα προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν οὔτοι ποιεῖν



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καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μηδ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδία ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε,¹
 3 ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ τιμῶν τυγχάνητε. τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀρίστοις τε καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτοις ἐπιτρέπετε, μήτε φθονοῦντές τισι,² μήθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα πλεονεκτῆσαί τι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν
 4 φιλοτιμούμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τιμᾶτε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πως πολιτευομένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ
 5 προσηκόντων μηδαμῶς ἐφίεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μήθ' ὑβρίζετε μήτε ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε μήτε φοβεῖσθε. τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεὶ ἔχετε, μὴ μέντοι μήτε κατ' ἀλλήλων
 6 μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰρηνούντων αὐτοῖς χρήσθε.³ τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἀρκούντως, ὥστε μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δι' ἀπορίαν ἐπιθυμῆσαι, συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ὥστε μηδὲν κακὸν διὰ θρασύτητα δράσαι.
 7 “Ἄλλὰ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπεξιόντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥαδίως ἂν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρὴ πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε.⁴ ἐν οὖν ἔτι τοῦτο εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἂν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύσησθε, αὐτοί τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἐμοὶ

¹ παρατηρεῖσθε R. Steph., παρατηρεῖσθαι VM.

² τισι M, τινι V. ³ χρήσθε M, χρήσθαι V.

⁴ συνίδοιτε Pflugk, συνείδοιτε VM.

BOOK LIII

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

“But why make a long speech by going through everything in detail which it behooves you to do? For you may easily understand from these hints how all other matters should be handled. I will close with this one further remark, that if you will conduct the government in this manner, you will both enjoy

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8 χαριεῖσθε, ὅστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβὼν
 τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα, ἂν δ' ἀδυνατήσητε καὶ ὀτιοῦν
 αὐτῶν πράξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανόησαι ποιήσετε, τὴν
 δὲ δὴ πόλιν ἔς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἔς κινδύ-
 νους μεγάλους αὐθις ἐμβαλεῖτε.”

11 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον
 τι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν. ὀλίγοι
 μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἤδεσαν κακ τούτου
 καὶ συνεσπούδαζον αὐτῷ· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν
 ὑπώπτειον τὰ λεγόμενα οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευόν σφισι,
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέροι,
 2 οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γνώμην,
 καὶ ἤχθοντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ
 μετανοίᾳ. τό τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἤδη τινὲς ὡς
 καὶ στασιῶδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς
 πολιτείας ἠρέσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον.
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς
 3 δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν ὁμοίοις ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ πι-
 στεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύ-
 ναντο, οὔθ' οἱ βουλόμενοι¹ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὔθ'
 οἱ ἕτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὔτ' ἀπιστήσαντες
 διαβαλεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλέγξαι ἐτόλμων, οἱ μὲν
 4 ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ὅθεν περ
 καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἠναγκάζοντο
 οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν οὐκ
 ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ
 μεταξὺ ἀναγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ
 δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, μοναρχεῖσθαί τε δεόμενοι καὶ

¹ βουλόμενοι R. Steph., βουλευόμενοι VM.



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πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρις
 5 οὐ κατηνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ
 παραυτίκα γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλά-
 σιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις
 διδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο,¹ ὅπως ἀκριβῆ
 τὴν φρουρὰν ἔχη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι
 τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.

12 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ² τρόπῳ καὶ
 παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο,
 βουλευθεῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς δημοτικός τις εἶναι δόξαι,
 τὴν μὲν φροντίδα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν
 πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεομένων ὑπεδέ-
 ξατο, οὔτε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξειν,³
 2 οὔθ' ὅσων ἂν ἄρξη, διὰ παντὸς τοῦτο ποιήσειν
 ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα
 καὶ ἀπόλεμα ἀπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ,⁴ τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα
 ὡς καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ ἤτοι πολε-
 μίους τινὰς προσοίκους ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ'
 3 ἑαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγῳ
 μὲν ὅπως ἡ μὲν γερουσία ἀδεῶς τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς
 ἀρχῆς καρπῶτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς
 κινδύνους ἔχη, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει
 ταύτῃ ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ ἄοπλοι καὶ ἄμαχοι ὦσιν,
 αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ⁹πλά ἔχη καὶ στρατιώτας
 4 τρέφῃ. καὶ ἐνομίσθη ^δδιὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Ἀφρικὴ
 καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία ἢ τε Ἀσία καὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ
 τῆς Ἡπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τό τε Μακε-
 δονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτη τε μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς

¹ διεπράξατο Bk., διεπράξαντο VM Xiph.

² τῷ Xiph., τε VM.

³ ἄρξειν Bk., ἄρχειν VM Xiph.

⁴ τῇ βουλῇ Xiph. Zon., om. VM.

BOOK LIII

every argument in its favour, until they forced him, B.C. 27
as it was made to appear, to assume autocratic power. His very first act was to secure a decree granting to the men who should compose his bodyguard double the pay that was given to the rest of the soldiers, so that he might be strictly guarded. When this was done, he was eager to establish the monarchy in very truth.

In this way he had his supremacy ratified by the senate and by the people as well. But as he wished even so to be thought democratic, while he accepted all the care and oversight of the public business, on the ground that it required some attention on his part, yet he declared he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of such provinces as he should govern he would not do so indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful, alleging that they were insecure and precarious and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this was that the senate might fearlessly enjoy the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was that by this arrangement the senators should be unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers. Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian districts, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of

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περὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου
 οἱ Πόντου, Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Βαιτικῆ τοῦ τε δήμου
 5 καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος ἢ τε
 λοιπὴ Ἰβηρία, ἢ τε περὶ Ταρράκωνα καὶ ἡ Λυσι-
 τανία, καὶ Γαλάται πάντες, οἳ τε Ναρβωνῆσιοι
 καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνῆσιοι Ἀκυιτανοί τε καὶ Βελγικοί,¹
 6 αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἔποικοί σφων· Κελτῶν γάρ τινες,
 οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ
 Ῥήνῳ Βελγικὴν² κατασχόντες Γερμανίαν ὀνο-
 μάζεσθαι ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν ἄνω τὴν μετὰ τὰς
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγὰς, τὴν δὲ κάτω τὴν μέχρι τοῦ
 7 ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ οὔσαν. ταῦτά τε οὖν
 καὶ ἡ Συρία ἡ κοίλη καλουμένη ἢ τε Φοινίκη καὶ
 Κιλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ
 Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε³ ἐγένοντο· ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν
 μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα
 τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δελματίαν
 8 ἀντέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν
 μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, ὡς που καὶ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ
 λόγου δηλώσει· ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὅτι νῦν
 χωρὶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ τό γε
 ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρια τὰ
 9 ἔθνη ἅμα ἦρχετο. τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ ἐμνη-
 μόνευσα, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὕστερον αὐτῶν προσεκλήθη,⁴
 τὰ δέ, εἰ καὶ τότε ἤδη ἐκεχείρωτο, ἄλλ' οὐτι γε
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦρχετο, ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτόνομα
 ἀφείτο ἢ καὶ βασιλείαις τισὶν ἐπετέτραπτο· καὶ

¹ Βελγικοί Bs., βελτικοί VM.

² Βελγικὴν Bs., βελτικὴν VM. ³ τότε M, om. V.

⁴ προσεκλήθη V, προσεκλήσθη M.



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αὐτῶν ὅσα μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφίκετο, τῷ αἰεὶ κρατοῦντι προσετέθη.

- 13 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη οὕτω διηρέθη, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς ὁ Καῖσαρ πόρρω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη· τοσοῦτῳ τε γὰρ χρόνῳ καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προσευεανιεύσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι, ἂν καὶ θᾶπτον ἡμερωθῆ, θᾶπτον
- 2 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει. κακ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκατέρων τῶν ἔθνων, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἄρχειν κατέδειξεν (ἐκείνοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις τὸν ὠνομασμένον ἰππέα, δι' ἃπερ εἶπον, προσέταξεν)· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπειθησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι, πλὴν εἴ τῳ πολυπαιδίας ἢ
- 3 γάμου προνομία προσείη, καὶ ἔκ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερουσίας συλλόγου πέμπεσθαι μήτε ξίφος παραζώννυμένους μήτε στρατιωτικῇ ἐσθῆτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
- 4 ἐστρατηγηκότων ἢ δοκούντων γε ἐστρατηγηκένοι μόνον ὄντας, ῥαβδούχοις τέ σφας ἐκατέρους ὅσοισπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει νενόμισται χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἅμα

¹ In li. 17, 1.

² The details of the earlier legislation of Augustus (cf. liv. 16, 1; lv. 2, 6) in the interest of more marriages and larger families are not clear; but as finally embodied in the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea* (cf. lvi. 10), the special privileges of a father of three legitimate children (the *ius trium liberorum*)

of them which came into the Roman empire after this period were added to the provinces of the one who was emperor at the time. B.C. 27

Such, then, was the apportionment of the provinces. And wishing, even then, to lead the Romans a long way from the idea that he was at all monarchical in his purposes, Caesar undertook for only ten years the government of the provinces assigned him; for he promised to reduce them to order within this period, and boastfully added that, if they should be pacified sooner, he would the sooner restore them, too, to the senate. Thereupon he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces, except Egypt. This province alone he assigned to a knight, the one we have already named,¹ for the reasons mentioned there. Next he ordained that the governors of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, chosen by lot, except when a senator enjoyed a special privilege because of the large number of his children or because of his marriage.² These governors were to be sent out by vote of the senate in public meeting; they were to carry no sword at their belt nor to wear military uniform; the name of proconsul was to belong not only to the two ex-consuls but also to the others who had merely served as praetors or who held at least the rank of ex-praetors; both classes were to employ as many lictors as were usual in the capital; and they were

included the right to receive inheritances left to bachelors (who could not inherit), preference in standing for the various offices, including the right to be a candidate before the regular age or without the usual interval between offices, precedence before equals and colleagues, and exemption from certain civic obligations.

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τῷ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ
 διὰ παντὸς μέχρις ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσιν ἔχειν ἐκέ-
 5 λευσε. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τε ἑαυτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι
 καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομά-
 ζεσθαι, κὰν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὦσι, διέταξε.
 τῶν γὰρ δὴ δύο τούτων ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν
 τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀνθησάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ στρατη-
 γοῦ τοῖς αἰρετοῖς ὡς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πάνυ ἀρχαίου προσῆκον ἔδωκεν, ἀντιστρατήγους
 σφᾶς προσειπών, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῖς
 ἑτέροις ὡς καὶ εἰρηνικωτέροις, ἀνθυπάτους αὐτοὺς
 6 ἐπικαλέσας. αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα, τό τε
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
 ἐτήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω πάντας ὡς καὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνων
 ἄρχοντας προσηγόρευσε. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπικλήσει
 τῇ τῶν ἀντιστρατήγων τοὺς αἰρετοὺς χρῆσθαι,
 καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν
 ἑαυτῷ δόξη, ἄρχειν ἐποίησε, τήν τε στρατιωτικὴν
 σκευὴν φοροῦντας καὶ ξίφος, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιώ-
 7 τας δικαιοῦσαι ἔξεστιν, ἔχοντας. ἄλλω γὰρ οὐδενὶ
 οὔτε ἀνθυπάτῳ οὔτε ἀντιστρατήγῳ οὔτε ἐπιτρόπῳ
 ξιφηφορεῖν δέδοται, ᾧ μὴ καὶ στρατιώτην τινὰ
 ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξεῖναι νενόμισται· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς
 βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσιν, οἷς τοῦθ'
 8 ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐκεῖνο συγκεχώρηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
 οὕτως ἔχει, ραβδούχοις δὲ δὴ πέντε πάντες ὁμοίως
 οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι χρῶνται, καὶ ὅσοι γε οὐκ ἐκ τῶν
 ὑπατευκότων εἰσὶ, καὶ ὀνομάζονται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ

¹ τῷ πολέμῳ M, τοῦ πολέμου V.

¹ *Legati Augusti pro praetore.*

² The expression to which Dio here refers is apparently the adjective *quinquefascalis*, found in inscriptional Latin.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἰριθμοῦ τούτου. τά τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας κοσμήματα, ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἐκάτεροι ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατίθενται.

14 Οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἕκ τε τῶν ἐστρατη-
 γηκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἄρχοντες ἀμφο-
 τέρωσε πέμπεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ
 μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι τέ τινα καὶ ὅποτε ἤθελεν
 ἔστελλε, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ
 ὑπατεύοντες ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἔσχον, ὃ καὶ¹ νῦν
 2 ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται· τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ^η ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς
 τε ὑπατευκόσι τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
 καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπέ-
 νειμε, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε
 μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι
 3 κληροῦσθαι. καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τινι πάντες οἱ
 τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦσαν, ἐλάγ-
 χανον αὐτά· ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ
 καλῶς ἦρχον, τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσ-
 ετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς τρόπον
 4 τινὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἰσαρίθμους τε γὰρ
 τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ οὓς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ, κληροῦσθαι
 κελεύει. αἰρετούς τέ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἔπεμψαν,
 καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἔστιν οἷς ἄρξαι
 ἐπέτρεψαν· καί τινες καὶ ἰππεῦσιν ἀντὶ τῶν
 βουλευτῶν ἔθνη τινὰ προσέταξαν.

¹ καὶ Bk., τε VM.

BOOK LIII

of their position of authority when they enter their appointed province and lay them aside immediately upon completing their term of office. B.C. 27

It was thus and on these conditions that the custom was established of sending out ex-praetors and ex-consuls respectively as governors of the two classes of provinces. In the one case, the emperor would commission a governor to any province he wished and when he wished, and many secured provincial commands while still praetors or consuls, as sometimes happens even at the present day. In the case of the senatorial provinces, he assigned Asia and Africa on his own responsibility to the ex-consuls, and all the other provinces to the ex-praetors; but by public decree, applicable to all the senatorial governors, he forbade the allotment of any senator to a governorship before the expiration of five years from the time he had held office in the city.¹ For a time all who fulfilled these requirements, even if they exceeded the number of the provinces, were allotted to governorships; but later, inasmuch as some of them did not govern well, the appointment of these officials, too, was put in the emperor's hands. And thus it is, in a manner of speaking, the emperor who assigns these governors also to their commands; for he always orders the allotment of precisely the number of governors that there are provinces, and orders to be drawn whomsoever he pleases. Some emperors have sent men of their own choosing to these provinces also, and have allowed certain of them to hold office for more than a year; and some have assigned certain provinces to knights instead of to senators.

¹ This was merely a renewal of the decree of 52 B.C. which had remained in force. Cf. xl. 46, 2, and lii. 20, 4.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 5 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε περὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς
 τοὺς γε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσίαν
 ἔχοντας ἐνομίσθη. πέμπονται γὰρ καὶ οἷς οὐκ
 ἔξεστι τοῦτο, ἐς μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς
 λεγόμενα ἔθνη οἷ τε ταμιεύοντες, οὓς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος
 ἀποδείξῃ, καὶ οἱ παρεδρεύοντες τοῖς τὸ κῦρος τῆς
 6 ἀρχῆς ἔχουσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὀρθῶς αὐτούς, οὐ
 πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, ὥσπερ
 εἶπον, καλέσαιμι, ἐπεὶ οἷ γε¹ ἄλλοι πρεσβευτὰς
 καὶ τούτους ἐλληνίζοντες ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ περὶ
 μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἀρκούντως ἐν τοῖς
 7 ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς
 ἑαυτῷ ἕκαστος αἰρεῖται, ἕνα μὲν οἱ ἐστρατηγηκότες
 ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων,
 τρεῖς δὲ οἱ ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὓς
 ἂν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ. ἐκαινοτομήθη
 μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ κατὰ τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταχὺ
 ἐπαύσατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι.
- 15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη ταῦθ' οὕτω
 γίγνεται· πέμπονται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἕτερα, τὰ τοῦ
 τε αὐτοκράτορος ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ πολιτικὰ στρα-
 τόπεδα πλείω ἐνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ὑπάρξοντές σφων,
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρα-
 τηγηκότων ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεταμιευκότων ἢ
 καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων
 αἰρούμενοι.

¹ γε H. Steph., τε VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 Τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευόντων ταῦτα ἔχεται, ἐκ
 3 ἐξ ἧ τῶν ἰππέων τοὺς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς
 βουλευσοντας¹ καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, ὧν περὶ τῆς
 διαφορᾶς ἄνω μὲν τοῦ λόγου προείρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ
 αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ τεῖχη μόνον
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικὰ ἀποστέλλει, ὥσπερ τότε
 3 πρὸς τοῦ² Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρό-
 πους (οὗτω γὰρ τοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους
 ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα σφίσι ἀναλί-
 σκοντας ὀνομάζομεν) ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ
 τε ἑαυτοῦ ὧν καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν
 ἰππέων τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει,
 πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ ἀνθύπατοι παρ'
 4 ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἐσπράσσουσιν. ἐντολὰς τέ τινας
 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε
 ἀντιστρατήγοις δίδωσιν, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐξίωσιν.
 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ³ μισθοφορὰν καὶ ἐκείνοις
 5 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδωσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν
 γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντές τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημο-
 σίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα
 παρέιχον· ἐπὶ δὲ ἧ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοὶ
 ἐκείνοι τακτὸν τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο⁴
 μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πᾶσι σφίσι, ἀλλ' ὅς που
 καὶ ἡ χρεία ἀπήτει, ἐτάχθη· καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρό-
 πους καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ⁵ ἀξιόματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσ-

¹ βουλευσοντας Birk., βουλεύσαντας VM.

² τοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ τοῦ VM.

⁴ τοῦτο B. Steph., τοῦ VM.

³ τὸ Bk., τὴν VM.

⁵ τὸ τοῦ Bk., τοῦτο VM.

BOOK LIII

These positions, then, appertain to the senators. B.C. 27
Passing now to the knights, the emperor himself selects knights to be sent out as military tribunes (both those who are prospective senators and the others; concerning their difference in rank I have already spoken¹), despatching some of them to take command of the garrisons of purely citizen-legions, and others of the foreign legions as well. In this matter he follows the custom then instituted by Caesar. The procurators (for this is the name we give to the men who collect the public revenues and make disbursements according to the instructions given them) he sends out to all the provinces alike, to those of the people as well as to his own, and to this office knights are sometimes appointed and sometimes even freedmen; but the proconsuls may exact the tribute from the people they govern. The emperor gives instructions to the procurators, the proconsuls, and the proprætors, in order that they may be under definite orders when they go out to their provinces. For both this practice and the giving of salaries to them and to the other officials was established at this time. In former times, of course, certain persons had made a business of furnishing the officials with all they needed for the conduct of their office, drawing upon the treasury for the money; but under Caesar these officials now for the first time began to receive a fixed salary. This was not assigned to them all on the same basis, but approximately as their needs required; and the procurators, indeed, get the very title of their rank from the amount of the salaries assigned to them.²

¹ In lii. 25, 6 f.

² i.e. *centenarii*, *ducenarii*, and *trecenarii*, receiving one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred thousand sesterces respectively.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 Τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευόντων ταῦτα ἔχεται, ἐκ
 δὲ δὴ τῶν ἰππέων τούς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς
 βουλευσοντας¹ καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, ὧν περὶ τῆς
 διαφορᾶς ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου προεῖρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ
 αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ τεῖχη μόνα
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικὰ ἀποστέλλει, ὥσπερ τότε
 3 πρὸς τοῦ² Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρό-
 πους (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους
 ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλί-
 σκοντας ὀνομάζομεν) ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τά
 τε ἑαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν
 ἰππέων τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει,
 πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ ἀνθύπατοι παρ'
 4 ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἐσπράσσουσιν. ἐντολὰς τέ τινας
 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε
 ἀντιστρατήγοις δίδωσιν, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐξίωσιν.
 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ³ μισθοφορὰν καὶ ἐκείνοις
 5 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν
 γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντές τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημο-
 σίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα
 παρείχον· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοὶ
 ἐκείνοι τακτόν τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο⁴
 μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πᾶσί σφισιν, ἀλλ' ὥς που
 καὶ ἡ χρεία ἀπήτει, ἐτάχθη· καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρό-
 πους καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ⁵ ἀξιώματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσ-

¹ βουλευσοντας Dind., βουλευσαντας VM.

² τοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ τοῦ VM.

³ τὸ Bk., τὴν VM.

⁴ τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦ VM.

⁵ τὸ τοῦ Bk., τοῦτο VM.



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- 6 γίγνεται. ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγους σφᾶς ποιείσθαι, μήτ' ἀργύριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἦτοι ἢ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο ἢ ὁ¹ αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειεν· ὅταν τέ τω ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανιέναι.
- 16 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὡς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη· τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεύων (λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο) καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρχήσειν ἔμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελθούσης ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, εἶτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἕτερα αὐθις δέκα καὶ ἄλλα δέκα,² πεμπτάκις³ αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ὥστε τῇ τῶν δεκετηρίδων⁴ διαδοχῇ διὰ βίου αὐτὸν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τὸν βίον ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὅμως διὰ τῶν δέκα αἰεὶ ἐτῶν ἐώρτασαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐθις τότε ἀνανεούμενοι· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.
- 4 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρότερον,⁵ ὅτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέχθη,⁶ ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ τό τε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων

¹ ὁ supplied by R. Steph.

² καὶ ἄλλα δέκα supplied by Mommsen.

³ πεμπτάκις Zon., πεμπτάκις & VM.

⁴ δεκετηρίδων Xiph., δεκαετηρίδων Zon., δεκετηρίων VM.

⁵ πρότερον Rk., πρότερα VM. ⁶ διελέχθη M, διελέγχθη V.

BOOK LIII

The following regulations were laid down for them all alike : they were not to raise levies of soldiers or to exact money beyond the amount appointed, unless the senate should so vote or the emperor so order ; and when their successors arrived, they were to leave the province at once, and not to delay on the return journey, but to get back within three months. B.C. 27

These regulations were established at that time, to speak generally ; for in reality Caesar himself was destined to have absolute control of all matters for all time, because he was not only master of the funds (nominally, to be sure, he had separated the public funds from his own, but as a matter of fact, he always spent the former also as he saw fit), but also commanded the soldiers. At all events, when his ten-year period came to an end, there was voted to him another five years, then five more, after that ten, and again another ten, and then ten for the fifth time, so that by the succession of ten-year periods he continued to be sole ruler for life. And it is for this reason that the subsequent emperors, though no longer appointed for a specified period, but for their whole life once for all, nevertheless always held a celebration every ten years, as if then renewing their sovereignty once more ; and this is done even at the present day.

Now Caesar had received many privileges and honours even previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence

αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν
 δρύινον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ ὡς καὶ αἰεὶ
 τοὺς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας
 5 σῶζοντι ἐψηφίσθη. (καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασίλεια
 παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξέ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ
 ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ
 Καῖσαρ ᾤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καί
 τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν
 φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους¹
 6 ἔλαβε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κἂν ἄλλοθί που ὁ αὐτο-
 κράτωρ καταλύη, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ἢ
 καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ ἴσχει). ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ
 αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
 ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου
 7 ἐπέθετο. βουλευθέντων γάρ σφων ἰδίως πως
 αὐτὸν προσειπεῖν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὸ τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ
 ἐσηγουμένων καὶ αἴρουμένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμει
 μὲν ἰσχυρῶς Ῥωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι, αἰσθόμενος
 δὲ ὅτι ὑποπτεύεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας
 8 ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ
 Αὐγουστος ὡς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους
 ὦν ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότερα καὶ τὰ
 ἱερώτατα αὐγουστα προσαγορεύεται. ἐξ οὐπερ
 καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντές πως, ὥσπερ
 τινὰ σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι,² προσεῖπον.

17 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερου-
 σίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη· μοναρχία
 γάρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα
 τὸ κῦρὸς ποτε ἔσχον, ἀληθέστατα ἂν νομίζοιτο.

¹ ὄρους R. Steph., ὄρου V, ὄρου Λ.

² σεβάζεσθαι Zon., σεβίζεσθαι VM.



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2 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οὕτω δὴ τι
 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμίσησαν ὥστε μήτε δικτάτορας μήτε
 βασιλέας μήτ' ἄλλο τι τοιουτότροπον τοὺς αὐτο-
 κράτορας σφῶν ὀνομάζειν· τοῦ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας
 τέλους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ
 3 βασιλεύονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν
 νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλήν τῆς τῶν
 τιμητῶν καθίστανται, διάγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται
 πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἂν ὁ αἰὲν κρατῶν ἐθελήσῃ.
 καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων
 τοῦτ' ἔχειν δοκῶσι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ
 μέγα παρ' ἐκοῦσί σφισιν ἴσχυσεν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς
 ὀνόμασι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορίας προσεποιή-
 4 σαντο. ὑπατοὶ τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίνονται, καὶ
 ἀνθύπατοι αἰεὶ, ὅσάκις ἂν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ᾧσιν,
 ὀνομάζονται· τὴν τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν
 διὰ παντὸς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντές τινες ἀλλὰ
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς αὐτοτε-
 λοῦς σφῶν ἐξουσίας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ
 5 τε δικτάτορος ἐπικλήσεως ἔχουσιν. αὐτὰς μὲν
 γὰρ ἐκείνας οὐ τίθενται, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἐκ τῆς
 πολιτείας ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔργον αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ
 αὐτοκράτορος προσηγορίᾳ βεβαιοῦνται. καὶ ἐκ
 μὲν τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖ-
 σθαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζειν πολέμους τε ἀναι-
 6 ρεῖσθαι καὶ εἰρήνην σπένδεσθαι, τοῦ τε ξενικοῦ
 καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως
 ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς
 ἵππέας καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι,

BOOK LIII

same time.¹ The name of monarchy, to be sure, the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort ; yet since the final authority for the government devolves upon them, they must needs be kings. The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor ; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the emperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship. Thus, they very often became consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The name of "*imperator*" is held by them all for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle, but also by those who have not, in token of their independent authority, and this has displaced the titles "king" and "dictator." These last titles they have never assumed since the time they first fell out of use in the conduct of the government, but the functions of those offices are secured to them under the appellation of "*imperator*." [By virtue of the titles named they secure the right to make levies, to collect funds, declare war, make peace, rule foreigners and citizens alike everywhere and always,—even to the extent of being able to put to death both knights and senators inside the pomerium,—and all the other

¹ See note on § 8 *inf.*

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11 λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς
 δημοκρατίας, ὡς που καὶ ἕκαστα ἐνομίσθη, οὕτω
 τε καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὅπως
 18 μηδὲν ἄνευ δόσεώς τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν· ἤδη δὲ
 καὶ ἕτερόν τι, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐς
 πάντα ἀντικρυσ ἐδόθη, προσεκτήσαντο, ὑφ' οὐπερ
 καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν καὶ τᾶλλα αὐτοῖς πράτ-
 τειν ἐξῆν. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ
 τὰ Λατῖνα ῥήματα λέγει· τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐλεύθεροι
 ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεώς εἰσι καὶ οὐδενὶ
 2 τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. καὶ οὕτως ἐκ
 τούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὀνομάτων πᾶσαν τὴν
 τῆς πολιτείας ἰσχὺν περιβέβληνται ὥστε καὶ τὰ
 τῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προση-
 γορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν. ἢ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ
 τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδε-
 μίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθησι, δηλοῖ δ' ἄλλως
 τὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχὴν, τὸ δὲ τὴν
 3 τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἢ γε τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἐπωνυμία τάχα μὲν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τινὰ
 αὐτοῖς, ἣν ποτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔσχον,
 κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ
 τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἔς τε τιμὴν καὶ ἐς
 παραίνεσιν, ἵν' αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς καὶ

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



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παῖδας ἀγαπῶεν καὶ ἐκεῖνοί σφας ὡς καὶ πατέρας αἰδῶνται.

- 4 Ἰσοσαῦταί τε καὶ τοιαῦται αἱ προσηγορίαι εἰσὶν αἷς οἱ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντες κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἤδη πάτριον νομίζουσι. καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἅμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους
5 ὡς ἕκασται ἐψηφίζοντο. τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἔλαβον μὲν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς¹ διὰ βίου· οὐ μόντοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο γίνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὔτε αἰροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτήν, οὔτε τῇ προσκλήσει² αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς χρῶνται.
- 19 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρὸς τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη· καὶ γὰρ πού και παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. οὐ μόντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πρα-
2 χθέντα λεχθῆναι δύναται. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρρω πού συμβαίη, ἐσεφέρετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες τε αὐτὰ ἐμάνθανον καὶ πολλοὶ συνέγραφον, κακὸν τούτου καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβῳ τινὰ καὶ χάριτι φιλίας τε καὶ ἔχθρᾳ τισὶν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψασι τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι
3 τοῖς δημοσίοις τρόπον τινὰ εὐρίσκετο. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δὲ πού τινα καὶ

¹ Δομιτιανὸς R. Steph., δομηγιανὸς VM.

² τῇ προσκλήσει Bs., τὴν πρόσκλησιν VM.

BOOK LIII

children, and to their subjects, that they should revere them as they would their fathers. B.C. 27

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

In this way the government was changed at that time for the better and in the interest of greater security; for it was no doubt quite impossible for the people to be saved under a republic. Nevertheless, the events occurring after this time can not be recorded in the same manner as those of previous times. Formerly, as we know, all matters were reported to the senate and to the people, even if they happened at a distance; hence all learned of them and many recorded them, and consequently the truth regarding them, no matter to what extent fear or favour, friendship or enmity, coloured the reports of certain writers, was always to a certain extent to be found in the works of the other writers who wrote of the same events and in the public records. But after this time most things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δημοσιευθείη, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξέλεγκτά γε¹ ὄντα ὑπισ-
 στείται· καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα
 πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατούντων τῶν τε παραδυνα-
 4 στευόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεύεται. καὶ
 κατὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γιγνόμενα θρυλεῖται,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάνυ συμβαίνοντα ἀγνοεῖται,
 πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλως πως ἢ ὡς πράττεται
 διαθροεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγε-
 θος τό τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλήθος δυσχερεστάτην
 5 τὴν² ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ
 Ῥώμῃ συχνὰ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ αὐτῆς πολλά,
 πρὸς τε τὸ πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν
 γίγνεταιί τι,³ περὶ ὧν τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως
 ἔξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γιγνώσκει, πλείστοι δ'
 6 ὅσοι οὐδ' ἀκούουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὅθεν-
 περ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἐξῆς, ὅσα γε⁴ καὶ ἀναγ-
 καῖον ἔσται εἰπεῖν, ὥς που καὶ δεδήμωται φράσω,
 εἴτ' ὄντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρως πως ἔχει. προσ-
 ἔσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, ἐς
 ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, ἐν οἷς ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θρυ-
 λούμενον ἠδυνήθην ἐκ πολλῶν ὧν ἀνέγνων ἢ καὶ
 ἤκουσα ἢ καὶ εἶδον τεκμήρασθαι.

20 Αὐγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡσπερ εἶπον,
 ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημείον οὐ σμικρὸν εὐθὺς
 τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγί-
 σασ παᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν
 ὥστε πλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντεις ὅτι τε

¹ γε R. Steph., τε VM Xiph. ² τὴν Xiph., om. VM.
³ τι VM, τινα Xiph. ⁴ γε H. Steph., τε VM.



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ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοι καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑπο-
 2 χειρίαν ἔξοι προέγνωσαν. χαριζομένων δ' αὐτῶ
 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα,¹ Σέξτος τις Πακού-
 ουιος,² ὡς δ' ἕτεροι λέγουσιν Ἀπούδιος, πάντα
 ἐξενίκησεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἑαυτόν τε οἱ
 τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς
 3 ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδὴ τε
 ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐμποδῶν οἱ ἐγένετο, πρὸς τε τὸ
 πλῆθος τὸ προσεστὸς ἐξεπήδησεν (ἐδημάρχει
 γάρ) καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς
 λοιπούς, κατὰ τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενω-
 πούς περινοστήσας, καθιερώσαί σφας τῷ Αὐ-
 4 γούστῳ κατηνάγκασεν· ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ νῦν προσ-
 τρεπόμενοι³ τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι
 “ σοι καθωσιώμεθα.”

Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θῦσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ παντας ἐποίει,
 ἐν τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμον ἔφη τὸν Αὐ-
 γουστον ἐξ ἴσου τῷ υἱεῖ καταλείψειν, οὐχ ὅτι
 τι εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ὃ καὶ
 21 ἐγένετο· Αὐγουστος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ
 προσήκοντα προθυμότερον, ὡς καὶ ἐθελοντὶ δὴ
 παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἐπραττε, καὶ ἐνο-
 μοθέτει πολλά. οὐδὲν δὲ δέομαι καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσα τῇ συγγραφῇ
 2 πρόσφορά ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 ἔπειτα πραχθεῖσι ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου

¹ ἄλλα M, ἄλλαι V. ² Πακούουιος Bk., πακούβιος VM.

³ προστρεπόμενοι Bk., προτρεπόμενοι VM.

BOOK LIII

soothsayers prophesied that he would rise to great heights and hold the whole city under his sway. And while various persons were trying to outbid one another in different kinds of flattery toward him, one Sextus Pacuvius, or, as others say, Apudius,¹ surpassed them all. In the open senate, namely, he dedicated himself to him after the fashion of the Spaniards² and advised the others to do the same. And when Augustus hindered him, he rushed out to the crowd that was standing near, and, as he was tribune, compelled first them and then the rest, as he went up and down the streets and lanes, to dedicate themselves to Augustus. From this episode we are wont even now to say, in appealing to the sovereign, "We have dedicated ourselves to you." B.C. 27

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

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

² According to Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 11), the Celtiberians thought it wrong to survive a battle when the leader for whose preservation they had vowed their life (*spiritum devoverant*) had perished. Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* iii. 22.

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γένωμαι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεσφέρων ἂ μὴδ'
 3 αὐτοὶ οἱ πάνυ αὐτὰ μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν. οὐ
 μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογνωμονῶν ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ'
 ἔστι μὲν ἂ καὶ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προεξετίθει, ὅπως,
 ἂν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ τινά, προμαθῶν ἐπανορθώσῃ·
 προετρέπετό τε γὰρ πάνθ' ὄντινούν συμβουλεύειν
 οἱ, εἴ τίς τι ἄμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσειεν, καὶ παρ-
 4 ρησίαν σφίσι πολλὴν ἔνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετέ-
 γραφε. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ἢ
 τὸν ὑπατον, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατεύοι, καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἓνα παρ' ἐκάστων, ἕκ τε τοῦ
 λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα
 τοὺς κλήρω¹ λαχόντας, συμβούλους ἐς ἑξάμηνον
 παρελάμβανεν, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 πᾶσι κοινοῦσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ νομοθετούμενα
 5 νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέφερε μὲν γὰρ τινα καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν
 τὴν γερουσίαν, βέλτιον μέντοι νομίζων εἶναι τὸ
 μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰ τε πλείω καὶ τὰ
 μείζω προσκοπεῖσθαι, τοῦτό τε ἐποίει καὶ ἔστιν
 6 ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ
 καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ βουλήν πᾶσα ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καί
 τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δήμων
 καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν, ὃ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς
 ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ συνελέγετο· οὐ
 μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετό τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἤρεσκε.²
 7 τοὺς γοῦν ἄρχοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος
 προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τε

¹ κλήρω Xiph., κλήρους VM.

² ἤρεσκε Xiph. Zon., ἤρεσεν VM.



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ὀμίλῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μήτ' ἀνεπιτήδειοι μήτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἢ καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀποδεικνύωνται.¹

22 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν διώκησε, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὅσα ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐφ' ² ὧν ἐγένετο, μνημονεύεσθαι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἔτει τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους δυσπορεύτους ὑπ' ἀμελείας ὁρῶν οὕσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι προσέταξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας³ αὐτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκστρατεύσειν δι' αὐτῆς ἤμελλεν, ἐπεμελήθη.

2 καὶ ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἀψίδων ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίδος γεφύρῃ καὶ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἐποιήθησαν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ὕστερον, εἴτ' οὖν πρὸς τοῦ δημοσίου, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἠδέως ἀνήλυσκεν, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τις εἰπεῖν ἐθέλει,

3 ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρίναι τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυροῦς, πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς δήμων τινῶν γεγονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἴκοθεν

4 πάνθ' ὅσα γε καὶ ἔλεγε δαπανᾶν δοκεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτ' εἴ ποτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ αἰεὶ κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὐτ' εἴ ποτε αὐτὸς ἔδωκε,⁴ γνώμην ἔχω συγγράψαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἐκᾶτερον αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τί ἂν τις ἐς δανείσματα ἢ καὶ δωρεὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταλέγοι,⁵ ὅποτε καὶ

¹ ἀποδεικνύωνται R. Steph., ἀποδείκνυνται VM Xiph. Zon.

² ἐφ' St., ὑφ' VM. ³ Φλαμινίας R. Steph., φλαμηνίας VM.

⁴ ἔδωκε R. Steph., ἔλαβε VM.

⁵ καταλέγοι Reim., καὶ λέγοι VM.

BOOK LIII

to the ancient custom and left them under the control of the people and the plebs, yet he took care that none should be appointed who were unfit or as the result of partisan cliques or bribery. B.C. 27

It was in this way, broadly speaking, that he administered the empire. I shall now relate in detail also such of his acts as call for mention, together with the names of the consuls under whom they were performed. In the year already named, perceiving that the roads outside the walls had become difficult to travel as the result of neglect, he ordered various senators to repair the others at their own expense, and he himself looked after the Flaminian Way, since he was going to lead an army out by that route. This road was finished promptly at that time, and statues of Augustus were accordingly erected on arches on the bridge over the Tiber and at Ariminum ; but the other roads were repaired later, at the expense either of the public (for none of the senators liked to spend money upon them) or of Augustus, as one chooses to put it. For I am unable to distinguish between the two funds, no matter how extensively Augustus coined into money silver statues of himself which had been set up by certain of his friends and by certain of the subject peoples, purposing thereby to make it appear that all the expenditures which he claimed to be making were from his own means. Therefore I have no opinion to record as to whether a particular emperor on a particular occasion got the money from the public funds or gave it himself. For both courses were frequently followed ; and why should one enter such expenditures as loans or as gifts respectively, when both the people and the emperor

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τούτοις καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπίκοινον αἰεὶ χρῶνται;

5 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ¹ Αὐγούστος ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐνδιέτριψεν· ἐκείνοί τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαί² οἱ ἐδόκουν, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκατάστατα ἔτι, ἅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων εὐθύς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει σφῶν ἐπιγενομένων, ἦν. καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. κἀντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην.

23 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο αὐτός τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Γαύρῳ τῷ Στατιλίῳ ὑπάτευσε, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας
2 τὰ Σέπτα ὠνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν· ὁδὸν μὲν γὰρ³ οὐδεμίαν ἐπισκευάσειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ στοαῖς περίξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συνωκοδομημένα καὶ πλαξὶ λιθίνοις καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου προσ-
3 αγορεύσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως φθόνον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὠφλίσκενεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων
4 ἐτιμᾶτο (αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὰ φιλανθρωπότατα καὶ τὰ εὐκλεέστατα τὰ τε συμφωρότατα καὶ συμβουλευῶν οἱ καὶ συμπράττων οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἀντεποιεῖτο, ταῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς οὔτε ἐς πλεονεξίαν οὔτε ἐς ἀπόλαυσιν ἰδίαν ἐχρῆτο, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ

¹ δ supplied by R. Steph.

² ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαι Cobet, ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι VM.

³ γὰρ L, om. V.



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5 τῷ¹ δημοσίῳ συμφέρον), ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνή-
 λιος καὶ ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. πολλὰ μὲν
 γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αὐγούστου ἀπελήρει,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὄλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
 ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυρα-
 6 μίδας ἐσέγραψε.² κατηγορήθη τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Λάργου, ἐταίρου τέ οἱ καὶ συμ-
 βιωτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἠτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου,
 ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαιτᾶ-
 σθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ
 συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς
 7 ἀπήνεγκαν,³ καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἅπασα ἰλῶναί τε
 αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας
 στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δοθῆναι
 καὶ ἑαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 περιαλγήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο,
 24 τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον καὶ ἐκ τούτου
 διηλέγχθη ὅτι ἐκείνόν τε, ὃν τέως ἐκολάκευον,
 οὕτω τότε διέθηκαν ὥστε καὶ αὐτοχειρία ἀπο-
 θανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάργον ἀπέ-
 κλιναν, ἐπειδήπερ αὖξιν ἤρχετο, μέλλοντές που
 καὶ κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτά, ἂν γέ τι τοιοῦτόν οἱ
 2 συμβῆ, ψηφιεῖσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Προκουλείος⁴
 οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχευ ὥστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ
 αὐτῷ τήν τε ῥίνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ
 χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὅτι
 μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαί τινι παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια

¹ τῷ cod. Peir., om. VM.

² ἐσέγραψε Xiph., ἐσέγραφε VM cod. Peir.

³ ἀπήνεγκαν Pflugk, ἐπήνεγκαν VM cod. Peir.

⁴ Προκουλείος Bs., προκούλιος VM Xiph., Προκουλήιος Leuncl.

BOOK LIII

of the public. On the other hand, Cornelius Gallus B.C. 26 was encouraged to insolence by the honour shown him. Thus, he indulged in a great deal of disrespectful gossip about Augustus and was guilty of many reprehensible actions besides; for he not only set up images of himself practically everywhere in Egypt, but also inscribed upon the pyramids a list of his achievements. For this act he was accused by Valerius Largus, his comrade and intimate, and was disfranchised by Augustus, so that he was prevented from living in the emperor's provinces. After this had happened, many others attacked him and brought numerous indictments against him. The senate unanimously voted that he should be convicted in the courts, exiled, and deprived of his estate, that this estate should be given to Augustus, and that the senate itself should offer sacrifices. Overwhelmed by grief at this, Gallus committed suicide before the decrees took effect; and the insincerity of the majority of people was again proved by his case, in that they now treated the man whom formerly they had been wont to flatter in such a way that they forced him to die by his own hand, and then went over to Largus because he was beginning to grow powerful—though they were certain to vote the same measures against him also, if a similar situation should arise in his case. Proculeius, however, conceived such contempt for Largus that once, on meeting him, he clapped his hand over his nose and mouth, thereby hinting to the bystanders that it was not safe even to breathe in the

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- 3 εἶη. ἄλλος τέ τις προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῷ, καίπερ ἀγνώως ὢν, μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνωρίζοι ἑαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξηρνήσατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἄρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν τῷ κακῷ καὶ ὄν οὐκ ἤδει πρότερον συκοφαντῆσαι.
- 4 οὕτω δ' οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ἔργα τινῶν, κὰν πονηρὰ ᾖ, μᾶλλον ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὰ παθήματα φυλάσσονται, ὥστε, καὶ τότε Μάρκος Ἐγνάτιος¹ Ῥούφος ἀγορανομησας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς πράξας καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐμπρησθείσαις ἐπικουρίαν μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ
- 5 διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβῶν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθείς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ ὀλόκληρον
- 6 τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Αὔγουστος ὀργὴν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν ἐκδιδάξειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔμελλε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις παραχρῆμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαί τε ὅπως μηδὲν ἐμπίμπρηται, κὰν ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, κατασβεννύναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε.
- 25 Κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ἐς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἀνεγράφη,² καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα
- 2 τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη· τὸν τε Αὔγουστον ἐς τὴν

¹ Ἐγνάτιος H. Steph., αἰγνάτιος VM cod. Peir.

² ἀνεγράφη Naber, ἐνεγράφη VM.



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Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογήσαι,
 στρατευσείοντα κατέσχον οἳ τε Σάλασσοι ἐπανα-
 στάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἳ τε Ἄστυρες
 πολεμωθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς
 Ἄλπεις, ὡς περ εἴρηταί μοι, οὗτοι δὲ ἐκότεροι τοῦ
 τε Πυρρηναίου τοῦ¹ πρὸς τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸ καρτερώ-
 3 τατον καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὔσαν. δι'
 οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος (ἤδη δὲ ἕνατον μετὰ
 Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευεν) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σα-
 λάσσους Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ἐπεμψε. καὶ ὅς
 πολλαχῇ ἅμα, ὅπως μὴ συστραφέντες δυσχειρω-
 τότεροι γένωνται, ἐμβαλὼν ῥᾶστά τε αὐτούς, ἅτε
 καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσπίπτουτάς σφισιν, ἐνίκησε,
 4 καὶ συμβῆναι καταναγκάσας ἀργύριόν τέ τι
 ῥητόν, ὡς καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν ἄλλο δράσων, ἤτησε,
 κακ τούτου² πανταχῇ πρὸς τὴν ἔσπραξιν δῆθεν
 αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας διαπέμψας συνέλαβέ τε τοὺς
 ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδεὶς σφῶν
 5 ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθείη. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ
 ἀρίστη τῆς γῆς τῶν τε δορυφόρων τισὶν ἐδόθη,
 καὶ πόλιν τὴν Αὐγουσταν πραιτωριανῶν ὠνομα-
 σμένην ἔσχεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος πρὸς τε τοὺς
 Ἀστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους ἅμα ἐπολέ-
 μησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε προσεχώρουν οἳ ἅτε³ ἐπὶ
 6 τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἐπαιρόμενοι, μήτε ἐς χεῖρας διὰ τε
 τὸ τῷ πλήθει ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντιστὰς
 τὸ πλεῖστον εἶναι ἦσαν,⁴ καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρά-

¹ τοῦ Reim., τοῦ τε VM.

² τούτου R. Steph., τούτου τοῦ M, τούτου τε V.

³ οἳ ἅτε Dind., ἅτε Bk., οἳά τε VM. ⁴ ἦσαν Dind., ἦσαν VM.

BOOK LIII

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

B.C. 26

B.C. 25

¹ Probably in a lost portion of the work, perhaps Book xxii. Cf. Frag. 74 and Book xlix. 34. ² The modern Aosta.

γματα αὐτῷ πολλά, εἴ που κινηθείη, τά τε ὑπερ-
 δέξια αἰὲν προκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις
 τοῖς τε ὑλώδεσιν ἐνεδρεύοντες παρείχον, ἐν ἀπόρῳ
 7 παντάπασιν ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕκ τε τοῦ
 καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρρά-
 κωνα ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἠρρώσκει· Γάιος δὲ
 Ἄντίστιος προσεπολέμησέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ
 συχνὰ κατειργάσατο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ
 8 Αὔγουστου στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καταφρονή-
 σαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὁμόσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
 ἐχώρησαν καὶ ἐνικήθησαν.¹ καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνός τέ
 τινα ἔλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταῦτα Καρίσιος τήν
 τε Λαγκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀστύρων πόλισμα
 ἐκλειφθὲν εἶλε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο.
 26 Πausαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὔγου-
 στος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανία τὴν Αὔγου-
 σταν Ἡμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ
 τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔτ' ἔχουσι θέας τινὰς
 διὰ τε τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὡς
 καὶ ἀγορανομούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις²
 2 ἐποίησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰούβᾳ τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας
 τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπέειπερ ἐς τὸν τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο,
 3 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἔδωκε· τοῦ δ'
 Ἀμύντου τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε,
 καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας
 Ῥωμαῖον ἄρχοντα ἔσχε, τά τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς
 Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντᾳ προσνεμη-

¹ ἐνικήθησαν M, ἐκινήθησαν V.

² τοῖς στρατοπέδοις R. Steph., στρατοῖς VM.



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4 θέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν
 τοῦτον χρόνον Μάρκος Οὐνίκιος Κελτῶν τινὰς
 μετελθὼν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν χώραν
 σφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐσελθόντας συλλα-
 βόντες ἐφθειραν, τὸ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ
 5 αὐτοκράτορος τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἐψη-
 φίσθη μὲν πρὸς καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε γενομένοις·
 ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀψίς τε ἐν
 ταῖς¹ Ἄλπεσι τροπαιοφόρος² οἱ ὠκοδομήθη, καὶ
 ἐξουσία ἐδόθη τοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα καὶ
 τῷ³ στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ νικητηρίᾳ αἰεὶ
 χρῆσθαι.

Αὐγουστος μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
 ἔπραξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἴανου τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθὲν δι'
 27 αὐτοῦς ἐκλείσεν,⁴ Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἄστυ
 τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν
 στοᾶν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὠνομασμένην καὶ ἐξω-
 κοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργο-
 ναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατή-
 ριον τὸ Λακωνικὸν κατεσκεύασε· Λακωνικὸν γὰρ
 τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦ-
 σθαί τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα
 2 ἐδόκουν, ἐπεκάλεσε. τό τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον
 ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι
 πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ
 Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ
 νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὄν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν.
 3 ἠβουλήθη μὲν οὖν⁵ ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὐγου-

¹ ταῖς Bk., τοῖς VM.

³ τῷ Bk., τῷ τε VM.

⁵ οὖν M, om. V.

² τροπαιοφόρος M, τροπαιοφόροις V.

⁴ ἐκλείσεν M, om. V.

BOOK LIII

district. About this same time Marcus Vinicius B.C. 25 took vengeance upon some of the Germans because they had arrested and slain Romans who entered their country to trade with them; and thus he, too, caused the title of *imperator* to be bestowed upon Augustus. For this and his other exploits of this period a triumph, as well as the title, was voted to Augustus; but as he did not care to celebrate it, a triumphal arch was erected in the Alps in his honour and he was granted the right always to wear both the crown and the triumphal garb on the first day of the year.

After these achievements in the wars Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of these wars. Meanwhile Agrippa beautified the city at his own expense. First, in honour of the naval victories he completed the building called the Basilica of Neptune and lent it added brilliance by the painting representing the Argonauts. Next he constructed the Laconian sudatorium. He gave the name "Laconian" to the gymnasium because the Lacedaemonians had a greater reputation at that time than anybody else for stripping and exercising after anointing themselves with oil. Also he completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens.¹ Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to

¹ The present Pantheon, as is now recognized, dates from the reign of Hadrian. The vast rotunda is surmounted by a dome, in the centre of which there is a circular opening nearly thirty feet in diameter for the admission of light.

στον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσαι, τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος,¹ ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας
 4 ἕστησε. καὶ ἐγίγνετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἠτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐτί-
 5 μησε. τοὺς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς τε θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυνηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε² ποιῆσαι δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπὼν ἐώρτασε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκία ἢ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὄρει, ἢ πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γενομένη ὕστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλα δοθεῖσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλα ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν
 6 σύνοικον ἐποιήσατο. οὗτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐγαυροῦτο, καί τις Γάιος Θοράνιος αἰτίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχευ, ὅτι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐξελεύθερόν τινος ὄντα, ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαθίστατο. Πούπλιός τε Σερουίλιος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἄρκτους τε τριακοσίας καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἕτερα θηρία ἴσα ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.

28 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου δέκατον ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ἤρξε, καὶ ἐν τε τῇ νομηνία ὄρκους ἢ βουλὴν βεβαιοῦσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ

¹ Καίσαρος M, κτίσματος V.

² τότε M, τοῦτο V



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἤδη τῇ πόλει ἠγγέλθη (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἄρρωστίας ἐχρόνισε) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, 2 τό τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον ἐκτεθῆναι πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἐκείνη συνδόξη, πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπήλλαξαν, ἴν', ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελῆς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὅσα βούλοιτο ποιοίη καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄβουλοίη¹ 3 μὴ πράττη. ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημοῦντι ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τε τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλευεῖν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἢ περ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο 4 ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη· καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτος μὲν ταμίας ἐκείνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν. τῶν τε ταμιευσόντων ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιλειπόντων ἐκκληρώθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἄνω ἐτῶν ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεταμιευκότες.

29 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι οἳ τε Ἄστυρες, ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς καταλιπών, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἐκφῆναί οἱ, σίτόν τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βούλεσθαι

¹ ἄβουλοίη Dind., ἄ βουλοίη VM.

BOOK LIII

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

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

¹ See chap. 18.

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2 ἔφασαν, καὶ τούτου στρατιώτας συχνούς ὡς καὶ κομιούντας αὐτὰ λαβόντες ἔς τε χωρία αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδειά σφισιν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατεφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤσθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν δηωθείσης καὶ τειχῶν τινῶν καυθέντων, τό τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀλισκομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχέως ἐχειρώθησαν.

3 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἄλλη τις στρατεία καινὴ ἀρχὴν τε ἅμα καὶ τέλος ἔσχεν· ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἧς Σαβῶς ἐβασίλευεν,¹ Αἴλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
4 ἀρχῶν ἐπεστράτευσεν. καὶ ἔς μὲν ὄψιν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν γε πρώτην ἦλθεν, οὐ μὲν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρει· ἢ τε γὰρ ἐρημία² καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τὰ τε ὕδατα φύσιν τινὰ ἀτοπον ἔχοντα πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὥστε τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ
5 φθαρῆναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὅμοιον ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ἔς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκήψαν ἐξήραινεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτίκα ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγιγνομένων ἔς τε τὰ σκέλη κατῆει, πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνα³ ἐλυμαίνετο, ἱαμά τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις ἔλαιον οἴνω μεμιγμένον καὶ ἔπιε
6 καὶ ἠλείψατο. ὅπερ πού πάνυ ὀλίγοις σφῶν ὑπῆρξε ποιῆσαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάδατο.⁴ κὰν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροί

¹ ἐβασίλευεν M Xiph. (cod. V) Zon., ἐβασίλευσεν V Xiph. (cod. C). ² ἐρημία R. Steph., ἡρεμία VM.

³ ἐκεῖνα Bk., ἐκεῖνά τε VM.

⁴ προπαρεσκευάδατο Bk., προπαρεσκευάσαντο VM, (ἐκεῖνοις) προπαρεσκευάστο Zon.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 σφισι προσεπέθεντο. τέως μὲν γὰρ ἤττους, ὅποτε
γε καὶ¹ προσμίξειαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τινα
καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλλον· τότε δὲ συμμάχῳ τῇ νόσῳ
αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τά τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ
ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς
8 χώρας. πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι, νομίζω
δ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀρα-
βίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον· μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἀθλούλων
καλουμένων, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐχώρησαν.

30 Ὁ δ' Αὐγουστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου
Πίσωνος ἄρξας ἠρρώστησεν αὐθις, ὥστε μηδεμίαν
ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν· πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ
τελευτήσων διέθετο, καὶ τὰς τε² ἀρχὰς τοὺς τε
ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν
ἰππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε,
2 καίτοι τὸν Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ἐς
τοῦτο προσδοκῶντων, διαλεχθεὶς δὲ τινα αὐτοῖς
περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι
τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς
βιβλίον ἐσγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸν
3 δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἔτι³
μηδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον
Ἀντώνιος τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ
ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσωσε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρή-
ματα παρά τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ παρά τῆς
βουλῆς πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις (ἀπε-
λεύθερος γὰρ ἦν) χρῆσθαι τήν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ
ἐαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνουσι, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε
οὔσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἔλαβεν.
4 ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τά τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς

¹ γε καὶ M Xiph., γε V. ² τὰς τε Xiph., τὰς γε VM.

³ ἔτι "N" in Reimar's ed., ὅτι VM.

BOOK LIII

upon them. For hitherto they had been defeated B.C. 24
whenever they joined battle, and had even been
losing some places; but now, with the disease as
their ally, they not only won back their own posses-
sions, but also drove the survivors of the expedition
out of the country. These were the first of the
Romans, and, I believe, the only ones, to traverse
so much of this part of Arabia for the purpose of
making war; for they advanced as far as the place
called Athlula, a famous locality.¹

When Augustus was consul for the eleventh time, B.C. 23
with Calpurnius Piso, he fell so ill once more as to
have no hope of recovery; at any rate, he arranged
everything as if he were about to die, and gathered
about him the magistrates and the foremost senators
and knights. He did not, to be sure, appoint a suc-
cessor, though all were expecting that Marcellus
would be preferred for this position, but after talking
with them awhile about the public affairs, he gave
Piso the list of the forces and of the public revenues
written in a book, and handed his ring to Agrippa.
And although he lost the power of attending even
to the most urgent matters, yet a certain Antonius
Musa restored him to health by means of cold baths
and cold potions. For this, Musa received a great deal
of money from both Augustus and the senate, as well
as the right to wear gold rings (for he was a freed-
man), and he was granted exemption from taxes,
both for himself and for the members of his profes-
sion, not only those living at the time but also those
of future generations. But it was fated that he who
had taken to himself the functions of Fortune or

¹ The place has not been identified; Strabo (xvi. 4, 24) calls it Athrula.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πεπρωμένης ἔργα προσποιούμενον παρὰ πόδας
 ἀλῶναι, ὁ μὲν Αὐγουστος οὕτως ἐσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ
 Μάρκελλος νοσήσας οὐ πολλῶ ὑστερον καὶ τὸν
 αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μούσα τρόπον
 5 θεραπευόμενος ἀπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγουστος
 δημοσίᾳ τε ἔθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ὡσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ
 ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὃ ὠκοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε
 μνήμῃ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν
 6 ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Μαρκέλλου δὲ ὠνομασμένου
 ἐτίμησεν, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον
 χρυσοῦν δίφρον τε ἀρχικὸν ἐς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ
 μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθε-
 σθαι ἐκέλευσε.

31 Ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἔπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς
 τὰς διαθήκας ἐσήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ
 ἀναλέξασθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος¹ τοῖς ἀν-
 θρώποις ὅτι οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλε-
 λοιπῶς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνέγνω· οὐδεὶς γὰρ
 2 ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐθαύμαζον μέντοι καὶ πάνυ πάντες
 αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ ὡς γαμβρὸν καὶ
 ὡς ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ ἄλλας τε αὐτῶ τιμὰς
 διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας
 3 ἐπετέλει συνδιαθεὶς λαμπρῶς, ὥστε τὴν τε ἀγο-
 ρὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θέρει² παραπετάσμασι κατὰ
 κορυφὴν διαλαβεῖν καὶ ὀρχηστήν τινα ἰππέα
 γυναικὰ τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεῖν,
 ὅμως τὴν μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 4 τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μεираκίου γνώμῃ ἐθάρσει,

¹ ἐνδεικνύμενος M Zon., ἐνδεικνυμένοις V.

² θέρει Bk. following Xiph., θέρει ἐν VM.



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ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι
 ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ἐκείνου
 λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν· εὖ τε γὰρ ἠπίστατο προσφιλή
 σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ
 ἐβούλετο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπε-
 32 σθαι. ῥαῖσας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον
 οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππα διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα,
 ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ
 διατριβὴ τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῳ
 οὔσι συμβῆ, ἔστειλε. καὶ ὅς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως
 εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν
 ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μάλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε
 μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν
 Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.

2 Ταῦτά τε οὕτως ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐποίησε, καὶ
 στρατηγούς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλείονων δεόμενος,
 ἀπέδειξε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο.
 ἔμελλον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπερ καὶ
 πρόσθεν ποιήσειν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὅσα
 3 ἔτη γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἕκαστα,
 ἀπέειπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ¹ Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθών·
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ἐξ οὐπερ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη,
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δι' ἔτους ἦρξαν, ἐπι-
 σχεῖν τε τοῦτο αὐθις, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστοι ὑπα-
 τεύωσιν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως αὐτὸ

¹ τὸ supplied by Bs.

¹ D. Magie ("The Mission of Agrippa to the Orient in 23 B.C.," in *Classical Philology*, iii., 1908, 145 ff.) points out the difficulties in the popular version of Agrippa's journey to Lesbos, and suggests that he was in reality sent out by

BOOK LIII

ment, and that he either wished the people to regain their liberty or for Agrippa to receive the leadership from them. For he well understood that Agrippa was exceedingly beloved by them and he preferred not to seem to be committing the supreme power to him on his own responsibility. When he recovered, therefore, and learned that Marcellus because of this was not friendly toward Agrippa, he immediately sent the latter to Syria, so that no occasion for scoffing or for skirmishing might arise between them by their being together.¹ And Agrippa straightway set out from the city, but did not reach Syria; instead, acting with even more than his usual moderation,² he sent his lieutenants thither, and tarried himself in Lesbos.

Besides doing all these things in the manner related, Augustus appointed ten praetors, feeling that he no longer required a larger number;³ and this happened for several years. Most of them were to perform the same duties as formerly, but two were to be in charge of the financial administration each year. Having arranged these matters in detail, he went to the Alban Mount and resigned the consulship. For ever since conditions had become settled, both he himself and most of his colleagues had held the office for the whole year, and he now wished to end this practice, in order that as many as possible might become consuls; and he resigned outside the

Augustus on a diplomatic mission calling for secrecy—nothing less, in fact, than for the purpose of inducing Phraates to return the captured Roman standards and receive in return his son. Cf. chap. 33, 2 *inf.*

² Cf. liv. 11, 6.

³ Under Julius Caesar the number had been as high as sixteen; see xliii. 49, 1, and 51, 4.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 ἐποίησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῆ. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ
 ἔπαινον ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Σή-
 στιον ἀνθείλετο, αἰεὶ τε τῷ Βρούτῳ συσπουδά-
 σαντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύ-
 σαντα, καὶ ἔτι καὶ τότε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ
 καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἐπαίνους ποιούμενον·
 τό τε γὰρ φιλικὸν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησε·
 5 καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ γερουσία δήμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν
 διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν
 αὐτῷ περὶ ἐνός τινος ὅπου ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καθ'
 ἑκάστην βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ, ἔδωκε τήν τε
 ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔσαι καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὥστε
 μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατα-
 τίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μήτ' αὐθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν
 τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόν-
 6 των ἰσχύειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος
 καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορες ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι
 τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρή-
 σαντο· τὸ γὰρ τοι ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων
 οὗθ' ὁ Αὐγουστος οὗτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ
 ἔσχε.

33 Καί μοι δοκεῖ ταῦθ' οὕτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολα-
 κείας ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τιμηθεῖς λαβεῖν. τά τε
 γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέροις σφίσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης¹ αὐτός, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ
 Φραάτου πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς ἀντενεκάλουν ἀλλή-
 λους ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλήν αὐτοὺς ἐσήγαγε·
 2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διά-

¹ Τιριδάτης Dind., τειριδάτης VM (and similarly just below).



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γνωσιν τὸν μὲν Τιριδάτην τῷ Φραάτῃ οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτῷ, ὃν πρότερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἀλόντα κομίσασθαι.

3 Κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμον τέ τινα τῶν καταδεεστέρων ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούριος, καίτοι προηγορανομηκῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, διεδέξατο, ὅπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μνημονεύεται γενόμενον· κὰν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς δύο καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπολιάρχησαν, καὶ εἰς γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐς μεράκιά¹ πω τελῶν ὅμως ἤρξεν.

4 Αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν ἡ Λιουία τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχευ, ὅτι τῶν υἱέων αὐτῆς προετετίμητο· ἐς ἀμφίβολον δ' οὖν ἡ ὑποψία αὕτη καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔπειτα, οὕτω νοσωδῶν γενομένων² ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐ-
5 τοῖς ἀπολέσθαι, κατέστη. καὶ φιλεῖ γάρ πως αἰεὶ τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, ὃ τε Τίβερις αὐξηθεὶς τήν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε·

¹ μεράκιά ν. Herw., μεράκιόν VM.

² νοσωδῶν γενομένων Bk., νοσώδους γενομένου VM.

BOOK LIII

surrender Tiridates to Phraates, but sent back to the latter his son whom he had once received from him and was keeping,¹ on condition that the captives and the military standards taken in the disasters of Crassus and of Antony should be returned. B.C. 23

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

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

¹ Cf. li. 18, 3.

² By "minor" and "major" aediles Dio means the plebeian and curule aediles respectively.

BOOK LIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων¹ κατέστησαν.
 β. Ὡς ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ σιτηρεσίου ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων¹ κατέστησαν.
 γ. Ὡς Νώρικον² ἐάλω.
 δ. Ὡς Ῥαιτία ἐάλω.
 ε. Ὡς αἱ Ἄλπειαι ἀπαραθαλάσσιοι Ῥωμαίων ἀκούειν ἤρξαντο.
 ζ. Ὡς τὸ³ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καθιερώθη.
 η. Ὡς τὸ³ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου θέατρον καθιερώθη.
 θ. Ὡς Ἀγρίππας ἀπέθανε καὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον Αὐγουστος ἐκτήσατο.
 ι. Ὡς τὰ Αὐγουστάλια κατέστη.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Μ. Κλαύδιος⁴ Μ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος Αἰσερνῖνος⁵ ὕπ.
 Α. Ἀρρύντιος Α. υἱ.
 Μ. Λόλλιος⁶ Μ. υἱ.⁷
 Κ.⁸ Αἰμίλιος Μ. υἱ.⁹ Λέπιδος ὕπ.
 Μ. Ἀπουλείος¹⁰ Σέξτου υἱ. ὕπ.
 Π. Σίλιος¹¹ Π. υἱ. Νέρουας
 Γ. Σέντιος Γ. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος
 Κ.¹² Λουκρήτιος Κ. υἱ. Οὔσπίλλων¹³ ὕπ.
 Γν. Κορνήλιος Α. υἱ. Λεντούλος
 Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντούλος Μαρκελλῖνος ὕπ.
 Γ. Φούρνιος Γ. υἱ.¹⁴
 Γ. Ἰούνιος¹⁵ Ε. υἱ. Σιλανδς ὕπ.

¹ ἐστρατηγηκότων Μ, ἐκστρατηγηκότων V.
² Νώρικον Bs., Νώρικος VM. ³ τὸ supplied by Bs.
⁴ Κλαύδιος H. Steph., κλ' VM.
⁵ Αἰσερνῖνος Xyl., αἰσέρινος M, διαερῖνος V.
⁶ Μ. Λόλλιος supplied by Xyl.
⁷ Μ. υἱ supplied by Bs. ⁸ Κ. supplied by Xyl.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Α. Δομίτιος Γν. υί.¹ Γν. ἔγγ. Ἀηνόβαρβος² ὑπ.³
 Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υί. Η. ἔγγ. Σκιπίων
 Μ. Λίουσιος⁴ Α. υί. Δροῦσος Λίβων
 Α. Καλπούρνιος Α. υί. Πίσων Φροῦγι⁵ ὑπ.³
 Μ. Λικίννιος Μ. υί. Κράσσος⁶
 Γν. Κορνήλιος Γν. υί. Λεντούλος ὑπ.
 Τιβ. Κλαύδιος⁷ Τιβ. υί. Νέρων ὑπ.
 Η. Κυντίλιος⁸ Σέξτου υί. Οὐᾶρος
 Μ. Οὐαλέριος⁹ Μ.¹⁰ υί. Μεσσάλας Βάρβατος¹¹ ὑπ.
 Π. Σουλπίκιος Π. υί. Κυρίνιος
 Παῦλος Φάβιος¹² Κ. υί. Μάξιμος ὑπ.
 Κ. Αἴλιος¹³ Κ. υί. Τουβέρων
 Ἰουῦλλος¹⁴ Ἀντώνιος¹⁵ Μ. υί. ὑπ.¹⁶
 Ἀφρικανδς Κ. Φάβιος Κ. υί.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ¹⁷ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε
 Μάρκελλος καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρούντιος ὑπάτευσαν,
 ἢ τε πόλις πελαγίσαντος αὐθις τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 ἐπλεύσθη, καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη
 καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ὥστε καὶ
 τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεῖν.
 πονούμενοι οὖν ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 2 λιμοῦ (ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάσῃ ὁ λοιμὸς
 ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς εἰργάσατο· δοκῶ δ'
 ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω χωρίοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σὺνη-
 νέχθη) νομίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἄλλως σφίσι
 ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ τότε ὑπα-
 3 τεύοντα τὸν Αὐγούστον ἔσχον, δικτάτορα αὐτὸν
 ἠθέλησαν προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τὴν τε βουλήν

¹ Γν. υί. R. Steph., λν υί. VM.

² Ἀηνόβαρβος R. Steph., ἀνηόβαρβος M, ἀννόβαρβος V.

³ ὑπ. supplied by Bs.

⁴ Λίουσιος Leopard, λ ιούνιος M, λ ούνιος V.

⁵ Φροῦγι (Φρυγι) R. Steph., φούρτιος VM.

⁶ υί. Κράσσος supplied by Xyl.

⁷ Τιβ. Κλαύδιος H. Steph., τ β κλ V, τιβ. κλ. M.

⁸ Κυντίλιος Xyl., κ υι VM.

BOOK LIV

B.C.

- 16 L. Domitius Cn. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius P. F. P. N. Scipio.
- 15 M. Livius L. F. Drusus Libo, L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso Frugi.
- 14 M. Licinius M. F. Crassus, Cn. Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus.
- 13 Tib. Claudius Tib. F. Nero, P. Quintilius Sex. F. Varus.
- 12 M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Barbatus, P. Sulpicius P. F. Quirinus.
- 11 Paulus Fabius Q. F. Maximus, Q. Aelius Q. F. Tubero.
- 10 Iullus Antonius M. F., Africanus Q. Fabius Q. F.

THE following year, in which Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls, the city was again submerged by the overflowing of the river, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout all Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I suppose that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by the disease and by the consequent famine, believed that these woes had come upon them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul at this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him dictator, and

B.C. 22

⁹ Οὐᾶρος Μ. Οὐαλέριος Χυλ., οὐαυπτερος οὐάριος V, οὐ αυπ' γεροσουάριος Μ. ¹⁰ Μ. Η. Steph., μάρκου VM.

¹¹ Μεσσάλας Βάρβατος Χυλ., μέσσαλος ἄρβατος VM.

¹² Φάβιος Χυλ., φλ VM.

¹³ Κ. Αἴλιος Η. Steph., και λ VM.

¹⁴ Ἰοῦλλος Bs., ἰούλιος VM.

¹⁵ Ἀντώνιος Χυλ., ἀντωνῖνος VM. ¹⁶ ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

¹⁷ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ Βκ., ἐπιγενομένῳ VM.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κατακλείσαντες ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπηνάγκασαν
 τοῦτο ψηφίσασθαι, ἀπειλοῦντές σφας καταπρή-
 σειν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς τέσσαρας
 καὶ εἴκοσι λαβόντες προσῆλθον αὐτῷ,¹ δικτάτορά
 τε ἅμα δεόμενοι λεχθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ
 σίτου, καθάπερ ποτὲ τὸν Πομπήιον, γενέσθαι.
 4 καὶ ὃς τοῦτο μὲν ἀναγκαίως ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐκέλευσε
 δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πέντε που αἰεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστρα-
 τηγηκότων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σίτου διανομὴν κατ'
 ἔτος αἰρεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ δικτατορίαν οὐ προσήκατο,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσκατερρήξατο, ἐπειδὴ
 μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλως σφᾶς ἐπισχεῖν, μήτε δια-
 5 λεγόμενος μήτε δεόμενος, ἠδυνήθη· τὴν τε γὰρ
 ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς δικτάτορας
 ἔχων, ὀρθῶς τό τε ἐπίφθονον καὶ τὸ μισητὸν
 2 τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτῶν² ἐφυλάξατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
 τοῦτο καὶ τιμητὴν αὐτὸν διὰ βίου χειροτονῆσαι
 βουλομένων ἐποίησεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπέ-
 στη, καὶ εὐθὺς ἑτέρους τιμητάς, Παῦλόν τε Αἰμί-
 λιον Λέπιδον καὶ Λούκιον Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον,
 τοῦτον μὲν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Πλάγκου ἐκείνου τοῦ
 ἐπικηρυχθέντος ὄντα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον αὐτὸν
 2 τότε θανατωθέντα, ἀπέδειξεν. ἔσχατοι δὴ³ οὔτοι
 τὴν τιμητείαν ἰδιῶται ἅμα ἔσχον, ὥσπερ· που
 καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτοῖς ἐδηλώθη· τὸ γὰρ βῆμα
 ἀφ' οὗ τι πράξειν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν

¹ αὐτῷ Zon., αὐτὸν VM.

² αὐτῶν M, αὐτὸν V.

³ δὴ V, om. M.



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ἤμελλον, συνέπεσεν ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ
 πρώτη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρα καὶ συνετρίβη, καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτ' οὐδένες ἄλλοι τιμηταὶ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς ἅμα
 3 ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος, καίπερ
 ἐκείνων αἰρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνη-
 κόντων ἔπραξε. τῶν τε συσσιτίων τὰ μὲν παν-
 τελῶς κατέλυσε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον
 συνέστειλε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανη-
 γύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου
 4 δίδοσθαί τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσαπειπὼν
 μήτε ἐς ἐκείνας οἴκοθέν τινα πλείον τοῦ ἑτέρου
 ἀναλίσκειν μήθ' ὀπλομαχίαν μήτ' ἄλλως εἰ μὴ
 ἢ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο, μήτ' αὖ πλεονάκεις ἢ δις ἐν
 ἑκάστῳ ἔτει, μήτε πλειόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν
 ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖν· τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις τοῖς κουρου-
 λίοις τὴν τῶν ἐμπιπραμένων¹ κατάσβεσιν ἐνε-
 χείρισεν, ἑξακοσίους σφίσι βοηθοὺς δούλους δούς.
 5 ἐπειδὴ τε² καὶ ἱππῆς³ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν
 τῇ ὀρχήστρα καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν
 οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ που καὶ
 πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, τοῖς γε⁴
 ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταζομένοις, μηδὲν ἔτι
 τοιοῦτο δρᾶν.

3 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις τό τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τὸ
 τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπεδεί-
 κνυτο,⁵ ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμετρίαζεν, ὥστε καὶ
 2 φίλοις τισὶν εὐθυνομένοις παραγίγνεσθαι. Μάρ-
 κου τέ τινος Πρίμου αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ὅτι τῆς
 Μακεδονίας ἀρχῶν Ὀδρύσαις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ

¹ ἐμπιπραμένων Dind., ἐμπιπραμένων VM.

² ἐπειδὴ τε V, ἐπειδὴ περ M. ³ ἱππῆς M, ἱππεῖς V.

⁴ γε Rk., τε VM. ⁵ ἐπεδείκνυτο V, ἀπεδείκνυτο M.

BOOK LIV

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

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

¹ Cf. liii. 31.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λέγοντος τοτὲ μὲν τῆ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοτὲ δὲ τῆ
 Μαρκέλλου γνώμη τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, ἔς τε τὸ
 δικαστήριον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπερωτη-
 θεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ προστάξειέν οἱ πολε-
 3 μῆσαι, ἔξαρνος ἐγένετο. τοῦ τε συναγορεύοντος
 τῷ Πρίμῳ Λικινίου¹ Μουρήνου ἄλλα τε ἔς αὐτὸν
 οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντος, καὶ πυθομένου “τί
 δὴ ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν;” τοσοῦτον
 μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι “τὸ δημόσιον.” ἐπὶ οὖν
 τούτοις ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐπηρεεῖτο,
 ὥστε καὶ τὸ τὴν βουλήν ἀθροίζειν ὁσάκις ἂν
 ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τινὲς κατεφρό-
 4 νησαν αὐτοῦ. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὐκ ὀλίγοι
 ἀπεψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐπιβουλήν ἕτεροι ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 συνέστησαν. Φάννιος² μὲν γὰρ Καιπίων ἀρχηγὸς
 αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· καί
 σφισι καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας συνομωμοκέναι, εἴτ' οὖν
 ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέχθη,³ ἐπειδὴ καὶ
 ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῆ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας
 5 ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὸ δικα-
 στήριον, ἐρημνὴν μὲν ὡς καὶ φευξόμενοι ἤλωσαν,
 ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐδὲ ἐπήρ-
 κεσαν τῷ Μουρήνῳ οὔτε ὁ Προκουλείος⁴ ἀδελφὸς
 ἂν οὔτε ὁ Μαικήνας τῆ ἀδελφῆ αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν,
 καίπερ ἔς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τιμώ-
 6 μενοι. ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ τούτους τῶν δικαζόντων
 τινὲς ἀπέλυσαν, ἐνομοθέτησε μήτε κρύφα τὰς
 ψήφους ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις δίκαις φέρεσθαι, καὶ
 πάσαις αὐταῖς τὸν εὐθυνόμενον ἀλίσκεσθαι. καὶ
 ὅτι γε ταῦτ' οὐχ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ συμφέ-

¹ Λικινίου M, λικιννίου V.

² Φάννιος Leuncl., φάνειος VM.

³ ἐλέχθη M, ἐλέγχθη V.

⁴ Προκουλείος Bs., προκούλιος VM.



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7 ροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ διέταξεν, ἰσχυρῶς διέδειξε· τοῦ
 γοῦν πατὴρ τοῦ Καιπίωνος τὸν μὲν ἕτερον τῶν
 δούλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ υἱεὶ ἐλευθέρωσαντος,
 ὅτι ἀμύναί οἱ θνήσκοντι ἠθέλησε, τὸν δὲ¹ ἕτερον
 τὸν προδόντα αὐτὸν διὰ τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης μετὰ
 γραμμάτων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ
 8 δηλούντων διαγαγόντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-
 σταυρώσαντος, οὐκ ἠγανάκτησε. καὶ ἐξηκέσατο
 πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένων τοῖς πραχθεῖσι
 μέμψιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θυσίας ὡς² καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη τινὶ
 καὶ ψηφισθείσας περιεΐδε καὶ γενομένας.

4 Τότε δ' οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν
 τὴν Ναβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὡς μηδὲν
 τῶν ὀπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας· καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι
 2 καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο. καὶ
 τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναὸν
 καθιέρωσε· περὶ οὗ δύο ταῦτα παραδέδοται, ὅτι
 τότε τε ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ βρονταὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα ὄναρ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοιόνδε ἐπέστη·
 τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τὸ ξένον καὶ
 τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅτι
 3 ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἴδρυτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι
 πρῶτῳ οἱ ἀνιόντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνετύγχανον,
 προσερχομένων τε αὐτῷ³ καὶ σεβόντων, ἔδοξε
 τὸν Δία τὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὄντα ὀργῆν ὡς
 καὶ τὰ δεύτερα αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ
 ἐκ τούτου ἐκείνῳ τε εἰπεῖν ἔλεγεν ὅτι προφύλακα
 4 τὸν Βροντῶντα ἔχοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο,
 κώδωνα αὐτῷ περιῆψε, βεβαιῶν τὴν ὀνειρώξιν·⁴

¹ τὸν δὲ Bk., τινὰ δὲ VM. ² καὶ θυσίας ὡς V, om. M.

³ αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν VM.

⁴ ὀνειρώξιν M, ὀνειράξιν V.

BOOK LIV

the public good, he gave very strong proof; at any rate, when Caepio's father freed one of the two slaves who had accompanied his son in his flight because this slave had wished to defend his young master when he met his death, but in the case of the second slave, who had deserted his son, led him through the midst of the Forum with an inscription making known the reason why he was to be put to death, and afterwards crucified him, the emperor was not vexed. Indeed, he would have allayed all the criticism of those who were not pleased with what had been done, had he not gone further and permitted sacrifices to be both voted and offered as for a victory. B.C. 22

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

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οἱ γὰρ τὰς συνοικίας νύκτωρ φυλάσσοντες κωδωνοφοροῦσιν, ὅπως σημαίνειν σφίσιν ὅποταν δεηθῶσι¹ δύνωνται.

5 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἳ τε Ἄστυρες ἐπολέμησαν αὐθις,² οὗτοι μὲν διά τε τρυφὴν καὶ δι' ὠμότητα τοῦ Καρισίου, οἳ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνους τε νεωτερίζοντας ἤσθοντο καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντός σφων Γαίου Φουρνίου κατεφρόνησαν, ὅτι τε νεωστὶ ἀφίκτο καὶ ὅτι ἄπειρον αὐτὸν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πραγμάτων εἶναι
2 ἔδοξαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοιοῦτός σφισιν ἐφάνη, ἀλλ' ἠττηθέντες ἀμφοτέροι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (καὶ γὰρ τῷ Καρισίῳ προσήμυνεν) ἐδουλώθησαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Καντάβρων οὐ πολλοὶ ἐάλωσαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσχον, οὐδὲ ζῆν
3 ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' οἳ μὲν τὰ ἐρύματα προεμπρήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οἳ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐθελονταὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν, ἄλλοι δημοσίᾳ φαρμάκων ἐνεπλήσθησαν, ὥστε τό τε πλείιστον καὶ τὸ ἀγριώτατον αὐτῶν φθαρῆναι· οἳ δ' Ἄστυρες ὡς τάχιστα χωρίου τέ τι πολιορκοῦντες ἀπηλάθησαν καὶ μάχῃ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐνικήθησαν, οὐκέτ' ἀντήηραν ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐχειρώθησαν.

4 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον οἱ Αἰθίοπες οἳ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκοῦντες προεχώρησαν μὲν μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ὠνομασμένης, πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθοῦντες, ἠγουμένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης· πυθόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθά που Γάιον Πετρώνιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα προσιέναι,

¹ δεηθῶσι Dind., δυνηθῶσι VM.

² αὐθις Xyl., αὐτοῖς VM



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προαπήλθον μὲν ὡς καὶ διαφευξόμενοι, καταλη-
 φθέντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἠττήθησαν, καὶ τούτου καὶ
 5 ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσαντο. καὶ καλῶς
 καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀγωνισάμενος πόλεις ἄλλας τε¹ καὶ τὴν
 Ναπάτην² τὸ βασίλειον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν.³ καὶ
 ἐκείνη μὲν κατεσκάφη, ἐν ἑτέρῳ δέ τινι χωρίῳ
 φρουρὰ κατελείφθη.⁴ ὁ γὰρ Πετρώνιος μήτε
 περαιτέρω διὰ τε τὴν ἄμμον καὶ διὰ τὸ καῦμα
 προελθεῖν μήτε κατὰ χώραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ
 στρατοῦ μείναι καλῶς δυνηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε, τὸ
 6 πλεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τούτῳ τῶν Αἰ-
 θιόπων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων αὐθὶς τε ἐπ'
 αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο,
 καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην συμβῆναί οἱ ἠνάγκασεν.

6 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς
 Σικελίαν ἦλθεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνην καὶ τὰλλα τὰ
 μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καταστήσεται. καὶ αὐτοῦ
 ἐνταῦθα ἔτ' ὄντος ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς
 ὑπάτους χειροτονῶν ἐστασίασεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ
 τούτου διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατου-
 2 μένους σφᾶς σωθῆναι. μικροῦ γοῦν τινος ἐν τε
 ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς
 κυριεύοντες ἐθορύβησαν. ἐτηρεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ
 ἑτέρα χώρα τῷ Αὐγούστῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μάρκος
 Λόλλιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ ἔτους μόνος ἦρξεν· ἐκεί-
 νου δὲ⁵ μὴ δεξαμένου αὐτὴν Κύντος τε Λέπιδος
 καὶ Λούκιος Σιλουανὸς ἐσπουδαρχίασαν, καὶ
 οὕτω γε πάντα συνετάραξαν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Αὐγου-
 3 στον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἀνακληθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ

¹ τε supplied by Rk. ² Ναπάτην Dind., τανάπην VM Xiph.

³ βασίλειον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν Xiph., βασίλειον ἀπέλαβεν VM.

⁴ κατελείφθη Xiph., κατελήφθη VM. ⁵ δὲ M, δὲ δὴ V.

BOOK LIV

he arrived, hoping to make good their escape. But B.C. 22
being overtaken on the road, they were defeated and thus drew him after them into their own country. There, too, he fought successfully with them, and took Napata, their capital, among other cities. This place was razed to the ground, and a garrison left at another point; for Petronius, finding himself unable either to advance farther, on account of the sand and the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was with his entire army, withdrew, taking the greater part of it with him. Thereupon the Ethiopians attacked the garrisons, but he again proceeded against them, rescued his own men, and compelled Candace to make terms with him.

While this was going on, Augustus went to Sicily in order to settle affairs in that island and elsewhere as far as Syria. While he was still there, the Roman populace fell to quarrelling over the election of the consuls. This incident showed clearly that it was impossible for a democratic government to be maintained among them; at any rate, although they had but little authority either in the matter of the elections or of the offices themselves, they fell to rioting. One of the consulships, it seems, was being kept for Augustus, and accordingly at the beginning of the year Marcus B.C. 21
Lollius alone entered upon office; but when the emperor would not accept the position, Quintus Lepidus and Lucius Silvanus became rival candidates and threw everything into such turmoil that Augustus was summoned home by those who retained their senses. He

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οὐχ ὑπέστρεψε μέν, ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι καὶ κελεύσας ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπόντων τὴν ψῆφον δοθῆναι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἠσύχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὐθις διηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὸν Λέπιδον ὀψέ ποτε αἰρε-
 4 θῆναι. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ μήτε μόνῃ τῇ Ῥώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ' αὐτῷ ἀναρχὸν αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν τολμῶν, ἐζήτη-
 5 τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστῆσαι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίπ-
 παν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀξίωμα αὐτῷ μείζον περιθεῖναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ῥᾶον αὐτῶν ἄρχῃ, μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίπερ ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ οὔσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικῆσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἔπεμψε, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μαικήνας συμβουλευομένῳ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι “τηλι-
 6 κούτου αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστ' ἢ γαμβρόν σου γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι.” καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰδοῦντα ἔτι εὐρῶν κατεστήσατο, τά τε ἱερά τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπεσιόντα αὐθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνέστειλεν, ἀπειπὼν μηδένα μηδὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν· ταραχῆς δὲ τινος περὶ τὴν¹ τοῦ πολιάρχου τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰρουμένου χειροτονίαν συμβάσης οὐκ ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἄνευ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον διεγένοντο.

¹ τὴν supplied by R. Steph.



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7 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος τά
 τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διοικήσας, καὶ τὰς
 Συρακούσας¹ ἑτέρας τέ τινὰς πόλεις² ὑποίκους
 Ῥωμαίων ἀποδείξας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη.
 2 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοῖς τε Κυθήροις καὶ τῇ
 συσσιτίᾳ ἐτίμησεν, ὅτι ἡ Λιουία, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς
 Ἰταλίας σὺν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ υἱεὶ ἔφυγεν,
 ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν· Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν τε Αἴγιναν καὶ
 τὴν Ἐρέτριαν (ἐκαρποῦντο γὰρ αὐτάς), ὡς τινὲς
 φασιν, ἀφείλετο, ὅτι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐσπούδασαν,
 καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσέ σφισι μηδένα πολίτην
 3 ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα ἔδοξε
 τὸ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι συμβᾶν ἀποσκῆψαι·
 ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς³ ἀνατολῶν ἰδρυμένον
 πρὸς τε τὰς δυσμὰς μετεστράφη καὶ αἶμα ἀπέ-
 4 πτυσεν. ὁ δ' οὖν⁴ Αὔγουστος τό τε Ἑλληνικὸν
 διήγαγε καὶ ἐς Σάμον ἐπλευσεν, ἐνταῦθά τε ἐχεί-
 μασε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῷ ἡρὶ ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος
 τε Ἀπουλῆιος⁵ καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάτευσαν
 κομισθεὶς πάντα τά τε ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ
 5 διέταξεν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη
 καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὰ
 ποιησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντων σφῶν ὡς
 καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὄντων ἐπιμεληθεὶς· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα
 ὅσαπερ καὶ προσῆκον ἦν ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ χρή-
 ματα τοῖς μὲν ἐπέδωκε τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν φόρον
 6 ἐσενεγκεῖν προσέταξε. τοὺς τε Κυζικηνοὺς, ὅτι
 Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστιγώσαντες ἀπέ-
 κτειναν, ἐδουλώσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς Τυρίους

¹ Συρακούσας R. Steph., συρακούσσας VM.

² πόλεις M, om. V. ³ πρὸς Reim., τῇ πρὸς VM.

⁴ δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM. ⁵ Ἀπουλῆιος BS., ἀπούλιος VM.

BOOK LIV

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

B.C. 21

B.C. 20

¹ Cf. xlviii. 15.

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τούς τε Σιδωνίους διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησεν, ἐν τῇ¹ Συρία γενόμενος.²

8 Κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ³ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἔφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν,
2 ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκῶς ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις⁴ ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκονιτὶ ἐκεκό-
3 μιστο. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεῶν Ἄρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη.
4 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη· τότε δὲ αὐτὸς τε προστάτης τῶν περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδῶν αἰρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν μίλιον κεκλημένον ἔστησε, καὶ ὁδοποιούς αὐταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ραβδούχοις δύο χρωμένους, προσέταξε.
5 καὶ ἡ Ἰουλία τὸν Γάιον ὀνομασθέντα ἔτεκε, βουθύσια τέ τις τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ αἰδῖος ἐδόθη· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὡσπερ που καὶ

¹ τῇ M, om. V.

² γενόμενος—τὸν τοῦ Κυρί (chap. 19, 4) omitted in V, whose archetype L had lost five folios at this point.

³ αὐτῷ Xiph., αὐτῶν M.

⁴ ἐπὶ τούτοις supplied by Reim. from Xiph.

¹ That is, he celebrated an *ovatio*.

² *Curator viarum*.

³ The *milliarium aureum* stood at the north end of the Forum near the Temple of Saturn, marking the point where



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BOOK LIV

of a decree ; on their own initiative, however, the aediles gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts on Augustus' birthday. B.C. 20

This is what was going on in the city. Augustus administered the subject territory according to the customs of the Romans, but permitted the allied nations to be governed in their own traditional manner ; and he did not regard it as desirable either to make any additions to the former or to extend the latter by any new acquisitions, but thought it best to be satisfied with precisely what they already possessed, and he communicated this opinion to the senate. Therefore he undertook no war, at any rate for the time being, but actually gave away certain principalities—to Iamblichus, the son of Iamblichus, his ancestral dominion over the Arabians, and to Tarcondimotus, the son of Tarcondimotus, the kingdom of Cilicia, which his father had held, except for a few places on the coast. These latter together with Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Mede, who previously had ruled them, was dead. To Herod he entrusted the tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus, and to one Mithridates, though still a mere boy, he gave Commagene, inasmuch as its king had put the boy's father to death. And since the other Armenians had preferred charges against Artaxes and had summoned his brother Tigranes, who was in Rome, the emperor sent Tiberius to drive Artaxes out of the kingdom and to reinstate Tigranes. And although nothing was accomplished by Tiberius commensurate with his preparations, since before his arrival the Armenians slew Artaxes, yet he assumed a lofty bearing, especially after sacrifices had been

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ἐπειδὴ θυσίαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐψηφίσθησαν, ἐσεμνύ-
 6 νετο ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τι ποιήσας. καὶ ἤδη γε
 καὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐνενόει, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς
 Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ¹ προσελαύνοντος θόρυβός τέ-
 τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου ὡς καὶ ἐκ στρατο-
 πέδου ἠκούσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἰδρυθέντων αὐτό-
 7 ματον ἀνέλαμψε. Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων
 ἐγαυροῦτο, ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος ἔς τε τὴν Σάμον
 ἐπανῆλθε κἀνταῦθα αὐθις ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐκείνοις
 τε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατριβῆς ἀντέδωκε,
 8 καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα προσδιώκησε. πάμπολλαι
 γὰρ δὴ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ οἱ
 Ἴνδοι προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε
 ἐσπείσαντο, δῶρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις,
 πρῶτον τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὀφθείσας. καί τι καὶ μειράκιόν
 οἱ ἄνευ ὤμων, οἴους τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ὀρῶμεν, ἔδωκαν.
 9 καὶ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ὄν ἐκείνο ἐς πάντα τοῖς ποσὶν
 ἅτε καὶ χερσὶν ἐχρήτο, τόξον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτεινε
 καὶ βέλη ἠφίει καὶ ἐσάλπιζεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως·
 10 γράφω γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα. εἷς δ' οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
 Ζάρμαρος, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὢν,
 καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 γήρως κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, εἴτε καὶ ἐς ἐπί-
 δεξιὴν τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (καὶ
 γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἦλθεν) ἀποθανεῖν ἐβελήσας ἐμυθήθη τε
 τὰ τοῖν θεοῖν, τῶν μυστηρίων καίπερ οὐκ ἐν τῷ

¹ αὐτοῦ Dind., αὐτῶι M.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καθήκοντι καιρῶ, ὡς φασι, διὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον καὶ αὐτὸν¹ μεμνημένον γενομένων,² καὶ πυρὶ ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα ἐξέδωκεν.

10 Ὑπάτευε μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ³ Γάιος Σέντιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάρξοντα αὐτῷ προσ-
 αποδειχθῆναι ἔδει (ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐδὲ τότε
 τηρηθεῖσάν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατο), στάσις τε
 αὐθις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνηνέχθη καὶ σφαγαὶ συνέ-
 βησαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς φρουρὰν τῷ Σεντίῳ⁴
 2 ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε⁵ μὴ⁶ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῇ χρή-
 σασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, μετὰ δύο
 ῥαβδούχων ἕκαστον, ἔπεμψαν. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ'
 ἐκείνος, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ
 γενήσοιτο, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν
 προσηνέχθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν αὐτῶν
 Κύντον Λουκρήτιον, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικηρυ-
 χθεῖσιν ἀναγραφέντα, ὑπατον ἀπέδειξε, καὶ αὐτὸς
 3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπέιχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πραχθεῖσι
 πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐψηφίσθη· ὧν οὐδὲν προσή-
 κατο, πλὴν Τύχῃ τε Ἐπαναγωγῷ (οὕτω γὰρ πῶς
 αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν) βωμὸν ἰδρυθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν
 ἣν ἀφίξοιτο ἐν τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι
 4 καὶ Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὡς αἴ-
 τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προαπαντήσαί οἱ προ-
 παρεσκευάσαντο, νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκο-
 μίσθη, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ τὰς τῶν
 ἐστρατηγηκότων τιμὰς ἔδωκε, καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ
 πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον παρὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα τὰς

¹ αὐτὸν supplied by Rk.

³ ἐκείνῳ Reim., ἐν ᾧ M.

⁵ τε supplied by Bs.

² γενομένων Rk., γενόμενον M.

⁴ Σεντίῳ R. Steph., γεντίῳ M.

⁶ μὴ Dind., μήτε M.

BOOK LIV

out of season on account, they say, of Augustus, who also was an initiate, and he then threw himself alive into the fire. B.C. 20

The consul that year was Gaius Sentius; and when it became necessary for a colleague to be elected (for Augustus on this occasion, also, did not accept the position after it had been kept open for him), factious quarrelling again took place and murders occurred, so that the senators voted a guard for Sentius; and when he was unwilling to use it, they sent envoys to Augustus, each with two lictors. Now when the emperor learned of these things, realizing that there would be no end to the evil, he did not this time deal with the matter as he had before, but appointed one of the envoys themselves, Quintus Lucretius, to the consulship, though this man's name had been posted in the list of the proscribed; and he hastened to Rome himself. For this and the other things he had done while absent from the city many honours of all sorts were voted him, none of which he would accept, save the founding of an altar to Fortuna Redux (for this was the name they gave to her), and the provision that the day on which he arrived should be numbered among the holidays and be called Augustalia. Since even then the magistrates and the rest made preparations beforehand to go out to meet him, he entered the city by night; and on the following day he gave Tiberius the rank of an ex-praetor and allowed Drusus to stand for the various offices five years earlier than was the practice. B.C. 19

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- 5 ἀρχὰς αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐπειδὴ τε μηδὲν ὡμολόγει ὅσα τε ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ στασιάζοντες καὶ ὅσα παρόντος φοβούμενοι ἔπρασσον, ἐπιμελητῆς τε τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἔτη¹ παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἐχειροτονήθη, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς δώδεκα ῥάβδοις αἰεὶ² καὶ πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν αἰεὶ² ὑπατευόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου καθίζεσθαι.
- 6 ψηφισάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα διορθοῦν τε πάντα αὐτὸν³ καὶ νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βούλοιτο ἠξίου, καὶ τοὺς τε νόμους τοὺς γραφησομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Αὐγούστους ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη προσηγόρευον, καὶ ἐμμενεῖν⁴ σφισιν ὁμόσαι⁵ ἤθελον. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς⁶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δ' ὄρκους ἀφῆκεν
- 7 αὐτοῖς· καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἤδει ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ γνώμης τι ψηφίσαιντο, τηρήσουσιν⁷ αὐτὸ κὰν μὴ ὁμόσωσιν,⁸ εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ, κὰν μυρίας πίστεις ἐπαγάγωσι, προτιμήσουσιν.⁹
- 11 Αὐγούστος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει, καί τις τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἐθελοντῆς ὑπὸ πενίας ἀπέειπε τὴν ἀρχήν· Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πεμφθεὶς διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα,
- 2 ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη· ἐν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετέστη· οἱ γὰρ Κάνταβροι οἱ ζωργηθέντες τε ἐν τῷ πο-

¹ ἔτη supplied by Xyl. (cf. Zon : εἰς πενταετίαν).

² αἰεὶ Bk., αἰεὶ M. ³ αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτὰ M.

⁴ ἐμμενεῖν Dind., ἐμμένειν M.

⁵ ὁμόσαι Xyl., ὁμοσε M. ⁶ ὡς Bk., ὡς ἄτε M.

⁷ τηρήσουσιν Reip., τηροῦσιν M.

⁸ ὁμόσωσιν Rk., ὁμολογήσωσιν M.

⁹ προτιμήσουσιν Rk., προξενίσωσιν M.



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λέμῳ καὶ πραθέντες τοὺς τε δεσπότας σφῶν ὡς
 ἕκαστοι ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπαν-
 ελθόντες πολλοὺς συναπέστησαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
 χωρία καταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐντειχισάμενοι τοῖς τῶν
 3 Ῥωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευον. ἐπ' οὖν τούτους
 ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύσας ἔσχε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔργον· πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ οὐκ
 ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ὄντες καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων
 τετραυχωμένοι, τοὺς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπο-
 4 λεμήτους δεδιότες, οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο αὐτῷ. ἀλλ'
 ἐκείνους μὲν, τὰ μὲν νουθετήσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθη-
 σάμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας,¹ διὰ ταχέων πειθ-
 αρχῆσαι ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους
 πολλὰ προσέπταισεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρία πραγμά-
 των, ἅτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπο-
 γνώσει τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἔτι σωθῆναι ἀλόντες ἐχρῶντο.
 5 τέλος δὲ ποτε συχνοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμώσας ὅτι ἡττῶντο (τά
 τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ στρατόπεδον ὅλον Αὐγουστον
 ἐπωνομασμένον ἐκώλυσεν οὕτως ἔτι καλεῖσθαι),
 τοὺς τε ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πολεμίους πάντας ὀλίγου
 διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο
 6 καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ
 μὴν οὔτε ἐπέστειλέ τι τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὔτε
 τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου προσ-
 τάξεως ψηφισθέντα προσήκατο, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τού-
 τοις ἐμετρίαζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ γνώμην ποτὲ
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτη-

¹ ἐπελπίσας Bs., ἀπελπίσας M.

BOOK LIV

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

¹ Nothing of this sort is recorded elsewhere. The passage may be corrupt; it has been proposed to read *πρὸ* for *ὑπὲρ*, "ahead of the consul's brother," *i.e.* out of his turn.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 θείσ οὐκ ἔδωκε. τό τε ὕδωρ τὸ Παρθένιον καλούμενον τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἔσαγαγὼν Αὐγουστον προσηγόρευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐκεῖνος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχαιρεν ὥστε σπάνεώς¹ ποτε οἴνου γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ διαβοῶντων, ἱκανώτατα ἔφη τὸν Ἀγρίππαν προνενοηκέναί ὥστε μὴ δίψη ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι.

12 Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν· τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράσσοντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ληστὰς συλλαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις στασιαζούσας καταλλάσσοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο
2 τῶν νικητηρίων καὶ ἔπεμπον αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τήν γε πρώτην ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς πλείστους ὅσους ἐτίμα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐλαμπρύνοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον
3 τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προήχθη. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος, ὡς τά τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοῦς ἐδεῖτο, καὶ ἐδεδίει μὴ, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπιβουλευθῆ (βραχὺ γάρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν τὸν θώρακα, ὃν ὑπὸ τῆ στολῆ πολλάκις καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέ-
4 δριον ἐσιῶν εἶχεν, ἐπικουρήσειν οἱ ἐνόμιζε), πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ δεκέτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο (ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων² ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο), ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου πη ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν
5 ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισιν³ ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη· ὕστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῷ

¹ σπάνεώς Bk., σπάνιός M.

² Λεντούλων Bk., λεντούλου M.

³ σφισιν R. Steph., σφισι M.



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καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε¹ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας προσέλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αὐθις γενέσθαι.

- 13 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐξήτασε· πολλοί τε γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ εἶναι (πλήθει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐνεώρα²), καὶ διὰ μίσους οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς κακία τινὶ ἐπιρρήτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
2 κολακείᾳ ἐκφανεῖς ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τις ἐκὼν ὥσπερ πρότερον ἀπηλλάττετο, μήτ' αὖ μόνος ἐν αἰτία τινὶ γενέσθαι ἐβούλετο, αὐτός τε τριάκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅπερ που³ καὶ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο, ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκέλευσε προομόσαντας τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον κατὰ πέντε, πλὴν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐς πινάκια γράψαντας ἐλέσθαι.
3 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς πεμπάδας ἐκλήρωσεν, ὥσθ' ἓνα καθ' ἐκάστην τὸν λαχόντα αὐτόν τε βουλευῆσαι καὶ ἑτέρους πέντε ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγγράψαι. ἔδει που καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐν τε τοῖς αἴρουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν⁴ ἑτέρων καὶ ἐν τοῖς κληρουμένοις γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τέ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, ἄλλοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων λαχόντες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἔπραξαν.
4 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκακουργήθη τινά, οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ γραμματεῖα ἔτ' ἐποιήσατο οὔτε ἔτι τῷ κλήρῳ τὰς πεμπάδας ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνελέξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐνδέοντας προσείλετο, ὥστε ἐς ἑξακοσίους τοὺς
14 πάντας ἀποδειχθῆναι. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ τρια-

¹ ἄλλα πέντε Rk., πέντε ἄλλα Reim., πολλὰ M.

² ἐνεώρα Rk., ἐώρα M. ³ που Pflugk, πω M.

⁴ ὑπὸ τῶν Carrs, ὑφ' M.

BOOK LIV

obtained the other five years of his imperial power in addition, so that the total number became ten again. B.C. 18

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

¹ Cf. lii. 42.

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κοσίους αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἄρχαϊον ποιῆσαι, καὶ
 πάνυ ἀγαπητὸν νομίζων εἶναι τοσοῦτους ἀξίους
 τοῦ συνεδρίου σφῶν εὐρεθῆναι· δυσχερανάντων δὲ
 πάντων ὁμοίως (τῷ γὰρ πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἐμμε-
 νούντων ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς διαγραφησομένους ἔσεσθαι,
 φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἰδιωτεύσωσιν ἢ
 προσδοκᾶν ὅτι καὶ βουλευσοῦσιν συνέβαινε) τοὺς
 2 ἑξακοσίους κατελέξατο. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔστη,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι
 καὶ τότε ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ Λικίνιός τε τις
 Ῥήγουλος, ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοῦ τε υἱέος καὶ
 ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὧν¹ κρείστων εἶναι ἠξίου, διει-
 λεγμένων ἀπαλήλιπτο, τήν τε ἐσθῆτα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
 3 βουλευτηρίῳ κατερρήξατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνώσας
 τὰς τε στρατείας κατηριθμήσατο καὶ τὰς οὐλὰς
 προσεπέδειξέ σφισι, καὶ Ἄρτικυλῆιος² Παῖτος³
 ἐν μὲν τοῖς βουλευσοῦσιν ὧν τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρὶ ἐκ-
 πεπτωκότι παραχωρήσαι τῆς βουλείας ἀξιῶν
 ἰκέτευεν, ἐξετασμὸν αὐθὶς σφῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ
 4 τινὰς ἀπαλλάξας ἄλλους ἀντικατέλεξεν. ἐπειδὴ
 τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὡς διεγεγράφατο, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν
 δι' αἰτίας,⁴ οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν,
 ὡς καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπεληλαμένοι εἶχον, τότε τε⁵
 αὐτοῖς καὶ συνθεάσασθαι καὶ συνεστιάσασθαι
 τοῖς βουλευοῦσι, τῇ αὐτῇ σκευῇ χρωμένοις, συνε-
 χώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐπέ-
 5 τρεψε. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπανῆλθον

¹ ὧν supplied by R. Steph.

² Ἄρτικυλῆιος Cary, Ἄρτικυλήιος M.

³ Παῖτος Bk., πέτος M.

⁴ αὐτὸν δι' αἰτίας Bk., αὐτῶν αἰτίας M.

⁵ τε Bk., γε M.



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χρόνῳ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, μήτε τῆς γερουσίας μήτε τοῦ δήμου νομιζόμενοι, κατελείφθησαν.

15 Τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλευσαι, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ
 2 ψευδῶς, αἰτίαν ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῶν οὖσιν εἰδέναί· πολλὰ γὰρ ὦν ἂν ὁ κρατῶν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, ἦτοι δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξῃ, ὑποπτεύεται κατ' ἐπήρειαν, κἂν ὅτι μά-
 3 λιστα δικαιοτάτα συμβῆ, γεγονέαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ φανερῶν, μήτε πολυπραγμονῶν μήθ' ὑπολέγων, μήτ' εἰ δικαίως μήτ' εἰ ἀδίκως τι γέγονε, μήτ' εἰ
 4 ψευδῶς μήτε εἰ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν μοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφησομένων εἰρήσθω· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ τότε παρόντι ὁ Αὐγουστος ἄλλους μὲν τινὰς ἐδικαίωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον ἐμίσει μὲν διὰ τε τὰλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεφώρατο ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεκόλαστο, οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ
 5 τινὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ¹ προεπηλάκιζεν. ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατιέναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνόδους αἰεὶ ἐσῆγεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ὕβριν πρὸς τε τὴν

¹ ἄλλῳ R. Steph., ἄλλο M.

BOOK LIV

but some few were left in an intermediate position, being regarded as belonging neither to the senate nor to the people. B.C. 18

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

¹ At Circeii.

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τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀξιώσεως μεταβολὴν
 ὀφλισκάνη· καὶ οὔτε ἐς ἄλλο τι ὡς καὶ ἀξίῳ οἱ
 λόγου ἐχρήτη, τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὑστάτῳ τῶν
 6 ὑπατευκότων ἐπήγε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ
 καθηκούσῃ τάξει ἐπεψήφισε, τῶν δ' ὑπατευκότων
 πρῶτόν τε τινα καὶ δεύτερον τρίτον τε ἕτερον καὶ
 τέταρτον, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ὁμοίως, ὡς πού καὶ
 ἐβούλετο· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐποίουν. οὕτω
 7 μὲν δὴ τὸν Λέπιδον μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε
 Ἄντίστιος Λαβεῶν ἐς τοὺς βουλευσοντας¹ αὐτόν,
 ὅτε ἡ διαγνώμη² ἐκείνη ἐγίγνετο, ἐσεγράψατο,
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιωρκηκέναί τε αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ τιμω-
 ρήσεσθαι ἠπείλησεν, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ
 “ καὶ τί δεινὸν πεποίηκα κατασχὼν ἐν τῷ συνε-
 δρίῳ ἄνδρα ὃν σὺ ἀρχιέρεων ἔτι καὶ νῦν περιορᾷς
 8 ὄντα;” οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐποιήσατο· πολ-
 λάκις γὰρ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ταύτης
 ἀξιούμενος οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε ζῶντος τοῦ Λεπίδου
 λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Ἄντίστιος μὲν οὖν τοῦτό τε οὐκ
 ἀπὸ καιροῦ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε, καί ποτε λόγων ἐν τῇ
 βουλῇ γιγνομένων ὡς χρεῶν εἶη τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐκ
 διαδοχῆς σφας φρουρεῖν, ἔφη, μήτ' ἀντειπεῖν τολ-
 μῶν μήτε συγκαταθέσθαι ὑπομένων, ὅτι “ ῥέγκω
 καὶ οὐ δύναμαι αὐτοῦ προκοιτῆσαι.”
 16 Ὁ δ' οὖν Αὐγουστος ἄλλα τε ἐνομοθέτησε,
 καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐς

¹ βουλευσοντας R. Steph., βουλεύσαντας M.

² ὅτε ἡ διαγνώμη Rk., ὅτι ἰδίαι γνώμηι M.



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πέντε ἔτη αὐτῶν εἶρξε.¹ τοῖς τε ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς
 ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε, καὶ
 ἔμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἄθλα
 2 ἔθηκεν. ἐπειδὴ τε πολὺ πλείον τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ
 θήλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας
 τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἄγασθαι,
 ἔννομον τὴν τεκνοποιίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι κελεύσας.
 3 Κὰν τούτῳ καταβοήσεως² ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περὶ
 τε τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων
 ἀκοσμίας, πρὸς ἀπολογίαὺν δὴ τινα τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως
 δι' αὐτὴν τὰς τῶν γάμων συναλλαγὰς ποιεῖσθαι,
 γενομένης, καὶ ἐναγόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκείνην ἐπα-
 νορθῶσαι χλευασμῷ ὅτι πολλαῖς γυναιξὶν ἐχρήτο,
 4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰ μὲν
 ἀναγκαιότατα διώρισται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδύνατόν
 ἐστὶν ὁμοίως παραδοθῆναι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκβιασθεῖς
 εἶπεν ὅτι “ αὐτοὶ ὀφείλετε ταῖς γαμεταῖς καὶ
 παραινεῖν καὶ κελεύειν ὅσα βούλεσθε· ὅπερ που
 5 καὶ ἐγὼ ποιῶ.” ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκείνοι
 πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο αὐτῷ, βουλόμενοι τὰς
 παραινέσεις ἃς τῇ Λιουίᾳ παραινεῖν ἔφη μαθεῖν.
 καὶ ὃς ἄκων μὲν, εἶπε δ' οὖν τινα καὶ περὶ τῆς
 ἐσθῆτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου τῶν τε
 ἐξόδων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῶν, μηδ' ὀτιοῦν
 φροντίσας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπιστοῦτο.
 6 καὶ ἕτερον δέ τι τοιόνδε τιμητεύων ἐπεποιήκει·
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσήγαγέ τις αὐτῷ νεανίσκον γυναῖκα
 ἐκ μοιχείας γεγαμηκότα, καὶ πλείιστα ὅσα κατη-

¹ εἶρξε R. Slerph., εἶρξε M.

² καταβοήσεως R. Slerph., κατεβόησεν M.

BOOK LIV

five years. He laid heavier assessments upon the unmarried men and upon the women without husbands, and on the other hand offered prizes for marriage and the begetting of children. And since among the nobility there were far more males than females, he allowed all who wished, except the senators, to marry freedwomen, and ordered that their offspring should be held legitimate. B C. 18

Meanwhile a clamor arose in the senate over the disorderly conduct of the women and of the young men, this being alleged as a reason for their reluctance to enter into the marriage relation; and when they urged him to remedy this abuse also, with ironical allusions to his own intimacy with many women, he at first replied that the most necessary restrictions had been laid down and that anything further could not possibly be regulated by decree in similar fashion. Then, when he was driven into a corner, he said: "You yourselves ought to admonish and command your wives as you wish; that is what I do." When they heard that, they plied him with questions all the more, wishing to learn what the admonitions were which he professed to give Livia. He accordingly, though with reluctance, made a few remarks about women's dress and their other adornment, about their going out and their modest behaviour, not in the least concerned that his actions did not lend credence to his words. Another instance of such inconsistency had occurred while he was censor. Some one brought before him a young man who had taken as his wife a married woman with whom he had previously committed adultery, and made ever so many accusations against the

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γόρησεν αὐτοῦ, διηπορήθη μήτε παριδεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα μήτ' ἐπιτιμῆσαί τι τολμήσας, καὶ μόλις¹ ποτὲ ὄψε ἀνενεγκῶν “πολλά,” ἔφη, “καὶ δεινὰ αἱ στάσεις ἤνεγκαν, ὥστε ἐκείνων μὲν ἀμνημονῶμεν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ προνοῶμεν ὅπως μηδὲν τοι-
7 οὔτο γίγνηται.” ὡς δ' οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυώμενοι τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκαρποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδεμίαν ἐγγύην ἰσχύειν μεθ' ἣν οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν διελθόντων γαμήσει² τις, τοῦτ' ἔστι δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸν γέ τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσοντα· δώδεκα γὰρ³ ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἔτη πλήρη, καθάπερ εἶπον, νομίζεται.

17 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ὡς ἕκαστα διανομοθέτει, καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει προβάλλωνται οἱ⁴ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰεὶ ὄντες ἕνα ἕκαστος⁵ ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσ-
2 σαρες οἱ λαχόντες σιτοδοτῶσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς. τὸν τε πολίαρχον τὸν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς καθιστάμενον ἕνα αἰεὶ αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐξίτηλα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα τοὺς ἱερέας αὐτοχειρία ἐκγράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἕτερος

¹ μόλις Pflugk, μάλιστα M.

² γαμήσει Zon., γαμήσηι M.

³ γὰρ supplied by R. Steph.

⁴ οἱ Bk., καὶ οἱ M.

⁵ ἕκαστος Reim., ἕκαστον M.

¹ Cf. note on liii. 13, 2.

² Apparently in a lost portion of his work.



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- 3 αὐτὰ ἀναλέξηται. τὰς τε ἀρχὰς ἅπασι τοῖς δέκα μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένοις ἐπαγγέλλειν ἐπέτρεψε. τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔταξεν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας αὐτὸ προήγαγε. καὶ τισι τῶν εὖ βιούντων ἐλάττω, τότε μὲν τῶν δέκα, αὐθις δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, 4 κεκτημένοις¹ ἔχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλάσιον τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν ἐφῆκεν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νομοθετημάτων ἤχθοντό τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τούτου, καὶ ὅτι Πυλάδην τινὰ ὀρχηστὴν διὰ στάσιν ἐξεληλαμένον κατήγαγεν, οὐκέτ' ἐκείνων ἐμέμνηντο.
- 5 ὅθενπερ πάνυ σοφῶς ὁ Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὴ Βαθύλλῳ ὁμοτέχνῳ τέ οἱ ὄντι καὶ τῷ Μαικῆνᾳ προσήκοντι διεστασίαζεν, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι “συμφέρει σοι, Καῖσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι.”
- 18 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Γαῖου² τε Φουρνίου καὶ Γαῖου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων υἱὸν αὐθις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀνείλετο τὸν Λούκιον ὀνομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Γαῖου ἐποιήσατο, μὴ ἀναμείνας σφᾶς ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν διαδόχους τῆς 2 ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας, ἵν' ἦττον ἐπιβουλεύηται. τὴν τε τῆς Τιμῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀρετῆς πανήγυριν ἐς τὰς νῦν ἡμέρας μετέστησε, καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμπουσιν ἔργον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐς τὴν τῶν πράξεων

¹ κεκτημένοις Bk., κεκτημένων M.

² Γαῖου Bk., τοῦ γαῖου M.

BOOK LIV

else might read them. He permitted all to stand for office who possessed property worth four hundred thousand sesterces and were eligible by the laws to hold office. This was the senatorial rating which he at first established; but later he raised it to one million sesterces. Upon some of those who lived upright lives but possessed less than the four hundred thousand sesterces in the first instance, or the million in the second, he bestowed the amount lacking. And because of this he allowed the praetors who so desired to spend on the public festivals three times the amount granted them from the treasury. Thus, even if some were vexed at the strictness of his other regulations, yet by reason of this action and also because he restored one Pylades, a dancer, who had been exiled on account of sedition, they remembered them no longer. Hence Pylades is said to have rejoined very cleverly, when the emperor rebuked him for having quarrelled with Bathyllus, a fellow-artist and a favourite of Maecenas¹: "It is to your advantage, Caesar, that the people should devote their spare time to us." B.C. 18

These were the occurrences of that year. In the consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus, Agrippa again acknowledged the birth of a son, who was named Lucius; and Augustus immediately adopted him together with his brother Gaius, not waiting for them to become men, but appointing them then and there successors to his office, in order that fewer plots might be formed against him. He transferred the festival of Honor and Virtus to the days which are at present theirs, commanded those who celebrated triumphs to erect out of their B.C. 17

¹ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 54.

μνήμην ποιεῖν προσέταξε, τά τε σαικουλάρια τὰ πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθὶ¹ συναγορεύειν, ἣ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἂν λάβωσιν 3 ἐκτίνειν, ἐκέλευσε. τοῖς δὲ δικάζειν ἀεὶ λαγχάνουσιν ἀπεῖπεν ἐς μηδενὸς οἴκαδε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐσιέναι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀσπουδεὶ οἱ² βουλευταὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συνεφοίτων, ἐπηύξησε τὰς ζημίας τοῖς οὐκ ἐξ εὐλόγου τινὸς αἰτίας ὑστερίζουσι.

19 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Λουκίου τε Δομιτίου καὶ Πουπλίου Σκιπίωνος ὑπατευόντων, ὥρμησε, πρόφασιν τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς κατ' ἐκεῖνο 2 κινήθοντας λαβῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπαχθῆς πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρονίου διατριβῆς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν ἔξω τι τῶν τεταγμένων πράττοντας δικαίων ἐλύπει, συχνῶν δὲ καὶ φειδόμενος τὰ νενομοθετημένα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ παραβαίνειν ἠναγκάζετο, ἐκδημῆσαι τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα 3 ἔγνω. καὶ τινες καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερευτίαν τὴν τοῦ Μαικῆνου γυναῖκα ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπετόπησαν, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἄνευ θροῦ τινὸς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδημίᾳ αὐτῇ συνῆ· οὕτω γὰρ οὖν πάνυ αὐτῆς ἦρα ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαί ποτε αὐτὴν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους 4 πρὸς τὴν Λιουίαν ποιῆσαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν καθιέρωσεν ἐκ καινῆς οἰκοδομήσας. εἶπον δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα κίοσιν αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησεν, ὅσαπερ τὰ πάντα ἔτη³ διεβίω, καὶ τούτου λόγον τισὶ παρέσχευ ὡς καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτὸ ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως 5 πράξας. ἐκεῖνόν τε οὖν τότε ἐθείωσε, καὶ μονο-

¹ ἀμισθὶ St., ἀμισθει M. ² οἱ supplied by Rk.

³ ἔτη Dind., ἔτη τις VM.



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μαχίας ἀγῶνας διά τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ διὰ τοῦ
 Δρούσου, συγχωρηθὲν δὴ σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς,
 6 ἔθηκε. καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστὺ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ
 τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τόν τε
 γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ
 τῷ Μαικῆνᾳ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως
 ἔχαιρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον καίτοι στρατηγοῦντα
 παραλαβὼν ἐξώρμησεν. ἐστρατήγησε γὰρ καίπερ
 τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς ἔχων· καὶ τὴν γε ἀρχὴν
 αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Δρούσος ἐκ δόγματος διήγαγεν.
 7 ἐξελθόντων δ' οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα κατεκαύθη, καὶ διά τε
 τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τὰλλα τὰ προγεγόμενα (λύκος τε
 γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσπεσὼν
 ἀνθρώπους ἔφθειρε, καὶ μύρμηκες οὐ¹ πόρρω τῆς
 ἀγορᾶς ἐκφανέστατα² συνεστράφησαν, λαμπὰς
 τέ τις ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον διὰ πάσης
 τῆς νυκτὸς ἠνέχθη) εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ
 8 Αὐγούστου ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὴν
 πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ
 Ἀγρίππου (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν,
 οἷς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἢ διοίκησις αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλ-
 λεν, ἰέρωτο) διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος.

20 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους
 ἐκείνους ἐταράχθη. καὶ γὰρ Καμμούνιοι καὶ Οὐ-
 ἔννιοι, Ἀλπικὰ γένη, ὅπλα τε ἀντήραντο καὶ
 νικηθέντες ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Σιλίου ἐχειρώθησαν·
 2 καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι τὴν τε Ἰστρίαν μετὰ Νωρίκων

¹ οὐ supplied by Leuncl.

² ἐκφανέστατα M, ἐμφανέστατα V.

BOOK LIV

gladiatorial combats, Tiberius and Drusus representing him in the matter after the senate had granted them permission. Then he committed to Taurus the management of the city together with the rest of Italy (for he had sent Agrippa again to Syria and no longer looked with equal favour upon Maecenas because of the latter's wife), and taking Tiberius, though praetor at the time, along with him, he set out on his journey. Tiberius, it appears, had become praetor in spite of his already holding the rank of a praetor; and Drusus now performed all the duties of his office in pursuance of a decree. The night following their departure the temple of *Iuventus*¹ was burned to the ground. Other portents also had occurred: a wolf had rushed into the Forum by the Sacred Way and had killed people, and not far from the Forum ants were conspicuously swarming together; moreover, a flame like a torch had shot from the south towards the north all night long. Because of all these signs prayers were offered for the return of Augustus. Meanwhile they held the quadrennial celebration of his sovereignty, Agrippa, represented by his fellow-priests, bearing the expense; for he had been consecrated as one of the *quindecimviri*, upon whom the management of the festival devolved in regular succession.

There were many other disturbances, too, during that period. The *Camunni* and *Vennii*,² Alpine tribes, took up arms against the Romans, but were conquered and subdued by *Publius Silius*. The *Pannonians* in company with the *Norici* overran

¹ *Aedes Iuventutis*.

² Other forms of this name are *Vennones*, *Vennontes*, and *Venostes*.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κατέδραμον, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε πρὸς τε τοῦ Σιλίου καὶ
 τῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτοῦ κακωθέντες αὐθις ὡμο-
 λόγησαν, καὶ τοῖς Νωρικοίς αἴτιοι τῆς αὐτῆς
 3 δουλείας ἐγένοντο. τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Δελματία καὶ τὰ
 ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρία νεοχμώσαντα δι' ὀλίγου κατέστη,
 καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπὸ τε τῶν Δευθελητῶν καὶ ὑπὸ
 τῶν Σκορδίσκων ἐπορθήθη. ἐν τε τῇ Θράκη πρό-
 τερον μὲν Μᾶρκος Λόλλιος Ῥυμητάλκη¹ θείῳ τε
 τῶν τοῦ Κότυος παίδων καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὄντι βοηθῶν
 Βησσοῦς κατεστρέψατο, ἔπειτα δὲ Λούκιος Γάιος
 Σαυρομάτας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας κρατήσας ὑπὲρ
 4 τὸν Ἰστρον ἀπεώσατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος τῶν τότε
 συμβάντων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμων, ὅσπερ που
 καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε, πρὸς
 τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐγένετο. Σύγαμβροὶ τε γὰρ καὶ
 Οὔσιπέται καὶ Τέγκτηροι² τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ
 σφετέρᾳ τινὰς αὐτῶν συλλαβόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν,
 5 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβάντες τὴν τε Γερ-
 μανίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλεηλάτησαν, τό τε
 ἵππικὸν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθόν σφισιν ἐνή-
 δρευσαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τῷ τε
 Λολλίῳ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς ἐνέτυχον ἀνέλπιστοι καὶ
 6 ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἐκείνον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐ-
 γουστος ὄρμησε μὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 ἔργον τι πολέμου ἔσχεν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὸν τε
 Λόλλιον παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκείνον στρατεύ-
 οντα πυθόμενοι ἔς τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ
 σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ὁμήρους δόντες.

21 Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὅπλων οὐδὲν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Αὐγου-
 στος ἐδεήθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα καθιστάμενος τοῦτον

¹ Ῥυμητάλκη R. Steph., ῤωμητάλκη VM (but Ῥυμητάλκης elsewhere). ² Τέγκτηροι R. Steph., τέγκρητοι VM.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατανάλωσε καὶ τὸν ὕστερον, ἐν
 ᾧ Μάρκος τε Λίβων καὶ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων
 2 ὑπάτευσαν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Λικινίου¹ τινὸς ἐπεπόνηντο.²
 καί μοι δοκεῖ τοῦθ' ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ κῆτός σφισι
 προσημῆναι· πλάτος μὲν γὰρ ποδῶν εἴκοσι μῆκος
 δὲ τριπλάσιον ἔχον, καὶ γυναικὶ πλήν τῆς κεφαλῆς
 εἰκόσιος, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑαυτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξώκει-
 3 λεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Λικίνιος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης
 ἦν, ἀλοῦς δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ δουλεύσας
 τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ἠλευθέρωθη, ὑπὸ δὲ
 τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη.
 4 οὗτος οὖν πλεονεξία μὲν βαρβαρικῇ ἀξιῶσει δὲ
 Ῥωμαϊκῇ χρώμενος, πᾶν μὲν τὸ κρεῖττόν ποτε
 αὐτοῦ νομισθὲν καθήρει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 ἰσχυρὸν ἠφάνιζε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ
 ἀναγκαῖα τῆς προστεταγμένης οἰ³ διακονίας ἐξε-
 πόριζε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις παρεξ-
 5 ἔλεγε. καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε κακοτροπίας ἐχώ-
 ρησεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ τινες ἐσφοραὶ κατὰ μῆνα παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοὺς⁴ ποιῆ-
 σαι, λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλού-
 μενον δέκατον ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τοῦτο
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑστάτους,⁵ ὧν τὸν μὲν
 ἐνδέκατον τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον ὠνόμαζε, νομίζειν,
 καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν.
 6 διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφίσματα ἐκινδύνευσεν·
 οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβόμενοι δεινὰ

¹ Λικινίου Xiph., λικιννίου VM (and similarly just below).

² ἐπεπόνηντο Rk., ἐπεποίηντο VM.

³ οἱ M cod. Peir., αὐτῷ V.

⁴ αὐτοὺς Reim., αὐτὰ V, αὐτὰς M cod. Peir., τοὺς μῆνας Xiph. ⁵ ὑστάτους Dind., ἀγουστους VM cod. Peir.

BOOK LIV

whole of this year, as well as the next, in which B.C. 15
Marcus Libo and Calpurnius Piso were consuls. For not 'only had the Gauls suffered much at the hands of the Germans, but much also at the hands of a certain Licinus.¹ And of this, I think, the sea-monster had given them full warning beforehand; twenty feet broad and three times as long, and resembling a woman except for its head, it had come in from the ocean and become stranded on the shore. Now Licinus was originally a Gaul, but after being captured by the Romans and becoming a slave of Caesar's, he had been set free by him, and by Augustus had been made procurator of Gaul. This man, then, with his combination of barbarian avarice and Roman dignity, tried to overthrow every one who was ever counted superior to him and to destroy every one who was strong for the time being. He not only supplied himself with plenty of funds for the requirements of the office to which he had been assigned, but also incidentally collected plenty for himself and for his friends. His knavery went so far that in some cases where the people paid their tribute by the month he made the months fourteen in number, declaring that the month called December was really the tenth, and for that reason they must reckon two more (which he called the eleventh and the twelfth² respectively) as the last, and contribute the money that was due for these months. It was these quibbles that brought him into danger; for the Gauls secured the ear of Augustus and protested indignantly, so that the

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

² Bekker plausibly suggested *Ἐνδεκέμβριον* and *Δωδεκέμβριον*, i.e. Undecember and Duodecember.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐποίησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὰ μὲν συνάχθῃσθαι¹ σφισι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι· ἄγνοεῖν τέ τινα ἔλεγε, καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἕτερα· μὴ πιστεύειν, καὶ ἔστιν ἂ καὶ συνέκρυπτεν, αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι τοιού-
 7 τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐκέχρητο· ἄλλο δὲ τοιόνδε τι τεχνασάμενος καὶ πάνυ πάντων αὐτῶν κατεγέ-
 λασεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ χαλεπῶς οἱ τὸν Αὐγούστου ἔχοντα ἤσθετο καὶ κολασθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἔς τε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου θησαυροὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
 8 τἄλλα σωρηδὸν συννενημένα² αὐτῷ δείξας, “ἐξεπίτηδες,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἤθροισα, ἵνα μὴ τοσοῦτων χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὄντες ἀποστῶσιν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐτήρησά σοι πάντα αὐτὰ καὶ δίδωμι.”

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσχὺν ἐκνευρικῶς, ἐσώθη,
 22 Δροῦσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Τιβέριος τάδε ἔπραξαν. Ῥαιτοὶ οἰκοῦντες μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Νωρικού καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς Ἄλπεσι ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῖς Τριδεντίταις, τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίσι πολλὰ κατέτρεχον καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας³ ἄρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, τοὺς τε ὁδῶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς
 2 σφετέρας γῆς χρωμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη πῶς τοῖς οὐκ ἐνσπόνδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν, πᾶν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἄρρεν τῶν ἀλισκομένων, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς

¹ συνάχθῃσθαι Xiph., ἄχθῃσθαι VM.

² συννενημένα Sylburg, συννενημένα V, συννενημένα M cod. Peir.

³ Ἰταλίας Bk., ἰταλίδος VM.



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γαστράσιν ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ὄν μαντείας τισὶν
 3 ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἔφθειρον. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐ-
 γουστος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὅς τοὺς προαπαντήσαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν
 περὶ τὰ Τριδεντῖνα ὄρη διὰ ταχέων ἐτρέψατο,
 ὥστε καὶ τιμὰς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λαβεῖν.
 ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρού-
 σθησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ Γαλατία καὶ ὡς ἐνέκειντο, τὸν
 4 Τιβέριον προσαπέστειλεν. ἐσβαλόντες¹ οὖν ἐς
 τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἅμα ἀμφοτέροι, αὐτοὶ τε
 καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ὅ γε Τιβέριος καὶ
 διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίοις κομισθεῖς, ἀπό τε τούτου
 κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστοις σφίσι συμμα-
 γνύντες, τοὺς τε αἰεὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικνουμένους οὐ
 χαλεπῶς, ἅτε διεσπασμέναις ταῖς δυνάμεσι χρω-
 μένους, κατειργάσαντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσθενε-
 στέρους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθυμοτέρους γενομένους
 5 εἶλον. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐπολυάνδρουν καὶ ἐδόκουν τι
 νεωτεριεῖν, τό τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς
 ἡλικίας αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσοῦτους
 ὅσοι τὴν μὲν χώραν οἰκεῖν ἱκανοὶ νεοχμῶσαι δέ τι
 ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν.

23 Κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει Οὐΐδιος Πωλίων
 ἀπέθανεν, ἀνὴρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδεν² μνήμης ἄξιον
 παρασχόμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων ἐγεγόνει
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐξητάζετο καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν
 εἰργάσατο), ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ πλούτῳ τῇ τε ὠμότητι
 ὀνομαστότατος γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίας
 2 λόγον ἐσελθεῖν. οὗτος γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα
 ἔπραττε, δι' ὄχλου ἂν λεγόμενα γένοιτο, μυραίνας

¹ ἐσβαλόντες M, ἐσβάλλοντες V.

² ἀπελευθέρων VM cod. Peir., ἀπελευθέρου Xiph.

BOOK LIV

whom they discovered by some means of divination. B.C. 15
For these reasons, then, Augustus first sent against them Drusus, who speedily routed a detachment of them which came to meet him near the Tridentine mountains, and in consequence received the rank of praetor. Later, when the Rhaetians had been repulsed from Italy, but were still harassing Gaul, Augustus sent out Tiberius also. Both leaders then invaded Rhaetia at many points at the same time, either in person or through their lieutenants, and Tiberius even crossed the lake¹ with ships. In this way, by encountering them separately, they terrified them and not only easily overwhelmed those with whom they came into close quarters at any time, inasmuch as the barbarians had their forces scattered, but also captured the remainder, who in consequence had become weaker and less spirited. And because the land had a large population of males and seemed likely to revolt, they deported most of the strongest men of military age, leaving behind only enough to give the country a population, but too few to begin a revolution.

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

¹ The Lacus Venetus (Lago di Garda).

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δὲ δεδιδαγμένας ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ἐν δεξαμεναῖς
 τρέφων τοὺς δούλους. αὐταῖς οὖς ἐθανάτου παρέ-
 βαλλε.¹ καί ποτε τὸν Αὐγούστου ἐστιῶν, εἴτ'
 ἐπειδὴ ὁ οἰνοχόος κύλικα κρυσταλλίνην κατέαξεν,
 ἐς τὰς μυραίνας αὐτόν, μηδὲ τὸν δαιτυμόνα αἰδε-
 3 σθείς, ἐμβληθῆναι προσέταξεν. ὁ οὖν Αὐγούστος,
 προσπεσόντος οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἰκετεύσαντος
 αὐτόν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πείθειν τὸν Πωλίωνα
 ἐπειρᾶτο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον δράσαι, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπή-
 κουσεν αὐτῷ, “ φέρε,” ἔφη, “ πάντα τᾶλλα ἐκπώ-
 ματα, ὅσα² ποτὲ τοιουτότροπα ἢ καὶ ἕτερα τίνα
 4 ἔντιμα κέκτησαι, ἵνα αὐτοῖς χρήσωμαι.” καὶ
 αὐτὰ κομισθέντα συντριβῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἰδὼν
 δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἄλλως μὲν ἤσχαλλεν, οὔτε δὲ τοῦ
 ἐνὸς ἔτι ποτηρίου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
 ἀπολωλότων ὀργὴν ἔχων, οὔτ' αὖ τὸν διάκονον ὦν
 γε καὶ ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐπεποιήκει τιμωρήσασθαι
 5 δυνάμενος, ἤσυχίαν καὶ ἄκων ἤγαγε. τοιοῦτος
 οὖν δὴ τις ὁ Πωλίων ὦν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄλλοις τε
 πολλοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοῦ τε κλήρου
 συχνὸν μέρος καὶ τὸν³ Πausίλυπον, τὸ χωρίον τὸ
 μεταξὺ τῆς τε Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Πουτεόλων
 ὄν, καταλιπὼν, τῷ τε δήμῳ περικαλλὲς ἔργον
 6 οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσας. ὁ οὖν Αὐγούστος τὴν
 οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐς ἔδαφος προφάσει τῆς ἐκείνου
 κατασκευῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν μνημόσυνον ἐν τῇ πόλει
 ἔχῃ, καταβαλὼν περίστωον ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ οὐ

¹ παρέβαλλε cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., παρέβαλε VM.

² ὅσα—τῷ κοινῷ (chap. 24, 7) omitted by V, whose archetype L had lost one folio at this point. ³ τὸν M Xiph., τὸ Xyl.



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τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Πωλίωνος ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς Λιουίας ἐπέγραψεν.

7 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐποίησε, τότε δὲ πόλεις ἐν τε τῇ Γαλατία καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρία συχνὰς ἀπώκισε, καὶ Κυζικηνοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε, Παφίοις τε σεισμῶ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὔγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ
8 δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ ἔγραψα οὐχ ὅτι οὐ¹ καὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι πολλαῖς καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐφ' ὁμοίαις συμφοραῖς καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐπεκούρησαν, ὧν εἴ τις ἀπάντων μνημονεύοι, ἀπέραντον ἂν τὸ ἔργον τῆς συγγραφῆς γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἐπω-
νυμίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ γερουσία ἐν μέρει τιμῆς ἔνεμε, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι καταλόγους ὀνομάτων οὓς ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ὡς πλήθει ποιοῦνται.

24 Τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει Μάρκος μὲν Κράσσος καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὑπάτευσαν, οἱ δ' ἀγορανόμοι οἱ κουρούλιοι, ἀπειπόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι ἐξαισίων σφίσι τῶν ὀρνίθων γενομένων ἤρηντο,² αὐθις αὐτὴν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνέ-
2 λαβον. ἢ τε στοὰ ἢ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαῖον ἀφίκετο, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἔς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀειπαρθένων (ἢ γὰρ πρεσβεύουσα αὐτῶν ἐτε-
τύφλωτο) ἀνακομισθῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως
3 τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθῆναι. ἢ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου, ἐς ὃν τὸ τοῦ

¹ οὐ supplied by Bs. (μὴ by Xyl.).

² ἤρηντο Rk., ἤσαντο M.

BOOK LIV

and he built a colonnade, inscribing on it the name, B.C. 15
not of Pollio, but of Livia.

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

The next year Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Corne- B.C. 14
lius were consuls; and the curule aediles, after resigning their office because they had been elected under unfavourable auspices, received it again, contrary to precedent, at another meeting of the assembly. The Basilica of Paulus was burned and the flames spread from it to the temple of Vesta, so that the sacred objects there were carried up to the Palatine by the Vestal Virgins,¹—except the eldest, who had become blind,—and were placed in the house of the priest of Jupiter. The basilica was afterwards rebuilt, nominally by Aemilius, who was

¹ Cf. xlii. 31, 3.

ποιήσαντός ποτε αὐτὴν γένος ἔληλύθει, τῷ δὲ
 ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ
 Παύλου φίλων ἀνωκοδομήθη· τότε δὲ οἱ τε Παν-
 νόνιοι νεωτερίσαντες αὐθις ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αἱ
 Ἕλληες αἱ παραθαλασσίδιοι ὑπὸ Λιγύων τῶν
 κομητῶν καλουμένων ἐλευθέρως ἔτι καὶ τότε νε-
 4 μόμεναι ἐδουλώθησαν. τὰ τε ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ τῷ
 Κιμμερίῳ νεοχμώσαντα κατέστη. Σκριβώνιος
 γάρ τις τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου ἔγγονος εἶναι καὶ
 παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπειδήπερ
 ὁ Ἄσανδρος ἐτεθνήκει, εἰληφέναι λέγων, τὴν
 γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Δύναμιν τε καλουμένην καὶ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτετραμμένην, ἣ τοῦ
 τε Φαρνάκου θυγάτηρ καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἔγγονος
 ἀληθῶς ἦν, ἠγάγετο, καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον διὰ χειρὸς
 5 ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὸν
 Πολέμωνα ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ πρὸς
 τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ὄντος βασιλεύοντα, ἐπεμψε· καὶ
 ὃς Σκριβώνιον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε
 (μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Βοσπόριοι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν¹ αὐτοῦ
 προαπέκτειναν αὐτόν), ἀντιστάντων δὲ οἱ ἐκείνων
 δέει τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύεσθαι αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, ἐς χεῖρας
 6 σφισιν ἦλθε. καὶ ἐνίκησε μὲν, οὐ μὲν καὶ παρε-
 στήσατό σφας πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Σινώπην
 ἐλθεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσοντα. οὕτω δὲ
 τὰ τε ὄπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ παρεδό-
 θησαν· ἣ τε γυνὴ ἢ Δύναμις συνώκησεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ
 7 Αὐγούστου δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτός. καὶ
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θυσίαι μὲν τῷ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ὀνόματι
 ἐγένοντο, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ψηφι-
 σθέντα αὐτῷ ἐπέμφθη· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγραψεν ἀρχὴν

¹ ἐπιβολὴν Rk., ἐπιβουλήν L.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν, ἀφ'
 οὗ δὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, νόμῳ τινὶ τῷ ἐκείνου
 τρόπῳ χρώμενοι, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τι τῷ κοινῷ ἔτ'
 ἐπέστελλον, οὔτε τὴν πέμψιν τῶν νικητηρίων
 8 ἐδέξατο.¹ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἔτι τῶν
 ὁμοίων αὐτῷ, ὡς γε καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο
 ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυ-
 ροῦντο.

25 Ὁ δ' οὖν² Αὐγουστος ἐπειδὴ πάντα τά τε ἐν
 ταῖς Γαλαταῖαις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ'
 Ἰβηρίαις, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλώσας ὡς ἐκάστοις πολ-
 λὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων λαβῶν, τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν
 καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῖς μὲν δούς τοὺς δ' ἀφελόμενος,
 διωκῆσατο, τὸν μὲν Δρούσον ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ
 κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τε τοῦ
 Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κυντιλίου³ Οὐάρου ὑπάτων
 2 ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς ἀφί-
 ξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ
 ἐλθοῦσα ἐν αἷς Κορνήλιος Βάλβος τὸ θέατρον τὸ
 καὶ νῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον καθιερώσας θεάς
 ἐπετέλει, ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον
 ἐπανάξων ἐσεμνύνετο, καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους
 τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅπερ ὁ Τίβερις πλεονάσας ἐπεποιήκει,
 μηδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ πλοίῳ δυνηθεῖς,
 καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεάτρου
 3 τιμῇ ἐπεψήφισεν. ἢ τε γὰρ βουλή ἠθροίσθη, καὶ
 ἔδοξε σφισιν ἄλλα τε καὶ βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βου-
 λευτηρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπανόδου ποιή-

¹ ἐδέξατο Bk., ἐδέξαντο VM. ² δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM.

³ Κυντιλίου R. Steph., κυντίλλου VM.

BOOK LIV

as notify the senate of what had been accomplished, and in consequence subsequent conquerors, treating his course as a precedent, also gave up the practice of sending reports to the public; and he would not accept the celebration of the triumph. For this reason,—at least, such is my opinion,—no one else of his peers was permitted to do so any longer, either, but they enjoyed merely the distinction of triumphal honours. B.C. 14

Now when Augustus had finished all the business which occupied him in the several provinces of Gaul, of Germany and of Spain,¹ having spent large sums upon special districts and received large sums from others, having bestowed freedom and citizenship upon some and taken them away from others, he left Drusus in Germany and returned to Rome himself in the consulship of Tiberius and Quintilius Varus. B.C. 13 Now it chanced that the news of his coming reached the city during those days when Cornelius Balbus was celebrating with spectacles the dedication of the theatre which is even to-day called by his name; and Balbus accordingly began to put on airs, as if it were he himself that was going to bring Augustus back,—although he was unable even to enter his theatre, except by boat, on account of the flood of water caused by the Tiber, which had overflowed its banks,—and Tiberius put the vote to him first, in honour of his building the theatre. For the senate convened, and among its other decrees voted to place an altar in the senate-chamber itself, to commemorate the return of Augus-

¹ Literally, “in the Gauls, in the Germanies, and the Spains.” “Germany” here and just below refers to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, west of the Rhine. See note on liii. 12, 6.

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σασθαι, τοῖς τε ἱκετεύσασιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πω-
 μηρίου ὄντα ἄδειαν εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδέξατο
 οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ
 4 τότε ἐξέστη· νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη,
 ὅπερ πού καὶ αἰεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐς τὰ προάστεια
 εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποί ἐκδημοίῃ, καὶ ἀφορμώμενος
 καὶ ἐπανιῶν ὁμοίως ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν
 ὀχληρὸς εἴη. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἔν τε τῷ παλατίῳ
 τὸν δῆμον ἠσπάσατο, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνελ-
 θὼν τὴν τε δάφνην ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων περιεῖλε καὶ
 ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα κατέθετο, τῷ τε¹ δήμῳ
 προῖκα τὰ τε λουτρὰ καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τὴν ἡμέραν
 5 ἐκείνην παρέσχε. συναγαγὼν δὲ ἐκ τούτου τὸ
 βουλευτήριον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπεν ὑπὸ βράγχου,
 τὸ δὲ δὴ βιβλίον² τῷ ταμιά³ ἀναγνῶναι δούς τὰ
 τε πεπραγμένα οἱ κατηριθμήσατο, καὶ διέταξε τὰ
 τε ἔτη ὅσα οἱ πολῖται στρατεύσοιντο, καὶ τὰ χρή-
 ματα ὅσα παυσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς
 χώρας ἣν αἰεὶ ποτε ἦτουν, λήψοιντο, ὅπως ἐπὶ
 ῥητοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη καταλεγόμενοι μηδὲν τούτων γε
 6 ἔνεκα νεωτερίζωσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ τε ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν
 τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις δώδεκα τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἑκκαί-
 δεκα, καὶ τὸ⁴ ἀργύριον τοῖς μὲν ἔλαττον τοῖς δὲ
 πλείον. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνοις μὲν οὔθ' ἠδουήν οὔτ'
 ὀργὴν ἔν γε τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐνεποίησε διὰ τὸ μήτε
 πάντων ὧν ἐπεθύμουν τυχεῖν μήτε πάντων δια-
 μαρτεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ
 μηκέτι τῶν κτημάτων ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι.

26 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τό τε θέατρον τὸ τοῦ Μαρ-
 κέλλου καλούμενον καθιέρωσε, κὰν τῇ πανηγύρει

¹ τε Bk., δὲ VM.

³ ταμιά Bk., ταμείαι VM.

² βιβλίον V, βυβλίον M.

⁴ τὸ Bk., τὸ μὲν VM.



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τῆ δια τούτο γενομένη τήν τε Τροίαν οἱ παῖδες οἱ
 εὐπατρίδαι οἷ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ ὁ
 Γάιος ἵππευσαν, καὶ θηρία Λιβυκὰ ἑξακόσια
 2 ἀπεςφάγη· τά τε γενέθλια τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὁ
 Ἰουλλος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖς στρατηγῶν καὶ
 ἵπποδρομία καὶ σφαγαῖς θηρίων ἐώρτασε, καὶ ἐν
 τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ τὴν βουλήν κατὰ
 δόγμα αὐτῆς εἰστίασεν.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐξέτασις αὐθις τῶν βουλευτῶν
 ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δέκα μυριά-
 δων τὸ τίμημα αὐτοῖς ὄριστο διὰ τὸ συχνούς τῶν
 πατρῶων ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἐστερῆσθαι, προϊόντος
 δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιουσίας
 κτωμένων ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι προήχθη, οὐκέτ'
 4 οὐδεὶς ἐθελοντὶ¹ βουλευσῶν εὕρισκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 παῖδες εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ ἔγγονοι βουλευτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς
 ἀληθῶς πενόμενοι οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συμφορῶν προ-
 γονικῶν τεταπεινωμένοι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀντεποι-
 οῦντο τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-
 5 κατειλεγμένοι ἤδη ἐξώμνυντο. καὶ διὰ τούτο
 πρότερον μὲν, ἀποδημοῦντος ἔτι τοῦ Αὐγούστου,
 δόγμα ἐγένετο τοὺς εἴκοσι καλουμένους ἄνδρας
 ἐκ τῶν ἵππέων ἀποδείκνυσθαι ὅθεν οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς
 αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, μὴ καὶ ἑτέραν
 τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσάγειν δυναμένων λαβῶν.
 6 οἱ δὲ δὴ² εἴκοσιν οὗτοι ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν ἑξ καὶ εἴ-
 κοσίν εἰσιν, οἷ τε τρεῖς οἱ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου δίκας
 προστεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι τρεῖς οἱ τὸ τοῦ

¹ ἐθελοντὶ R. Steph., ἐθελοντῆ VM.

² οἱ δὲ δὴ Rk., εἴτε δὴ V, οἷ τε δὴ M.

BOOK LIV

purpose the patrician boys, including his grandson Gaius, performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy,"¹ and six hundred wild beasts from Africa were slain. And to celebrate the birthday of Augustus, Iullus, the son of Antony, who was praetor, gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts, and entertained both the emperor and the senate, in pursuance of a decree of that body, upon the Capitol. B.C. 13

After this there was another purging of the lists of the senate. At first, as we have seen, the rating of senators had been fixed at four hundred thousand sesterces, because many of them had been stripped of their ancestral estates by the wars, and then, as time went on and men acquired wealth, it had been raised to one million sesterces. Consequently no one was any longer found who would of his own choice become a senator; on the contrary, sons and grandsons of senators, some of them really poor and others reduced to humble station by the misfortunes of their ancestors, not only would not lay claim to the senatorial dignity, but also, when already entered on the lists, swore that they were ineligible. Therefore, previous to this time, while Augustus was still absent from the city, a decree had been passed that the Vigintiviri, as they were called, should be appointed from the knights; and thus none of these men eligible to be senators was any longer enrolled in the senate without having also held one of the other offices that led to it. These Vigintiviri are what is left of the Vigintisexviri, of whom three² are in charge of criminal trials, another three³ attend to

¹ See xliii. 23, 6, and note. ² *Tresviri capitales*.

³ *Tresviri monetales*.

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νομίματος κόμμα μεταχειριζόμενοι, οἳ τε τέσσαρες οἱ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ὁδῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, καὶ οἱ δέκα οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἑκατὸν
 7 ἄνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεικνύμενοι· οἱ γὰρ δὴ δύο οἱ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ὁδοὺς ἐγχειριζόμενοι, οἳ τε τέσσαρες οἱ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν πεμπόμενοι, κατελέλυντο. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐκδημία ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἴν' ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἔτι ῥαδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ἦτει,¹ κλήρω τινές² ἐκ τῶν τεταμιευκότων καὶ μήπω τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων
 8 καθιστῶνται. τότε δὲ αὐτὸς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξήτασε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐντός τε τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης ὄντας καὶ τὸ τίμημα ἔχοντας βουλευῆσαι κατηνάγκασε, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις
 9 ἀνάπηρος ἦν. καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα καὶ αὐτὸς που αὐτῶν³ ἑώρα, περὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὄρκοις ἐπιστοῦτο αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ ἑτέρων συνομνύντων σφίσι καὶ λογισμὸν τῆς τε ἀπορίας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ βίου διδόντων.

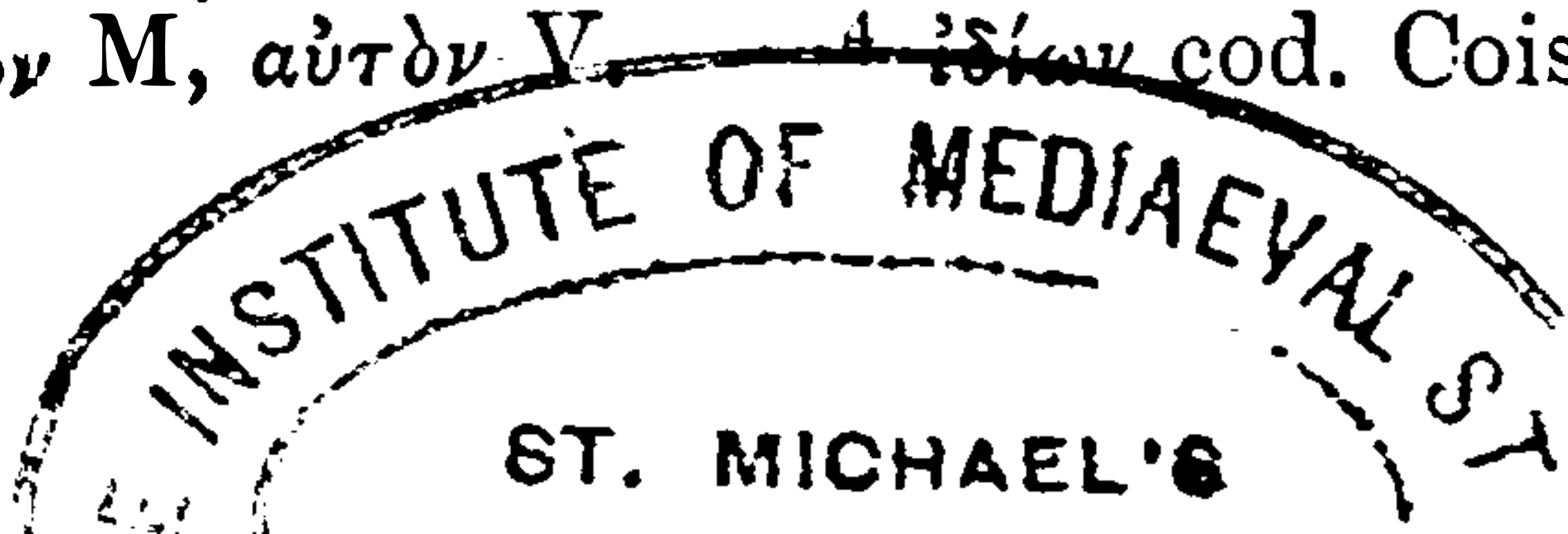
27 Καὶ οὐκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοιοῦτος ἦν, τῶν δ' ἰδίων⁴ παρημέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκταία, ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκαθίσατο, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι καὶ κρότοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸν
 2 ἐτίμησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος

¹ ἦτει M, ἦτοι V.

² τινές Leuncl., τινὰς VM.

³ αὐτῶν M, αὐτὸν V.

⁴ ἰδίων cod. Coisl., ιδιωτῶν VM.





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ἀρχιέρεως ἀπεδείχθη καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἡ βουλή ψηφί-
 σασθαι¹ αὐτῷ² ἠθέλησεν, οὔτε τι αὐτῶν
 προσήσασθαι ἔφη, καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἐξανέστη τε
 3 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνα
 ἔτ' ἐκυρώθη οὔτ' οἰκίαν τινὰ δημοσίαν ἔλαβεν,
 ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἀρχιέρεων ἐν
 κοινῷ πάντως οἰκεῖν ἐχρῆν, ἐδημοσίωσεν. τὴν
 μέντοι τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ἱερῶν³ ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις
 ἔδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ⁴ ὁμότοιχος ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν αὐτῶν
 ἦν.

4 Κορνηλίου τε Σισέννου⁵ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς γυ-
 ναικὸς βίῳ σχόντος, καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἰπόντος
 ὅτι καὶ εἰδότος καὶ συμβουλεύσαντός οἱ αὐτοῦ
 ἠγάγετο αὐτήν, περιοργῆς τε ἐγένετο καὶ εἶπε μὲν
 οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔπραξε δεινόν, ἐκπηδήσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
 βουλευτηρίου ἔπειτα μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανῆλθεν, ἐλό-
 μενος, ὡς γε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη, τοῦτο
 μάλλον καίπερ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχον ποιῆσαι ἢ κατὰ
 χώραν μείνας ἀναγκασθῆναί τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι.

28 Κὰν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλ-
 θόντα τῇ τε δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐθις ἐς ἄλλα
 ἔτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολε-
 μησείουσαν ἐξέπεμψε, μείζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἑκαστα-
 χόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχυῖσαι ἐπιτρέ-
 2 ψας. καὶ ὅς τὴν μὲν στρατείαν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος,
 ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Οὐαλέριος καὶ Πούπλιος Σουλ-
 πίκιος ὑπάτευον, ἐνεστηκότος ἐποιήσατο, ἐκπλα-
 γέντων δὲ τῶν Παννονίων πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ

¹ Lacuna recognized by Elsner.

² αὐτῷ V, αὐτῶν M.

³ ἱερῶν Leuncl., ἱερέων VM.

⁴ ἐπειδὴ H. Steph., ἐπεὶ δὲ VM.

⁵ Σισέννου Glandorp, σισεντίου VM.

BOOK LIV

Lepidus he was appointed high priest and the senate accordingly wished to vote him [other honours (?)]; but he declared that he would not accept any of them, and when the senators urged him, he rose and left the meeting. That measure, therefore, now failed of passage, and he also received no official residence; but, inasmuch as it was absolutely necessary that the high priest should live in a public residence, he made a part of his own house public property. The house of the *rex sacrificulus*, however, he gave to the Vestal Virgins, because it was separated merely by a wall from their apartments. B.C. 13

When Cornelius Sisenna was censured for the conduct of his wife, and stated in the senate that he had married her with the knowledge and on the advice of the emperor, Augustus became exceedingly angry. He did not, to be sure, say or do anything violent, but rushed out of the senate-house, and then returned a little later, choosing to take this course, though it was not the correct thing to do, as he said to his friends afterward, rather than to remain where he was and be compelled to do something harsh.

Meanwhile he increased the power of Agrippa, who had returned from Syria, by giving him the tribunician power again for another five years, and he sent him out to Pannonia, which was eager for war, entrusting him with greater authority than the officials outside Italy ordinarily possessed. And Agrippa set out on the campaign in spite of the fact that the winter had already begun (this was the year in which Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius were the consuls); but when the Pannonians became terrified at his approach and gave up their B.C. 12

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- καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερισάντων ἐπανήλθε, καὶ ἐν
 3 Καμπανία γενόμενος ἐνόσησε. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ-
 το ὁ Αὐγούστος (ἔτυχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις
 ὄπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας τῷ τῶν παίδων ὀνόματι
 τιθείς) ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθνηκό-
 τα ἔς τε τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν
 τῇ ἀγορᾷ προέθηκε, τὸν τε λόγον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 εἶπε, παραπέτασμά τι πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατείννας.
 4 ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα διὰ τί ἐποίησεν, εἴρηται δὲ
 ὅμως τοῖς μὲν ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι τὰ τῶν
 τιμητῶν ἐπραττεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ
 τῷ ἀρχιέρεω ἀπείρηται νεκρὸν ὄραν οὔτε τῷ τι-
 μητῇ, πλὴν ἂν τὸ τέλος ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς μέλλη
 ἐπάξειν· ἂν γάρ τινα πρὸ τοῦ καθαρσίου ἴδῃ,
 ἀνάδαστα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεται.
 5 τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἔδρασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτοῦ
 ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηνέχθη
 ἐποιήσατο, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μνημείῳ
 ἔθαψε, καίτοι ἴδιον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ λαβόντα.¹
- 29 Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτω μετήλλαξε, τά τε
 ἄλλα ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων δια-
 φανῶς γενόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φιλίᾳ
 πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ
 2 συμφωρότατον χρησάμενος. ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἀρετῇ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου ἐθε-
 λουτῆς ἠττάτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
 σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέ-

¹ λαβόντα M, ὕντα V.



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3 χων πᾶσαν τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν
 ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετῆιν ἀνήλισκεν. ἀφ' οὗ
 δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὐτ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ
 ἐπαχθῆς οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίφθονος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ'
 ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν ὡς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως
 ἐπιθυμητῆς¹ συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐεργε-
 4 σίαις ὡς καὶ δημοτικώτατος προσεποιήσατο. καὶ
 τότε γοῦν κήπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ
 ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὥστε προῖκα αὐτοὺς
 λοῦσθαι, χωρία τινὰ ἐς τοῦτο τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δούς.
 καὶ ὅς οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἐδημοσίευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 καθ' ἑκατὸν² δραχμὰς τῷ δήμῳ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου
 5 κελεύσαντος διένειμε. τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων
 αὐτοῦ ἐκκληρονόμησεν, ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ
 Χερρόνησος ἦν³ ἢ πρὸς τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οὐκ
 οἶδ' ὅπως ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐλθοῦσα· καὶ πάνυ
 ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτὸν ἐπόθησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 ἔντιμον παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐποίησε, τὸν τε υἱὸν τὸν
 τελευτήσαντί οἱ γεννηθέντα Ἀγρίππαν προση-
 6 γόρευσεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκλιπεῖν τι
 τῶν πατρίων, καίπερ μηδενὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐς τὰς
 πανηγύρεις ἀπαντῆσαι ἐθέλοντος, ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ
 αὐτὸς τὰς μονομαχίας διετέλεσε· πολλάκις τε⁴
 7 καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. οὕτω γοῦν οὐκ
 ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου οἰκίᾳ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο,
 ὥστε καὶ σημεία ὅσα πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν

¹ ἐπιθυμητῆς Xyl., ἐπιθυμητῆι VM cod. Peir.

² ἑκατὸν M, ἑκαστον V cod. Peir.

³ ἦν supplied by Bs. ⁴ τε Bs., γε VM.

BOOK LIV

honour and influence he received from him upon benefactions to others. It was because of this in particular that he never became obnoxious to Augustus himself nor invidious to his fellow-citizens; on the contrary, he helped Augustus to establish the monarchy, as if he were really a devoted adherent of the principle of autocratic rule, and he won over the people by his benefactions, as if he were in the highest degree a friend of popular government. At any rate, even at his death he left them gardens and the baths named after him, so that they might bathe free of cost, and for this purpose gave Augustus certain estates.¹ And the emperor not only turned these over to the state, but also distributed to the people four hundred sesterces apiece, giving it to be understood that Agrippa had so ordered. And, indeed, he had inherited most of Agrippa's property, including the Chersonese on the Hellespont, which had come in some way or other into Agrippa's hands. Augustus felt his loss for a long time and hence caused him to be honoured in the eyes of the people; and he named the posthumous son born to him Agrippa. Nevertheless, he did not allow the citizens at large, although none of the prominent men wished to attend the festivals, to omit any of the time-honoured observances, and he in person superintended the gladiatorial combats, though they were often held without his presence. The death of Agrippa, far from being merely a private loss to his own household, was at any rate such a public loss to all the Romans that portents occurred on this occasion in such numbers as are wont to happen

¹ For the baths, see liii. 27, 1. The estates here mentioned were to provide an income for the maintenance of the baths.

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συμβαίνειν σφίσιν εἴωθε, καὶ τότε συνενεχθῆναι. βύαι τε γὰρ τῇ πόλει διεφθόγησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οἰκίαν, ἐς ἣν οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐν
 8 ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, ἐνέσκηψε. τό τε ἄστρον ὁ κομήτης ὠνομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰωρηθεὶς ἐς λαμπάδας διελύθη. καὶ πυρὶ ἄλλα τε τῆς πόλεως συχνὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνὴ ἐκαύθη, κοράκων κρέα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ βωμοῦ τινος ἔμπυρα ἐμβαλόντων.

30 Οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ δὴ¹ τοῦτο ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐπιμελητῆς τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτῆς τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἕτερα ἔτη πέντε αἵρεθεὶς (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προθεσμίας, ὥσπερ πού καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἐλάμβανε) θυμιᾶν τε τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὅσάκις ἂν ἔδρα αὐτῶν ἦ, καὶ τὴν ἀφίξιν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὴ² ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα θεοσεβῶσι, τὸ δὲ ἵν' ἀπονητὶ³ συνίωσιν,
 2 ἐκέλευσε. τὴν δὲ δημαρχίαν ὀλίγων σφόδρα διὰ τὸ τὴν ἰσχύν σφῶν καταλελύσθαι αἰτούντων, ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν μὴ ἔλαττον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας κεκτημένων προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἕνα ἕκαστον, καὶ τούτων τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς ἐνδέοντας αἵρεῖσθαι ἐφ' ᾧ τε,⁴ εἰ μὲν καὶ βουλευεῖν μετὰ τούτ' ἐθέλοιεν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐς τὴν ἰππάδα αὐθις ἐπανιέναι ἐξεῖναι.

3 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τινὸς διὰ σεισμοὺς μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο,⁵ τὸν τε φόρον αὐτῆς

¹ δὴ V, om. M.

² μὴ supplied by Bk., following Casaubon.

³ ἀπονητὶ R. Steph., ἀπονητεῖ VM.

⁴ ἐφ' ᾧ τε Bk., σφισιν VM. ⁵ ἐδεῖτο Dindl., ἐδέετο VM.



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τὸν ἔτειον ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἐσήνεγκε, καὶ ἄρχοντά οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλ' οὐχ αἰρετόν, ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη προσέταξε.

4 Κακῶς τέ ποτε τοῦ Ἀπουλείου¹ καὶ τοῦ Μαικήνου ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τινὶ μοιχείας, οὐχ ὅτι τι² καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑβρίκεσαν ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ κρινομένῳ σπουδῇ συνήρουντο, ἀκούόντων ἤλθέ τε ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔδρα καθιζήσας δεινὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἀπειπὼν δὲ τῷ κατηγορῷ μήτε τοὺς συγγενεῖς μήτε τοὺς
5 φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστη. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδριᾶσί τε ἐκ συντελείας ἐτίμησαν, καὶ τῷ τοῖς τε ἀγύνοις καὶ ταῖς³ ἀνάδροις καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ δοῦναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδέτερον.

31 Ὡς δ' οὖν⁴ ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ὄνπερ πού δι' ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀνάγκην τινὰ ἠγάπα, ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ συνεργοῦ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει προφέροντος, ὥστε καὶ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πάντα διάγεσθαι, ἐδεῖτο, τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ἄκων προσεῖλετο· οἱ γὰρ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ ἐν παισὶν ἔτι καὶ
2 τότε ἦσαν. καὶ προαποσπάσας καὶ ἐκείνου τὴν γυναῖκα, καίτοι τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου θυγατέρα ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς γαμετῆς οὔσαν, καὶ τέκνον τὸ μὲν ἤδη τρέφουσαν τὸ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν, τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν οἱ ἠγγύησε⁵ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παννονίους αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε· τέως μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν

¹ ἀπουλείου M, ἀπουλίου V Xiph.

² τι M, om. V.

³ ταῖς V, τοῖς M.

⁴ δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM.

⁵ ἠγγύησε V, ἐγγύησε M.

BOOK LIV

the public treasury from his private funds the amount of its annual tribute and assigned to it for two years a governor chosen by lot and not appointed. B.C. 12

On one occasion, when Apuleius and Maecenas were subjected to abuse in court when a case of adultery was being tried, not because they had behaved wantonly themselves, but because they were actively aiding the man on trial, Augustus entered the court-room and sat in the praetor's chair; he took no harsh measures, but simply forbade the accuser to insult either his relatives or his friends, and then rose and left the room. For this action and others the senators honoured him with statues, paid for by private subscription, and also by giving bachelors and spinsters the right to behold spectacles and to attend banquets along with other people on his birthday; for neither of these things had been permitted previously.

When now Agrippa, whom he loved because of his excellence and not because of any kinship, was dead, Augustus felt the need of an assistant in the public business, one who would far surpass all the others in both rank and influence, so that he might transact all business promptly and without being the object of envy and intrigue. Therefore he reluctantly chose Tiberius; for his own grandsons were still boys at this time. He first made him, as he had made Agrippa, divorce his wife, though she was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage and was bringing up one child and was about to give birth to another; and having betrothed Julia to him, he sent him out against the Pannonians. This people had for a time been quiet through fear of

φοβηθέντες ἠσύχασαν, τότε δὲ τελευτήσαντος
 3 αὐτοῦ ἐπανεστήσαν. καί σφας ὁ Τιβέριος, πολλὰ
 μὲν τῆς χώρας πορθήσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους κακώσας, ἐχειρώσατο, τοῖς Σκορδί-
 σκοις,¹ ὁμόροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεύοις οὖσι,
 συμμάχοις ὅτι μάλιστα χρησάμενος. καὶ τὰ τε
 ὄπλα σφῶν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ πλείον
 4 ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἀπέδοτο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ
 μὲν βουλὴ τὰ γε² ἐπινίκια ἐψηφίσατο, ὁ δ' Αὐ-
 γουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἑορτάσαι, τὰς
 δὲ τιμὰς τὰς ἐπινικίους ἀντέδωκε.

32 Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ συνέβη. τῶν
 τε γὰρ Συγάμβρων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διά-
 τε τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ³ τοὺς
 Γαλάτας μὴ ἐθελοδουλεῖν πολεμωθέντων σφίσι,
 τό τε ὑπήκοον προκατέλαβε, τοὺς πρώτους αὐτοῦ,
 προφάσει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἦν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ
 Αὐγούστου βωμὸν ἐν Αουγδούνῳ τελοῦσι, μετα-
 πεμφάμενος, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν
 2 Ῥῆνον διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 ἔς τε τὴν τῶν Οὔσιπετῶν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν
 Βατάουων⁴ νῆσον διέβη, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συγαμβρίδα
 ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιπαρελθὼν συχνὰ ἐπόρθησεν. ἔς τε
 τὸν ὠκεανὸν διὰ τοῦ Ῥήνου καταπλεύσας τοὺς τε
 Φρισίους⁵ ὠκείωσατο, καὶ ἔς τὴν Χαυκίδα διὰ
 τῆς λίμνης ἐμβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευσε, τῶν πλοίων
 ὑπὸ⁶ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλιρροίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ

¹ σκορδίσκοις M, κορδίσκοις V.

² γε H. Steph., τε VM.

³ τὸ supplied by R. Steph.

⁴ Βατάουων Leuncl., Πατάουων VM.

⁵ Φρισίους Bk., φρεισίους VM.

⁶ ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ VM.



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3 γενομένων. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων¹
 πεζῇ συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ σωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε
 (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν), καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔλθων ἀστυ-
 νόμος ἐπὶ τε Κύντον Αἰλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Παύλου
 33 Φαβίου ὑπάτων, καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς
 ἔχων, ἀπεδείχθη ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
 αὐθις ὤρμησε, καὶ τὸν τε Ῥήνον ἐπεραιώθη καὶ
 τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας κατεστρέψατο, τὸν τε Λουπίαν
 ἔξευξε καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δι'
 αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε² μέχρι
 2 τοῦ Οὐισούργου.³ ἠδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι
 οἱ Σύγαμβροι τοὺς Χάπτους, μόνους τῶν προσ-
 οίκων μὴ ἐθελήσαντάς⁴ σφισι συμμαχῆσαι, ἐν
 ὀργῇ σχόντες πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεστράτευσαν,
 κἂν⁵ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἔλαθε⁶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν
 διεξελθών. καὶ διέβη ἂν καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον, εἰ
 μὴ τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνισε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν
 ἐνέστη καί τι καὶ σμῆνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ
 3 ὤφθη. οὐτ' οὖν περαιτέρω διὰ ταῦτα προεχώ-
 ρησε, καὶ εἰς τὴν φίλιαν ἀνακομιζόμενος δεινῶς
 ἐκινδύνευσεν· οἱ γὰρ πολέμοι ἄλλως τε ἐνέδραις
 αὐτὸν ἐκάκωσαν, καί ποτε εἰς στενὸν καὶ κοῖλον
 χωρίον κατακλείσαντες ὀλίγου διέφθειραν, κἂν
 πασσυδὶ ἂν⁷ ἀπώλεσαν, εἰ μὴ καταφρονήσαντές
 σφῶν ὡς καὶ ἐαλωκότων καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς⁸

¹ φρισίων M, φρεισίων V.

² προεχώρησε Leuncl., προσεχώρησε VM.

³ Οὐισούργου Leuncl., οὐισούτρον VM. (and similarly just below).

BOOK LIV

left high and dry by the ebb of the ocean. He was saved on this occasion by the Frisians, who had joined his expedition with their infantry, and withdrew, since it was now winter. Upon arriving in Rome he was appointed praetor urbanus, in the consulship of Quintius Aelius and Paulus Fabius, although he already had the rank of praetor. At the beginning of spring he set out again for the war, crossed the Rhine, and subjugated the Usipetes. He bridged the Lupia,¹ invaded the country of the Sugambri, and advanced through it into the country of the Cherusci, as far as the Visurgis.² He was able to do this because the Sugambri, in anger at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbours that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign against them with all their population; and seizing this opportunity, he traversed their country unnoticed. He would have crossed the Visurgis also, had he not run short of provisions, and had not the winter set in and, besides, a swarm of bees been seen in his camp. Consequently he proceeded no farther, but retired to friendly territory, encountering great dangers on the way. For the enemy harassed him everywhere by ambuscades, and once they shut him up in a narrow pass and all but destroyed his army; indeed, they would have annihilated them, had they not conceived a contempt for them, as if they were already captured and needed only the finishing stroke, and so come

B.C. 12

B.C. 11

¹ The Lippe. ² The Weser.

⁴ ἐθελήσαντάς Bk., θελήσαντάς VM. ⁵ κἄν Rk., καὶ VM.

⁶ ἔλαθε M, διέλαθε V. ⁷ ἄν M, οἷν. V.

⁸ ἐπικοπῆς M, ἐπισκοπῆς V.

4 ὄντων ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἀσύντακτοι¹ ἐχώρησαν. νικηθέντες γὰρ ἐκ τούτου οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως ἐθρασύνοντο, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν μὲν σφας παρελύπουν, ἐγγὺς δὲ οὐ προσήεσαν, ὥστε τὸν Δροῦσον ἀντικαταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ τε ἦ² ὃ τε Λουπίας καὶ ὁ Ἐλίσων συμμίγνυνται φρούριόν τί σφισιν ἐπιτειχίσαι, καὶ ἕτερον ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ
5 Ῥήνω. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τάς τε ἐπινικίους τιμὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσελάσαι, τῇ τε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἐξουσίᾳ, ἐπειδὰν διαστρατηγήσῃ, χρήσασθαι ἔλαβε. τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πρότερον, οὐ³ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐδόθη, καίπερ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐξήσαντος.

34 Ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ἣ τε πανήγυρις ἢ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτη ἐποιήθη, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ
2 πόλει πολλαχόθι θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτιμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, καίτοι μὴ ψηφισθέν, ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἔτεσι πρὸς τινος τῶν αἰεὶ στρατηγούντων ἐγίγνετο· τὰ δὲ δὴ Αὐγουστάλια, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἄγεται, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτελέσθη.

3 Ὁ τε Τιβέριος τοὺς τε Δελμάτας νεοχμώσαντας καὶ τοὺς Παννονίους μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀπουσίαν νεωτερίσαντας ἐχειρώσατο, πολεμῶν τε ἅμα

¹ ἀσύντακτοι M, ἀσύντακτον V.

² ἦ M, ἦν V.

³ πρότερον οὐ Leuncl., οὐ πρότερον VM.



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ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ μεθιστά-
 4 μενος, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἄθλων¹ τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Δρούσῳ
 τυχεῖν. καὶ τούτου καὶ ἡ Δελματία² τῇ τοῦ
 Αὐγούστου φρουρᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὄπλων τινῶν ἀεὶ καὶ
 δι' ἑαυτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παννονίων γειτονίαν
 δεομένη, παρεδόθη.

5 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον· ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις Οὐολογαΐσης³ Θράξ Βησ-
 σός,⁴ ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου, προσεποιή-
 σατό τινας πολλὰ θειάσας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπο-
 στας τὸν τε Ῥασκύποριν τὸν τοῦ Κότυος υἱὸν
 νικήσας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥυμη-
 τάλκην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀμαχεὶ γυμνώσας τῶν δυνά-
 μεων τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ⁵ δόξῃ φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ
 αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώκων ἔς τε τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐνέβαλε
 6 καὶ δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐλυμήνατο. ὡς οὖν οὗτός τε
 ταῦτ' ἐποίει καὶ οἱ Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν
 ἐκακούργουν, Λούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἧς
 ἦρχε, προσετάχθη σφίσι· καὶ προαναχωρησάντων
 οἵκαδε τῶν Βησσῶν ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτὸν
 προσιόντα, ἔς τε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ
 ἡττηθεὶς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐκείνην τε
 καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάντων
 7 σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. καὶ τότε τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντάς
 προσθέμενος⁶ τοὺς δ' ἄκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ
 καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθεὶς, πάντας αὐτοὺς
 ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο νεοχμώσαντάς τινας
 αὐτῶν αὐθις κατεδουλώσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα
 καὶ ἱερομηνίαι καὶ τιμαὶ ἐπινίκιοι ἐδόθησαν.

¹ ἄθλων Bk., ἄλλων VM. ² Δελματία St., δαλματία VM.

³ Οὐολογαΐσης Reim., βουλογαΐσης VM.

⁴ Βησσός V, βεσσός M. ⁵ θεοῦ Bk., θείου VM.

⁶ προσθέμενος Oddey, προσθεμένους VM.

BOOK LIV

upon both of them at once, shifting now to one front and now to the other. As a result of his success he gained the same prizes as Drusus. After this Dalmatia was given over into the keeping of Augustus, because of the feeling that it would always require armed forces both on its own account and because of the neighbouring Pannonians. B.C. 11

These men, then, were thus engaged. At this same period Vologaesus, a Bessian from Thrace and a priest of the Dionysus worshipped by that people, gained a following by practising many divinations, and with these adherents revolted. He conquered and killed Rhascyporis, the son of Cotys, and afterwards, thanks to his reputation for supernatural power, he stripped Rhoemetalces, the victim's uncle, of his forces without a battle and compelled him to take flight. In pursuit of him he invaded the Chersonese, where he wrought great havoc. Because of these deeds of his and because of the injuries the Sialetae were causing to Macedonia, Lucius Piso was ordered to proceed against them from Pamphylia, where he was governor. The Bessi, now, when they heard that he was drawing near, retired homeward ahead of him. So he came into their country, and though defeated at first, vanquished them in turn and ravaged both their land and that of the neighbouring tribes which had taken part in the uprising. At this time he reduced all of them to submission, winning over some with their consent, terrifying others into reluctant surrender, and coming to terms with others as the result of battles; and later, when some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them. For these successes thanksgivings and triumphal honours were granted him.

35 Ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Αὐγουστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ καθάπερ τις ἰδιώτης ἀπογραψάμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατελέξατο. ὁρῶν δὲ ὅτι οὐκ αἰεὶ συχνοὶ συνελέγοντο, ἐκέλευσε τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ἐλάττοσιν ἢ τετρακοσίοις γίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν
 2 τινα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ἄλλως κυροῦσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀργύριον αὐθις ἐς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ¹ καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεσήνεγκαν, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδεμίαν, Ἑγείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ προσέτι καὶ Ὀμοιοῖας Εἰρήνης τε ἔστησεν. αἰεὶ τε γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα οὐκέτι ἰδίᾳ που κατέβαλλον αὐτό, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ προσιόντες οἱ μὲν
 3 πλεῖον οἱ δὲ ἔλαττον ἐδίδοσαν. καὶ ὅς προσθεῖς ἂν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλεον ἀντεδίδου, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἤκουσα, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀργύριον ἐκ λογίου τινὸς ἢ καὶ οὐκ εἰρατος παρὰ τῶν προστυχόντων οἱ, ὡς καὶ προσαιτῶν, ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα ἐλάμβανε.

4 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, εἴ γέ τῳ πιστόν, οὕτω παραδέδοται· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνώκισε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιείου² ἡρώου, παραπετάσματι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ
 5 χρησάμενος. καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκεῖ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον εἶπε, καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος ἀλλαξαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτῆς οἱ

¹ αὐτοῦ Zon., ἑαυτοῦ VM.

² Ἰουλιείου Dind., ἰουλίου VM.



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γαμβροὶ ἐξήνεγκαν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ψηφισθέντα αὐτῇ οὐ πάντα ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐδέξατο.

36 Κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ὅ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν Μερούλαν ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ δόγματα τὰ¹ ἐκάστοτε γιγνόμενα διὰ φυλακῆς ποιεῖσθαι ἐκελεύσθη, ἐπειδὴ οἷ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐπιτετραμμένοι² διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τοῦτ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τις ἐκ τούτου καὶ διαμαρτία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐγένετο.

2 Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰανὸν τὸν Γέμινον ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέωκτο γάρ) κλεισθῆναι, οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθη· οἷ τε γὰρ Δακοὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πεπηγότα διαβάντες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἱ Δελμάται³ πρὸς τὰς ἐσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν.

3 καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐς ἣν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσεληλύθει, καταπεμφθεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο,⁴ τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάπτων (πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς Συγάμβρους μετέστησαν, καὶ τῆς⁵ χώρας αὐτῶν, ἣν οἰκεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξανέστησαν) ὁ Δροῦσος

4 τὰ μὲν ἐκάκωσε τὰ δὲ ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἀνεκομίσθησαν (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Λουγδουνίδι⁶ τὰ πολλὰ οὗτος⁷ ἐγγύθεν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεύων διέτριβε), καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐψηφίστο ἢ καὶ ἄλλως καθήκοντα ἦν γενέσθαι, ἐπετέλεσαν.

¹ τὰ supplied by Rk.

² ἐπιτετραμμένοι R. Steph., ἐπιγεγραμμένοι VM.

³ Δελμάται St., δαλμάται VM.

⁴ ἀνεκτήσατο Pflugk, ἀνεστήσατο VM.

BOOK LIV

the procession by her sons-in-law ; but not all the honours voted for her were accepted by Augustus. B.C. 11

At this same period the priest of Jupiter was appointed for the first time since Merula,¹ and the quaestors were ordered to preserve the decrees passed at various times, inasmuch as the tribunes and aediles, who had previously been entrusted with this duty, were performing it through their assistants, and in consequence some mistakes and confusion occurred.

It was voted that the temple of Janus Geminus, which had been opened, should be closed, on the ground that the wars had ceased. It was not closed, however, for the Dacians, crossing the Ister on the ice, carried off booty from Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled against the exactions of tribute. Against these people Tiberius was sent from Gaul, whither he had gone in company with Augustus ; and he reduced them again to submission. The Germans, particularly the Chatti, were either harassed or subjugated by Drusus. The Chatti, it seems, had gone to join the Sugambri, having abandoned their own country, which the Romans had given them to dwell in. Afterwards Tiberius and Drusus returned to Rome with Augustus, who had been tarrying in Lugdunensis much of the time, keeping watch on the Germans from near at hand ; and they carried out whatever decrees had been passed in honour of their victories or did whatever else devolved upon them. B.C. 10

¹ See vol. ii. 477, and note.

⁵ τῆς Rk., τῆς τε VM.

⁶ Λουγδουνίδι R. Steph., λουγδωνίδι VM.

⁷ οὗτος Reim., οὕτως VM.

BOOK LV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς Δροῦσος ἀπέθανεν.
- β. Ὡς τὸ Λιουίας τέμενος καθιερώθη.
- γ. Ὡς τὸ Ἀγρίππου πεδῖον καθιερώθη.
- δ. Ὡς τὸ διριβιτώριον¹ καθιερώθη.
- ε. Ὡς Τιβέριος ἐς Ῥόδον ἀνεχώρησεν.
- ζ. Ὡς ἡ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.
- η. Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ὤν καθιερώθη.
- θ. Ὡς Λούκιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανον.
- ι. Ὡς Αὐγουστος Τιβέριον ἐποιήσατο.
- κ. Ὡς Λιουία παρήνεσεν Αὐγούστῳ φιλανθρωπότερον ἄρχειν.
- λ. Περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ὡς οἱ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα διοικήσοντες κατέστησαν.
- μ. Ὡς οἱ νυκτοφύλακες κατέστησαν.
- ν. Ὡς Δελμάταις καὶ Παννονίοις Τιβέριος ἐπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Τιβ. υἱ. Δροῦσος ὕπ.
 Τ.² Κυίνκτιος Τ. υἱ. Κρισπῖνος
 Γ. Μάρκιος Λ. υἱ.³ Κηνσωρῖνος ὕπ.
 Γ. Ἀσίννιος⁴ Γ. υἱ. Γάλλος
 Τιβ. Κλαύδιος⁵ Τιβ. υἱ. Νέρων τὸ β' ὕπ.⁹
 Γν.⁶ Καλπούρνιος Γν.⁷ υἱ. Πίσων⁸
 Δέκιμος Λαίλιος Δεκίμου υἱ. Βάλβος ὕπ.
 Γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υἱ. Οὔετερ

¹ διριβιτώριον Bs., δειριβιτόριον M.

² T. Bs., Τι M.

⁴ Ἀσίννιος Bs., ἀσιάνιος M.

⁶ Γν. supplied by H. Steph.

³ Λ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.

⁵ Κλαύδιος Xyl., κλ' M.

⁷ Γν. H. Steph., γ M.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Αὔγουστος τὸ ιβ'
 Λ.¹ Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Σύλλας ὕπ.
 Γ. Καλούσιος Γ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος
 Λ. Πασσιῆνος . . . υἱ. Ῥοῦφος¹ ὕπ.
 Λ.² Κορνήλιος Λ. υἱ. Λεντούλος
 Μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας Μεσσαλῖνος³ ὕπ.
 Αὔγουστος τὸ ιγ'
 Μ. Πλαύτιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλουανός ὕπ.
 Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Γν. υἱ. Λεντούλος ὕπ.
 Λ. Καλπούρνιος Γν. υἱ. Πίσων
 Γ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου⁴ υἱ. ὕπ.
 Λ. Αἰμίλιος Λ. υἱ. Παῦλος
 Π. Οὐινίκιος⁵ Μ.⁶ υἱ.
 Π. Ἄλφῆνος⁷ Π. υἱ. Οὐᾶρος ὕπ.⁸
 Λ. Αἴλιος⁹ Λ. υἱ. Λαμίας¹⁰ ὕπ.
 Μ. Σερούλιος¹¹ Μ. υἱ.
 Σέξτος Αἴλιος¹² Κ. υἱ. Κάτος
 Γ. Σέντιος Γ. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος¹³ ὕπ.
 Λ. Οὐαλέριος Ποτίτου υἱ. Μεσσάλας Οὐόλαισος¹⁴ ὕπ.¹⁵
 Γν. Κορνήλιος Λ. υἱ. Κίννας Μάγνος
 Μ. Αἰμίλιος Λ. υἱ. Λέπιδος ὕπ.
 Λ. Ἀρρούντιος Λ. υἱ.
 Αὔλ.¹⁶ Λικίνιος Αὔλ. υἱ.¹⁷ Νέρουας¹⁸ Σιλιανός¹⁹ ὕπ.²²
 Κ. Καικίλιος²⁰ Κ. υἱ.²¹ Μέτελλος Κρητικός
 Μ. Φούριος²³ Μ.²⁴ υἱ. Κάμιλλος ὕπ.
 Σέξ. Νώνιος²⁵ Γ. υἱ.²⁶ Κυντιλιανός ὕπ.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἰούλλου²⁷ Ἀντωνίου καὶ
 ἐπὶ Φαβίου Μαξίμου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο,²⁸ τῷ δὲ
 ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὁ Δρούσος μετὰ Τίτου Κρισπίνου

¹ Λ. Κορνήλιος . . . υἱ. Ῥοῦφος supplied by Xyl. and Bs.
² Λ. supplied by R. Steph.
³ Μεσσαλῖνος Mommsen, ἢ Μεσσαλῖνος M.
⁴ Αὐγούστου Reim., αὔγουστος τοῦ M.
⁵ Οὐινίκιος Bs., οὐινίκιος ἢ μινούκιος M. ⁶ M. Xyl., υ. M.
⁷ Ἄλφῆνος Bs., ἀλφῆνος ἢ ἀλφήνιος M.
⁸ Οὐᾶρος ὕπ. Bs., ὕπ οὔαρος M.
⁹ Λ. Αἴλιος R. Steph., λαλίος M. ¹⁰ Λαμίας R. Steph., ταμίας M.
¹¹ Σερούλιος R. Steph., σορούλιος M. ¹² Αἴλιος Bs., αἰμίλιος M.
¹³ Σατουρνῖνος Leuncl., σατορνῖνος M.
¹⁴ Οὐόλαισος Xyl., οὐάλαισος M.
¹⁵ ὕπ. supplied by Bs. ¹⁶ Αὔλ. Bs., αὔλος M.

BOOK LV

B.C.

- 5 Augustus (XII), L. Cornelius P. F. Sulla.
 4 C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus (II), L. Passienus . . . F. Rufus.
 3 L. Cornelius L. F. Lentulus, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla
 Messallinus.
 2 Augustus (XIII), M. Plautius M. F. Silvanus.
 1 Cossus Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Cn. F.
 Piso.

A.D.

- 1 C. Caesar Augusti F., L. Aemilius L. F. Paulus.
 2 P. Vinicius M. F., P. Alfenus P. F. Varus.
 3 L. Aelius L. F. Lamia, M. Servilius M. F.
 4 Sextus Aelius Q. F. Catus, C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus.
 5 L. Valerius Potiti F. Messalla Volesus, Cn. Cornelius L.
 F. Cinna Magnus.
 6 M. Aemilius L. F. Lepidus, L. Arruntius L. F.
 7 A. Licinius A. F. Nerva Silianus, Q. Caecilius Q. F.
 Metellus Creticus.
 8 M. Furius M.¹ F. Camillus, Sex. Nonius C. F. Quin-
 tilianus.

THE events related happened in the consulship of Iullus Antonius and Fabius Maximus. In the following year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus, B.C. 9

¹ Or P., if we follow the form given in the *Fasti Capitolini*.

¹⁷ Αὐλ. υἱ. supplied by Bs. ¹⁸ Νέρουαs R. Steph., οὐερναs M.

¹⁹ Σιλιανόs Bs., σιλανόs M. ²⁰ Κ. Καικίλιος Xyl., κ' καιλιος M.

²¹ Κ. υἱ. supplied by Bs. ²² ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

²³ Φούριος Xyl., φούρνιος M.

²⁴ Instead of M. υἱ. Bs. would read Π. υἱ. See *Fasti Capitol.*

²⁵ Νώνιος H. Steph., νώννιος M.

²⁶ Λ. υἱ. Leuncl., γ. υἱ. M. ²⁷ Ἰούλλου Bs., ιουλίου M.

²⁸ The words ταῦτα . . . ἐγένετο appear at the end of liv. in VM; Bk. placed here. V breaks off at this point; cf. pref. to vol. i. p. xxv.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὑπάτευσε, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖα οὐκ ἀγαθὰ συνηνέχθη·
 πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ κεραυνοῖς,
 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ
 Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ κα-
 2 κωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφρόντισέ τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
 ἔς τε τὴν τῶν Χάπτων ἐσέβαλε καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι
 τῆς Σουηβίας, τὴν τε ἐν ποσὶν οὐκ ἀταλαιπώρως
 χειρούμενος καὶ τοὺς προσμιγνύοντας οἱ οὐκ ἀναι-
 μωτὶ κρατῶν. κἀντεῦθεν πρὸς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα¹
 μετέστη, καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον² διαβάς ἤλασε
 3 μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου, πάντα πορθῶν. ἐκεῖνον γάρ
 (ρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Οὐανδαλικῶν ὄρων, καὶ ἐς τὸν
 ὠκεανὸν τὸν προσάρκτιον πολλῷ μεγέθει ἐκδί-
 δωσιν) ἐπεχείρησε μὲν περαιωθῆναι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη
 δέ, ἀλλὰ τρόπαια στήσας ἀνεχώρησε· γυνὴ γάρ
 τις μείζων ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἀπαντήσασα
 αὐτῷ ἔφη “ποῖ δῆτα ἐπείγῃ, Δροῦσε ἀκόρεστε ;
 οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα ἰδεῖν πέπρωται. ἀλλ' ἀπιθι·
 καὶ γὰρ σοι καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ
 4 ἤδη πάρεστι.” θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν τό τινα φωνὴν
 παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου τοιαύτην τῷ γενέσθαι, οὐ
 μέντοι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχω· παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἀπέβη,
 σπουδῇ τε ὑποστρέψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
 νόσῳ τινί, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐλθεῖν, τελευτή-
 5 σαντος. καί μοι τεκμηριοῖ τὸ λεχθὲν ὅτι καὶ
 λύκοι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τὸν θάνατον
 αὐτοῦ περινοστοῦντες ὠρύοντο, καὶ νεανίσκοι δύο
 διὰ μέσου τοῦ ταφρεύματος διππεύοντες ὤφθη-
 σαν, θρῆνός τέ τις γυναικεῖος ἠκούσθη, καὶ ἀστέ-
 ρων διαδρομαὶ ἐγένοντο.

¹ Χερουσκίδα Bk., χειρουσκίαν M.

² Οὐίσουργον Reim., οὐσίσουργον M.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 2 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχε, προπυθόμενος δ' ὁ Αὐγουστος ὅτι νοσεῖ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρω), τὸν Τιβέριον κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὃς ἔμπνουν τε αὐτὸν κατέλαβε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκόμισε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέχρι τοῦ χειμαδίου τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν πρώτων
- 2 βαστάσας. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προτεθέντος διπλοῦς ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἐλέχθη· ὃ τε γὰρ Τιβέριος ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἐπήνεσε, καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐν τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐξεστράτευτο γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἱ ὅσιον μὴ οὐ τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς κατειργασμένοις παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου
- 3 ἔσοδον ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίου ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, τῶν τε ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα ἀκριβῶς τελούντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντων, ἠνέχθη, κἀνταῦθα πυρὶ δοθεὶς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνημεῖον κατετέθη, Γερμανικός τε μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐπονομασθεὶς, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀψίδος κενοταφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ λαβών.
- 4 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τῶν τε Δελματῶν καὶ τῶν Παννονίων ὑποκινησάντων τι αὐθις ζῶντος ἔτι αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, τὰ τε ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοὺς δ' ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι ἐδείπνισε. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Λιουία μετὰ τῆς Ἰουλίας τὰς γυναῖκας εἰστί-

BOOK LV

Augustus, upon learning of Drusus' illness before it was far advanced (for he was not far off), had sent Tiberius to him in haste. Tiberius found him still breathing, and on his death carried the body to Rome, causing the centurions and military tribunes to carry it over the first stage of the journey,—as far as the winter quarters of the army,—and after that the foremost men of each city. When the body had been laid in state in the Forum, two funeral orations were delivered: Tiberius pronounced a eulogy there in the Forum, and Augustus pronounced one in the Circus Flaminius. The emperor, of course, had been away on a campaign, and it was not lawful for him to omit the customary rites in honour of his exploits at the time of his entrance inside the pomerium.¹ The body was borne to the Campus Martius by the knights, both those who belonged strictly to the equestrian order and those who were of senatorial family;² then it was given to the flames and the ashes were deposited in the sepulchre of Augustus. Drusus, together with his sons, received the title of Germanicus, and he was given the further honours of statues, an arch, and a cenotaph on the bank of the Rhine itself.

Tiberius, while Drusus was yet alive, had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had once more begun a rebellion, and he had celebrated the equestrian triumph,³ and had feasted the people, some on the Capitol and the rest in many other places. At the same time Livia, also, with Julia, had given a dinner to the women. And the same

¹ He could not return the customary thanks to the gods at this time because he was in mourning; hence he remained outside the pomerium until his period of mourning should be at an end. ² Cf. liv. 2, 5. ³ The *oratio*.

5 ασε. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ἠτοιμάζετο·
καί γε αἱ ἀνοχαὶ δεύτερον τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς
τὸ τὰ νικητήρια ἐν ἐκείναις αὐτὸν ἐορτάσαι, γενή-
σεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν προαπώλετο, ἡ δὲ δὴ
Λιουία εἰκόνων τε ἐπὶ παραμυθία ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐς
6 τὰς μητέρας τὰς τρῖς¹ τεκούσας ἐσεγράφη. οἷς
γὰρ ἂν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἴτ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν εἴτε γυναι-
κῶν, μὴ δῶ τοσαυτάκις τεκνῶσαι, τούτων τισὶν ὁ
νόμος, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος, τὰ τῶν τρῖς² γεγεννηκότων δικαιώ-
ματα χαρίζεται, ὥστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς τῆς ἀπαι-
δίας ἐπιτιμίαις ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυπαιδίας
7 ἄθλα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ
οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ εὕρισκονται,
ἴν' ἂν τίς τι αὐτοῖς τελευτῶν καταλίπη λαμβά-
νωσι.

3 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δ' Αὔγουστος τὰς
τε τῆς γερουσίας ἔδρας ἐν ῥηταῖς ἡμέραις γίνεσθαι
ἐκέλευσεν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς
περὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καὶ τινες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις
ὑστέριζον, δύο³ βουλὰς κατὰ μῆνα κυρίας ἀπέδει-
ξεν, ὥστε ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπάναγκες, οὓς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος
2 ἐκάλει, συμφοιτᾶν· καὶ ὅπως γε μηδ' ἄλλη μηδε-
μία σκῆψις τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχη, προσέ-
ταξε μήτε δικαστήριον μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν προσ-
ηκόντων σφίσι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ γίνεσθαι),
τόν τε ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἐς τὴν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων

¹ τρῖς Leuncl., τε τρῖς M. ² τρῖς supplied by Xyl.

³ δύο supplied by Casaubon.



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ἀναγκαῖον καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος αὐτῶν, ὡς γε ἐν
 κεφαλαίοις εἶπεῖν, διανομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰ ζημιώ-
 ματα τοῖς μὴ δι' εὐλόγον τινα αἰτίαν τῆς συνε-
 3 δρείας ἀπολειπομένοις ἐπηύξησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε πολ-
 λὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπευθύνων
 ἀτιμώρητα εἶωθε γίνεσθαι, κληροῦσθαί τε αὐτοὺς
 εἰ συχνοὶ τοῦτο ποιήσειαν, καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ πέμπτον
 λαχόντα ὀφλισκάνειν αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσε. τὰ τε ὀνό-
 ματα συμπάντων τῶν βουλευόντων ἐς λεύκωμα
 ἀναγράψας ἐξέθηκε· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν κατ'
 4 ἔτος τοῦτο ποιεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμ-
 φοιτήσεως αὐτῶν ἀνάγκῃ ἔπραξεν· εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε
 ἐκ συντυχίας τινὸς μὴ συλληχθεῖεν ὅσους ἢ χρεία
 ἐκάστοτε ἐκάλει (πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ὁσάκις ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ
 αὐτοκράτωρ παρῆ, ἐν γε¹ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐς
 πάντα ὀλίγου τὸ τῶν ἀθροιζομένων πλήθος καὶ
 τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἐξητάζετο), ἐβου-
 λεύοντο μὲν καὶ ἢ γε γνώμη συνεγράφετο, οὐ
 μέντοι καὶ τέλος τι ὡς κεκυρωμένη ἐλάμβανεν,
 ἀλλὰ ἀυκτώριτας ἐγίγνετο, ὅπως φανερὸν τὸ βού-
 5 λημα αὐτῶν ἦ. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι ἢ δύναμις τοῦ
 ὀνόματος τούτου δηλοῖ· ἐλληνίσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καθ-
 ἀπαξ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ-
 ποτε ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ μὴ νενομισμένῳ ἢ ἡμέρᾳ μὴ
 καθηκούσῃ, ἢ καὶ ἔξω νομίμου παραγγέλματος,
 ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἠθροίσθησαν, ἢ καὶ ἐναντιωθέντων
 τινῶν δημάρχων τὸ μὲν δόγμα οὐκ ἠδυνήθη γενέ-
 σθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμην σφῶν οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀπο-

¹ γε Rk.. τε M.

BOOK LV

passing decrees, according to the several kinds of B.C. 9
decrees,—to state only the chief points of the
matter; and he increased the fines of those who
without good excuse stayed away from the sessions.
And since many such offences had regularly gone un-
punished owing to the large number of those who
were liable to punishment, he commanded that if
many were guilty, they should draw lots and one
out of every five, according as the lot should fall,
should incur the fine. He had the names of all the
senators entered on a tablet and posted; and this
practice, originating with him, is still observed each
year. Such were the measures he took to compel
the attendance of the senators; but if on any
occasion, as the result of some accident, fewer as-
sembled than the occasion demanded,—and it should
be explained that at every session, except when the
emperor himself was present, the number of those
in attendance was accurately counted, both at that
time and later, for practically every matter of
business,—the senators would proceed with their
deliberations and their decision would be recorded,
though it would not go into effect as if regularly
passed, but instead, their action was what was
termed *auctoritas*, the purpose of which was to make
known their will. For such is the general force of
this word; to translate it into Greek by a term that
will always be applicable is impossible. This same
custom prevailed in case they ever assembled in
haste at any but the usual place, or on any but the
appointed day, or without a legal summons, or if by
reason of the opposition of some of the tribunes a
decree could not be passed and yet they were un-
willing that their opinion should remain unknown;

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κρυφθῆναι, ἐνομίζετο· καὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ
 κύρωσις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγετο καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις
 6 ἡ τοῦ δόγματος ἐπεφέρετο. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἰσχυρῶς
 ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῖς πάλαι τηρηθὲν ἐξίτηλον τρόπον
 τινὰ ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν· καὶ γὰρ
 ἐκεῖνοι ἀγανακτήσαντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν γνώμην,
 καίτοι τῶν δημάρχων προτετιμημένοι, ἐς τὴν
 βουλὴν ἐσέφερον, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔλα-
 βον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφηρέ-
 θησαν.

4 Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰλλα ἀ¹ τότε ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἔς
 τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐν λευκώμασι γεγραμμένα προέ-
 θηκε πρὶν χρηματίσαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς
 βουλευταῖς μεθ' ἐνὸς ἑτέρου ἐσελθοῦσιν ἀναγνῶναι
 ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως ἂν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ αὐτοὺς ἢ καὶ
 ἕτερόν τι βέλτιον συμβουλευσαι δυνηθῶσιν εἴπω-
 2 σιν. οὕτω γὰρ που δημοκρατικὸς ἡξίου εἶναι
 ὥστε τινὸς τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ποτὲ αὐτῷ
 συνηγορήματος παρ' αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
 του τῶν φίλων τινά, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ ὄν,
 συνειπεῖν αὐτῷ κελεῦσαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος
 ὀργισθεὶς ἔφη “ἐγὼ μέντοι, ὅσάκις ἐπικουρίας
 χρεῖαν ἔσχες, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀντ' ἐμαυτοῦ σοι
 ἔπεμψα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πανταχοῦ προεκινδύνευσά
 σου,” ἔς τε τὸ δικαστήριον ἐσελθεῖν καὶ συνηγορή-
 3 σαί οἱ. φίλῳ τέ τινι δίκην φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθη,
 προεπικοινώσας αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἐκεῖ-
 νόν τε ἔσωσε, καὶ τὸν κατήγορον αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὅπως

¹ ἢ supplied by Rk.



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δι' ὀργῆς ἔσχε καίπερ πάνυ πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ
 χρησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθυνόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς τρό-
 ποις ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν ἄντικρυς¹ ὅτι ἀναγκαία σφίσι
 ἢ παρρησία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίαν
 εἶη. ἄλλους γε μὴν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ μηνυθέντας
 4 ἐκόλασε. καὶ ταμίας ἔν τε τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς
 τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις τισὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρίοις
 ἄρχειν ἐποίησε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη
 ἐγένετο.

Τότε μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν
 5 τοῦ Δρούσου θάνατον, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἐσελθεῖν, τῷ
 δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Ἀσίνιός τε Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος
 Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τὴν τε ἀφιξίν ἐποιήσατο καὶ
 τὴν δάφνην ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου παρὰ τὸ
 2 νομιζόμενον ἐσήνεγκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεμίαν
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑορτὴν ἤγαγε, πολὺ πλείον ἐν τῷ τοῦ
 Δρούσου ὀλέθρῳ ἐζημιῶσθαι ἢ ἐν ταῖς νίκαις
 ὠφελῆσθαι νομίζων· οἱ δὲ δὴ ὑπατοὶ τά τε ἄλλα
 ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐκ
 3 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀλλήλοις συνέβαλον. καὶ
 μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ Αὐγουστος, αἰτιαθέντων καὶ ἐκείνων
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ὡς ἐκ δεκασμοῦ τινος
 ἀποδεδειγμένων, τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἐξήλεγξεν οὔτ'
 ἀρχὴν προσεποιήσατο εἰδέειν· οὔτε γὰρ κολάσαι
 τινὰς οὔτ' αὐτὸν συγγνώμῃ ἐλεγχθεῖσιν ἠθέλησε·
 τοὺς δὲ δὴ σπουδαρχιῶντας χρήματα πρὸ τῶν
 ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ὡσπερ τι ἐνέχυρον προήτησεν, ἐπὶ
 τῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἢ στερηθῆναι

¹ ἄντικρυς is omitted in M, but has been added in the margin by an early corrector who indicates its place as between εἰπὼν and ὅτι.

BOOK LV

cuser, though this man had indulged in the utmost frankness in his speech, that later on, when the same man appeared before him, as censor, for a scrutiny of his morals, the emperor acquitted him, saying openly that the other's frankness was necessary for the Romans on account of the baseness of the majority of them. However, he punished others who were reported to be conspiring against him. He also caused quaestors to serve along the coast near the city and in certain other parts of Italy; and this practice was followed for many years. B.C. 9

At the time in question he was unwilling, as I have stated,¹ to enter the city because of Drusus' death; but the next year, when Asinius Gallus and Gaius Marcius were consuls, he made his formal return and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He himself did not celebrate any festival in honour of the achievements mentioned, feeling that he had lost far more in the death of Drusus than he had gained in his victories; but the consuls performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions, among other things exhibiting combats between some of the captives. And later, when both they and the rest of the officials were accused of having secured their election by bribery, Augustus failed to investigate the matter, and furthermore pretended not even to know of it at all; for he was unwilling either to punish any of them or yet to pardon them if they were convicted. In the case of candidates for office, however, he demanded of them in advance of the elections a deposit of money on the understanding that they should forfeit this money in case they resorted to B.C. 8

¹ In chap. 2.

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4 τῶν δεδομένων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πάντες ἐπήνεσαν· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν ὄν δοῦλον κατὰ δεσπότη βασι-
σθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅσάκις ἂν χρεία τοιούτου τινὸς
γένηται, τῷ δημοσίῳ αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ πιπρά-
σκεσθαι, ὅπως ὡς ἀλλότριος τοῦ κρινομένου ὦν
ἐξετάζηται, οἱ μὲν ἠτιῶντο, ὅτι ὁ νόμος τῇ τοῦ
δεσπότη μεταλλαγῇ καταλύεσθαι ἔμελλεν, οἱ δ'
ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ ἔφασκον εἶναι, ὅτι πολλοὶ διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
συνίσταντο.

6 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, καίπερ
ἀφιεῖς, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα
ἐξεληλύθει, ἄκων δῆθεν αὐθις ὑπέστη, καὶ ἐπὶ
τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ
οἰκείᾳ ὑπέμεινε, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τὸν Ῥῆνον
2 διέβη. φοβηθέντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι πλὴν
τῶν Συγάμβρων¹ ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τότε
ἔτυχόν τινος (ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐκ ἔφη σφίσι
ἀνευ ἐκείνων σπείσεσθαι) οὔθ' ὕστερον. ἔπεμψαν
3 μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Σύγαμβροι² πρέσβεις, τοσοῦτου
δὲ ἐδέησαν³ διαπράξασθαι τι ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους
πάντας, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους ὄντας, προσ-
απολέσθαι· ὁ τε γὰρ Αὐγουστος συλλαβῶν
αὐτοὺς ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατέθετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι
δυσανασχετήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς κατεχρήσαντο. κακ-
τούτου χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ
πολλῷ τὸ πάθημά σφων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταπέ-

¹ Συγάμβρων Bucher, καντάμβρων M, καντάβρων U^o.

² Σύγαμβροι Reim., σύγγαμβροι M and U^o.

³ ἐδέησαν U^o, ἐδεήθησαν M.



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- 4 δοσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Αὐγουστος τοῦτό τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀργύριον, οὐχ ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκόσι, καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ δούς, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις τότε πρῶτον συνεξεταζόμενόν σφισιν ἔσχον, ἐχαρίσατο.
- 5 τὸν δ' οὖν Τιβέριον ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ Δρούσου προαγαγὼν τῇ τε ἐπικλήσει ἐκείνῃ ἐγαύρωσε καὶ ὑπατον αὐθις ἀπέδειξε, γράμματά τε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν, ἐκθεῖναι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἐπινικίοις
- 6 ἐσέμνυνεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλησε πέμψαι, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ γενέθλια ἵπποδρομίαν αἰδίου ἔλαβε. τά τε τοῦ πωμηρίου ὄρια ἐπηύξησε, καὶ τὸν μῆνα¹ τὸν Σεξτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον Αὐγου-
- 7 στον ἀντωνόμασε· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων τὸν Σεπτέμβριον οὕτως, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο, προσαγορευῆσαι ἐθελησάντων ἐκεῖνον αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν, ὅτι καὶ ὑπατος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐνενικήκει.
- 7 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἐγαυροῦτο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μαικῆνου τελευτήσαντος ἤλγησε. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώνητο, ὅθεν καίπερ ἵππεϊ αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ τὸ ἄστν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δὲ ὡς ἀκρατοτέρῳ τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρήτο· τῆς τε γὰρ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ² παρέ-
- 2 λυε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἠπιώτερον μεθίστη. τεκμήριον δέ, δικάζοντί ποτε αὐτῷ προστάς, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι

¹ μῆνα R. Steph., μὲν μῆνα M.

² ἀεὶ omitted by M, but added in margin by early corrector.

BOOK LV

Besides doing this, Augustus granted money to the soldiers, not as to victors, though he himself had taken the title of *imperator* and had also conferred it upon Tiberius, but because then for the first time they had Gaius taking part with them in their exercises. So he advanced Tiberius to the position of commander in place of Drusus, and besides distinguishing him with the title of *imperator*, appointed him consul once more, and in accordance with the ancient practice caused him to post up a proclamation before entering upon the office. He also accorded him the distinction of a triumph; for he did not wish to celebrate one himself, though he accepted the privilege of having his birthday permanently commemorated by Circensian games. He enlarged the pomerium and changed the name of the month called Sextilis to August. The people generally wanted September to be so named, because he had been born in that month; but he preferred the other month in which he had first been elected consul and had won many great battles.¹

All these things filled him with pride; but he was grieved at the death of Maecenas. He had received many benefits at his hands, for which reason he had entrusted him, though but a knight, with the oversight of the city for a long period; but he had found him of especial service on occasions when his own temper was more or less uncontrollable. For Maecenas would always banish his anger and bring him to a gentler frame of mind. Here is an instance. Maecenas once came upon him as he was holding court, and seeing that he was on the point

¹ Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 31.

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πολλοὺς θανατώσειν μέλλοι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν
 διώσασθαι τοὺς περιεστηκότας καὶ ἐγγύς οἱ
 προσελθεῖν, μὴ δυνηθεῖς δὲ ἔγραψεν ἐς γραμ-
 ματεῖον “ἀνάστηθι ἤδη ποτέ, δήμιε,” καὶ αὐτὸ
 ὡς καὶ ἕτερόν τι ἔχου ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ
 ἔρριψεν, ὥστ’ ἐκεῖνον μήτ’ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα καὶ
 3 εὐθὺς ἐξαναστῆναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἠγανάκτει τοῖς
 τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐθυμοῦτο, ταῦτα
 4 τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησίᾳ διωρθοῦτο. μέγιστον δ’
 οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς τοῦ Μαικήνου ἀρετῆς δεῖγμα
 ἦν, ὅτι τῷ τε Αὐγούστῳ, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ὀρμὰς
 αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενος, ὠκείωτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 πᾶσιν ἠρέσκετο, πλείιστόν τε παρ’ αὐτῷ δυνηθεῖς,
 ὥστε πολλοῖς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς δοῦναι, οὐκ
 ἐξεφρόνησεν ἀλλὰ ἐν¹ τῷ τῶν ἰππέων τέλει κατε-
 5 βίω. τούτων τε οὖν ἔνεκα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ὁ
 Αὐγουστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμον
 αὐτόν, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δυσκολαίνων, κατέ-
 λιπε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐποιήσατο
 ἂν τέ τινι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ δοῦναί τι ἐθελήσῃ ἂν
 τε καὶ μή. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Μαικήνας ἐγένετο, καὶ
 6 οὕτω τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐχρήτο· πρῶτός τε κολυμ-
 βήθραν θερμοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε,
 καὶ πρῶτος σημείᾳ τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος

¹ ἐν supplied by Reim. (and so Zon. cod. B).



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ἐξεῦρε, καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ Ἀκύλου ἀπελευθέρου συ-
χνούς ἐξεδίδαξε.

8 Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἣ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ
Γναίου Πίσωνος ἤρξατο ἔς τε τὸ Ὀκταουίειον¹
τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε διὰ τὸ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου
2 αὐτὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ Ὀμονόειον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπι-
σκευάσαι προστάξας, ὅπως τό τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ
Δρούσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐπιγράψῃ, τὰ τε νικητήρια
ἤγαγε καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ Λίουιον ὠνομασμένον
καθιέρωσε μετὰ τῆς μητρός· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν
γερουσίαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς γυναῖ-
3 κας ἰδίᾳ που εἰστίασε. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον
κινηθέντων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐξωρμήθη· τὴν
δὲ δὴ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ
Αὐγούστου γενομένην ὁ Γάιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ
Πίσωνι διέθηκε. τό τε πεδῖον τὸ Ἀγρίππειον,
πλὴν τῆς στοᾶς, καὶ τὸ διριβιτώριον² αὐτὸς ὁ
4 Αὐγούστος ἐδημοσίευσε. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ (ἦν δὲ
οἶκος μέγιστος τῶν πώποτε μίαν ὀροφὴν σχόντων·
νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαιρε-
θείσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη αὐθις συστήναι, ἀχανής
ἐστίν) ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας οἰκοδομούμενον κατέλιπε,
καὶ τότε συνετελέσθη· ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στοᾶ, ἦν
ἢ Πῶλλα ἢ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ τοὺς δρόμους
5 διακοσμήσασα ἐποίει, οὐδέπω ἐξείργαστο. κἀν
τούτῳ καὶ αἱ³ ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα ὀπλο-
μαχίαι, φαιὰν ἐσθῆτα τῶν τε ἄλλων πλὴν τοῦ
Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων,

¹ Ὀκταουίειον Dind., ὀκταούειον M.

² διρ.βιτώριον Bk., δειριβιτώριον M.

³ αἱ Dind., οἱ M.

BOOK LV

he used Aquila, a freedman, to train a considerable number in the system. B.C. 8

Tiberius on the first day of the year in which he was consul with Gnaeus Piso convened the senate in the Curia Octaviae, because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning to himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus, he celebrated his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the precinct called the precinct of Livia. He gave a banquet to the senate on the Capitol, and she gave one on her own account to the women somewhere or other. A little later, when there was some disturbance in the province of Germany, he took the field. The festival held in honour of the return of Augustus was directed by Gaius, in place of Tiberius, with the assistance of Piso. The Campus Agrippae and the Diribitorium were made public property by Augustus himself. The Diribitorium was the largest building under a single roof ever constructed;¹ indeed, now that the whole covering has been destroyed, the edifice is wide open to the sky, since it could not be put together again. Agrippa had left it still in process of construction, and it was completed at this time. The portico in the Campus, however, which was being built by Polla, Agrippa's sister, who also adorned the race-courses, was not yet finished. Meanwhile the funeral combats in honour of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus putting on black clothing and even Agrippa's sons doing the same. There were not

B.C. 7

¹ The Diribitorium was used for the sorting (*diribere*) of the ballots used in voting. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xvi. 201 and xxxvi. 102) speaks of its remarkable roof; this was destroyed by fire in 80 A.D. (cf. Dio, lxvi. 24).

καὶ ἐνὸς πρὸς ἓνα καὶ πλείονων πρὸς ἴσους, ἐν τοῖς
 σέπτοις διὰ τε τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ
 τὸ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομημάτων κε-
 6 καῦσθαι, ἐγένοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς αἴτιον
 ἐς τοὺς χρεωφείλας ἀνεφέρετο, ὡς καὶ ἐπίτηδες
 αὐτὸ παρασκευάσαντας ἴν' ἀποκόψωσί τι τῶν
 χρεῶν, συχνὰ δόξαντες ἐζημιῶσθαι. ἔτυχον δὲ
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδενός, οἱ δὲ δὴ στενωποὶ ἐπιμελητῶν
 τινων ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, οὓς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦ-
 7 μεν· καὶ σφισι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ
 ῥαβδούχοις δύο, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὧν ἂν
 ἄρχωσιν, ἡμέραις τισὶ χρῆσθαι ἐδόθη, ἥ τε δου-
 λεία ἢ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις τῶν ἐμπιπραμένων
 ἔνεκα συνοῦσα ἐπετράπη, καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ
 τῶν δημάρχων τῶν τε στρατηγῶν πᾶσαν τὴν
 πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα¹ μέρη νεμηθεῖσαν, κλήρω
 προσταχθέντων· ὃ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

9 Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐπράχθη· ἐν γὰρ
 δὴ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη· τῷ
 δὲ ὑστέρω, ἐν ᾧ Γαίος τε Ἀντίστιος καὶ Λαίλιος
 Βάλβος ὑπάτευσαν, ἰδὼν ὁ Αὐγουστος τὸν τε
 Γάιον καὶ τὸν Λούκιον αὐτούς τε μὴ πάνυ, οἷα ἐν
 ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένους, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθη ζηλοῦντας
 (οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀβρότερον διῆγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρα-
 σύνοντο· ἐς γοῦν τὸ θέατρον ποτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 2 ὁ Λούκιος ἐσῆλθε) καὶ πρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ

¹ δεκατέσσαρα R. Steph., δεκατέσσερα M.



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πολεῖ, τὰ μὲν γνώμη τὰ δὲ θεραπείᾳ, κολακευο-
 μένους¹ κακ τούτου ἔτι καὶ μάλλον θρυπτομένους¹
 (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὕπατον τὸν Γάιον μηδὲ
 ἐς ἐφήβους πω τελοῦντα προεχειρίσαντο²), ἠγα-
 νάκτησε, καὶ προσεπηύξατο μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην
 καιρῶν ἀνάγκην ὅποια ποτὲ³ αὐτὸν κατέλαβε
 γενέσθαι, ὥστε τινὰ νεώτερον εἰκοσιετοῦς ὕπα-
 3 τεῦσαι. ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὡς ἐνέκειντό οἱ, τότε ἔφη χρῆ-
 ναί τινα τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην λαμβάνειν, ὅταν μήτε
 τι αὐτὸς ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ δήμου σπουδαῖς
 4 ἀνθίστασθαι δύνηται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἱερωσύνην
 μὲν τινὰ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοίτησιν
 τό τε συνθεᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεστιᾶσθαι τῇ βουλῇ
 ἔδωκε· βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ τρόπον⁴ τινὰ⁵ μάλλον
 αὐτοῦς σωφρονίσει, τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν
 τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς πέντε ἔτη ἔνειμε⁶ καὶ τὴν
 Ἄρμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου
 5 θάνατον προσέταξε.⁷ συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκείνοις
 καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ μάτην προσκροῦσαι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι
 παρεωρᾶσθαι ἔδοξαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν
 ἐφοβήθη. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς Ῥόδον ὡς καὶ παιδεύ-
 σεώς τινος δεόμενος ἐστάλη, μήτ' ἄλλους τινὰς
 μήτε τὴν θεραπείαν πᾶσαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἵν' ἐκ-
 ποδῶν σφισι καὶ τῇ ὄψει καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις γένηται.
 6 καὶ τὴν τε ὁδὸν ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποιήσατο, πλὴν καθ'

¹ κολακευομένους, θρυπτομένους Pflugk, κολακευόμενος, θρυπτό-
 μενος M.

² προεχειρίσαντο Rk., προεχειρίσατο M.

³ ποτὲ Xiph., τότε M.

⁴ Between τρόπον and (Ἄ)ρει (chap. 10, 2) two folios have
 been lost in M. The text here given is a combination of the
 epitomes of Zon., Xiph., and the Excerpta Valesiana (see
 Introd. to Vol. I. xviii ff.).

BOOK LV

were being flattered by everybody in the city, some- B.C. 6
times sincerely and sometimes to curry favour, and
consequently were being spoiled more and more.
Among other things of this sort, the people had
elected Gaius consul before he was as yet of military
age. All this, as I have said, vexed Augustus, and
he even prayed that no compelling circumstances
might arise, as had once occurred in his own case,
such as to require that a man less than twenty
years old should become consul. When even so the
people insisted, he then said that one ought not to
receive the office until one was able not only to
avoid error oneself but also to resist the ardent im-
pulses of the populace. After that he gave Gaius a
priesthood and also the right to attend the meetings
of the senate and to behold spectacles and be
present at banquets with that body. And wishing
in some way to bring Gaius and Lucius to their senses
still more sharply, he bestowed upon Tiberius the
tribunician power for five years, and assigned to him
Armenia, which was becoming estranged since the
death of Tigranes. The result was that he need-
lessly offended not only his grandsons but Tiberius as
well; for the former felt they had been slighted, and
Tiberius feared their anger. At any rate he was
sent to Rhodes on the pretext that he needed in-
cidentally a bit of instruction; and he did not even
take his entire retinue, to say nothing of friends,
the object being that Gaius and Lucius should be
relieved both of the sight of him and of his doings.
He made the journey as a private citizen, though he

⁵ τινὰ supplied by scribe of L'.

⁶ ἔνειμε Xiph., ἀπένειμε Zon.

⁷ προσέταξε Bk., προσῆξε Xiph., προσεκλήρωσεν Zon.

ὅσον τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἄγαλμα πω-
 λῆσαί οἱ ἠνάγκασεν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοεῖῳ
 ἰδρυθῆ· καὶ ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν οὐδὲν ὀγκηρὸν
 7 οὔτε ἔπραττεν οὔτε ἔλεγεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀλη-
 θεστάτη αἰτία τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ τοιαύτη¹ ἐστί,
 λόγον δέ τινα ἔχει καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν
 Ἰουλίαν, ὅτι μηκέτ' αὐτὴν φέρειν ἐδύνατο, τοῦτο
 ποιῆσαι· κατέλιπε γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. οἱ
 δὲ ἔφασαν χαλεπήναι αὐτὸν ὅτι μὴ καὶ Καῖσαρ
 ἀπεδείχθη οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὡς καὶ
 τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἐκβληθῆναι.
 8 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε παιδείας ἕνεκα οὔτ' ἀβουλήσας
 τὰ δεδογμένα ἀπεδήμησε, δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων
 ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὰς διαθήκας
 αὐτὸν εὐθύς τότε² καὶ λῦσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῷ τε
 Αὐγούστῳ ἀναγνῶναι, ἐγένετο· κατεικάζετο πάνθ'
 ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο.—Xiph. 100, 18–30, Exc. V. 177
 (p. 662 sq.), Zon. 10, 35.

9 Τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἔτει δωδέκατον ὑπατεύων ὁ Αὐ-
 γουστος εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους τὸν Γάϊον ἔταξε καὶ
 ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα εἰσήγαγε καὶ πρόκριτον
 ἀπέφηνε τῆς νεότητος ἱλαρχόν τε φυλῆς γενεσθαι
 ἐπέτρεψε.—Zon. 10, 35.

10 Καὶ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰς τιμὰς
 ὅσαι τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐδέδοντο ἔλαβεν.
 ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπανορθωθῆναί
 τινα ἀξιούντος καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους διὰ τοῦτο
 πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον πέμψαντος, ἦλθεν ἐκεῖνος
 καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐδέοντο σφίσι συνδιεσκέψατο· καὶ
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ³ ἤσθησαν ἅπαντες.—Zon. 10, 35.

¹ τοιαύτη cod. Peir., τοιάδε Val.

² τότε Val., τὸ τότε cod. Peir.

³ τούτῳ ABC^c, τοῦτο E.



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- 10 Ὁ δὲ Αὐγούστος τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου¹ πλῆθος ἀόριστον ὄν ἐς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισε, καὶ ὡς γέ τινες λέγουσι, καθ' ἓνα ἐξήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔδωκε.—Xiph. 100, 30–101, 1.
- 1^a Ὡς ἡ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. 1. 6.
- 1^b Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ὢν καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. 1. 7.
- 2 . . . Ἄρει,² ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὅσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκεῖσε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐκδήμους
 3 στελλομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὰς τε γνώμας τὰς περὶ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐκεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ποι-
 εῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας αὐτὰ τῷ Ἄρει τούτῳ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνατιθέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς ἐπι-
 νικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦς
 4 ἴστασθαι, ἂν τέ ποτε σημεία στρατιωτικὰ ἐς πολεμίους ἀλόντα ἀνακομισθῆ, ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, καὶ πανήγυριν τινα πρὸς τοῖς ἀνα-
 βασμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ἱλαρχούντων³ ποι-
 εῖσθαι, ἡλὸν τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητευσάντων
 5 προσπήγνυσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε παράσχεσιν τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιουμένων

¹ σιτοδοτουμένου L', σιτοδουμένου VC.

² Ἄρει Morell, ρει M.

³ ἱλαρχούντων Bk., εἰλαρχούντων M.

BOOK LV

Augustus limited the number of people to be supplied with grain, a number not previously fixed, to two hundred thousand; and, as some say, he distributed a largess of sixty denarii to each man. B.C. 2

[How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated.]

[How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated.]

. . . to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders of each year;¹ that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms;² and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take

¹ The *seviri equitum*.

² This custom is not elsewhere recorded in the case of the censors. In early times a nail was driven each year into the side of the cella of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, for the purpose of keeping official count of the years. After the practice had lapsed for a time, it was again revived on the occasion of great disasters or dangers, as a propitiatory rite, and a dictator was sometimes chosen for this sole purpose in the absence of both consuls.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐργο-
λαβεῖν ἐξεῖναι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐνενομοθέτητο.

6 Ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις τὸ μέγαρον ἐκεῖνο ὁ Αὐγούστος
ἐθείωσε, καίτοι τῷ τε Γαίῳ καὶ τῷ Λουκίῳ πάντα
καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱεροῦν ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατικῇ
τινι ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρωμένοις. καὶ τὴν
γε ἵπποδρομίαν αὐτοὶ τότε διέθεσαν, τὴν τε
7 Γροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ
Ἀγρίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν¹ ἵππευσαν. καὶ
λέοντες ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ
ἐσφάγησαν. ὄπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις καὶ
ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημεῖά
τινα αὐτῆς δείκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων
ἐποιήθη· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσιν
8 ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ τότε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο ἔς τε τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἵπποδρομον ὕδωρ
ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκόδειλοι² ἕξ καὶ τριά-
κοντα κατεκόπησαν. οὐ μόντοι καὶ διὰ πασῶν
τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ὁ Αὐγούστος ὑπάτευσεν,
ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἄρξας ἄλλῳ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας
ἔδωκε.

9 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἄρει ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, αὐτῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ
Αὐγούστῳ ἀγῶν τε ἱερὸς ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει³ τῇ Καμ-
πανίδι, λόγῳ μὲν ὅτι κακωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ
σεισμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀνέλαβεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς
ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μόναι τῶν προσχώρων
10 τρόπον τινὰ ἐζήλουν, ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία
ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἐδόθη· πρότερον γὰρ ἄλλως

¹ αὐτῶν Morelli, αὐτοῦ M.

² κροκόδειλοι R. Steph., κορκόδειλοι M.

³ Νέα πόλει Bk., νεαπόλει M.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐπεφημίζετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ
 ἐπάρχους τῶν δορυφόρων τότε πρῶτον Κύντον τε
 Ὀστώριον Σκαπούλαν καὶ Πούπλιον Σάλουιον
 Ἄπρον ἀπέδειξεν· οὕτω γάρ τοι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγὼ
 μόνους τῶν ἐπαρχόντων τινός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκνεύ-
 11 κηκεν, ὀνομάζω. ἐποίησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Πυλάδης
 ὁ ὀρχηστῆς πανήγυριν τινα, οὐκ αὐτὸς χειρου-
 γήσας ἅτε καὶ ὑπέργηρος ὢν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκευῇ
 τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ
 Κύντος Κρισπίνος στρατηγός. λέγω δὲ οὐ τοῦτο
 ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄνδρες τε ἱππῆς καὶ γυναῖκες οὐκ ἀφα-
 νεῖς ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθησαν.
 12 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ὁ Αὔγουστος
 ἐτίθετο, τὴν δὲ δὴ Ἰουλίαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀσελ-
 γαίνουσαν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπ'
 αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κωμάζειν νύκτωρ
 καὶ συμπίνειν ὀψέ ποτε φωράσας ὑπερωργίσθη.
 13 κατείκαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὴν
 βιοῦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν· οἱ γάρ τοι τὰς
 ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφέτερα
 γιγνώσκουσι, καὶ οὐτ' αὐτοὶ τι τοὺς συνόντας
 ὦν ποιοῦσι λανθάνουσιν οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκρι-
 14 βοῦσι. τότε δ' οὖν μαθὼν τὰ πραττόμενα τοσοῦ-
 τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρήσατο ὥστε μηδ' οἴκοι αὐτὰ¹ κατα-
 σχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ κοινῶσαι. κακ-
 τούτου ἐκείνη μὲν ἐς Πανδατερίαν τὴν πρὸς
 Καμπανίᾳ² νῆσον ὑπεωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ

¹ αὐτὰ Rk., αὐτὸν M, αὐτὸν cod. Peir. Xiph.

² Καμπανία Xiph., καμπανίαν M.

BOOK LV

merely been addressed by that title without the formality of a decree. Moreover, he now for the first time appointed two prefects over the Praetorians,¹ Quintus Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper, —for I, too, apply this name “prefect” solely to them, of all who exercise a similar office, inasmuch as it has won its way into general use. Pylades, the dancer, gave a festival, though he did not perform any of the work himself, since he was very old, but merely wore the insignia of office and provided the cost of the entertainment; and the praetor Quintus Crispinus also gave one. I mention this only because it was on this occasion that knights and women of distinction were brought upon the stage. Of this, however, Augustus took no account; but when he at length discovered that his daughter Julia was so dissolute in her conduct as actually to take part in revels and drinking bouts at night in the Forum and on the very rostra, he became exceedingly angry. He had surmised even before this time that she was not leading a straight life, but refused to believe it. For those who hold positions of command, it appears, are acquainted with everything else better than with their own affairs; and although their own deeds do not escape the knowledge of their associates, they have no precise information regarding what their associates do. In the present instance, when Augustus learned what was going on, he gave way to a rage so violent that he could not keep the matter to himself, but went so far as to communicate it to the senate. As a result Julia was banished to the island of Pandateria,² lying off Campania, and her mother Scribonia

¹ *Praefecti praetorio.*

² The modern Ventotene, between the Ponza islands and Ischia.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 15 Σκριβωνία ἢ μήτηρ ἐκοῦσα συνεξέπλευσε· τῶν δὲ δὴ χρησαμένων αὐτῇ ὁ μὲν Ἰουλλος¹ ὁ² Ἀντώνιος, ὡς καὶ³ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ τοῦτο πράξας, ἀπέθανε μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς νήσους ὑπεωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δήμαρχός τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐ πρότερον πρὶν
- 16 διάρξαι⁴ ἐκρίθη. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκ τούτου⁵ καὶ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις τισὶν αἰτίαν λαβουσῶν οὐ πάσας τὰς δίκας ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἀφώρισεν ὥστε τὰ πρὸ ἐκείνου πραχθέντα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς μηδὲν⁶ μετριάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήσας ὅτι Φοίβης πατὴρ μᾶλλον⁷ ἢ ἐκείνης γεγονέναι ἤθελε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείδετο. ἢ δὲ δὴ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τε τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ συνεργὸς οὔσα προαπέθανεν ἐκουσία, διόπερ καὶ ὁ Αὔγουστος αὐτὴν ἐπήνεσε. —Xiph. 101, 21–32, Exc. V. 178^b, 179 (p. 665).
- 17 Ὅτι Γάιος τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῷ εἰρηνικῶς ἐπήγει· πόλεμον γὰρ οὐδένα ἐπολέμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν τε ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἄρχειν ἐμάνθανεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ κίνδυνοι ἄλλοις προσετάσσοντο.—Exc.. V. 180 (p. 665).
- 18 Τῶν Ἀρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αὐτοῖς συνεργούντων ἀλγῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Αὔγουστος ἠπόρει τί ἂν πράξῃ· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς στρατεῦσαι οἷός τε ἦν διὰ γῆρας, ὅ τε Τιβέριος, ὡς εἴρηται, μετέστη ἤδη, ἄλλον δέ τινα πέμψαι

¹ Ἰουλλος Bs., ἰούλιος M. cod. Peir. Xiph.

² ὁ supplied by Bk.

³ Between ὡς καὶ and ἐτέρους (10 a, 1) two folios are lacking in M. ⁴ διάρξαι Val., διαρπάσαι cod. Peir.



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τῶν δυνατῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμα, ὁ Γάιος δὲ καὶ ὁ Λούκιος νέοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐτύγχανον ἄπειροι. ἀνάγκης δ' ἐπικειμένης τὸν Γάιον εἴλετο, καὶ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνθύπατον καὶ γυναῖκα ἔδωκεν, ἵνα κακ τούτου τι προσλάβῃ ἀξίωμα, καὶ οἱ καὶ¹
 19 συμβούλους προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀφωρμήθη ἐντίμως παρὰ πάντων ὑποδεχόμενος οἷα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔγγονος ἢ καὶ παῖς νομιζόμενος,² καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς Χίον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσε, τὰς ὑποψίας ἀποτριβόμενος· ἐταπείνου τε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὑπέπιπτεν οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Γαίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ³ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὔσι· ἀπελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα κατωρθωκῶς ἐτρώθη.—Zon. 10, 36, Xiph. 101, 32–102, 4.

20 Ὅτι ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Γαίου, Φρατάκης⁴ ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπολογούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ ἀπαιτῶν· καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος Φρατάκη⁴ ἀπλῶς⁵ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικλήσεως, ἀντεπιστείλας, τό τε ὄνομα τὸ βασιλικὸν καταθέσθαι καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστῆναι προσέταξεν. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ὁ Πάρθος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατέπτηξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντέγραψέν οἱ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρόνως,⁶ καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλέα βασιλέων ἐκεῖνον δὲ Καίσαρα μόνον ὀνομάσας. ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης εὐθὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύσατο, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρταβάζου νόσῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος δῶρά τε

¹ οἱ καὶ ΑΕ, οἱ ΒC^c.

² νομιζόμενος ABC^c, λογιζόμενος E.

³ καὶ supplied by Bs.

⁴ Φρατάκης, Φρατάκη Bs., φρατάκτης, φρακτάκη (but corrected by first hand to φρατάκη) Exc. Urs. cod. A, φρατάκτου Xiph. VL', φρατάκτου Xiph. C, φρατάκτη Xiph. VCL'.

BOOK LV

dare send any other influential man; as for Gaius B.C. 1 and Lucius, they were young and inexperienced in affairs. Nevertheless, under the stress of necessity, he chose Gaius, gave him the proconsular authority and a wife,—in order that he might also have the increased dignity that attached to a married man,¹—and appointed advisers to him. Gaius accordingly set out and was everywhere received with marks of distinction, as befitted one who was the emperor's grandson and was even looked upon as his son. Even Tiberius went to Chios and paid court to him, thus endeavouring to clear himself of suspicion; indeed, he humiliated himself and grovelled at the feet, not only of Gaius, but also of all the associates of Gaius. And Gaius, after going to Syria and meeting with no great success, was wounded.

When the barbarians heard of Gaius' expedition, Phrataces sent men to Augustus to explain what had occurred and to demand the return of his brothers on condition of his accepting peace. The emperor A.D. 1 sent him a letter in reply, addressed simply to "Phrataces," without the appellation of "king," in which he directed him to lay aside the royal name and to withdraw from Armenia. Thereupon the Parthian, so far from being cowed, wrote back in a generally haughty tone, styling himself "King of Kings" and addressing Augustus simply as "Caesar." Tigranes did not at once send any envoys, but when Artabazus somewhat later fell ill and died, he sent gifts to Augustus, in view of the

¹ See note on liii. 13, 2.

⁵ ἀπλῶς Xiph., om. Exc. Urs.

⁶ ὑπερφρόνως Exc. Urs., ὑπερηφάνως Xiph.

21 τῷ Αὐγούστῳ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὑπεξηρη-
 μένου οἱ, ἔπεμψε, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα ἐς τὴν
 ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἐγγράψας, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δῆθεν
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ἤτησε. τούτοις τε¹ οὖν ὑπαχθεὶς καὶ
 τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα τὸν Παρθικὸν² φοβηθεὶς τὰ τε
 δῶρα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδων αὐτὸν χρηστῶν ἐς
 τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.—
 Exc. U^G 36 (p. 390), Xiph. 102, 4—11.

10a . . . ἑτέρους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπιστρατεύσαν-
 τὰς σφισιν ἀπέώσαντο, οὐ πρότερόν τε ἐνέδοσαν
 πρὶν χιλίαρχόν τινα ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐπ' αὐ-
 τοὺς πεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ τὰς
 καταδρομὰς αὐτῶν ἐπέσχευ, ὥστε ἐπὶ πολὺ μη-
 δένα βουλευτὴν τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ἄρξαι.

2 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἅμα καὶ τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκαινώθη.
 ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος πρότερον μὲν, ἕως ἔτι τῶν πρὸς
 τῷ Ἰστρῷ χωρίων ἦρχε, τοὺς τε Ἑρμουन्दούρους
 ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐξαναστάντας καὶ
 κατὰ ζήτησιν ἑτέρας γῆς πλανωμένους ὑπολαβῶν
 ἐν μέρει τῆς Μαρκομαννίδος κατώκισε, καὶ τὸν
 Ἀλβίαν μηδενός οἱ ἐναντιουμένου διαβὰς φιλίαν
 3 αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἰδρύσατο. τότε δὲ πρὸς τε
 τὸν Ῥῆνον μετελθὼν, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας τινὰς Χε-
 ρούσκων καταγαγεῖν δι' ἑτέρων ἐθελήσας, ἐδυστύ-
 χησε καὶ καταφρονῆσαί σφων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν. οὐ μόντοι καὶ πλέον τι τῷ
 ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπράχθη· διὰ γὰρ τὸν
 Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ὑπόγυον ὄντα οὐδεμία αὐτῶν
 ἐπιστροφή τότε ἐγένετο.

¹ τε A (B? V?).

² τὸν Παρθικὸν Bs., τῶν Πάρθων Urs., τὸν Παρθὸν A (B? V?).



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4 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπολεμήθη. ὁ γὰρ
 Φρατάκης τὸν Γάιον ἐν τε τῇ Συρία ὄντα καὶ
 ὑπατεύοντα ἀκούσας, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα
 μηδὲ πρότερον εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἔχοντα ὑποτοπήσας,
 προκατηλλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὸς τε τῆς Ἀρμενίας
 ἀποστῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ πέραν θα-
 5 λάσσης εἶναι. οἷ γε μὴν Ἀρμένιοι, καίπερ τοῦ τε
 Τιγράνου ἐκ πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ φθαρέντος
 καὶ τῆς Ἐρατοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείσης, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ
 Ἀριοβαρζάνει τινὶ Μήδῳ, ὅς ποτε μετὰ τοῦ Τιρι-
 δάτου¹ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφῆκτο, παρεδίδοντο,
 ἐπολέμησάν σφισι τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Πού-
 πλιός τε Οὐνίκιος καὶ Πούπλιος Οὐᾶρος ὑπά-
 6 τευσαν. καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ἔδρασαν,
 Ἄδδων δέ τις τὰ Ἀρτάγειρα κατέχων ὑπηγάγετο
 τὸν Γάιον ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάρθου
 τι ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ φράσεων, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν,
 καὶ τούτου πολιορκηθεὶς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντέσχευ.
 7 ἀλόντος δ' οὖν ποτε αὐτοῦ τό τε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ
 αὐτοκράτορος οὐχ ὁ Αὐγουστος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ
 Γάιος ἐπέθετο· καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν τότε μὲν ὁ
 Ἀριοβαρζάνης, ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῶ
 ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ υἱὸς παρά τε τοῦ Αὐγού-
 8 στου καὶ παρά τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν. ὁ δ' οὖν
 Γάιος ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἠρρώστησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ
 μηδ' ἄλλως ὑγιεινὸς ἦν, ὑφ' οὐπερ καὶ τὴν διά-
 νοιαν ἐξελέλυτο, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύθη.
 καὶ τέλος ἰδιωτεύειν τε ἠξίου καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρία που
 καταμεῖναι ἠθέλεν, ὥστε τὸν Αὐγουστος περιελ-
 γήσαντα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ

¹ Τιριδάτου Dind., τειριδάτου M.

BOOK LV

Nevertheless, war did not break out with the Parthians, either. For Phrataces, hearing that Gaius was in Syria, acting as consul, and, furthermore, having suspicions regarding his own people, who had even before this been inclined to be disloyal to him, forestalled action on their part by coming to terms with the Romans, on condition that he himself should renounce Armenia and that his brothers should remain beyond the sea. The Armenians, however, in spite of the fact that Tigranes had perished in a war with barbarians and Erato had resigned her sovereignty, nevertheless went to war with the Romans because they were being handed over to a Mede, Ariobarzanes, who had once come to the Romans along with Tiridates. This was in the following year, when Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus were consuls. And though they accomplished nothing worthy of note, a certain Addon, who was holding Artagira, induced Gaius to come up close to the wall, pretending that he would reveal to him some of the Parthian king's secrets, and then wounded him, whereupon he was besieged. He held out for a long time; but when he was at last captured, not only Augustus but Gaius also assumed the title of *imperator*, and Armenia was given by Augustus and the senate first to Ariobarzanes and then upon his death a little later to his son Artabazus. Gaius became ill from his wound, and since he was not robust to begin with and the condition of his health had impaired his mind, this illness blunted his faculties still more. At last he begged leave to retire to private life, and it was his desire to remain somewhere in Syria. Augustus, accordingly, grieved at heart, communicated his wish to the senate, and

A. D. 1

A. D. 2

(A. D. 3)

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κοινῶσαι καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς γοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα
 9 πρᾶττειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο προτρέψασθαι. πάντ'
 οὖν εὐθύς τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφείς ἐς Λυκίαν ἐν Ὀλκάδι
 παρέπλευσε, κἀνταῦθα ἐν Λιμύροις μετήλλαξε.
 πρὶν δὲ ἢ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ὁ Λούκιος ἐν Μασ-
 σαλία προαπέσβη· πολλαχῆ γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος
 ἄλλοτε ἄλλη πεμπόμενος ἤσκεῖτο, καὶ τὰς γε τοῦ
 Γαίου ἐπιστολὰς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὅσάκις ἂν
 10 παρείη, ἀνεγίγνωσκεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐξαίφνης νοσή-
 σας, ὥστε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι τὴν Λιουίαν,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος
 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου ἀφίκετο, ὑποπτει-
 11 θῆναι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐμπειρότατος τῆς διὰ τῶν
 ἄστρον μαντικῆς ὤν, καὶ Θράσυλλον ἄνδρα
 πάσης ἀστρολογίας διαπεφυκότα ἔχων, πάντα
 καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πεπρωμένα ἀκριβῶς
 2 ἠπίστατο· καὶ λόγον γε ἔχει ὅτι μελλήσας ποτὲ
 ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸν Θράσυλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους,
 ἐπειδὴ μόνος αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνενοεῖ συνήδει,
 ὥσειν, οὐκέτ' αὐτὸ¹ ἐποίησε σκυθρωπάσαντα
 αὐτὸν ἰδών, οὔτι γε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπε-
 ρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί συννένοφε, κίνδυνόν τινα ὑπο-
 πτεύειν οἱ γενήσεσθαι ἔφη· θαυμάσας γὰρ ὅτι
 καὶ τὴν μέλλησιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς² προεῖδεν,³ φυ-
 λάξαι αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἠθέλησεν.—
 Zon. 10, 36.

3 Οὕτω γάρ που πάντα ἐκεῖνος σαφῶς ἤδει ὥστε
 καὶ τὸ πλοῖον τὸ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῆς ἐς
 τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομιδῆς παρά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ

¹ αὐτὸ Xiph., αὐτῷ M.

² Between ἐπιβουλῆς and Τιβέριον (13, 2) two more folios
 are lacking in M. ³ προεῖδεν supplied by Bs.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φέρον πόρρωθεν κατιδῶν προσπλέον, προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ἃ ἀγγέλλειν ἔμελλε.¹

12 Τοῦ δὲ Αουκίου τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ σώματα διά τε τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως πρώτων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αἱ πέλται τὰ τε δόρατα, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἰππέων ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντες χρυσᾶ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνετέθη.—Xiph. 102, 25–103, 3.

2 Δεσπότης² δέ ποτε³ ὁ Αὐγουστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὀνομασθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἀπεῖπε μηδένα τούτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ προσρήματι χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
3 πάνυ διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸ ἐποιήσατο. πληρωθείσης δέ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τότε τὸ⁴ τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν, ὑπεδέξατο, πραότερός τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγρονῶς οὐδενὶ ἔτ' αὐτῶν προσκρούειν ἤθελεν.—Xiph. 103, 3–11, Zon. 10, 36.

3a Χιλίας τε καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας δραχμῶν ἀτόκους τοῖς δεομένοις δανείσας ἐπ' ἔτη τρία, ἐπηνεῖτο παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο.—Zon. 10, 36.

4 Ἐμπρησμοῦ δέ ποτε τὸ παλάτιον διαφθείραντος, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διδόντων, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἢ μόνον παρὰ μὲν τῶν δήμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν δραχμῆν. χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς
5 δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομάζω· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δέ τινες, ὧν τὰ βιβλία ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπτικίζειν ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν.—Xiph. 103, 11–18, Zon. 10, 36.

¹ ἔμελλε V, ἡμελλε CL'.

² δεσπότης VC, καὶ δεσπότης L'.

BOOK LV

mother and Augustus to return to Rome, he told A. D. 2
him in advance what news it would bring.

The bodies of Lucius and Gaius were brought to (A. D. 4)
Rome by the military tribunes and by the chief men
of each city. And the golden targés and spears
which they had received from the knights on entering
the class of youths of military age were set up in
the senate-house.

When Augustus was once called "master" by the
people, he not only forbade that any one should use
this form of address to him, but also took very good
care to enforce his command. And now that his
third ten-year period was completed, he accepted
the leadership for the fourth time, though ostensibly A. D. 3
under compulsion. He had become milder through
age and more reluctant to incur the hatred of any of
the senators, and hence now wished to offend none
of them.

For lending sixty million sesterces for three years
without interest to such as needed it he was praised
and magnified by all.

Once, when a fire destroyed the palace and many
persons offered him large sums of money, he accepted
nothing but an aureus from entire communities and
a denarius from single individuals. I here use the
name aureus, according to the Roman practice, for
the coin worth one hundred sesterces. Some of the
Greeks, also, whose books we read with the object
of acquiring a pure Attic style, have given it this
name.

³ ποτε VC, τότε L'.

⁴ τότε τὸ CL', τὸ V.

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Παρά δὲ τοῖς "Ἑλλησιὺν εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὁ Δίων φησὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀλλάσσεσθαι νόμισμα.—Zon. 10, 36.

Ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἐδημόσιωσε πᾶσαν, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τὴν παρὰ¹ τοῦ δήμου οἱ γενομένην, εἴτε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχιέρως ἦν, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἅμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκοίῃ.

13 Τοῦ δὲ δήμου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἵνα καταγάγῃ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θᾶσσον ἔφη πῦρ ὕδατι μιχθήσεσθαι ἢ ἐκείνην καταχθήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ δῆμος πυρὰ ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν πολλὰ ἐνέβαλε· καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο ὥστε ἐς γοῦν τὴν ἠπειρον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομισθῆναι.—Xiph. 103, 19–28.

1a Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κελτικοῦ πολέμου κεκινημένου αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε γήρως² καὶ νόσου κεκμηκὸς ἔχων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκστρατεῦσαι μὴ οἶός τε ὢν, πῆ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεὶς πῆ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἀναπεισθεὶς (ἤδη γὰρ αὕτη³ ἐκ τῆς
2 ὑπερορίας κατήχθη), [Zon. 10, 36]. τὸν⁴ Τιβέριον καὶ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐξέπεμψε,⁵ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς δέκα ἔτη δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον⁶ ὑποπτεύσας πῆ ἐκφρονήσειν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσητι, τὸν Γερμανικόν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καίτοι καὶ
3 αὐτῷ υἷον ἔχοντι ἐσεποίησε. καὶ τούτων ἐπιθαρσήσας ὡς καὶ διαδόχους καὶ βοηθοὺς ἔχων, διαλέξαι τὴν γερουσίαν αὐθις ἠθέλησε, καὶ δέκα

¹ παρὰ L', ἐπὶ τὰ VC.

² γήρως E (ω corrected from ου). γήρους ABC^c.

³ αὕτη BC^c, καὶ αὕτη AE.

⁴ τὸν supplied by Bs.



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βουλευτὰς οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος¹
 τρεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος
 εἴλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὔτε προκατέγνω-
 σάν σφων ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς δοθείσης, ὥσπερ καὶ
 πρότερον, οὔτ' ἄκουτες ἀπηλίφθησαν.²

4 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ δι' ἐτέρων ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων
 καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κεκτημένων
 ἐποιήσατο· τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρους τοὺς τε ἔξω
 τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκοῦντας οὐκ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπογρά-
 ψασθαι, δείσας μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι ταραχθέντες.
 5 καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δόξειεν ὡς τιμητῆς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν,
 δι' ὅπερ εἶπον πρότερον, ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν
 πρὸς τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 6 τοῦ καθαρσίου ποίησιν προσέθετο. ἐπειδὴ τε
 συχνοὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἔκ τε τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ
 γένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰππέων ἐπένοντο μηδὲν
 ἐπαίτιον ἔχοντες, τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τεταγμένον
 τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα δέ τισι καὶ ἐς
 7 τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μυριάδας ἐπηύξησε. πολλῶν τε
 πολλοὺς ἀκρίτως³ ἐλευθερούντων, διέταξε τὴν τε
 ἡλικίαν ἣν τὸν τε ἐλευθερώσοντά τινα καὶ τὸν
 ἀφεθησόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχειν δεήσοι, καὶ τὰ
 δικαιώματα οἷς οἱ τε ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθερου-
 μένους καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δεσπότηαι σφῶν γενόμενοι
 χρήσονται.

14 Πράσσουντι δὲ αὐτῶ ταῦτα ἐπεβούλευσαν ἄλλοι
 τε καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ μεγάλου

¹ προβαλόμενος H. Steph., προβαλλόμενος L.

² ἀπηλίφθησαν St., ἀπηλείφθησαν L.

³ ἀκρίτως Casaub., ἀκριβῶς L.

BOOK LV

honoured and appointed three of them, selected by lot, to examine the qualifications of senators. There were not many, however, who were affected, either by declaring themselves disqualified when permission was given them to do so, as had been done on the previous occasion,¹ or by having their names erased against their will. A. D. 4

Now Augustus caused others to carry through this business for him; but he himself took a census, but only of the inhabitants of Italy who possessed property worth at least two hundred thousand sesterces, for he did not compel the poorer citizens or those living outside of Italy to be listed, fearing lest, if they were disturbed, they would become rebellious. And in order that he might not appear to be acting herein in the capacity of censor, for the reason I mentioned before,² he assumed the proconsular power for the purpose of completing the census and performing the purification. Inasmuch, moreover, as many of the young men of the senatorial class and of the knights as well were poor through no fault of their own, he made up to most of them the required amount, and in the case of some eighty increased it to one million two hundred thousand sesterces. Since also many were freeing their slaves indiscriminately, he fixed the age which the manumitter and also the slave to be freed by him must have reached and likewise the legal principles which should govern the relations of both citizens in general and the former masters toward slaves who were set free.

While he was thus occupied, various men formed plots against him, notably Gnaeus Cornelius, a son

¹ Cf. lii. 42, 2, and liv. 26, 4. . ² Cf. liv. 1, 5-2, 1.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Πομπηίου ὄν, ὥστε ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτὸν ἀμηχανία χρόνον τινὰ γενέσθαι, μήτ' ἀποκτεῖναί σφας, ὅτι οὐδὲν πλέον πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἑώρα οἱ γιγνόμενον, μήτ' ἀπολυῖσαι, μὴ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκ τούτου ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσῃται, ἐθέλοντα.

2 ἀποροῦντί τε οὖν αὐτῷ ὅ τι πράξῃ, καὶ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀφροντιστεῖν οὔτ' αὖ νύκτωρ ἀτρεμεῖν δυναμένῳ ἔφη ποτὲ ἡ Λιουία· “ τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνερ; διὰ τί οὐ καθεύδεις;”

Καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος· “ καὶ τίς ἄν,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ γύναι, κὰν ἐλάχιστον ἀπομερμηρίσειε τοσοῦτους τε αἰεὶ ἐχθροὺς ἔχων καὶ συνεχῶς οὕτως ἄλλοτε

3 ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενος; ἢ οὐχ ὄρας ὅσοι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθενται; καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ αἰ τιμωρίαι τῶν δικαιουμένων ἀναστέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τούναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγαθόν τι ἐπειγόμενοι, σπεύδουσι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι.”

4 Ἀκούσασα οὖν τούτων ἡ Λιουία· “ τὸ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαί σε,” ἔφη, “ οὔτε θαυμαστὸν οὔτε ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου τρόπου ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ πράσσεις πολλὰ ἅτε τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ λυπεῖς, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συχνούς. οὐ γάρ που καὶ πᾶσιν οἷόν τε τὸν ἄρχοντά τινων ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ

5 καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πολλοῖς καὶ τὸν πάνυ ὀρθῶς βασιλεύοντα ἀνάγκη. πολλῷ τε γὰρ πλείους τῶν δίκαιόν τι πραττόντων οἱ ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοντές εἰσιν, ὧν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποπιμπλάναι· καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετὴν τινα ἔχόντων οἱ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὧν οὐ δύνανται



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τυχεῖν, ἐπορέγονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐλαττω-
 θέντες ἄχθονται, καὶ οὕτως ἀμφότεροι τὸν κρα-
 6 τούντα αἰτιῶνται. ὥστε ἕκ τε τούτων μὴ εἶναι
 κακοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἕκ τῶν ἐπιτι-
 θεμένων οὔτι γε καὶ σοὶ ἀλλὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. σὲ
 μὲν γὰρ ἰδιωτεύοντα οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἐθελουτῆς κακόν
 τι, μηδέν γε προπαθῶν, ἐποίησε· τῆς δὲ δὴ ἀρχῆς
 καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες, καὶ οἱ γε
 ἐν δυνάμει τινὲ ὄντες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑποδεε-
 7 στέρων, ὀριγνῶνται. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι μὲν ἀδίκων
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἥκιστα νοῦν ἐχόντων ποιεῖν, οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν τε τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν καθάπερ τι καὶ
 ἄλλο ἔνεστι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε
 πείθοντα οὔτ' ἀναγκάζοντα ἐξελέσθαι τινῶν·
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε φόβος κρείττωγ τῶν
 8 φύσει πεφυκότων γίγνεται. ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος
 τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτίας μὴ δυσχέρινε,
 φυλακὴν δ' ἀκριβῆ καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μοναρχίας
 ποιού, ἵνα αὐτὴν μὴ ἕκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάζειν τινὰς
 ἀλλ' ἕκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσειν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχωμεν.”
 15 Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος· “ἀλλ' οἶδα μὲν
 καὶ ἐγώ, ὦ γύναι, ὅτι οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν μεγάλων
 ἔξω φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς καθέστηκεν, ἥκιστα
 2 δὲ αὐταρχία· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰσόθεοι ἦμεν, εἰ μὴ
 καὶ πράγματα¹ καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ὑπὲρ
 πάντα τοὺς ἰδιωτεύοντας εἶχομεν. ἐμὲ δὲ δὴ καὶ
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο λυπεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι ταῦθ'
 οὕτως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἀδύνατον θεραπείαν τινὰ
 αὐτῶν εὔρεθῆναι.”
 3 “Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ γέ τινες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἶοι

¹ πράγματα Xiph., πράγμα L.

BOOK LV

can not obtain, and some chafe because they are less A. D. 4
honoured than others ; hence both these classes find
fault with the ruler. Therefore it is impossible to
avoid meeting with mischief, either at the hands of
these or, in addition, at the hands of those who
attack, not you personally, but the monarchy. For
if you were a private citizen, no one would willingly
have done you any harm, unless he had previously
received some injury ; but all men covet the office of
ruler and the good things that office affords, and
those who already possess some power covet much
more than those who are lacking in this respect. It
is, indeed, the way of men who are wicked and have
very little sense to do so ; in fact, it is implanted in
their nature, just like any other instinct, and it is
impossible either by persuasion or by compulsion to
destroy such instincts in some of them ; for there
is no law and no fear stronger than the instincts im-
planted by nature. Reflect on this, therefore, and
do not be vexed at the shortcomings of the other
sort of men, but as for your own person and your
sovereignty, keep close guard of them, that we may
hold the throne securely, not by the strictness of the
punishments you inflict upon individuals, but by the
strictness with which you guard it.”

To this Augustus replied : “ But, wife, I, too, am
aware that no high position is ever free from envy
and treachery, and least of all a monarchy. Indeed,
we should be equals of the gods if we had not
troubles and cares and fears beyond all men in
private station. But precisely this is what causes my
grief,—that this is inevitably so and that no remedy
for it can be found.”

“ Yet,” said Livia, “ since some men are so con-

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πάντως ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλειν,” εἶπεν ἡ Λιουία, “ἡμεῖς γε αὐτοὺς φυλαττώμεθα. ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας πολλούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιτεταγμένοι οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ σὲ ὄντες φρουροῦσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ θεραπείαν πολλήν, ὥστε καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἔξω δι’ αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν.”

- 4 Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Αὐγουστος· “ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν συνόντων ἐφθάρησαν, οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “δέομαι λέγειν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους¹ φοβούμεθα.
- 5 καὶ πολὺ γε πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἅτε καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, καὶ γυμνουμένοις σφίσι καὶ καθεύδουσι σιτία τε καὶ ποτὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένα λαμβάνουσι συγγιγνομένων, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους ἔστι τούτους ἀντιτάξαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους αὐτοὺς
- 6 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλῳ τινὶ συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι. ὥσθ’ ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων δεινὸν μὲν τὴν ἐρημίαν δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ φοβερόν μὲν τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν φοβερωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φύλακας, καὶ χαλεπούς μὲν τοὺς ἐχθρούς χαλεπωτέρους δὲ τοὺς φίλους εἶναι· φίλους γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάντας σφᾶς,
- 7 κἂν μὴ ὦσι, καλεῖσθαι. εἰ δ’ οὖν τις καὶ χρηστῶν αὐτῶν τύχοι, ἀλλ’ οὔτι γε οὕτω πιστεύσειεν ἄν σφισιν ὥστε καὶ² καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀφροντίστῳ καὶ ἀνυπόπτῳ τῇ ψυχῇ προσομιλεῖν. τοῦτό τε οὖν

¹ φίλους Λ, φίλους Xiph.

² καὶ added (between lines) by corrector in Λ, om. Xiph. flor.



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καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀναγκάϊον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι πάνδεινόν ἐστιν. τὸ γάρ τοι τιμωρεῖσθαί τε καὶ κολάζειν αἰεὶ τινὰς ἀναγκάζεσθαι μεγάλην ἀχθηδόνα τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι φέρει.”

16 “ Ἄλλ’ ὀρθῶς γε λέγεις,” ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ Λιουία, “ καί σοι γνώμην δοῦναι ἔχω, ἂν γε καὶ προσδέξασθαι αὐτὴν ἐθελήσης, καὶ μὴ διαμέμψη¹ ὅτι γυνὴ οὖσα τολμῶ σοι συμβουλεύσαί τι οἶον οὐδ’ ἂν εἷς ἄλλος οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ φίλων παραινέσειεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτό, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐ θαρσοῦσιν εἰπεῖν.”

2 “ Λέγ’,” ἦ δ’ ὅς ὁ Αὐγουστος, “ ὅ τι δὴ ποτε τοῦτό ἐστιν.”

Ἡ οὖν Λιουία “ φράσω,” ἔφη, “ μηδὲν κατοκνήσασα, ἅτε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου σοι ἔχουσα, καὶ σωζομένου μὲν σου καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ μέρος ἄρχουσα, δεινὸν δέ τι παθόντος, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συναπολουμένη. εἰ γάρ τοι ἢ τε φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη πάντως τι ἀμαρτάνειν τινὰς ἀναπείθει, καὶ ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν πρᾶξαί τι ὠρμημένην ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ ἤδη γε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά τισιν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν κακίας εἶπω, καὶ πάνυ συχνοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἐπαίρει (καὶ γὰρ γένους αὐχνημα καὶ πλούτου φρονήμα τιμῆς τε μέγεθος καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνδρεία² θράσος ἐξουσίας τε ὄγκος πολλοὺς ἐξοκέλλειν ποιεῖ), καὶ μήτε τὸ γενναῖον δυσγενὲς μήτε τὸ ἀνδρεῖον δειλὸν μήτε τὸ ἔμφρον ἄνουν ἐστι ποιῆσαι (ἀδύνατον γάρ), μήτ’ αὖ τὰς περιουσίας τινῶν περικόπτειν

¹ διαμέμψη R. Steph., διαπέμψη M Xiph.

² ἐπ’ ἀνδρεία Wolf, ἐπ’ ἀνδρείας N, ἐπ’ ἀνδρίαν Xiph.

BOOK LV

heart. This situation, then, and the necessity of taking measures to protect ourselves against the other group of plotters, combine to make our position utterly dreadful. For to be always under the necessity of taking vengeance and inflicting punishments is a source of great sorrow, to good men at least.” A. D. 4

“You are indeed right,” answered Livia, “and I have some advice to give you,—that is, if you are willing to receive it, and will not censure me because I, though a woman, dare suggest to you something which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture to suggest,—not because they are not aware of it, but because they are not bold enough to speak.”

“Speak out,” replied Augustus, “whatever it is.”

“I will tell you,” said Livia, “without hesitation, because I have an equal share in your blessings and your ills, and as long as you are safe I also have my part in reigning, whereas if you come to any harm, (which Heaven forbid!), I shall perish with you. If it indeed be true that man’s nature persuades some persons to err under any and all conditions, and that there is no way to curb man’s nature when it has once set out upon a course of action, and that even what some men look upon as good conduct (to leave out of consideration the vices of the many) is forthwith an incentive to wrongdoing to very many men (for example, boasting of high birth, pride of wealth, loftiness of honours, arrogance of bravery, conceit of power—all these bring many to grief); if it be true that one can not make ignoble that which is noble, or cowardly that which is brave, or prudent that which is foolish (for that is impossible); if, on the other hand, one ought not to curtail the abundance

ἢ τὰς φιλοτιμίας ταπεινοῦν μηδὲν γε πλημμελούντων χρῆ (ἄδικον γάρ), τό τ' ἀμυνόμενον ἢ καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντά τινας καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ κακοδοξεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστί, φέρε μεταβαλώμεθα
 5 καὶ τινος αὐτῶν φεισώμεθα. καὶ γάρ μοι¹ δοκεῖ πολλῶ πλείω φιλανθρωπία ἢ τινι ὤμότητι κατορθοῦσθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συγγνώμονας οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιλοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἀμείβεσθαί σφας σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ αἰδοῦνται καὶ σέβουσιν, ὥστε
 6 μὴ εὐτολμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν· τοὺς δ' ἀπαραιτήτοις ὀργαῖς χρωμένους οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἳ τι φοβούμενοι μισοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες δυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ προαπόλωνται.

17 “Ἡ οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰς μὲν τομὰς καὶ τὰς καύσεις σπανιώτατά τισι προσφέρουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαγριαίνωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ νοσήματα, τοῖς δὲ αἰονήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἡπίοις φαρμάκοις τὰ πλείω μαλθάσσοντες θεραπεύουσιν; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν παθήματα ἐστί, διαφέρειν τι νομίσης αὐτὰ ἀλλήλων.
 2 πάμπολλα γὰρ ὅμοια τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κὰν τὰ μάλιστα ἀσώματοι ᾧσιν, καὶ² τοῖς σώμασι συμβαίνει· συστέλλονται τε γὰρ ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ ἐξοιδουῦσιν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ, λύπη τέ τινας κολούει καὶ θάρσος ὀγκοῖ, ἔστ' ὀλίγον σφόδρα τὸ παραλλάττον αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραπλησίων ἰαμάτων αὐτὰ δεῖσθαι.

¹ γάρ μοι Pflugk, μοι γάρ N.

² ᾧσιν καὶ flor., ᾧσιν ἂ καὶ M (but ἂ deleted by corrector).



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3 λόγος τε γὰρ ἤπιός τῳ λεχθεὶς πᾶν τὸ ἀγριαῖνον
 αὐτοῦ χαλᾶ, καθάπερ τραχὺς ἕτερος καὶ τὸ ἀνει-
 μένον ὀργίζει· καὶ συγγνώμη δοθεῖσα καὶ τὸν
 πάνυ θρασὺν διαχειί, καθάπερ ἡ τιμωρία καὶ τὸν
 πάνυ πρᾶον χαλεπαίνει. αἱ μὲν γὰρ βίαιοι πρά-
 ξεις αἰεὶ πάντας, κἂν δικαιοτάται ὦσι, παροξύν-
 4 ουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμεροῦσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 πεισθεὶς ἂν τις ῥᾶον καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἐκὼν ἢ
 βιασθεὶς ὑπομείνειεν. καὶ οὕτω γε φύσει τινὶ
 ἀναγκαίᾳ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χρῆται, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
 ἀλόγων ζώων τῶν μηδένα νοῦν ἐχόντων πολλὰ
 μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καὶ ἀγριωτάτων θω-
 πείαις τέ τισι τιθασεύεται καὶ δελεάσμασι χει-
 ροῦται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν δειλοτάτων καὶ ἀσθε-
 νεστάτων λυπήμασί τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἐκτα-
 ράττεται καὶ παροξύνεται.

18 “Καὶ οὐ λέγω τοῦτο ὅτι δεῖ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν
 ἀδικούντων φείδεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἴτην¹
 καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ κακοήθη καὶ κακόβουλον
 καὶ ἀνηκέστῳ τινὶ καὶ διαρκεῖ πονηρίᾳ συνόντα
 ἐκκόπτειν ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ πάνυ ἀνίατα μέρη
 2 τῶν σωμάτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ὅσοι τι νεότητι
 ἢ ἀμαθίᾳ ἢ ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ καὶ ἑτέρα τινὶ συντυχίᾳ οἱ
 μὲν ἐκόντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν, τοὺς
 μὲν λόγοις νουθετεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλαῖς σωφρονί-
 ζειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον μετρίως πως
 μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων

¹ μὲν ἴτην Xiph., μενίτην L.

BOOK LV

require cures of a similar nature. Gentle words, for example, cause all one's inflamed passion to subside, just as harsh words in another case will stir to wrath even the spirit which has been calmed; and forgiveness granted will melt even the utterly arrogant man, just as punishment will incense even him who is utterly mild. For acts of violence will always in every instance, no matter how just they may be, exasperate, while considerate treatment mollifies. Hence it is that a man will more readily submit to the most terrible hardships—and gladly, too,—if he has been persuaded, than if compulsion has been put upon him. And so true it is that, in following both these courses, man is subject to a compelling law of nature, that even among the irrational animals, which have no intelligence, many of the strongest and fiercest are tamed by petting and subdued by allurements, while many even of the most cowardly and weak are aroused to fury by acts of cruelty which excite terror in them.

“I do not mean by this that we must spare all wrongdoers without distinction, but that we must cut off the headstrong man, the meddlesome, the malicious, the trouble-maker, and the man within whom there is an incurable and persistent depravity, just as we treat the members of the body that are quite beyond all healing. In the case of the rest, however, whose errors, committed wilfully or otherwise, are due to youth or ignorance or misapprehension or some other adventitious circumstance, we should in some cases merely rebuke them with words, in others bring them to their senses by threats, and in still others apply some other form of moderate treatment, just as in the case of slaves, who commit now

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ἄλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα¹ τοὺς μὲν μείζοσι
 3 τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττοσι πάντες κολάζουσιν. ὥστε καὶ
 τὰ κατὰ τούτους ἀκινδύνως μετριάζειν ἔξεστί σοι,
 τοὺς μὲν φυγῇ τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμία, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι
 ζημιοῦντι, ἑτέρους ἐς χωρία ἑτέρους ἐς πόλεις
 τινὰς κατατιθεμένῳ.

“ Καὶ ἤδη γέ τινες καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ὧν
 ἠλπιζον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ὧν ἐφίεντο ἐσω-
 4 φρονίσθησαν. ἔδραι τε ἀτιμοὶ καὶ στάσεις
 ἐπονείδιστοι τό τε προλυπηθῆναι καὶ τὸ προ-
 φοβηθῆναι συχνούς βελτίους ἐποίησε· καίτοι καὶ
 ἀποθανεῖν ἔλοιτ' ἂν τις εὖ τε γεγωνῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως
 ὧν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι παθεῖν. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ἐκείνοις
 μὲν οὐδὲν ῥάων ἢ τιμωρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπωτέρα
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ τὸ μήτε τινὰ ἐπηγορίαν
 5 ἔχειν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν ὑπάρξειεν. ὡς νῦν γε
 πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ,² πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμία χρη-
 μάτων, ἄλλους ἀνδρείας φόβῳ καὶ μάλα ἄλλους
 ἀρετῆς τινος φθόνῳ, κτείνειν δοκοῦμεν. οὐδεὶς
 γὰρ ῥαδίως πιστεῦει ὅτι τις ἐν τε ἐξουσία
 καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτη ὧν ὑπ' ἰδιώτου τινὸς
 ἀόπλου³ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι δύναται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
 ταῦτα λογοποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ψευδῆ πολλά
 ἀκούομεν καὶ πολλοῖς μάτην ὡς καὶ ἀληθέσι
 6 προσέχομεν. τοὺς γάρ τοι διοπτεύοντάς τε καὶ
 ὠτακουστοῦντας⁴ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοὺς μὲν ἔχθρα

¹ δούλων ἄλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα Carps, τᾶλλα ἀμαρτανόντων R. Steph., δούλων τιμωρίαις Rk., τᾶλλα M Xiph.

² πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ supplied by Bs. M shows a lacuna of fourteen to sixteen letters.

³ ἀόπλου R. Steph., ἀνόπλου M Xiph.

⁴ ὠτακουστοῦντας Xiph. and corrector in N, ὠτακουστάς N,



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ἄλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα¹ τοὺς μὲν μείζουσι
 3 τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττωσι πάντες κολάζουσιν. ὥστε καὶ
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 φοβηθῆναι συνουὺς βελτίους ἐποίησε· καίτοι καὶ
 ἀποθανεῖν ἔλασ' ἂν τις εὖ τε γεγρονῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως
 ὦν ἢ τοιοῦτό·ι παθεῖν. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ἐκείνοις
 μὲν οὐδὲν ῥάω ἢ τιμωρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπωτέρα
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν, ἢ·ιν δὲ δὴ τὸ μήτε τινὰ ἐπηγορίαν
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 ἀκούομεν καὶ πολλοῖς μάτην ὡς καὶ ἀληθέσι
 6 προσέχομεν. τοὺς γάρ τοι διοπτεύοντάς τε καὶ
 ὠτακουστοῦντας⁴ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς μὲν ἔχθρα

¹ δούλων ἄλλω μαρτανόντων ἄλλα Capps, τᾶλλα ἀμαρτ
 των R. Steph., δαων τιμωρίαῖς Rk., τᾶλλα M Xiph.

² πολλοὺς μὲν γῆ supplied by Bs. M shows a 14
 fourteen to sixteen letters.

³ ἀόπλου R. Steph., ἀνόπλου M Xiph.

⁴ ὠτακουστοῦντες Xiph. and corrector in M, ὠτα

BOOK LV

A.D. 4

this and now that offence, all men impose greater penalties upon some and lesser upon others. Hence, so far as these political offenders are concerned, you may employ moderation without danger, punishing some by banishment, others by disfranchisement, still others by a pecuniary fine, and another class you may dispose of by placing some in confinement in the country and others in certain cities.

“Experience has shown that men are brought to their senses even by failing to obtain what they hoped for and by being disappointed in the object of their desires. Many men have been made better by having assigned to them at the public seats which confer no honour, or by being appointed to posts to which disgrace attaches, and also by being offended or frightened in advance; and yet a man of high birth and spirit would sooner die than suffer such humiliation. By such means their plans for vengeance would be made no easier, but rather more difficult, of accomplishment, while we on our part should be able to avoid any reproach and also to live in security. As things are now, people think that we kill many through resentment, some through lust for their property, others through fear of their bravery and virtues, and some actually through jealousy of their virtues. A ruler who finds it easy to believe that a man of so great authority and power is plotting on the part of an un-esteemed station, but some invent the story, and still others assert that such assertions come to our ears and give rise to any idle rumors as if they say, and eavesdroppers get such then—actually sometimes

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τοὺς δὲ ὀργῇ, ἄλλους ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν λαβόντας, ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων μὴ λαβόντας, πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ σκευωρεῖσθαί φασιν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τι δεινὸν ἔπραξαν τινες ἢ καὶ ποιήσιν μέλλουσι λέγοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐφθέγγετο τοιούδε τι, ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐσιώπησεν, ἄλλος ἐγέλασεν, ἄλλος ἐδάκρυσεν.

- 19 “Μυρία ἂν τοιουτότροπα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι, ἂ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀληθῆ εἶη, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ προσήκοντά ἐστιν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι παρ' ἐλευθέροις ἀνθρώποις οὔτε σοὶ διαγγέλλεσθαι. λαθόντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐδὲν ἂν σε βλάβειεν, ἀκουσθέντα δὲ παροξύνειε καὶ ἄκοντα.
- 2 ὅπερ ἤκιστα χρή ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντί τινων συμβαίνειν. συχνοὺς γοῦν ἐκ τούτου, τοὺς μὲν ἀκρίτους τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐσκευωρημένην τινὶ καταγνώσει δικαστηρίου, ἀδίκως ἀπόλλυσθαι πολλοὶ¹ νομίζουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς μαρτυρίας οὔτε τὰς βασάνους οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ὡς καὶ
- 3 ἀληθὲς ὄν κατ' αὐτῶν προσίενται. ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτως, εἰ καὶ μὴ δικαίως ἐστιν ἂ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων γε ὡς² εἰπεῖν τῶν οὔτω θανατουμένων θρυλεῖται. καὶ δεῖ σε, ὦ Αὔγουστε, μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δοκεῖν. ἰδιώτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μηδὲν πλημμελεῖν, ἄρχοντι δὲ δὴ προσήκει
- 4 μηδὲ δόκησίν τινα αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν. ἀνθρώπων γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ θηρίων ἡγεμονεύεις· καὶ μόνως ἂν

¹ πολλοὶ added by corrector in N, om. Xiph.

² ὡς Xiph. V, om. M Xiph. C.



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οὕτως εὐνοεῖν σοι αὐτοὺς ἀληθῶς ποιήσεως, ἂν πανταχόθεν σφᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πείσης ὅτι μήτε ἐκῶν τινα μήτε ἄκων ἀδικήσεις.¹ φοβείσθαι μὲν γάρ τινα ἀναγκασθῆναί τις δύναται, 5 φιλεῖν δὲ πεισθῆναι ὀφείλει. πείθεται δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτός τε εὖ πάθη καὶ ἑτέρους εὐεργετουμένους ἴδῃ. ὁ δ' ὑποτοπήσας μὴ δικαίως τινὰ ἀπολωλέναι καὶ φοβεῖται μὴ ποτέ τι ὅμοιον πάθη καὶ μισεῖν τὸν δράσαντα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τῷ μηδ' 6 ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀδικήσαντάς σφας ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε καταφρονῶνται μήτε ἐκ τούτου πλεονεκτῶνται, τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας τοῖς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπεξιέναι χρῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἰδίᾳ τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖν δοκοῦντας φέρειν· μήτε γὰρ ἐκ καταφρονήσεως μήτ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀδικηθῆναί σφας δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τὰ προφυλάσσοντα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

20 “Ὡστε ἔγωγε ταῦτά τε ἀκούουσα καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέπουσα κινδυνεύω καὶ παντελῶς ἀπειπεῖν σοι μηδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι ἀποκτινύναι. 2 αἷ τε γὰρ προστασίαι ἐπὶ τε τῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίᾳ καθίστανται, ὅπως μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων βλάπτωνται, οὐ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τι λυπῶνται·

¹ ἀδικήσεις flor., ἀδικήσης M, ἀδικησείας ἂν Xiph.

BOOK LV

beasts, and the only way you can make them truly well disposed toward you is by convincing them, by every means and on every occasion consistently, that you will wrong no one, either purposely or unwittingly. A man can be compelled to fear another, but he ought to be persuaded to love him ; and he is persuaded not only by the good treatment he himself receives, but also by the benefits he sees conferred on others. The man, however, who suspects that a certain person has been put to death unjustly both fears that he may some day meet a like fate and is compelled to hate the one who is responsible for the deed. And to be hated by one's subjects, quite apart from its being deplorable in general, is also exceedingly unprofitable. For most people feel that, although all other men must defend themselves against all who wrong them in any way or else become objects of contempt and so be oppressed, yet rulers ought to prosecute only those who wrong the state, tolerating those who are supposed to be committing offences against them privately ; rulers, they reason, can not themselves be harmed either by contempt or by direct attack, inasmuch as there are many instrumentalities which protect them from both.

“ I, therefore, when I hear such considerations advanced and turn my thoughts to them, am inclined to go so far as to urge you to give up altogether the inflicting of the death penalty in any case for reasons of this kind. For the office of ruler has been established for the preservation of the governed, to prevent them from being injured either by one another or by foreign peoples, and not for a moment that they may be harmed by the rulers themselves ;

IO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὕτως εὐνάων σοι αὐτοὺς ἀληθῶς ποιήσεις, ἂν
 πανταχόθε σφᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πείσης
 ὅτι μήτε ἑὼν τινα μήτε ἄκων ἀδικήσεις.¹ φο-
 βεῖσθαι μὲ γάρ τινα ἀναγκασθῆναί τις δύναται,
 5 φιλεῖν δὲ εἰσθῆναι ὀφείλει. πείθεται δὲ ἐξ ὧν
 ἂν αὐτός τε εὖ πάθη καὶ ἑτέρους εὐεργετουμένους
 ἴδῃ. ὁ δ' ποτοπήσας μὴ δικαίως τινὰ ἀπολω-
 λέναι καὶ οβείται μὴ ποτέ τι ὅμοιον πάθη καὶ
 μισεῖν τὸν θάσαντα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ
 μισεῖσθαι πὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τῷ μηδ'
 6 ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ
 γὰρ καὶ μίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
 ἀναγκαῖον ἵναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀδι-
 σαντάς σφς ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε καταφρο-
 μήτε ἐκ τοσούτου πλεονεκτῶνται, τοὺς δ' ἴ-
 τοῖς μὲν γ κοινὸν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπεξιεί-
 τοὺς δ' ἰδί τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖ
 φέρειν· μηγὰρ ἐκ καταφρονή-
 ἐπιδρομῆς ἰδικηθῆναί σφας δί-
 πολλὰ τὰ ποφυλάσσοντα αὐτοῖς

20 “Ὡστε ἴγωγε ταῦτά τε
 ταῦτα ἀπθλέπουσα κινδ
 ἀπειπεῖν σι μηδένα διὰ
 2 αἴ τε γὰρ τροστασία
 σωτηρία κείσταντ
 λων μήθ' πὸ τ'
 μὰ Δία οὐγῶ-

¹ ἀδική

least
 well
 or eve
 that yo
 witting
 but he
 is per
 himsel
 ferred
 that
 both



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ εὐκλεέστατόν ἐστιν οὐ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν πολι-
 τῶν ἀπολλύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάντας, ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ,¹
 3 σῶζειν δύνασθαι. παιδεύειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ
 νόμοις καὶ εὐεργεσίαις καὶ νουθεσίαις δεῖ, ὅπως
 σωφρονῶσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν,
 ἵνα κἂν ἀδικεῖν ἐθελήσωσι μὴ δυνηθῶσιν· ἂν δὲ
 δὴ νοσήσῃ τι, θεραπεύειν τε τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸ καὶ
 4 ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς φθαρῇ. τό τε γὰρ
 φέρειν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀμαρτήματα καὶ πάνυ
 μεγάλης καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργον ἐστίν·
 ἂν τέ τις πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν
 ἀξίαν κολάζῃ, λήσει τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 5 ἀπολέσας. ὅθεν καὶ διὰ ταῦτά σοι γνώμην δίδωμι
 θανάτῳ μὲν μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρεῖσθαι,
 ἑτέρως δέ πως αὐτούς, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν
 δρᾶσαι, σωφρονίζειν. τί γὰρ ἂν ἀδικήσειέ τις ἐς
 νῆσον κατακλεισθείς, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ πόλει τέ τινι,
 οὐχ ὅπως ἄνευ πλήθους οἰκετῶν ἢ χρημάτων,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὄν, ἂν γε καὶ τούτου
 6 δεήσῃ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγύς που ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι
 ἦσαν, ἢ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀλλότριόν τι
 ἦν, ὥστε τινὰ αὐτῶν διαδράντα πρὸς ἐκείνους
 κακόν τι ἡμᾶς ἐργάσασθαι, πόλεις τέ τινες ἐν τῇ
 Ἰταλίᾳ ἐχυραὶ καὶ τείχη καὶ ὄπλα ἔχουσαι ὑπῆρ-
 χον, ὥστε τινὰ καταλαβόντα αὐτὰς φοβερὸν
 7 ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ἕτερος ἂν ἦν λόγος· ἀόπλων δὲ δὴ
 πάντων τῶν ταύτη καὶ ἀτειχίστων ὡς πρὸς πόλε-

¹ ἦ R. Steph., ἦν M.

BOOK LV

and the greatest glory is gained, not by putting many citizens to death, but by being in a position to save them all, if that be possible. We must educate the citizens by means of laws and benefits and admonitions, in order that they may be right-minded, and furthermore, we must watch over them and guard them, in order that, even if they wish to do wrong, they may not be able to do so; and if there is any ailment among them, we must find some way to cure it and correct it, in order that the ailing member may not be utterly destroyed. To endure the offences of the multitude is a task demanding at once great prudence and great power; but if any one is going to punish them all without distinction as they deserve, before he knows it he will have destroyed the majority of mankind. Hence and for these reasons I give you my opinion to the effect that you should not inflict the death penalty upon any man for such offences, but should rather bring them to their senses in some other way, so that they will not in future commit any crime. What wrongdoing, indeed, could a man indulge in who is shut up on an island, or in the country, or in some city, not only deprived of a throng of servants and a supply of money, but also under guard, in case this, too, is necessary? Of course, if the enemy were anywhere near here or if some part of our sea belonged to a foreign power, so that one or another of the prisoners might escape to them and do us some harm, or if, again, there were strong cities in Italy with fortifications and armed forces, so that if a man seized them, he might become a menace to us, that would be a different story. But in fact all the places here are unarmed and without walls that

A. D. 4

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μον ὄντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παμπληθὲς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότων (πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ θάλασσα πολλὴ δὲ καὶ γῆ, καὶ ὄρη καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσδιαβά-
 8 τούς ἔχουσα, διὰ μέσου ἐστί), τί ἂν τις φοβηθείη τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα, γυμνοῦς, ἰδιωτεύοντας, ἐν-
 ταῦθά που ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ὄντας καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν σῶν ὅπλων κατακεκλειμένους¹; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐννοῶσαί τινα τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὔτ' ἂν, εἰ² καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μανείη τις, δύνασθαί γέ τι πράξαι νομίζω.

21 “Πεῖραν οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι ποιη-
 σώμεθα. τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταβάλουντο³ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμείνους ποιήσειαν· καὶ γὰρ ὀρᾶς ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ εὐγενὴς καὶ ὀνο-
 μαστός ἐστι, δεῖ δέ που καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρωπίνως
 2 ἐκλογίζεσθαι. οὐ πάντα τοι τὸ ξίφος διαπράτ-
 τεται (μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἂν⁴ ἀγαθόν, εἰ σωφρονίζειν τέ τινας καὶ πείθειν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάζειν φιλεῖν τινὰ ἀληθῶς ἐδύνατο), ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμά τινος φθεί-
 ρειεν ἂν, τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἀλλοτριώ-
 σειεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἕτεροι τιμωρηθῶσι, προσ-
 φιλέστεροί τινι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ φοβηθῶσιν,
 3 ἐχθίους γίγνονται. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, οἱ δὲ δὴ συγγνώμης τινὸς τυχόντες καὶ μετανοοῦσιν, αἰσχυρόμενοι αὐθὶς τι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀδικῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνθυπουργοῦσιν, ἐλπίζοντες πλείω ἀντ' εὖ πείσεσθαι.⁵ ὑφ' οὗ γὰρ ἂν τις ἀδικηθέντος τι σωθῇ, τοῦτον εὖ παθόντα οὐδέν ὅ τι

¹ κατακεκλειμένους Dind.; κατακεκλεισμένους M Xiph.

² εἰ supplied by Pflugk.

³ μεταβάλουντο Xiph., μεταβάλλουντο M.

⁴ ἂν added by corrector of M (in margin), om. Xiph. flor.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 οὐκ εὐεργετήσειν ἑαυτὸν ἠγεῖται. πείσθητι οὖν μοι, φίλτατε, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ.¹ οὕτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα ἀνάγκη πεποιηκέναι δόξεις· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πόλιν τηλικαύτην ἐκ δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν ἄγοντα ἀναιμωτὶ μεταστήσαι· ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένης, καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνώμη δεδρακέναι νομισθήσῃ.”

22 Ταῦτα τῆς Λιουίας εἰπούσης ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐπίσθη τε αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀφῆκε μὲν πάντας τοὺς ὑπαιτίους λόγοις τισὶ νουθετήσας, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κορνήλιον καὶ 2 ὑπάτον ἀπέδειξε.² κακ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτως ὠκείωσατο ὥστε μηδένα ἔτ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μήτ' ὄντως ἐπιβουλεύσαι μήτε δόξαι· ἢ γὰρ δὴ Λιουία αἰτιωτάτη τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ Κορνηλίῳ γενομένη ἤμελλεν αὐτὴ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Αὐγούστου λήψεσθαι.

3 Τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορνηλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων σεισμοὶ τε ἐξαίσιοι συνέβησαν, καὶ ὁ Τίβερης τὴν τε γέφυραν κατέσυρε καὶ πλωτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τοῦ τε ἡλίου τι ἐκλιπὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ λιμὸς συνη- 4 νέχθη. καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας ἐς ἐφήβους, μηδενὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τυχῶν, ἐσεγράφη· καὶ τὰς ἵπποδρομίας χωρὶς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ χωρὶς δὲ οἱ ἵππῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ 5 πλήθους εἶδον, ὃ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐ ῥαδίως οἱ πάνυ εὐγενεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερατεῖαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, ἐνομοθετήθη καὶ ἐξ

¹ μεταβαλοῦ Xiph., μεταβάλλου M.

² ἀπέδειξε M Xiph., προσαπέδειξεν Zon.

BOOK LV

to any lengths in his benefactions. Heed me, therefore, dearest, and change your course ; if you do, all your other acts that have caused displeasure will be thought to have been dictated by necessity,—indeed, it is impossible for a man to guide so great a city from democracy to monarchy and make the change without bloodshed,—but if you continue in your old policy, you will be thought to have done these unpleasant things deliberately.”

A. D. 4

Augustus heeded these suggestions of Livia and released all the accused with some words of admonition ; and he even appointed Cornelius consul. As a result of this course he so conciliated both him and the other persons so treated that neither they nor any one of the rest thereafter either actually plotted against him or was suspected of doing so. It was rather Livia herself, who was chiefly responsible for saving the life of Cornelius, that was to be charged with plotting the death of Augustus.

At this time, in the consulship of Cornelius and Valerius Messalla, violent earthquakes occurred and the Tiber carried away the bridge and made the city navigable for seven days ; there was also a partial eclipse of the sun, and famine set in. This same year Agrippa was enrolled among the youths of military age, but obtained none of the same privileges as his brothers. The senators witnessed the Circensian games separately and the knights also separately from the remainder of the populace, as is the case to-day also. And since the noblest families did not show themselves inclined to give their daughters to be priestesses of Vesta, a law was passed that the daughters of freedmen might like-

A. D. 5

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀπελευθέρων γεγενημένας ἱεράσθαι.¹ καὶ ὁ μὲν κλήρος αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πλείους ἠμφεσβήτησαν,² ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντων τῶν πατέρων σφῶν, ὅσοι γε ἵππευον, ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀπεδείχθη.

23 Χαλεπῶς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄθλων σμικρότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ἐνεστηκότας οὐχ ἠκιστα ἐχόντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρόνου ὄπλα λαβεῖν ἐθέλοντος, ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις τρισχιλίας, ἐπειδὴν 2 εἴκοσι στρατεύσονται, δίδοσθαι. τρία δὲ δὴ τότε καὶ εἴκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἢ ὡς γε ἕτεροι λέγουσι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, πολιτικὰ ἐτρέφετο. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνα διαμένει, τό τε δεύτερον τὸ Αὐγούστειον³ τὸ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω χειμάζον, καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ τρίτα, τό τε ἐν Φοινίκῃ τὸ Γαλατικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τὸ Κυρηναϊκόν, 3 τό τε ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ τὸ Αὐγούστειον³ τέταρτον Σκυθικόν ἐν Συρίᾳ, πέμπτον Μακεδονικόν ἐν Δακίᾳ, ἕκτα δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ τῶν νικητόρων, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, τὸ σιδηροῦν, τέτακται· καὶ οἱ ἑβδομοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, οἱ⁴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδίειοι ὠνομάδαται, οἱ τε⁵ ὄγδοοι Αὐγούστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες· 4 καὶ οἱ δέκατοι ἑκάτεροι,⁶ οἱ τε ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω οἱ δίδυμοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ· τό τε ἐνδέκατον τὸ

¹ ἱεράσθαι R. Steph., ἱερῶσθαι M.

² ἠμφεσβήτησαν Bs., ἀμφεσβήτησαν M (but in margin γρ. ἠμφισβήτησαν).

³ Αὐγούστειον Xiph., αὐγούστιοι M (and similarly just below).



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ἐν Μυσία τῇ κάτω, τὸ Κλαυδίειον· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ
 δύο στρατόπεδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐπεκλήθη, ὅτι
 αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει μὴ ἀντε-
 5 πολέμησε· καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκία
 τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, τὸ τε τρίτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν
 Δακία τὸ δίδυμον, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ
 ἐν Παννονία τῇ ἄνω τὸ δίδυμον, τὸ τε πεντεκαιδέ-
 6 κατον τὸ Ἀπολλώνειον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκία· καὶ οἱ
 εἰκοστοὶ οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίειοι καὶ νικητόρες ὀνομα-
 σμένοι καὶ ἐν Βρεττανία τῇ ἄνω ὄντες· οὕστινας ὁ
 Αὔγουστος,¹ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, μετὰ τῶν τῆν τε τοῦ
 δευτέρου καὶ² εἰκοστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν ἐχόντων καὶ ἐν³
 τῇ Γερμανία τῇ ἄνω χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μά-
 λιστα μήθ' ὑφ' ἀπάντων Οὐαλερίειοι ἐπεκλήθη-
 σαν μήτε νῦν ἔτι τῇ προσηγορία ταύτῃ χρῶνται,
 7 παραλαβὼν ἐτήρησε. ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Αὔγουστείων
 στρατοπέδων σώζεται· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ τὰ μὲν
 παντελῶς διελύθη, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶν ὑπὸ τε
 αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνε-
 μίχθη, ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ δίδυμα ὀνομασμένα νενό-
 μισται.

24 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐς τὸν περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων
 λόγον προήχθη, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὡς που
 πρὸς τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχησάντων κατελέχθη,
 φράσω, ἵν' ἐνὶ χωρίῳ πάντα γεγραμμένα ῥαδίως
 2 τὸν βουλόμενόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διδάσκη. ὅ
 τε γὰρ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ⁴ καὶ Ἰταλικὸν ὀνο-
 μαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Μυσία χειμάζον, καὶ ὁ

¹ ὁ Αὔγουστος Bk., αὐτοῦς M.

² δευτέρου καὶ supplied by Mommsen.

³ ἐν supplied by Xyl.

⁴ πρῶτον τὸ Bs., πρῶτόν τε M.

BOOK LV

Lower Moesia (for two legions were thus named after A.D. 5
Claudius because they had not fought against him in
the rebellion of Camillus¹); the Twelfth (Fulminata)
in Cappadocia; the Thirteenth (Gemina) in Dacia;
the Fourteenth (Gemina) in Upper Pannonia; the
Fifteenth (Apollinaris) in Cappadocia; the Twentieth
(called both Valeria and Victrix) in Upper Britain.
These latter, I believe, were the troops which Augustus
took over and retained, along with those called
the Twenty-second who are quartered in Germany,²
—and this in spite of the fact that they were by
no means called Valerians by all and do not use
that name any longer. These are the legions that
still remain out of those of Augustus; of the rest,
some were disbanded altogether, and others were
merged with various legions by Augustus himself
and by other emperors, in consequence of which such
legions have come to bear the name Gemina.

Now that I have once been led into giving an
account of the legions, I shall speak of the other
legions also which exist to-day and tell of their
enlistment by the emperors subsequent to Augustus,
my purpose being that, if any one desires to learn
about them, the statement of all the facts in a single
portion of my book may provide him easily with the
information. Nero organized the First Legion,
called the Italica, which has its winter quarters in

¹ Cf. lx. 15, 4.

² Dio is in error here; the Twenty-second (Primigenia)
was organized by Claudius and therefore should be in the list
of later legions given in chap. 24.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 Γάλβας τό τε πρῶτον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ
 Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ ἕβδομον τὸ δίδυμον τὸ
 ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέταξαν, Οὔεσπασιανὸς τό τε δεύ-
 τερον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ
 τὸ τέταρτον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω,
 τό τε ἑκκαιδέκατον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ,
 Δομιτιανὸς τὸ πρῶτον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον τὸ ἐν Γερ-
 4 μανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, Τραϊανὸς τὸ δεύτερον τὸ Αἰγύ-
 πτιον καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν τὸ Γερμανικόν, ἃ καὶ ἀφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ ἐπωνόμασεν, Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ Μάρκος τό τε
 δεύτερον τὸ ἐν Νωρίκῳ καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν
 Ῥαιτίᾳ, ἃ καὶ Ἰταλικά κέκληται, Σεουήρος τὰ
 Παρθικά, τό τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὰ¹ ἐν
 Μεσοποταμίᾳ, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου τὸ δεύτερον τὸ
 ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

5 Νῦν μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα τείχη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατα-
 λόγου στρατευομένων ἔξω τοῦ τε ἀστικοῦ καὶ τοῦ
 δορυφορικοῦ ἔστι, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
 ταῦτά τε, εἴτ' οὖν τρία εἴτε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν
 ὄντα, ἐτρέφετο, καὶ συμμαχικὰ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ
 ἰππέων καὶ ναυτῶν ὅσαδήποτε ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ
 6 ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν· οἷ τε σωματοφύλακες μύριοι ὄντες
 καὶ δεκαχῆ τεταγμένοι, καὶ οἷ τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ
 ἑξακισχίλιοί τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῆ νενεμημένοι·
 7 ξένοι τε ἰππῆς ἐπίλεκτοι, οἷς τὸ τῶν Βατάουων
 ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα,
 8 ὅτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἰππεύειν εἰσὶ, κεῖται· οὐ μέντοι
 ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακλή-
 των, εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἤρξατο μὲν
 νομίζειν ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς συστρατευσασμένους τῷ πατρὶ

¹ τὰ Bk., τὸ M.



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πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεκάλεσεν, ἐτήρησε δέ· καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν σύστημα ἴδιον, ῥάβδους φέροντες ὥσπερ οἱ ἑκατόνταρχοι.

9 Δι' οὖν ταῦτ' ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, γνώμην ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσήνεγκε πόρον τινὰ διαρκῆ καὶ ἀείνων¹ ἀποδειχθῆναι, ὅπως μηδενὸς ἔξωθεν μηδὲν λυπούμενου ἀφθόνως ἐκ τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὴν τροφήν καὶ τὰ γέρα λαμβάνωσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐζητεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ τε μηδεὶς ἀγορανομήσαι ἐκὼν ἤθελεν, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκ τε τῶν τεταμιευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκότων κλήρω τινὲς αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι,
25 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Λουκίου Ἀρρουντίου ὑπάτων, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρέσκων τισὶν εὕρισκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες ὅτι
2 καὶ ἐζητεῖτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ὁ Αὐγουστος χρήματα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὸ ταμιεῖον, ὃ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ τρισὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη διοικεῖν προσέταξε, ῥαβδούχοις τ' ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρω-
3 μένοις. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐγένετο· νῦν γὰρ καὶ αἰροῦνται πρὸς τοῦ ἀεὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ χωρὶς ῥαβδούχων περιίασιν. αὐτός τε οὖν συνεσήνεγκέ τινα, καὶ τοῦτο κατ' ἔτος πράξειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ παρὰ βασιλέων δή-

¹ ἀείνων Dind., ἀεινον M.

BOOK LV

into service against Antony the troops who had served with his father, and he maintained them afterwards; they constitute even now a special corps, and carry rods, like the centurions. A.D. 5

Now Augustus lacked funds for all these troops, and therefore he introduced a proposal in the senate that revenues in sufficient amount and continuing from year to year should be set aside, in order that the soldiers might receive without stint from the taxes levied their maintenance and bonuses without any outside source being put to annoyance. The means for such a fund were accordingly sought. Now when no one showed a willingness to become aedile, some men from the ranks of the ex-quaestors and ex-tribunes were compelled by lot to take the office—a thing which happened on many other occasions.¹ After this, in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when no revenues for the military fund were being discovered that suited anybody, but absolutely everybody was vexed because such an attempt was even being made, Augustus in the name of himself and of Tiberius placed money in the treasury which he called the military treasury,² and commanded that three of the ex-praetors, to be chosen by lot, should administer it for three years, employing two lictors apiece and such further assistance as was fitting. This method was followed with the successive incumbents of the office for many years; but at present they are chosen by the emperor and they go about without lictors. Now Augustus made a contribution himself toward the fund and promised to do so annually, and he also A.D. 6

¹ Cf. xlix. 16, 2; liii. 2, 2; liv. 11, 1.

² *Aerarium militare*.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μων τε τινῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἐδέξατο· παρὰ γὰρ τῶν
 ἰδιωτῶν, καίπερ συχνῶν ἐθελοντί, ὥς γε ἔλεγον,
 4 ἐπιδιδόντων τι, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν. ὥς δ' οὖν ταῦτά
 τε ἐλάχιστα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκομένων
 ἦν· καὶ ἀθανάτου τινὸς εὐπορίας ἐδεῖτο, προσέταξε
 τοῖς βουλευταῖς ζητῆσαι πόρους ἰδία καὶ καθ'
 ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον, καὶ τούτους ἐς βίβλια γρά-
 ψαντας δοῦναί οἱ διασκέψασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ
 ἐπενόει τινά, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς
 5 πείσῃ ὃν ἐβούλετο ἐλέσθαι. ἀμέλει ἄλλων ἄλλα
 ἐσηγησαμένων ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδὲν¹ ἐδοκίμασε, τὴν
 δ' εἰκοστὴν τῶν τε κλήρων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς ἂν
 οἱ τελευτῶντές τισι πλὴν τῶν πάνυ συγγενῶν
 ἢ καὶ πενήτων καταλείπωσι, κατεστήσατο, ὥς
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασι τὸ τέλος
 6 τοῦτο γεγραμμένον εὐρών· ἐσῆκτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ
 πρότερόν ποτε, καταλυθὲν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖθις
 τότε ἐπανήχθη. τὰς μὲν οὖν προσόδους οὕτως
 ἐπηύξησε, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ὑπατευκότων, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν
 συνέστειλε τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε.

26 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπει, καὶ
 προσέτι καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρός, ὥσθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς
 τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ὄνια
 ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους
 ἐξωσθῆναι, ἐκ τε τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τὸν Αὔγου-
 στον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλεῖον ἀποπέμψασθαι,
 καὶ δικῶν ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν τε τοῖς βου-
 2 λευταῖς ἔνθα ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι. καὶ
 ὅπως γ' ἂν μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου τὰ δόγματα ἐμποδί-

¹ οὐδὲν Reim., οὐδένα M.



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μων τε τινυ ἐπαγγελίας ἐδέξατο· παρὰ γὰρ τῶν
 ἰδιωτῶν, κίπερ συχνῶν ἐθελοντί, ὡς γε ἔλεγον,
 4 ἐπιδιδόντω τι, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν. ὡς δ' οὖν ταῦτά
 τε ἐλάχιστ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκομένων
 ἦν καὶ ἀθαάτου τινὸς εὐπορίας ἐδεῖτο, προσέταξε
 τοῖς βουλευταῖς ζητῆσαι πόρους ἰδία καὶ καθ'
 ἑαυτὸν ἕκστον, καὶ τούτους ἐς βιβλία γρά-
 ψαντας δοναί οἱ διασκέψασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ
 ἐπενόει τιά, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς
 5 πείσῃ ὄν ἐρύλετο ἐλέσθαι. ἀμέλει ἄλλων ἄλλα
 ἐσηγησαμῶν ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδὲν¹ ἐδοκίμασε, τὴν
 δ' εἰκοστήπῶν τε κλήρων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς ἂν
 οἱ τελευτᾶτές τισι πλὴν τῶν πάνυ συγγενῶν
 ἢ καὶ πεπτῶν καταλείπωσι, κατεστήσατο, ὡς
 καὶ ἐν τοῖ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασι τὸ τέλος
 6 τοῦτο γεγραμμένον εὐρών· ἐσῆκτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ
 πρότερόν εἴτε, καταλυθὲν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐθι-
 τότε ἐπανχθη. τὰς μὲν οὖν προσόδους
 ἐπηύξησε, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν
 ὑπατευκότῃ, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος ἀπέφην·
 συνέστειλα δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν δ'

26 Ταῦτά ε οὖν τοὺς Ῥωμ

προσέτι κα λιμὸς ἰσχυρός

τε μονομαοῦντας κα

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BOOK LV

A. D. 6

accepted voluntary contributions from kings and certain communities; but he took nothing from private citizens, although a considerable number made offers of their own free will, as they at least alleged. But as all this proved very slight in comparison with the amount being expended there was need of some permanent supply, he ordered each one of the senators to seek out sources of revenue, each independently of the others, to write them in books, and give them to him to consider. This was not because he had no plan of his own, but as the most certain means of persuading them to close the plan he preferred. At all events, when different men had proposed different schemes, he approved none of them, but established the tax of five percent. on the inheritances of estates which should be left by people at the death of any person, except very near persons, representing that he had drawn up in Caesar's memoranda, which had been introduced into the senate, and was increased the rate to three percent. on the reduced value of the property. He also proposed to the senate to increase the number of slaves, and the number of officials, a recess was permitted them, however they might not

ζηται, κύρια πάντα τὰ γινωσκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν
 αἰὲ παρόντων εἶναι ἐκελεύσθη. καὶ προσέτι καὶ
 ἄνδρες ὑπατευκότες ἐπὶ τε τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ἄρτου κατέστησαν, ὥστε τακτὸν ἐκάστῳ
 3 πιπράσκεισθαι. ἐπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ
 Αὐγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτουμένοις τοσοῦτον ἕτερον
 ὅσον αἰὲ ἐλάμβανον· ὡς δ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνό σφισιν
 ἐξήρκεσεν, οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γενέθλια δημοσίᾳ
 αὐτοὺς ἐστιαθῆναι εἶασεν.

4 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς
 πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἄνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρους
 ἐπταχῆ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο,
 καὶ ἄρχοντα ἰππέα αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, ὡς καὶ δι'
 5 ὀλίγου σφᾶς διαλύσων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε
 τοῦτο· καταμαθὼν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρη-
 σιμωτάτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν
 βοήθειαν οὖσαν ἐτήρησεν αὐτούς. καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ
 νῦν οἱ νυκτοφύλακες οὗτοι ἰδιὸν τινα τρόπον
 οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τείχη τε ἐν
 τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου
 φέρουσιν.

27 Ὁ δ' οὖν ὄμιλος, οἷα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ
 τοῦ τέλους τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολωλόσι
 κεκακωμένος, ἥσχαλλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φα-
 νερώς νεωτεροποιᾷ¹ διελάλουν, πλείω δὲ δὴ
 2 βιβλία νύκτωρ ἐξετίθεσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλέγετο
 μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς Πουπλίου τινὸς Ῥούφου γί-
 γνεσθαι, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἐς ἄλλους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ

¹ νεωτεροποιᾷ Leuncl., νεωτεροποιαι (corrected from νεω-
 τερωποιαι) M.

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¹ The sa
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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ῥούφος οὔτε ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι αὐτῶν οὔτε πράξαι
 ἐδύνατο, ἕτεροι δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι καταχρώ-
 3 μενοι καινοτομεῖν ἐπιστεύοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 ζήτησίς τε αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσθη καὶ μῆνυτρα προετέ-
 θη· μηνύσεις τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐκ
 τούτων ἐταράττετο, μέχρις οὗ ἢ τε σιτοδεία
 ἐπαύσατο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ
 πρὸς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς
 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ,
 4 ἐγένοντο. τοῦτό τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
 Δρούσου μνήμῃ παρεμυθήσατο, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Διοσ-
 κόρειον¹ ὁ Τιβέριος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
 μόνον ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαυδιανὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ
 Κλαυδίου διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γένος
 ἐκποίησιν ὀνομάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπέ-
 5 γραψε. τὰ τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμων ἅμα διώκει, καὶ
 ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὅποτε παράσχοι, συνεχῶς ἐσεφοίτα,
 τὸ μὲν τι πραγμάτων τινῶν ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλει-
 στον φοβούμενος μὴ ὁ Αὐγούστος ἄλλον τινὰ
 παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσῃ.

6 Ταῦτά τε ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ
 ὁ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἀρχῶν μεσοῦσης πρὸς τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε ταμίᾳ² καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ, ὃν
 πρεσβευτήν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλοῦμεν, τῷ μὲν τὰ
 ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῷ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικῆσαι προσ-
 ετάχθη. ὃ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος, αἰτίαν
 τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβῶν, ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεις

¹ Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκούρειον M.

² ταμίᾳ Bk., ταμίειαι M.

BOOK LV

for as Rufus could neither have devised nor accomplished any of these things, it was believed that others, making use of his name, were planning a revolution. Therefore an investigation of the affair was voted for and rewards for information were announced. Information began to be offered, and this also contributed to the commotion in the city. This lasted until the scarcity of grain was at an end and gladiatorial games in honour of Drusus were given by Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius Claudius Nero, his sons. For this mark of honour to the memory of Drusus comforted the people, and also the dedication by Tiberius of the temple of Castor and Pollux, upon which he inscribed not only his own name,—calling himself Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus,—but also that of Drusus. Tiberius, it should be explained, continued to carry on the wars, and at the same time visited the city repeatedly whenever the opportunity offered; this was partly, to be sure, on account of various business, but chiefly because he was afraid that Augustus might take advantage of his absence to show preference to somebody else.

These were the events in the city that year. In Achaia the governor died in the middle of his term and instructions were given to his quaestor and to his assessor (whom, as I have stated,¹ we call envoy) for the former to administer the province as far as the Isthmus and the other the remainder. Herod² of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing or other, was banished beyond the

¹ Cf. liii. 14, 6.

² Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, who used the name Herod on his coinage.

ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη.

28 Κὰν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο. καὶ γὰρ λησταὶ συχνὰ κατέτρεχον, ὥστε τὴν Σαρδῶ μηδ' ¹ ἄρχοντα βουλευτὴν ἔτεσί τισι σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις τε καὶ
2 στρατιάρχαις ἰππεῦσιν ἐπιτραπήναι· καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτέριζον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἰρετούς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν, ἄρξαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τοῖς ² αὐτοῖς προσετάττετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξάξω· ³ πολλά τε γὰρ ὡς ἐκάστοις καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογα συνηνέχθη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ⁴
3 λεπτολογηθέντα ὠφελήσειε. τὰ γε μὴν μνήμης τινὸς ἀξία κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων, ἐρῶ.

Ἴσαυροὶ τε γὰρ ἐκ ληστείας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐς πολέμου δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρις οὗ καταδαμάσθησαν· καὶ Γαίτουλοι ⁵ τῷ τε Ἰούβα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἅμα ἀπαξιούντες μὴ οὐ
4 καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι, ἐπανεστήσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τε πρόσχωρον ἐπόρθησαν καὶ συχνοὺς καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύσαντάς σφισιν ἀπέκτειναν, τό τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπηυξήθησαν ὥστε Κορνήλιον Κόσσον τὸν κατεργασάμενόν σφας τιμάς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἐπω-
5 νυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι

¹ μηδ' Bk., μητ' M.

² τοῖς Reim., ἐν τοῖς M.

³ ἐπεξάξω Reim., ἐπεξήξω M.

⁴ οὐδὲν ἂν Pflugk, οὐδένα M.

⁵ Γαίτουλοι (Γαιτούλοι) R. Steph., γετούλοι M.



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τινές, ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος. καὶ μέχρι
 γε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Οὐισούργου,¹
 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβίου, προεχώρησεν, οὐ
 μέντοι καὶ ἀξιομνημόνευτόν τι τότε γε ἐπράχθη,
 6 καίτοι καὶ αὐτοκράτορος μὴ ὅτι τοῦ Αὐγούστου
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κληθέντος,
 καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους Γαΐου Σευτίου τοῦ τῆς Γερ-
 μανίας ἄρχοντος λαβόντος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ μόνον ἅπαξ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, φοβηθέντες αὐτούς, ἐσπεί-
 7 σαντο. αἴτια δὲ τοῦ καίπερ παρασπονδήσασί
 σφισι δι' ὀλίγου αὐθις τὴν εἰρήνην δοθῆναι τὰ τε
 τῶν Δελματῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Παννονίων, μειζόνως
 τε παραχθέντα καὶ ὀξείας ἐπιστροφῆς δεηθέντα,
 ἐγένετο.

29 Ταῖς γὰρ ἐσφοραῖς τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Δελμάται
 βαρυνόμενοι τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον καὶ ἄκουτες
 ἡσύχαζον· ὡς δ' ὁ τε Τιβέριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς
 τὸ δεύτερον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσα-
 λῖνος ὁ τότε καὶ τῆς Δελματίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας
 ἄρχων αὐτός τε σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐστάλη καὶ τὸ πολὺ
 2 τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεξήγαγε, καὶ τινα καὶ σφεῖς
 δύναμιν πέμψαι κελευσθέντες συνῆλθόν τε ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν σφῶν ἀνθοῦσαν εἶδον,
 οὐκέτι διεμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνάγοντος αὐτοὺς ὅτι
 μάλιστα Βάτωνός τινος Δησιδιάτου τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
 του ὀλίγοι τινές ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
 ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἔσφηλαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ τούτου
 3 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσαπέστησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ Βρεῦκοι Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἕτερον προστησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τε τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὥρμησαν. καὶ ἐκείνο

¹ Οὐισούργου Reim., σούργου M.

BOOK LV

especially Tiberius. He advanced first to the river A. D. 6
Visurgis and later as far as the Albis, but nothing noteworthy was accomplished at this time, although not only Augustus but also Tiberius was called *imperator* because of the campaign, and Gaius Sentius, the governor of Germany, received triumphal honours, inasmuch as the Germans, through their fear of the Romans, made a truce, not merely once, but twice. The reason that peace was granted them a second time, in spite of their having broken their truce so soon, was that the Dalmatians and Pannonians were in a state of great disturbance and required sharp attention.

The Dalmatians, chafing under the levies of tribute, had hitherto kept quiet, though unwillingly. But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Germans, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Dalmatians, too, were ordered to send a contingent; and on coming together for this purpose and beholding the strength of their warriors, they no longer delayed, but, under the vehement urging of one Bato, a Desidiatian, at first a few revolted and defeated the Romans who came against them, and then the rest also rebelled in consequence of this success. Next the Breucians, a Pannonian tribe, put another Bato at their head and marched against Sirmium and the Romans in that town. They did

μὲν οὐκ ἐξεῖλον (αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως
 αὐτῶν Καικίνας¹ Σεουήρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου
 Μυσίας ἄρχων ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων
 περὶ τὸν Δράουον ποταμὸν οὔσι καὶ συμβαλὼν
 ἐνίκησεν), ἀναμαχέσασθαι² δέ πη διὰ βραχέος,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν,
 ἐλπίσαντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτρά-
 4 ποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνίστων ὅσους ἐδύναντο,
 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Βάτων ὁ Δελμάτης ἐπὶ Σάλωνα
 στρατεύσας αὐτὸς μὲν λίθῳ χαλεπῶς πληγεὶς
 οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἑτέρους δέ τινας πέμψας πάντα τὰ
 παραθαλάσσια μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἐλυμήνατο,
 καὶ τινι ἐνταῦθα μάχῃ³ δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς προσμί-
 ξαντάς σφισι Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ προηττηθεῖς,⁴
 30 ἀντεπεκράτησε. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιβέριος,
 καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν,
 ἔκ τε τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τὸν Μεσσα-
 λῖνον προπέμψας αὐτὸς τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ
 2 ἐφείπετο. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν
 ὁ Βάτων ἀπήντησε τῷ Μεσσαλίνῳ, καίπερ μη-
 δέπω καλῶς ἔχων, καὶ ἐπικρατέστερος αὐτοῦ ἐν
 παρατάξει γενόμενος ἔπειτ' ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐνικήθη.
 κακ τούτου πρὸς τε τὸν Βάτωνα τὸν Βρεῦκου
 ἦλθε, καὶ κοινωσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὅρος
 3 τι Ἀλμὰν κατέλαβε· κἀνταῦθα πρὸς μὲν τοῦ
 Ῥυμητάλκου τοῦ Θρακός, προπεμφθέντος ἐπ'
 αὐτοῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου, βραχεῖα τινὶ μάχῃ
 ἠττήθησαν, πρὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἰσχυρῶς ἀντ-
 4 ἔσχον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεουήρου ἐς
 τὴν Μυσίαν διὰ τε τοὺς Δακοὺς καὶ διὰ τοὺς

¹ Καικίνας R. Steph., καὶ κίννας M.

² ἀναμαχέσασθαι Dind., ἀναμαχέσασθαι M.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Σαυρομάτας πορθούντας αὐτὴν ἀπάραντος, καὶ
 τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ τε Μεσσαλίνου ἐν Σισκία¹
 ἐγχρονισάντων, τὴν τε συμμαχίδα σφῶν ἐπέ-
 5 δραμον καὶ συχνοὺς προσαπέστησαν. καὶ ἐς μὲν
 χεῖρας, καίπερ τοῦ Τιβερίου πλησιάσαντός σφισιν,
 οὐκ ἤλθου αὐτῷ, ἄλλοσε δὲ καὶ ἄλλοσε μεθιστά-
 μενοι πολλὰ ἐπόρθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἐμ-
 πείρως ἔχοντες καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι, ῥαδίως
 ὄπη ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο ἐχώρουν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ὁ
 χειμῶν ἐνέστη, πολὺ πλείω ἐκακούργησαν· καὶ
 6 γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν αὐθις ἐνέβαλον. καὶ
 τούτους μὲν ὁ τε Ῥυμητάλκης καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς
 αὐτοῦ Ῥασκύπορις μάχῃ κατέλαβον· οἱ δὲ δὴ
 ἄλλοι τῇ μὲν χώρα σφῶν πορθουμένη μετὰ τοῦτο
 ἐπὶ τε Καικιλίου Μετέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Λικινίου²
 Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων οὐκ ἐπήμυναν, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ
 ἀναφυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν ὄπη παρείκοι καταδρομὰς
 ἐποιοῦντο.

31 Μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ ὑπο-
 πτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν ἂν διὰ
 ταχέων αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες
 ἴν' ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
 πολέμου προφάσει ἦ, πέμπει τὸν Γερμανικὸν καί-
 τοι ταμιεύοντα, στρατιώτας οἱ οὐκ εὐγενεῖς μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξελευθέρους δούς, ἄλλους τε καὶ ὄσους
 παρά τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρά τῶν γυναικῶν
 δούλους, πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα αὐτῶν, σὺν τροφῇ
 2 ἐκμήνῳ λαβὼν ἠλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο
 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γιγνο-

¹ Σισκία Xyl., σειςκίαι M.

² Λικινίου Bk., λικιννίου M.

BOOK LV

ravaging it, and Tiberius and Messallinus were tarry-
ing in Siscia, the Dalmatians overran the territory of
their allies and caused many more to revolt. And
although Tiberius approached them, they would
engage in no pitched battle with him, but kept
moving from one place to another, causing great
devastation; for, owing to their knowledge of the
country and the lightness of their equipment, they
could easily proceed wherever they pleased. And
when winter set in they did much greater damage,
for they even invaded Macedonia again. As for
these forces, now, Rhoemetalces and his brother
Rhascyporis checked them by a battle; and as for
the others, they did not come to the defence of their
country when it was later ravaged (in the consulship
of Caecilius Metellus and Licinius Silanus), but took
refuge in the mountain fortresses, from which they
made raiding expeditions whenever the chance
offered. A. D. 6

When Augustus learned of these things, he began
to be suspicious of Tiberius, who, as he thought,
might speedily have overcome the Dalmatians, but
was delaying purposely, in order that he might be
under arms as long as possible, with the war as his
excuse. He therefore sent out Germanicus, although
he was only a quaestor, and gave him an army com-
posed not only of free-born citizens but also of freed-
men, including those whom he had freed from slavery
by taking them from their masters and mistresses on
payment of their value and the cost of their mainten-
ance for six months. This was not the only measure
he took to meet the need occasioned by the war,
but he also postponed the review of the knights,
which was wont to occur in the Forum. And he A. D. 7

μένην ἀνεβάλετο. κατὰ τε τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς
 3 μεγάλης ἠΰξατο,¹ ὅτι γυνή τις ἐς τὸν βραχίονα
 γράμματα ἄττα ἐντεμοῦσα ἐθείασέ τινα. ἤσθετο
 μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ κατέσχητο ἀλλ' ἐκ παρα-
 σκευῆς αὐτὸ ἐπεποιήκει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος
 ἄλλως τε καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τὸν τε λιμὸν,
 ὃς καὶ τότε αὖθις συνέβη, δεινῶς ἐταράττετο,
 πιστεύειν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐπλάττετο,
 καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παραμυθήσεσθαι τὸν ὄμιλον ἤμελ-
 4 λεν ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἔπραττε. καὶ ἐπὶ γε τῇ
 σιτοδείᾳ δύο αὖθις ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπι-
 μελητὰς τοῦ σίτου σὺν ῥαβδούχοις ἀπέδειξε.
 προσδεόμενος δὲ δὴ χρημάτων ἐς τε τοὺς πολέμους
 καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων τροφήν, τὸ τε
 τέλος τὸ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρα-
 πόδων πράσει ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ
 τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τὰς ὀπλομαχίας ποιοῦσιν
 ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδόμενον ἐκέλευσε μηκέτ' ἀνα-
 λίσκεσθαι.

32 Τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
 ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπεμψεν, ὅτι δουλοπρεπῆς τε
 ἐκεῖνος ἦν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἠλιεύετο, ὅθεν περ καὶ
 Ποσειδῶνα ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνόμαζε, τῇ τε ὀργῇ προ-
 2 πετεῖ ἐχρήτο, καὶ τὴν Λιουίαν² ὡς μητρὶν
 διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ τε τῷ Ἀυγούστῳ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ
 τῶν πατρῶων ἐπεκάλει. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσωφρο-
 νίζετο, ἀπεκηρύχθη, καὶ ἥ τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ τῷ
 στρατιωτικῷ ταμείῳ³ ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Πλα-
 νασίαν τὴν πρὸς Κύρνω νῆσον ἐνεβλήθη.

¹ ἠΰξατο R. Steph., εὔξατο M.

² Λιουίαν Lipsius, Ἰουλίαν M.

³ ταμείῳ Bk., ταμείω M.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ δὴ
 Γερμανικοῦ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ
 στρατευμάτων πολλαχόθεν ἐκεῖσε συνιόντων,
 τηρήσαντες οἱ Βάτωνες τὸν Σεουήρον ἐκ τῆς
 Μυσίας προσιόντα ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι,
 στρατοπεδευομένῳ πρὸς τοῖς Οὐολκαίοις ἔλεσι,
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ ταφρεύματος ἐφόβησαν καὶ
 κατήραξαν ἐς αὐτό, δεξαμένων δέ σφας τῶν ἔνδον
 4 ἠττήθησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νεμη-
 θέντες, ὅπως πολλαχῆ ἅμα τῆς χώρας κατα-
 τρέχωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου τότε γε
 ἔδρασαν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸς Μαζαίους Δελματι-
 κὸν ἔθνος μάχῃ νικήσας ἐκάκωσεν.

33 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη,
 Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Φουρίου μετὰ Σέξτου Νωνίου
 ὑπατεύσαντος ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δελμάται
 καὶ οἱ Παννόσιοι συμβῆναι διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 λιμῶ, εἶτα καὶ νόσῳ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πόαις τέ τισιν
 ἀλλοκότοις καὶ ρίζαις χρώμενοι, πονηθῆναι, οὐκ
 ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο δὲ κωλυσάντων τῶν μηδεμίαν
 παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἐχόντων,
 2 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀντεῖχον. καὶ Σκενόβαρδός τέ τις
 προσποιησάμενος μεταστήσεσθαι, καὶ πέμψας
 κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς Μάνιον Ἐννιον φρούραρχον
 Σισκίας¹ ὡς ἕτοιμος μὲν ὦν αὐτομολῆσαι, δεδιὼς
 δὲ μὴ προπάθῃ². . . .

3 Padus, quem Italiae soli fluviorum regem dicunt
 cognomento Eridanus, ab Augusto imperatore latis-

¹ Σισκίας Bk., σείσκιας M.

² Between προπάθῃ and μέντοι (chap. 34) four folios are lacking in M.

BOOK LV

These were the events in the city. After Germanicus reached Pannonia and armies were assembling there from many sides, the two Batos waited until Severus approached from Moesia and then fell upon him unexpectedly, while he was encamped near the Volcaean marshes. They frightened the pickets outside the ramparts and drove them back inside, but when the men in the camp stood their ground, the attackers were defeated. After this the Romans were divided into detachments, in order that they might overrun many parts of the country at once; most of these detachments did nothing worthy of note, at least not at that time, but Germanicus conquered in battle and harassed the Mazaei, a Dalmatian tribe. A. D. 7

These were the achievements of that year. In the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius, the Dalmatians and Pannonians desired to make terms, because they were afflicted first by famine and then by disease that followed it, since they were using for food roots and strange herbs. They did not, however, make any overtures, being hindered by those who had no hope of being spared by the Romans, but even in their distress still resisted. And one, Scenobardus, who had pretended he was going to change sides and with reference to this very matter had sent to Manius Ennius, the commander of the garrison in Siscia, as if he were ready to desert, became afraid that he might suffer harm beforehand A. D. 8

The Po, which, under the name Eridanus,¹ they call the king of the rivers that cleave the soil of Italy, had its waters let into a very wide canal by the

¹ This is the usual name of the river in Greek.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

sima fossa demissus, qui septima sui alvei parte per mediam influit civitatem, ad ostia sua amoenissimum portum praebens, classem ducentarum quinquaginta navium, Dione referente, tutissima dudum credebatur recipere statione.—Jordanes, *Get.* 29, 150.

4 Λωφήσαντος δέ ποτε τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐπὶ τε τῷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὀνόματι, ὃς ἦν τοῦ Δρούσου παῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἵπποδρομίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐλέφας τε ῥινοκέρωτα κατεμαχέσατο καὶ ἀνὴρ ἵππεὺς πλούτῳ ποτὲ προενεγκῶν ἐμονομάχησε.

5 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ γήρῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἔκαμνεν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκόπει¹ καὶ ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος, τὰς δὲ δῆ² πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν δήμων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ἕκαστον καὶ διακούειν τινῶν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τήν τε βουλήν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιδιακρίνειν.—*Xiph.* 114, 15–30.

34 . . . μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀπεφαίνετο, ὅπως ἰδιοβουλεῖν ἅπασιν ἐξείη καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκην τινὰ συμφρονῆσαί οἱ ἔχων, ἐξίσταται,³

¹ διεσκόπει V, διεσκ . . . C, διεσκέψατο L'.

² δῆ V, μὴ C, om. L'.

³ ἐξίσταται Bk., ἐξίσταται M.



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι πολλάκις συνεδίκαζε· καὶ ὅσάκις
γε οἱ παρεδρεύοντές σφισιν ἐδιχογνωμόνουν,¹ καὶ
ἢ ἐκείνου ψῆφος ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἠριθμεῖτο. τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν γερουσίᾳ καὶ ἄνευ
ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ δικάζειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν
δῆμον οὐκέτι παρήει, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ ἔτει
πάντας τοὺς ἄρξοντας αὐτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἑστα-
σιάζετο, ἀπέδειξε, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα
γράμματά τινα ἐκτιθεὶς συνίστη τῷ τε πλήθει
3 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅσους ἐσπούδαζε. πρὸς μέντοι τὰς
τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσεις οὕτως ἔρρωτο ὥσθ',
ἴν' ἐγγύθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δελμάταις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
Παννονίοις πᾶν ὅ τι χρῆ συμβουλεύειν ἔχη, πρὸς
Ἄρίμινον ἐξώρμησε. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ
εὐχαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αἱ θυσίαι
ὥσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας τινὸς ἀνακομισθέντος ἐτε-
λέσθησαν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπράχθη, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
ὁ Βάτων ὁ Βρεῦκος, ὁ τὸν τε Πίννην προδοῦς καὶ
μισθὸν τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βρεύκων λαβὼν,
ἑάλω τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου Βάτωνος καὶ διεφθάρη·
5 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑποπτεύσας τι ἐς τὸ ὑπήκοον ὁμήρους
καθ' ἑκάστον τῶν φρουρίων περιῶν² ἦται, μαθὼν
τούτ' ἐκείνος ἐνήδρευσέ που αὐτόν, καὶ μάχῃ
κρατήσας κατέκλεισεν ἐς τεῖχος, καὶ μετὰ τούτ'
ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον λαβῶν παρήγαγέ τε ἐς
τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀποθανεῖν
6 ἐν χερσὶν ἐποίησε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου συχνοὶ
τῶν Παννονίων ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς³ ὁ

¹ ἐδιχογνωμόνουν Morell, ἐδιχογνωμόνουν M.

² περιῶν R. Steph., περιῶν M.

³ αὐτοῖς Rk., αὐτὸς M.

BOOK LV

trates as they tried cases. Also, whenever those who A. D. 8
sat in judgment with him found themselves in disagreement, the emperor's vote was counted as no. •
more than equal to that of any other judge. But at the time to which I refer, Augustus allowed the senate to try most cases without him, and he gave up attending the popular assemblies. Instead, he had the year before personally appointed all who were to hold office, because there were factional outbreaks, and in this and the following years he merely posted a bulletin recommending to the plebs and to the people those whom he favoured. Yet he was so vigorous when it came to directing campaigns against the enemy that he proceeded to Ariminum in order that he might be near at hand to give all necessary advice in regard to both the Dalmatians and the Pannonians. On his departure vows were made, and on his return the sacrifices customary when he came back from the enemy's country were offered.

This was what was done in Rome. Meanwhile, Bato, the Breucian, who had betrayed Pinnes and had received the right to rule over the Breucians as his reward, was captured by the other Bato and put to death. The Breucian, it seems, had been somewhat suspicious of his subject tribe and had gone round to each of the garrisons to demand hostages; and the other, learning of this, lay in wait for him somewhere or other, defeated him in battle, and shut him up in a stronghold. Later, when the Breucian was delivered over by those inside, he took him and brought him before the army, and then, when he had been condemned, put him to death on the spot. After this many of the Pannonians rose in revolt,

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Σιλουανὸς ἐπιστρατεύσας τοὺς τε Βρεῦκους ἐνίκησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ἀμαχεί προσεποιήσατο. ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Βάτων τῆς μὲν Παννονίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχε, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσόδους φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν ἐκείνην 7 ἐπόρθει. καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Παννονίων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ κακουμένης, ὠμολόγησαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ληστικά τινα οἶα ἐκ ταραχῆς τοσαύτης ἐπὶ πλείον κακουροῦντα διεγένετο, ὅπερ που καὶ αἰεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις μάλιστα συμβαίνει.

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