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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

IX



DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN NINE VOLUMES

IX



LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMLV

First printed 1927
Reprinted 1955



JUL 26 1957

Printed in Great Britain

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EPITOME OF BOOK LXXI

1² Μάρκος δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποιησαμένου αὐτὸν τελευτήσαντος Ἀντωνίνου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε, προσειλήφει ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ κράτους εὐθὺς τὸν τοῦ Λουκίου Κομόδου υἱὸν
2 Λούκιον Βῆρον. ἃ αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενὴς ἦν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ λόγοις ἐσχόλαζε (λέγεται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι μηδὲ ὀκνεῖν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σέξτω προσιέναι τῷ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀκρόασιν τῶν ῥητορικῶν Ἐρμογένους λόγων μὴ ὀκνηῖσαι παραγε-
3 νέσθαι· προσέκειτο δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς μάλιστα δόγμασιν), ὁ δὲ Λούκιος ἔρρωτό τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν, τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλληλότερος. ὅθεν καὶ γαμβρὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Λουκίλλᾳ ὁ Μάρκος ποιήσας εἰς τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους ἔπεμψε πόλεμον.

2 Ὁ γὰρ Οὐολόγαισος πολέμου ἤρξε, καὶ στρατόπεδόν τε ὅλον Ῥωμαϊκὸν τὸ ὑπὸ Σεβηριανῶ τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ Ἐλεγειᾷ, χωρίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, περισχῶν¹ πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατετόξευσε καὶ διέφθειρε, καὶ τῆς Συρίας
2 ταῖς πόλεσι πολὺς ἐπήγει καὶ φοβερός. ὁ οὖν Λούκιος ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πλείστους στρατιώτας συλλέξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν

¹ περισχῶν Sylb., ἐπισχῶν VC.

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MARCUS ANTONINUS, the philosopher, upon obtain- A.D. 161
ing the throne at the death of Antoninus, his
adoptive father, had immediately taken to share his
power Lucius Verus, the son of Lucius Commodus.
For he was frail in body himself and devoted the
greater part of his time to letters. Indeed it is
reported that even when he was emperor he showed
no shame or hesitation about resorting to a teacher,
but became a pupil of Sextus, the Boeotian philo-
sopher,¹ and did not hesitate to attend the lectures
of Hermogenes on rhetoric; but he was most
inclined to the doctrines of the Stoic school. Lucius,
on the other hand, was a vigorous man of younger
years and better suited for military enterprises.
Therefore Marcus made him his son-in-law by
marrying him to his daughter Lucilla and sent him
to conduct the war against the Parthians.

Vologaesus, it seems, had begun the war by
hemming in on all sides the Roman legion under
Severianus that was stationed at Elegeia, a place in
Armenia, and then shooting down and destroying
the whole force, leaders and all; and he was now
advancing, powerful and formidable, against the
cities of Syria. Lucius, accordingly, went to Antioch A.D. 162
and collected a large body of troops; then, keeping

¹ Sextus of Chaeronea, the nephew of Plutarch.

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ἡγεμόνων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 ἐκάθητο διατάττων ἕκαστα καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου
 χορηγίας ἀθροίζων, Κασσίω δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα
 3 ἐπέτρεψεν. καὶ ὃς ἐπιόντα τε τὸν Οὐολόγαισον
 γενναίως ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τέλος ἐγκαταλειφθέντα
 ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ ὀπίσω ἀναχωρήσαντα
 ἐπεδίωξε, μέχρι τε Σελευκείας καὶ Κτησιφῶντος
 ἤλασε, καὶ τήν τε Σελεύκειαν διέφθειρεν ἐμπρή-
 σας, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαίου βασιλεία τὰ ἐν τῇ
 4 Κτησιφῶντι κατέσκαψεν. ἐν γὰρ μὴν τῇ ὑπο-
 στροφῇ πλείστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ
 καὶ νόσου ἀπέβαλεν, ἀπενόστησε δ' ὅμως ἐς τὴν
 Συρίαν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν. καὶ ὁ
 μὲν Λούκιος τούτοις ἐπεκυδαίνετο καὶ μέγα
 ἐφρόνει, οὐ μὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἄκρας εὐτυχίας
 3, 1¹ ἐς ἀγαθόν τι ἀπέβη· λέγεται γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ
 τῷ πενθερῷ Μάρκῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκῶς, πρὶν τι καὶ
 δράσαι, φαρμάκῳ διαφθαρῆναι.—Χιρλ. 258, 9–
 259, 10 R. St.

"Ὅτι Μάρτιος Βῆρος τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἐκπέμπει
 καταγαγεῖν Σόαιμον¹ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν· ὃς δέει τῶν
 ὄπλων καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ περὶ πάντα τὰ προσπίπτοντα
 εὐβουλία τοῦ πρόσω εἶχετο ἐρρωμένως. ἦν δὲ
 ἱκανὸς ὁ Μάρτιος οὐ μόνον ὄπλοις βιάσασθαι
 τοὺς ἀντιπολέμους ἢ ὀξύτητι προλαβεῖν ἢ ἀπάτη
 κατασοφίσασθαι, ἥπερ ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ἀλκή,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ πιθανῶ πείσαι καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγα-
 λόφροσιν οἰκειώσασθαι καὶ ἐλπίδι ἀγαθῇ δελεά-
 σαι. χάρις τε ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λεγομένοις, τὸ μὲν ἀγανακτοῦν
 ἐκάστου καὶ τὸ θυμούμενον παραμυθουμένη, τὸ δὲ
 ἔλπιζον ἔτι μᾶλλον αὖξουσα. κολακείας τε καὶ²

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXI

the best of the leaders under his personal command, A.D. 162
he took up his own headquarters in the city, where
he made all the dispositions and assembled the
supplies for the war, while he entrusted the armies
to Cassius. The latter made a noble stand against A.D. 165
the attack of Vologaesus, and finally, when the king
was deserted by his allies and began to retire, he
pursued him as far as Seleucia and Ctesipion,
destroying Seleucia by fire and razing to the ground
the palace of Vologaesus at Ctesipion. In return-
ing, he lost a great many of his soldiers through
famine and disease, yet he got back to Syria with
the survivors. Lucius gloried in these exploits and
took great pride in them, yet his extreme good for-
tune did him no good; for he is said to have engaged
in a plot later against his father-in-law Marcus and
to have perished by poison before he could carry out
any of his plans.

Martius Verus sent out Trucydides to conduct A.D. 164
Sohaemus into Armenia, and this general, thanks to
the terror inspired by his arms and to the natural
good judgment that he showed in every situation,
kept pressing vigorously forward. Now Martius had
the ability not only to overpower his antagonists by
force of arms, to anticipate them by swiftness, or to
outwit them by strategy, which is the true strength
of a general, but also to persuade them by plausible
promises, to conciliate them by generous gifts, and
to tempt them by bright hopes. There was a quality
of charm about all that he said or did, a charm that
soothed the vexation and anger of everyone while
raising their hopes even more. He knew the proper

¹ Σδαιμον Val., σδαιμον MSS.

² καὶ supplied by Bk.

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δώρων καὶ τῆς παρὰ τραπέζαις δεξιώσεως καιρὸν ἤδει. οἷς προσὸν τὸ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύντονον καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σὺν ὀξύτητι δραστήριον, αἰρετώτερον ἐδείκνυε τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶναι τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἔχθρας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. ἀφικόμενος οὖν εἰς τὴν Καινὴν πόλιν, ἣν φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων κατεῖχεν ἐκ Πρίσκου καταστᾶσα, νεωτερίζειν πειρωμένους λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ σωφρονίσας, ἀπέφηνε πρώτην εἶναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας. —Suidas s. v. Μάρτιος.

Ζεύγνυται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπονώτατα τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ ρεύματα, ἅτε καὶ τοῦτο διὰ μελέτης ἀεὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄν καὶ¹ ἀσκούμενον ἐπὶ τε Ἰστρῷ καὶ Ῥήνῳ καὶ Εὐφράτῃ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ τρόπος (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντα εἰκὸς² εἰδέναί) τοιόσδε. πλατεῖαι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ νῆες δι' ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς ζεύγνυται, ἀνορμίζονται δὲ ὀλίγον ἄνω τοῦ ρεύματος ὑπὲρ τὸν μέλλοντα ζεύγνυσθαι τόπον. ἐπὰν δὲ τὸ σημεῖον δοθῇ, ἀφιασι πρώτην μίαν ναῦν κατὰ ροῦν φέρεσθαι πλησίον τῆς οικείας ὄχθης. ἐπὰν δὲ κατὰ τὸν ζευγνύμενον ἤκη τόπον, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ρεῦμα φορμὸν λίθων ἐμπεπλησμένον, καλωδίῳ δήσαντες, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν· ἀφ' οὗ δεθεῖσα ἡ ναῦς πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ἴσταται, καὶ³ σανίσι καὶ ζεύγμασιν, ἅπερ ἄφθονα αὐτοῖς ἡ ναῦς φέρει, παραχρῆμα μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως καταστρώννυται. εἶτα ἄλλην ἀφιασιν ὀλίγον ἀπ' ἐκείνης, καὶ ἄλλην ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ἔστ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην ἐλάσῃ τὸ

¹ ὄν καὶ supplied by Val. (after στρατιώταις) and Bs.

² εἰκὸς supplied by Bernhardt.

³ καὶ supplied by Bs.

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time for flattery and presents and entertainment at A.D. 164
table. And since in addition to these talents he showed perseverance in his undertakings and energy combined with swiftness against his foes, he made it plain to the barbarians that his friendship was more worth striving for than his enmity. So when he arrived in the New City, which was held by a garrison of Romans placed there by Priscus, and found them attempting a mutiny, he took pains both by word and by deed to bring them to a better temper; and he made this place the foremost city of Armenia.

Rivers are bridged by the Romans with the greatest ease, since the soldiers are always practising bridge-building, which is carried on like any other warlike exercise, on the Ister, the Rhine, and the Euphrates. Now the method of procedure—which probably is not familiar to everybody—is as follows. The ships by means of which the river is to be bridged are flat-bottomed, and these are anchored a little way up-stream from the spot where the bridge is to be constructed. Then, when the signal is given, they first let one ship drift down-stream close to the bank that they are holding; and when it has come opposite to the spot that is to be bridged, they throw into the stream a wicker-basket filled with stones and fastened by a cable, which serves as an anchor. Made fast in this way, the ship remains in position near the bank, and by means of planks and bridge-work, which the vessel carries in large quantity, a floor is at once laid to the landing-place. Then they send down another ship at a little distance from the first, and another one beyond that, until they have extended the bridge to the opposite bank.

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ζεῦγμα. ἢ δὲ πρὸς τῇ πολεμίᾳ ναῦς καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ πυλίδας καὶ τοξότας καὶ καταπέλτας φέρει.

Βαλλομένων δὲ τῶν βελῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ζευγνύοντας, ὁ Κάσσιος ἀφιέναι βέλη καὶ καταπέλτας κελεύει. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν πρώτων ἐφεστηκότων οἱ¹ ἕτεροι εἶκον.²—
Suidas s. v. ζεῦγμα.

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The ship that is nearest the enemy's bank carries ^{A.D. 164} towers upon it and a gate and archers and catapults.

As many missiles were being hurled at the men engaged in bridging, Cassius ordered missiles and catapults to be discharged. And when the first ranks of the barbarians fell, the rest gave way.

¹ *οἱ* supplied by Rk.

² *ελκον* Val., *ηκον* MSS.

ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ ΟΥ ΒΟΟΚ · LXXII

LXXI, Τὸν μέντοι Κάσσιον ὁ Μάρκος τῆς Ἀσίας
 3, 1² ἀπάσης ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς
 περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον βαρβάροις, Ἰάζυξί τε καὶ
 Μαρκομάνοις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις χρόνον συχνὸν ὡς
 εἶπεῖν δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου, τὴν Παννονίαν¹ ἔχων
 ὀρμητήριον, ἐπολέμησε.—Xiph. 259, 10—13 R.
 St.

1^a Ὅτι Λαγγιοβάρδων καὶ Ὀβίων ἑξακισχιλίων
 τὸν Ἰστρον περαιωθέντων, τῶν περὶ Βίνδικα
 ἰππέων ἐξελασάντων καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κάνδιδον
 πεζῶν ἐπιφθασάντων, εἰς παντελῆ φυγὴν οἱ
 βάρβαροι ἐτράποντο, ἐφ' οἷς οὕτω πραχθεῖσιν
 ἐν δέει καταστάντες ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ
 βάρβαροι, πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἰάλλιον Βάσσον² τὴν
 Παννονίαν³ διέποντα στέλλουσι, Βαλλομάριόν
 τε τὸν βασιλέα Μαρκομάνων⁴ καὶ ἑτέρους δέκα,
 κατ' ἔθνος ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἕνα. καὶ ὄρκοις τὴν
 εἰρήνην οἱ πρέσβεις πιστωσάμενοι οἴκαδε χω-
 ροῦσιν.—Petr. Patr. exc. de leg.⁶ 6 (Hoesch. p.
 15 = fr. 6 Muell. Fragm. hist. gr. 4 p. 186).

2 Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτῶν
 μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤλασαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν
 ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεινά· οἷς ὁ Μάρκος ἀντεπιῶν
 Πομπηιανόν τε καὶ Περτίνακα τοὺς ὑποστρα-
 τήγους ἀντικαθίστη. καὶ ἠρίστευσεν ὁ Περτίναξ,
 ὅστις καὶ ὕστερον αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο. ἐν μέντοι
 τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ γυναικῶν σώματα

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3 ὀπλισμένα εὐρέθη. καίτοι δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀγῶνος
καὶ λαμπρᾶς νίκης γεγενημένης, ὅμως ὁ αὐτο-
κράτωρ αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔδωκε
χρήματα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὅτι ὅσω ἂν πλείον
τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς λάβωσι, τοῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ
αἵματος τῶν τε γονέων σφῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν
4 ἐσπεπράξεται.¹ περὶ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ
θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται.² οὕτω καὶ σωφρόνως
καὶ ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ὥστε καίπερ ἐν
τοσοῦτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πολέμοις ὧν μηδὲν
ἔξω τοῦ προσήκοντος μήτ' ἐκ κολακείας μήτ' ἐκ
φόβου ποιῆσαι.—Xiph. 259, 13—26 R. St.

11 "Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ
κατέμεινεν, ἵνα καὶ ταῖς τῶν βαρβάρων πρεσβείαις
χρηματίζη. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν συμμαχίας ὑπισχνούμενοι, ὧν
ἠγεῖτο Βαττάριος³ παῖς ἐτῶν δώδεκα, καὶ χρή-
ματά τε ἔλαβον, καὶ Τάρβον δυνάστην πλησιό-
χωρόν σφῶν, ἔς τε τὴν Δακίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ
ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντα, ἀπειλοῦντά τε πολεμήσειν
2 εἰ μὴ λάβοι, ἀνεῖρξαν· οἱ δὲ εἰρήνην αἰτούμενοι,
ὥσπερ οἱ Κούαδοι, καὶ ἔτυχόν γε αὐτῆς, ἵνα τε
ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκομάνων ἀποσπασθῶσι, καὶ ὅτι
ἵππους καὶ βοῦς πολλὰς ἔδωκαν, τοὺς τε αὐτο-
μόλους πάντας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πρότερον
μὲν ἐς μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ
3 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. οὐ μέντοι
καὶ τῆς⁴ ἐπιμιξίας τῆς ἐν⁵ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἔτυχον,

¹ ἐσπεπράξεται St., εἰσπράξεται VC.

² Cf. Petr. Patric. : τὸ δὲ κράτος τῆς αὐταρχίας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς
στρατιώταις ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεῷ κεῖται.

³ Βαττάριος A, βατάριος BM.

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found even women's bodies in armour. Yet, though a mighty struggle had taken place and a brilliant victory had been won, the emperor nevertheless refused the request of the soldiers for a donative, declaring that whatever they obtained over and above the regular amount would be wrung from the blood of their parents and kinsmen; as for the fate of the sovereignty, Heaven alone could determine that.¹ So temperately and so firmly did he rule them, that, even when involved in so many and so great wars, he did naught that was unseemly either by way of flattery or as the result of fear.

A.D.
168(?)

Marcus Antoninus remained in Pannonia in order to give audience to the embassies of the barbarians; for many came to him at this time also. Some of them, under the leadership of Battarius, a boy twelve years old, promised an alliance; these received a gift of money and succeeded in restraining Tarbus, a neighbouring chieftain, who had come into Dacia and was demanding money and threatening to make war if he should fail to get it. Others, like the Quadi, asked for peace, which was granted them, both in the hope that they might be detached from the Marcomani, and also because they gave him many horses and cattle and promised to surrender all the deserters and the captives, besides,—thirteen thousand at first, and later all the others as well. The right to attend the markets, however, was not

A.D.
169-70

¹ Or, as Patricius puts it: "the power of the sovereignty depended, not on the soldiers, but on God."

⁴ τῆς Leuncl., τοὺς MSS.

⁵ τῆς ἐν Bk., καὶ ἐν MSS.

ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ Μαρκομάνοι οἷ τε Ἰάζυγες, οὓς οὔτε δέξεσθαι¹ οὔτε διήσειν διὰ τῆς χώρας ὠμωμόκεσαν, ἅμα μιγνύωνται· σφισι καὶ ὡς Κούαδοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες τά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατασκέπτωνται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζωσιν. οὗτοί τε οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ παραδώσοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν κατὰ
 4 γένῃ οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐστρατεύσαντο ἄλλοσέ ποι πεμφθέντες, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων τῶν τε αὐτομολούντων οἱ² δυνάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ γῆν οἱ μὲν ἐν Δακία οἱ δὲ ἐν Παννονία οἱ δὲ Μυσία καὶ
 5 Γερμανία τῇ τε Ἰταλία αὐτῇ ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν Ῥαβέννη τινὲς οἰκοῦντες ἐνεωτέρισαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν τολμῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐσήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προαφιγμένους ἐξώκισεν.
 —Exc. U^q 57 (p. 407), Suid. s. νν. ἀνεῖργεν et διήσειν.

6 "Οτι ἦλθον καὶ Ἀστιγγοὶ καὶ Λάκριγγοὶ εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ Μάρκου.—Petr. Patr. exc. de leg.^q 8 (Hoesch. p. 16 = fr. 7 Muell. *Fragm. hist. gr.* 4 p. 186).

12 "Οτι Ἀστιγγοὶ, ὧν Ῥᾶός τε καὶ Ῥάπτος ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν οἰκῆσαι³ ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχόντες δὲ αὐτῶν παρακατέθεντο τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῷ Κλήμεντι ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν Κοστουβώκων χώραν τοῖς ὅπλοις κτησόμενοι, νικήσαντες δὲ ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν Δακίαν
 2 οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐλύπουν. δεῖσαντες δὲ οἱ Λάκριγγοὶ⁴ μὴ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης φοβηθεῖς σφας ἐς τὴν γῆν ἦν

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granted to them, for fear that the Iazyges and the Marcomani, whom they had sworn not to receive nor to allow to pass through their country, should mingle with them, and passing themselves off for Quadi, should reconnoitre the Roman positions and purchase provisions. Besides these that came to Marcus, many others sent envoys, some by tribes and some by nations, and offered to surrender. Some of them were sent on campaigns elsewhere, as were also the captives and deserters who were fit for service; others received land in Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, the province of Germany, and in Italy itself. Some of them, now, who settled at Ravenna, made an uprising and even went so far as to seize possession of the city: and for this reason Marcus did not again bring any of the barbarians into Italy, but even banished those who had previously come there.

A.D.
169-70

Both the Astingi and the Lacringi came to the assistance of Marcus.

The Astingi, led by their chieftains Raüs and Raptus, came into Dacia with their entire households, hoping to secure both money and land in return for their alliance. But failing of their purpose, they left their wives and children under the protection of Clemens, until they should acquire the land of the Costoboci by their arms; but upon conquering that people, they proceeded to injure Dacia no less than before. The Lacringi, fearing that Clemens in his dread of them might lead these

¹ δέξεσθαι Reim., δέξασθαι MSS. Suid.

² οἱ supplied by Leuncl.

³ οἰκῆσαι corrupt; Bs. suggests πανοικησία ("with their entire households").

⁴ Λάκριγγοι Salmasius, δάγκριγοι MSS.

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αὐτοὶ ἐνώκουν ἐσαγάγη, ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις καὶ πολὺ ἐκράτησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον τοὺς Ἀστίγγους πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πράξαι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν Μάρκον ἰκετεύσαντας χρήματά τε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ χώραν γε ἀπαιτῆσαι, ἂν γέ τι κακὸν τοὺς
 3 τότε πολεμοῦντάς οἱ δράσωσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔπραξάν τι ὧν ὑπέσχοντο, Κοτινοὶ δὲ ἐπηγγείλαντο¹ μὲν² αὐτοῖς ὅμοια, Ταρρουτήνιον³ δὲ Πάτερνον τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς Λατίνας διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα παραλαβόντες ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους αὐτῷ συστρατεύσοντες⁴ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησαν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον δεινῶς ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο.
 —Exc. U^q 58 (p. 408).

3,5 Τῶν δὲ Μαρκομάνων εὐτυχησάντων ἐν τινι μάχῃ καὶ τὸν Οὐίνδικα⁵ τὸν Μάρκον ἔπαρχον ὄντα ἀποκτεινάντων, τούτῳ μὲν τρεῖς ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτῶν Γερμανικὸς ὠνομάσθη. Γερμανοὺς γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χωρίοις οἰκοῦντας ὀνομάζομεν.

4 Καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Βουκόλοι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κινηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἴγυπτίους προσαποστήσαντες ὑπὸ ἱερεῖ τινὶ⁶ Ἰσιδώρῳ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν γυναικείοις στολαῖς τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠπατηκότες⁷ ὡς δὴ γυναῖκες τῶν Βουκόλων καὶ χρυσία δώσουσαι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ

¹ εἶλαντο Bk., ἐσηγγείλαντο MSS.

² μὲν supplied by Bk.

³ Ταρρουτήνιον Reim., ταρρούνιον MSS.

⁴ συστρατεύσοντες Leuncl., συστρατεύοντες MSS.

⁵ Οὐίνδικα Bk., βίνδικα VC.

⁶ τινὶ Rk., τινὶ καὶ VC.

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newcomers into the land which they themselves were inhabiting, attacked them while off their guard and won a decisive victory. As a result, the Astingi committed no further acts of hostility against the Romans, but in response to urgent supplications addressed to Marcus they received from him both money and the privilege of asking for land in case they should inflict some injury upon those who were then fighting against him. Now this tribe really did fulfil some of its promises; whereas the Cotini, though they made similar offers, nevertheless, upon receiving Tarrutenius Paternus, the secretary in charge of the emperor's Latin correspondence, on the pretext that they wished to make a campaign with him against the Marcomani, not only failed to do so, but even treated Paternus himself shamefully, thereby bringing about their own destruction later.

When the Marcomani were successful in a certain battle and slew Marcus Vindex, the prefect, the emperor erected three statues in his honour; and after conquering the foe he himself received the title of Germanicus (for we give the name of Germans to those who dwell in the northern regions).

The people called the Bucoli¹ began a disturbance in Egypt and under the leadership of one Isidorus, a priest, caused the rest of the Egyptians to revolt. At first, arrayed in women's garments, they had deceived the Roman centurion, causing him to believe that they were women of the Bucoli and were going to give him gold as ransom for their

¹ This name (literally "Herdsmen") was given to the population of a district in the Delta near Alexandria.

² ἡπατηκότες H. Steph., ἡπατηκότας VC.

τῶν ἀνδρῶν προσιόντα σφίσι κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὸν συνόντα αὐτῷ καταθύσαντες ἐπὶ τε τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ συνώμοσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέ-
 2 φαγον· ἦν δὲ Ἰσίδωρος ἀνδρία πάντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄριστος· ἔπειτα ἐκ παρατάξεως τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ῥωμαίους νικήσαντες μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἶλον, εἰ μὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ στρατηγήσας ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σφῶν ὁμόνοιαν λῦσαι καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρίσαι (διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐθάρρησε συμβαλεῖν ἀθρόοις αὐτοῖς), οὕτω δὴ στασιάζαντας ἐχειρώσατο.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ Μάρκου τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανούς, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα μνήμης ἀξιωθείη, μεράκιον μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐρωτηθέν τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ “οὐ δύναμαι” ἔφη “ἀποκρίνασθαί σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥίγους· ὥστε εἴ τι μαθεῖν ἐθέλεις, κέλευσόν μοι
 2 ἱματίδιόν τι, εἴγε ἔχεις, δοθῆναι.” στρατιώτης δὲ τις νυκτὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ Ἰστρου ποιούμενος, καὶ τινα βοήν ἐκ τῆς περαίας συστρατιωτῶν ἐαλωκότων ἀκούσας, διενήξατό τε εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχε, καὶ λύσας αὐτοὺς ἀνεκομίσθη.—Xiph. 259, 26—260, 6 ; 249, 27—250, 7 R. St.

Ἦν δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Βασσαῖος¹ ἔπαρχος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθός, ἀπαίδευτος δὲ ὑπ' ἀγροικίας, καὶ τὰ πρῶτά γε τοῦ βίου ἐν
 3 πενία τραφεῖς· ἀναδενδράδα δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν κλῶντα ἀνέλαβέ² τις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε μὴ εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι κατέβη, ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔφη “ἄγε,³ ἔπαρχε, κατάβηθι.” τοῦτο

¹ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Βασσαῖος Reim., ὁ ροῦσος ὁ βασσαῖος VC.

² ἀνέλαβέ C, συνέλαβέ V.

³ ἄγε V, ὦ γε C.

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γὰρ ὡς καὶ πρὸς ὑπερηφανοῦντα καὶ τεταπεινω-
 μένον αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ὅπερ ἢ τύχη μετὰ ταῦτα
 αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν.—*Xiph.* 250, 7—14 *R. St.*

“Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος ἐλάλει πρὸς τινα τῆ Λατίνων
 φωνῇ, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις
 τῶν παρόντων ἔγνω τὸ λαληθέν, ὥστε ‘Ροῦφον
 τὸν ἑπαρχὸν εἰπεῖν “εἰκὸς ἐστὶ, Καῖσαρ, μὴ
 γνῶναι αὐτὸν τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν λαληθέντα· οὔτε
 γὰρ ἐλληνιστὶ ἐπίσταται.” καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς
 ἠγνόηκε τὸ λεχθέν.—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat.* 117
 (p. 223 *Mai.* = p. 206, 14—49 *Dind.*).

6 ‘Ο δ’ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁσάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου
 σχολὴν ἦγεν, ἐδίκαζε, καὶ ὕδωρ πλείστον τοῖς
 ῥήτορσι μετρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε,¹ τὰς τε πύστεις καὶ
 τὰς ἀνακρίσεις ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐποιεῖτο, ὥστε
 πανταχόθεν τὸ δίκαιον ἀκριβοῦν. καὶ κατὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ ἑνδεκα πολλάκις καὶ δώδεκα² ἡμέραις
 τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην, καίπερ νυκτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε δικά-
 2 ζων, ἔκρινε. φιλόπονος γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς
 πᾶσι τοῖς τῆ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ
 οὐδὲν ἐν παρέργῳ οὔτε ἔλεγεν οὔτε ἔγραφεν οὔτε

“Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος οὐδ’ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ συνετὰ
 ἐφθέγγετο· ἦν γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθός, ἀπαί-
 δευτος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγροικίας.—*Exc. Val.* 302 (p.
 717).

“Ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν ἐστράτευτο, ἀλλ’ ἀναδενδράδα
 εὐρεθεῖς κλῶν. (ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεύσας.)—*Exc.*
Val. 303 (p. 717).

¹ ἐκέλευε *Zon.*, ἐκέλευσε *VC.*

² καὶ ἑνδεκα . . . καὶ δώδεκα *R. Steph.*, καὶ ἐν δέκα . . . καὶ
 ἐν δώδεκα *VC.*

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used this title in speaking to him as to one who was A.D. 172
now bearing himself haughtily but had formerly been
of lowly station ; and it was precisely this title that
Fortune subsequently gave him.

Once when Marcus was talking to someone in Latin and not only the man addressed but no one else of the bystanders, either, knew what he had said, Rufus, the prefect, exclaimed : “ No wonder, Caesar, that he does not know what you said ; for he does not understand Greek either.” Indeed, he himself was ignorant of what had been said.

The emperor, as often as he had leisure from war, would hold court ; he used to allow abundant time to the speakers,¹ and entered into the preliminary inquiries and examinations at great length, so as to ensure strict justice by every possible means. In consequence, he would often be trying the same case for as much as eleven or twelve days, even though he sometimes held court at night. For he was industrious and applied himself diligently to all the duties of his office ; and he neither said, wrote, nor did anything as if it were a minor matter, but

Marcus was uttering words that were unintelligible even to this man [Rufus] himself ; for though he was a good man in other respects, he was uneducated because of his rustic origin.

He had not gone on the campaign voluntarily, but had been found pruning a vine that grew upon a tree.

¹ Literally, “ used to order a most liberal supply of water to be measured out for the speakers.” The time allowed the speakers in Greek and Roman courts was measured by the *clepsydra*, or water-clock.

ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ βραχυτάτου
 ἡμέρας ὅλας ἀνήλισκεν, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὸν αὐτοκρά-
 τορα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τι πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν
 ὅτι κἂν ἐλάχιστόν τι παρίδη, διαβολὴν αὐτῷ
 3 τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οἴσει. καίτοι
 οὕτως ἀσθενῆς τῷ σώματι ἐγένετο ὥστε μήτε τὸ
 ψῦχος τήν γε¹ πρώτην ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν
 διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις συνεληλυθόσιν ἤδη
 κατὰ τὸ παρηγγελμένον ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ τροφὴν
 βραχυτάτην, καὶ ταύτην ἐν νυκτὶ αἰεὶ, λαμβάνειν.
 4 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅ τι² μεθ' ἡμέραν πλήν τοῦ φαρ-
 μάκου τοῦ θηριακοῦ καλουμένου ἐσιτεῖτο. ἐλάμ-
 βανε δὲ τοῦ φαρμάκου οὐχ οὕτως ὅτι ἐδεδῖει τι,
 ὡς ὅτι τοῦ τε στομάχου καὶ τοῦ θώρακος φαύλως
 εἶχε· καὶ φασιν ὅτι δι' ἐκεῖνο ἀνταρκεῖν³ πρὸς τε
 τᾶλλα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐδύνατο.
 7 Τοὺς δὲ Ἰάζυγας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν τε τῇ γῆ τότε⁴
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐνίκησαν·
 λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὅτι ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 διὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου πεπηγότος φεύγουσὶ σφισιν
 ἐπακολουθήσαντες καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐν ἠπείρῳ ἐμα-
 2 χέσαντο. αἰσθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἰάζυγες ὅτι ἐπιδιώ-
 κονται, ὑπέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἐλπίσαντες ῥαδίως ἅτε
 καὶ ἀήθεις τοῦ κρυστάλλου ὄντας κατεργάσεσθαι,⁵
 καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς συνέρραξαν,
 οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων παριππεύσαντες· οἱ γὰρ
 ἵπποι σφῶν δεδιδαγμένοι καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ θεῖν
 3 ἀσφαλῶς ἦσαν. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
 οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν, ἀλλὰ συστραφέντες καὶ πᾶσιν
 ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἀντιμέτωποι γενόμενοι τὰς τε ἀσπίδας

¹ γε H. Steph., τε VC.

² ὅ τι H. Steph., ὅτε VC.

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sometimes he would consume whole days over the minutest point, not thinking it right that the emperor should do anything hurriedly. For he believed that if he should slight even the smallest detail, this would bring reproach upon all his other actions. Yet he was so frail in body that at first he could not endure the cold, but even after the soldiers had assembled at his command he would retire before addressing a word to them; and he took but very little food and that always at night. It was never his practice to eat during the daytime, unless it were some of the drug called theriac. This drug he took, not so much because he feared anything, as because his stomach and chest were in bad condition; and it is reported that this practice enabled him to endure both this and other maladies. A.D. 172

The Iazyges were conquered by the Romans on land at this time and later on the river. By this I do not mean that any naval battle took place, but that the Romans pursued them as they fled over the frozen Ister and fought there as on dry land. The Iazyges, perceiving that they were being pursued, awaited their opponents' onset, expecting to overcome them easily, as the others were not accustomed to the ice. Accordingly, some of the barbarians dashed straight at them, while others rode round to attack their flanks, as their horses had been trained to run safely even over a surface of this kind. The Romans upon observing this were not alarmed, but formed in a compact body, facing all their foes at once, and most of them laid down their shields and rested one

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172(?)
173(?)

³ δι' ἐκεῖνο ἀνταρκεῖν St., δι' ἐκεῖνα ἀνταρκεῖν VC.

⁴ τότε Bk., ποτὲ τότε VC.

⁵ κατεργάσασθαι Dind., κατεργάσασθαι VC.

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οὐκ οὐκ πλείους ἔθηκαν, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἤττον ὀλισθαίνωσιν, ἀπερείσαντες ἐδέξαντό σφας προσπεσόντας, καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι οἱ μὲν τῶν χαλινῶν οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῶν τε
 4 κουντῶν ἐπεσπῶντο αὐτούς, κακ τούτου συμπλεκόμενοι κατέβαλλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· ἐκ γὰρ τοι τῆς βίας οὐκέτ' ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὸν ὀλισθον ἐδύναντο. ὠλίσθαινον μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· ἀλλ' εἴθ' ὑπτιός τις αὐτῶν ἔπεσε, συνεφείλκετο τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς τοῦπίσω ἀνερρίπτει ὥσπερ ἐν πάλῃ,
 5 καὶ οὕτως ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· εἴτε καὶ ἐπὶ στόμα, κατελάμβανεν αὐτὸν προκαταπίπτοντα αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι καὶ ἄπειροιοι τοιοῦτοτρόπου¹ ἀγωνίας καὶ² κούφότεροι ὄντες οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἀντέχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι διέφυγον.—Χιρῆ. 250, 7—251, 22 R. St.

13 “Ὅτι ἐπρεσβεύσαντο οἱ Ἰάζυγες εἰρήνης δεόμενοι πρὸς Μάρκον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχόν τινος· ἄπιστόν τε γὰρ τὸ φύλον αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκος εἶδως ὄν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουάδων ἀπατηθεὶς,
 2 ἐπίπαν ἐξελεῖν³ ἠθέλησεν. οἱ γὰρ Κουάδοι οὐχ ὅτι ἐκείνοις τότε συνεμάχησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους πρότερον, ὡς ἔτι ἐπολέμουν, καταφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν σφετέραν ὅτε βιασθεῖεν ἐδέχοντο, καὶ οὐτ' ἄλλο τι ὧν ὠμολογήκεσαν ἐποίουν, οὔτε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντα ἀπέδοσαν ἀλλ' ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους οἷς οὔτε ἐς πρᾶσιν οὔτε ἐς
 3 ὑπηρεσίαν τινὰ χρήσασθαι ἐδύναντο. εἰ δ' οὖν τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ

¹ τοιοῦτοτρόπου Sylb., τοιοῦτοτρόπως VC.

² καὶ supplied by Reim.

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foot upon them, so that they might not slip so much ; and thus they received the enemy's charge. Some seized the bridles, others the shields and spearshafts of their assailants, and drew the men toward them ; and thus, becoming involved in close conflict, they knocked down both men and horses, since the barbarians by reason of their momentum could no longer keep from slipping. The Romans, to be sure, also slipped ; but in case one of them fell on his back, he would drag his adversary down on top of him and then with his feet would hurl him backwards, as in a wrestling match, and so would get on top of him ; and if one fell on his face, he would actually seize with his teeth his antagonist, who had fallen first. For the barbarians, being unused to a contest of this sort, and having lighter equipment, were unable to resist, so that but few escaped out of a large force.

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Envoys were sent to Marcus by the Iazyges to request peace, but they did not obtain anything. For Marcus, both because he knew their race to be untrustworthy and also because he had been deceived by the Quadi, wished to annihilate them utterly. For the Quadi had not only fought on the side of the Iazyges at this time, but on an earlier occasion, too, had received in their own land any Marcomanian fugitives who were hard pressed while that tribe was still at war with the Romans. Moreover, they were not carrying out any of their agreements ; in particular, they had not restored all the captives, but only a few, and these such as they could neither sell nor employ at any labour. Or, if they ever did give up any of those who were in good physical

³ ἐξελεῖν Bs., ἐξελεθειν MSS.

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- τούς γε¹ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν οἴκοι κατεῖχον, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐτομολῶσι. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν Φούρτιον ἐκβαλόντες² Ἀριόγαισον αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐστήσαντο.
- 4 καὶ τούτοις διὰ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὔτε ἐκεῖνον ὡς καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ γεγονότα ἐβεβαίωσεν, οὔτε τὰς σπονδάς, καίπερ πέντε μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένοις, ἀνενεώσατο.—EHC. U^q 59 (p. 409).
- 14 "Ὅτι τῷ Ἀριογαίσῳ ὁ Μάρκος οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἔσχευ ὥστε καὶ ἐπικηρῦξαι ἵνα, ἂν μὲν τις ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἀγάγη, χιλίους, ἂν δὲ ἀποκτεῖνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποδείξῃ, πεντακοσίους χρυσοῦς λάβῃ, καίτοι τά τε ἄλλα αἰεὶ ποτε φιλανθρώπως
- 2 καὶ τοῖς πολεμιωτάτοις χρώμενος, καὶ Τιριδάτην σατράπην τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ταραξάντα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἡνιόχων βασιλέα ἀποσφάξαντα, τῷ τε Οὐήρῳ ἐπιτιμῶντί οἱ περὶ τούτων τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινόμενον,³ μὴ κτεῖνας ἄλλ' ἐς Βρεττανίαν πέμψας. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρωξύνθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακόν τι ἄλόντα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέστειλεν.—EHC. V. 304 (p. 717).
- 8 Μαρκομάνους μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰάζυγας πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ κινδύνοις Μάρκος ὑπέταξεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους Κουάδους καὶ πόλεμος αὐτῷ συνέστη μέγας καὶ νίκη παράδοξος εὐτυχῆθη, μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ θεοῦ ἐδωρήθη. κινδυνεύσαντας γὰρ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

¹ γε Rk., τε MSS.

² ἐκβαλόντες Uts., ἐκβάλλοντες MSS.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 2 παραδοξότατα τὸ θεῖον ἐξέσωσε. κυκλωσάντων γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν Κουάδων ἐν τόποις ἐπιτηδείοις συνασπίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν μάχην ἐπέσχον, προσδοκήσαντές σφας ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δίψους αἰρήσειν, πάντα δὲ τὰ περίξ διαλαβόντες ἀπέφραξαν, ὅπως μηδαμόθεν ὕδωρ λάβωσι· πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τῷ πλήθει περιῆσαν.
- 3 τῶν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τοῦ τε ἡλίου καὶ τοῦ δίψους γενομένων, καὶ μήτε μάχεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα μήτε χωρῆσαί πη δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τῇ τάξει καὶ τοῖς τόποις ἐστηκότων καὶ κατακαιόμενων, νέφη πολλὰ ἐξαίφνης συνέδραμε καὶ
- 4 ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ κατερράγη· καὶ γὰρ τοι λόγος ἔχει Ἀρνούφιν· τινα μάγον Αἰγύπτιον συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγαυείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι.
- 9 [Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ὁ Δίων φησὶν, ἔοικε δὲ ψεύδεσθαι, εἴτε ἐκῶν εἴτε ἄκων. οἶμαι δὲ τὸ πλεόν ἐκῶν· καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὔ, ὅστις οὐκ ἠγνόει τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον (ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλόγῳ
- 2 καὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει), ὅπερ ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας αἰτίας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τις λέγεται) ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τόνδε συμβάντος τὸν πόλεμον οὕτω προση-

¹ This paragraph, it will be observed, is simply Xiphilinus' own comment on Dio's narrative.

² The reference is evidently to Book Iv. 23, but it should

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

them in a most unexpected manner. The Quadi A.D. 174 had surrounded them at a spot favourable for their purpose and the Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together; then the barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture them easily as the result of the heat and their thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere; for the barbarians were far superior in numbers. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but were standing in the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposition, burst upon them. Indeed, there is a story to the effect that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was a companion of Marcus, had invoked by means of enchantments various deities and in particular Mercury, the god of the air, and by this means attracted the rain.

[This is what Dio says about the matter,¹ but he is apparently in error, whether intentionally or otherwise; and yet I am inclined to believe his error was chiefly intentional. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the division of soldiers that bore the special name of the "Thundering" Legion,—indeed he mentions it in the list along with the others,²—a title which was given it for no other reason (for no other is reported) than because of the incident that

be observed that the names, though very possibly having the same sense, are not identical; the legion is here called *κεραυνοβόλος* (*Fulminatrix*), but in the former passage *κεραυνοφόρος* (*Fulminifera*, *Fulminata*).

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γορεύθη. ὁ καὶ αἴτιον τότε τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις
 τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς
 ἀπωλείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Ἄρνούφισ ὁ μάγος· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ μάγων συνουσίαις καὶ γοητείαις ὁ Μάρκος
 3 χαίρειν ἰστόρηται· ἔστι δὲ ὁ λέγω τοιοῦτον.
 τάγμα ἦν τῷ Μάρκῳ (καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τάγμα οἱ
 Ῥωμαῖοι λεγεῶνα) τῶν ἀπὸ Μελιτηνῆς στρατιω-
 τῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν πρεσβεύοντες ἅπαντες.
 ἐν οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ προσιόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ τὸν
 ἔπαρχον, ἀμηχανοῦντι πρὸς τὴν περίστασιν καὶ
 4 δεδιότι περὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ, εἰπεῖν λέγεται
 ὡς οἱ καλούμενοι Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ
 δύνανται ταῖς εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ σφίσι τάγμα
 ὅλον τυγχάνει ὄν τούτου τοῦ γένους. τὸν οὖν
 Μάρκον ἀκούσαντα παρακλήσει χρήσασθαι πρὸς
 5 αὐτοὺς· ὡς ἂν εὐξωνται τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ, εὐξα-
 μένων δὲ αὐτῶν παραχρῆμα ἐπακούσαντα τὸν
 θεὸν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, τοὺς
 δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὄμβρῳ παραμυθήσασθαι· ἐφ' οἷς
 καταπλαγέντα τὸν Μάρκον ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς τε
 Χριστιανοὺς κατὰ δόγμα τιμῆσαι καὶ τὴν λεγεῶνα
 6 κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεύσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
 ἐπιστολὴν τινα περὶ τούτων εἶναι τοῦ Μάρκου.
 ἀλλ' οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅτι μὲν τὸ τάγμα κεραυνοβόλον
 λέγεται, ἴσασι καὶ αὐτοὶ μαρτυροῦσι, τὴν δὲ
 αἰτίαν τῆς προσηγορίας ἠκιστα λέγουσι.
 10 Προστίθησι δὲ ὁ Δίων ὅτι] τοῦ ὄμβρου καταρ-
 ραγέντος πρῶτον μὲν ἄνω πάντες ἀνέκυπτον καὶ
 ἐς τὰ στόματα αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο, ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν
 τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράνη ὑποβάλλοντες

¹ αὐτὸν H. Steph., αὐτῶν VC.

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occurred in this very war. It was precisely this A.D. 174 incident that saved the Romans on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians, and not Arnuphis, the magician; for Marcus is not reported to have taken pleasure in the company of magicians or in witchcraft. Now the incident I have reference to is this: Marcus had a division of soldiers (the Romans call a division a legion) from Melitene; and these people are all worshippers of Christ. Now it is stated that in this battle, when Marcus found himself at a loss what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who are called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that in the army there chanced to be a whole division of this sect. Marcus on hearing this appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, their God immediately gave ear and smote the enemy with a thunderbolt and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians by an official decree but also named the legion the "Thundering" Legion. It is also reported that there is a letter of Marcus extant on the subject. But the Greeks, though they know that the division was called the "Thundering" Legion and themselves bear witness to the fact, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name.

Dio goes on to say that] when the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths; then some held out their shields and some their helmets to catch it, and they not only took deep draughts themselves

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αὐτοὶ τε χανδὸν ἔσπων καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πίνειν
 ἐδίδουσαν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων σφίσιν ἐπιδρα-
 2 μόντων ἔπινόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἤδη
 γέ τινες τιτρωσκόμενοι τό τε αἷμα περιχεόμενον
 ἐς τὰ κράνη καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἅμα ἀνερρόφουν. κὰν
 ἔπαθόν τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων
 αὐτοῖς, περὶ τὸ πίνειν οἱ πλείους ἡσυχολημένοι,
 εἰ μὴ χάλαζα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κεραυνοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι
 3 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον. ἦν οὖν ὄραν ἐν τῷ
 αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τε ἅμα καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 φερόμενα· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑγραίνοντό τε καὶ ἔπινον·
 οἱ δὲ ἐπυροῦντο καὶ ἔθνησκον· καὶ οὔτε τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων τὸ πῦρ ἤπτετο, ἀλλ' εἴ που καὶ προσέ-
 μιξέ σφισιν, εὐθὺς ἐσβέννυτο, οὔτε τοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους ὁ ὑετὸς ὠφέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον τὴν
 φλόγα αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἔλαιον ἠγειρεν, ὕδωρ τε
 4 ὑόμενοι ἐζήτουν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον
 ὡς καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὸ πῦρ κατασβέσοντες, οἱ δὲ
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσέτρεχον ὡς καὶ
 μόνους σωτήριον ὕδωρ ἔχοντας· ἠλέησε γοῦν
 αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ Μάρκος. παρὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 5 τὸ ἔβδομον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη. καίπερ
 δὲ οὐκ εἰωθὼς, πρὶν τὴν βουλήν ψηφίσασθαι,
 τοιοῦτόν τι προσίεσθαι, ὅμως ἐδέξατό τε αὐτὸ
 ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ
 ἐπέστειλεν.

Ἡ μέντοι Φαυστίνα μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων
 ἐπεκλήθη.—Xiph. 251, 22—24 + 260, 6—262,
 5 R. St.

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but also gave their horses to drink. And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some, becoming wounded, actually gulped down the blood that flowed into their helmets, along with the water. So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. Thus in one and the same place one might have beheld water and fire descending from the sky simultaneously; so that while those on the one side were being drenched and drinking, the others were being consumed by fire and dying; and while the fire, on the one hand, did not touch the Romans, but, if it fell anywhere among them, was immediately extinguished, the shower, on the other hand, did the barbarians no good, but, like so much oil, actually fed the flames that were consuming them, and they had to search for water even while being drenched with rain. Some wounded themselves in order to quench the fire with their blood, and others rushed over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water; in any case Marcus took pity on them. He was now saluted *imperator* by the soldiers, for the seventh time; and although he was not wont to accept any such honour before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it as a gift from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to the senate.

Moreover Faustina was given the title of "Mother of the Camp."¹

A.D.
174(?)
175(?)

¹ *Mater Castrorum*; cf. *Hist. Aug., Marc. 26, 8, Corp. Inscr. Lat. XIV. 40.*

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22,1 Τοῦ δὲ Περτίνακος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ὑπατεῖαν λαβόντος, ὅμως ἦσαν οἱ¹ νεμεσῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸ γένος ἐξ ἀφανῶν τὸ τῆς τραγωδίας ἐπέλεγον,

“ τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται,”

οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ μοναρχήσει.²—*Xiph.* 262, 5—9 R. St.

15 “Ὅτι τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις πρεσβεύσασιν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ προσταχθέντα σφίσι χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἐποίησαν δ' οὖν, τό τε ἡμισυ τῆς χώρας τῆς μεθορίας ἀνήκεν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς³ ὀκτώ που καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀποικεῖν, καὶ τὰ χωρία τὰς τε ἡμέρας τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ἀφώρισε (πρότερον γὰρ οὐ διεκέκριντο), τοὺς τε ὁμήρους ἠλλάξατο.⁴—*Exc. U^g* 60 (p. 410).

16 “Ὅτι οἱ Ἰάζυγες κακωθέντες ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἦλθον, αὐτοῦ Ζαντικοῦ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἰκετεύσαντος. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τὸν Βανάδασπον τὸν δεύτερόν σφων βασιλέα ἔδησαν, ὅτι διεκηρυκείσατο αὐτῷ· τότε δὲ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ζαντικοῦ ἦλθον, καὶ συνέθεντο τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὸ διπλάσιον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀποικίσειν

¹ οἱ R. Steph., οἱ VC.

² Cf. Petr. Patr. : ὅτι ἐνόσησε σφόδρα ὁ Μάρκος ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγας ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σχεῖν, καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῇ νόσῳ ἐπεφώνει τὸ τῆς τραγωδίας ἰάμβιον

τοιαῦτα τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.

—*Exc. Vat.* 118 (p. 223 Mai. = 206, 20—23 Dind.).

³ αὐτοὺς Leuncl., αὐτοῖς MSS.

⁴ ἠλλάξατο Reim., ἠλλάξαντο MSS.

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ἤμελλον.¹ ὁ γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ ἤθελε μὲν αὐτοὺς
 2 καὶ παντάπασιν² ἐκκόψαι· ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔτι
 ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι μεγάλα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κακὰ
 ἔδρασαν, ἐξ ἐκείνου κατεφάνη ὅτι³ τῶν τε
 αἰχμαλώτων μυριάδας δέκα ἀπέδοσαν, οὓς μετὰ
 πολλοὺς μὲν πραθέντας πολλοὺς δὲ τελευτήσαν-
 τας πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φυγόντας εἶχον, καὶ ἰππέας
 εὐθύς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐς συμμαχίαν οἱ παρέσχον,
 ἀφ' ὧν πεντακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐς
 Βρεττανίαν ἔπεμψεν.—Exc. U^q 61 (p. 410).

17 "Ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἡ Συρία νεοχμώσαντες
 ἠνάγκασαν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τὸν Μάρκον Ἀν-
 τωνῖνον τοῖς Ἰάζυξι συμβῆναι· οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς
 τὰ ἀγγελθέντα ἐξεπλάγη ὥστε μηδὲ ἐπιστεῖλαι
 τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐφ' αἷς αὐτοῖς συνηλ-
 λάγη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐποίει.—Exc. U^q
 62 (p. 410).

22,2 Τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν νεωτερίσαν-
 τος σφόδρα ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Μάρκος τὸν Κόμμοδον
 τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐφήβους ἤδη
 τελεῖν δυνάμενον, μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσ-
 σιος Σύρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κύρου ἦν, ἀνὴρ δὲ ἄριστος
 ἐγένετο· καὶ ὁποῖον ἂν τις αὐτοκράτορα ἔχειν
 εὔξαιτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς ἀγαπη-
 τῶς ἐς τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας
 3 ῥητορικῆς προχωρήσαντος⁴ υἱὸς ἦν. τοῦτο δὲ
 δὴ δεινῶς ἤμαρτεν ὑπὸ Φαυστίνης ἀπατηθεῖς·
 αὕτη γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀρρωστήσαντα (ἦν δὲ τοῦ
 Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀντωνίνου θυγάτηρ) προσδοκήσασα
 ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τελευτήσειν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῆς

¹ ἤμελλον Bs., ἤθελον MSS.

² αὐτοὺς καὶ παντάπασιν Bk., καὶ αὐτοὺς παντάπασιν A, καὶ
 αὐτοὺς καὶ παντάπασιν BM.

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the Ister as those tribes. Indeed, the emperor had A.D. 175 wished to exterminate them utterly. For that they were still strong at this time and had done the Romans great harm was evident from the fact that they returned a hundred thousand captives that were still in their hands even after the many who had been sold, had died, or had escaped, and that they promptly furnished as their contribution to the alliance eight thousand cavalry, fifty-five hundred of whom he sent to Britain.

The revolt of Cassius and Syria forced Marcus Antoninus to make terms with the Iazyges very much against his will; indeed, he was so alarmed by the news that he did not even communicate to the senate the conditions of the peace made with them, as he was wont to do in other cases.

When Cassius rebelled in Syria, Marcus in great alarm summoned his son Commodus from Rome, as being now entitled to assume the *toga virilis*. Cassius, who was a Syrian from Cyrrhus, had shown himself an excellent man and the sort one would desire to have as emperor, save for the fact that he was the son of one Heliodorus,¹ who had been content to secure the governorship of Egypt as the reward of his oratorical ability. But Cassius in rebelling made a terrible mistake; due to his having been deceived by Faustina. The latter, who was the daughter of Antoninus Pius, seeing that her husband had fallen ill and expecting that he would die at any moment, was afraid that the throne might fall

¹ C. Avidius Heliodorus (cf. lxix. 3).

² ὅτι supplied by Leuncl.

⁴ προχώρησαντος R. Steph., προχώρησαντι VC.

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ἀρχῆς ἐς ἄλλον τινά, ἅτε τοῦ Κομμόδου καὶ νέου
 καὶ ἀπλουστέρου τοὺς τρόπους ὄντος, περιελ-
 θούσης ἰδιωτεύσει,¹ καὶ ἔπεισε τὸν Κάσσιον
 δι' ἀπορρήτων² παρασκευάσασθαι ἴν', ἂν τι ὁ
 Ἄντωνῖνος πάθῃ,³ καὶ αὐτὴν⁴ καὶ τὴν αὐταρχίαν
 23 λάβῃ. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτῷ διανοουμένῳ ἀγγελία
 ἦλθε τὸν Μάρκον τεθνηκένοι, οἷά που φιλεῖ
 τοιαῦτα⁵ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον αἰεὶ θρυλεῖσθαι· καὶ
 εὐθύς, οὐκ ἀναμείνας αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶσαι, ἔφεςιν
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐποιήσατο ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τότε ὄντων προκε-
 2 χειρισμένος. καὶ ὁ μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ
 ἐς μακρὰν⁶ τὰληθὲς ἔμαθεν, ὅμως, ἐπειδήπερ
 ἅπαξ ὑπεκεκινήκει,⁷ οὐ μετεβύλετο,⁸ ἀλλὰ τά τε
 ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου πάντα διὰ βραχείος προσε-
 ποιήσατο καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ
 3 τὸ κράτος ἔξων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάρκος παρὰ τοῦ
 Οὐήρου τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντος τὴν
 ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ μαθὼν τέως μὲν συνέκρυπτεν
 αὐτά, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ τε φήμῃ ἰσχυρῶς
 ἐταράσσοντο καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν πολλά, συνεκά-
 λεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδε·

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch. : ὅτι Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγούμενος, ἀνὴρ δεινὸς τὰ πολέμια, πλείστα τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια κατὰ τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειξάμενος, ἄλλως δὲ ὢν νεωτεροποιός, καινοτομεῖν ἐπήρθη πρὸς τῆς Φαυστίνης τῆς τοῦ Μάρκου γαμετῆς ἐς τήνδε προαχθεὶς τὴν ἔννοιαν. αὐτὴ γὰρ τὸν Μάρκον ἀρρωστήσαντα τεθνήξεσθαι ἄλλως τε καὶ νοσώδη ὄντα οἰηθεῖσα, κτέ. Fr. 118 Muell. v. 1-7.

² δι' ἀπορρήτων VC, κρύφα πέμψασα τῶν αὐτῇ πιστῶν τινάς Joann. Ant.

³ πάθῃ Dind., πάθοι VC.

⁴ αὐτὴν Leuncl., αὐτὸν VC.

⁵ τοιαῦτα H. Steph., τοσαῦτα VC.

⁶ μακρὰν Bk., μακρὸν VC.

⁷ ὑπεκεκινήκει Bk., ὑποκεκινήκει VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

to some outsider, inasmuch as Commodus was both A.D. 175
too young and also rather simple-minded, and that she might thus find herself reduced to a private station.¹ Therefore she secretly² induced Cassius to make his preparations so that, if anything should happen to Antoninus, he might obtain both her and the imperial power. Now while he was considering this project, a message came that Marcus was dead (in such circumstances reports always represent matters as worse than they really are), and immediately, without waiting to confirm the rumour, he laid claim to the throne, on the ground that he had already been elected by the soldiers who were then in Pannonia. And in spite of the fact that he learned the whole truth before long, nevertheless, having once made a beginning, he did not change his course, but speedily won over the whole region south of the Taurus and was making preparations to gain the throne by war. Marcus, on being informed of his uprising by Verus, the governor of Cappadocia, concealed the news for a time; but as the soldiers were becoming greatly disturbed by the reports and were talking a great deal, he called them together and read an address to the following purport:

¹ Cf. Joann. Ant.: "Cassius, the governor of Syria, a skilful general who had performed many notable achievements in the course of the Parthian war, was naturally inclined toward rebellion and was now encouraged to revolt, being led to this thought by Faustina, the wife of Marcus. For when Marcus fell ill, she, believing that he would die, especially as he was always sickly, became afraid," etc.

² Joan. Ant. says: "secretly sending some of those who were loyal to her."

³ μετεβάλετο Βκ., μετεβάλλετο VC.

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24 “ Οὐκ ἀγανακτήσων, ὧ συστρατιῶται, ἀλλ’¹ ὀδυρούμενος² παρελήλυθα. χαλεπαίνειν μὲν γὰρ τί δεῖ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὧ πάντα ἔξεστιν; ὀλοφύρεσθαι δὲ ἴσως ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἀδίκως δυστυχοῦντας· ὁ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν συμβέβηκε. πῶς γὰρ οὐ δεινὸν πολέμοις ἡμᾶς ἐκ πολέμων συμφέρεσθαι; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ συμπλακῆναι; πῶς οὐκ ἀμφότερα καὶ δεινότητι καὶ ἀτοπία νικᾷ τὸ μηδὲν πιστὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐπιβεβουλεύσθαι τέ με ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλτάτου καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ἀκούσιον καθίστασθαι μήτε τι ἠδικηκότα μήτε τι πεπλημμεληκότα; τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετὴ ἀσφαλής, τίς δὲ φιλία ἔτι νομισθήσεται ἐμοῦ ταῦτα πεπονθότος; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἀπόλωλε μὲν πίστις, ἀπόλωλε δὲ ἐλπίς ἀγαθή;³ ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν μόνος ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνεον, παρ’ οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποισάμην (οὐ γάρ που³ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐγεννήθην)· ἐπεὶ δὲ δημοσία τε ἀπόστασις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπανάστασις γέγονε, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πάντων ὁμοίως ἡμῶν ἄπτεται, ἐβουλόμην, εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν, προσκαλέσασθαι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἢ⁴ παρὰ τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἠδέως ἂν ἀμαχεῖ παρέχώρησα αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν ἐδεδόχει. ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινού γὰρ καὶ πονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύων διάτελῶ, τοσοῦτόν τε ἐνταυθοῖ χρόνον ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας πεποίηκα, ἄνθρωπος καὶ γέρων ἤδη καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ οὔτε τροφὴν ἄλυπον οὔθ’ ὕπνον ἄφροντιν λαβεῖν δυνάμενος.

¹ ἀλλ’ Bk., ἢ VC.

² ὀδυρούμενος H. Steph., ὀδυρόμενος VC.

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“Fellow-soldiers: I have come before you, not to A.D. 175
express indignation, but to bewail my fate. For why become angry at Heaven, which is all-powerful? But it is necessary, perhaps, for those who meet with undeserved misfortune to indulge in lamentations; and that is now my case. Is it not dreadful that we become engaged in war after war? Is it not horrible that we are even involved in civil war? And are not both these evils surpassed in dreadful-ness and horror by the discovery that there is no such thing as loyalty among men? For a plot has been formed against me by my dearest friend and I have been forced into a conflict against my will, though I have done nothing wrong or amiss. What virtue, what friendship shall henceforth be deemed secure after this experience of mine? Has not faith, has not confident hope perished? Now if the danger were mine alone, I should have regarded the matter as of no moment (for I presume I was not born to be immortal!), but since there has been a public secession, or rather rebellion, and the war touches us all alike, I could have wished, had it been possible, to invite Cassius here and to argue before you or the senate the matter at issue between us; and I would gladly have yielded the supreme power to him without a struggle, if this had seemed to be for the good of the State. For it is on behalf of the State that I continue to toil and to undergo dangers and that I have spent so much time here outside of Italy, though already an old man and weak, unable to take either food without pain or sleep without anxiety.

³ π ου Bk., π ω VC.

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- 25 “ Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἂν ποτε συγκαθεῖναι¹ ἐς τοῦτο ὁ Κάσσιος ἐθελήσειε (πῶς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειέ μοι, ἄπιστος οὕτω περὶ ἐμὲ γεγεννημένος ;), ὑμᾶς γε, ὧ̄ συστρατιῶται, χρὴ θαρρεῖν. οὐ γάρ που κρείττους Κίλικες καὶ Σύροι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑμῶν οὔτε ἐγένοντό ποτε οὔτε ἔσονται, οὐδ’ ἂν μυριάκις πλείους ὑμῶν, ὅσῳ νῦν ἐλάττους
 2 εἰσίν, ἀθροισθῶσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ὁ Κάσσιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ στρατηγικὸς εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ κατωρθώκεναι δοκεῖ, λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος νῦν ἂν φανείη· οὔτε γὰρ ἀετὸς κολοιῶν ἢ καὶ λέων νεβρῶν ἠγησάμενος ἀξιόμαχος γίγνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν τὸν τε Παρθικὸν ἐκείνου πόλεμον οὐ Κάσσιος ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς κατειργάσασθε.
 3 ἄλλως τε, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πάρθους πραχθέντων εὐδόκιμός ἐστιν, ἔχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς Οὐῆρον, ὃς οὐδὲν ἠττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησε πλείστα² καὶ κατεκτήσατο. ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν καὶ ἤδη μετανενόηκε, ζῶντά με μεμαθηκώς· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἄλλως ἢ ὡς τετελευτηκότος μου τοῦτ’ ἐποίησεν. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἀντίσχη, ἀλλ’ ὅταν γε καὶ προσιόντας ἡμᾶς πύθηται, πάντως γνωσιμαχήσει, καὶ ὑμᾶς φοβηθεῖς καὶ ἐμὲ αἰδεσθεῖς.
- 26 “ Ἐγὼ γοῦν³ ἐν μόνον, ὧ̄ συστρατιῶται, δέδοικα (εἰρήσεται γὰρ πᾶσα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἀλήθεια), μὴ ἦτοι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ, αἰσχυθεῖς ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἕτερός τις μαθὼν ὅτι τε ἤξω καὶ ὅτι ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὀρμῶμαι

¹ συγκαθεῖναι R. Steph., συγκαταθεῖναι VC.

² πλείστα Bk., πλείω VC.

³ ἐγὼ γοῦν R. Steph., ἔγω γ’ οὖν VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 2 τοῦτο ποιήσῃ.¹ μέγα² γάρ μου ἄθλον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἡλίκον οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἔλαβεν, ἀφαιρήσεται. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; ἀδικήσαντα ἄνθρωπον ἀφείναι, πρὸς φιλίαν ὑπερβάντα φίλον μείναι, πίστιν καταλύ-
 3 σαντι³ πιστὸν διαγενέσθαι. παράδοξα μὲν ἴσως ταῦθ' ὑμῖν φαίνεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς δεῖ· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλωλεν, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς λείψανον. ἂν δέ που ἀπιστῆ τις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μείζον ἐστὶ μοι τὸ ἐπιθύμημα, ἵνα ὁ μηδεὶς ἂν πιστεύσειε
 4 γενέσθαι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο ἴδη γενόμενον. ὡς ἔγωγε τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν κερδάναιμι, εἰ δυνηθείην καλῶς θέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἔστιν ὀρθῶς χρήσασθαι.”
- 27 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάρκος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶπε καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔγραψεν, οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Κάσσιον κακηγορήσας, πλὴν ὅτι ἀχάριστον αὐτὸν συνεχῶς ἀπεκάλει.⁴ οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑβριστικόν τι οὔτε εἶπέ ποτε ἐς τὸν Μάρκον οὔτ' ἔγραψε.—*Xiph.* 262, 9–264, 25 R. St.
- 1^a “Ὅτι παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Μάρκου εἰς τὸν κατὰ Κασσίου πόλεμον, οὐδεμίαν βαρβαρικὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξατο, καίτοι πολλῶν συνδραμόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων μὴ χρῆναι τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰδέναί τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων κινούμενα κακά.—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat.* 119 (p. 224 Mai. = p. 206, 24–28 Dind.).
- 2 Παρασκευαζομένῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐμ-

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

already setting out against him. For then I should A.D. 175
be deprived of a great prize both of war and of
victory, a prize such as no human being has ever yet
obtained. And what is this prize? To forgive a
man who has wronged one, to remain a friend to
one who has transgressed friendship, to continue
faithful to one who has broken faith. Perhaps all
this seems incredible to you, but you ought not to
disbelieve it; for surely all goodness has not yet
entirely perished from among men, but there is still
in us a remnant of the ancient virtue. And if any-
one should disbelieve it, that but renders the more
ardent my desire, in order that men may see
accomplished what no one would believe could come
to pass. For that would be the one profit I could
derive from our present ills, if I could settle this
affair well and show to all mankind that there is a
right way to deal even with civil wars.”

This is what Marcus both said to the soldiers and
wrote to the senate, never abusing Cassius in any
way save that he constantly termed him ungrateful.
Nor, indeed, did Cassius ever utter or write anything
insulting to Marcus.

Marcus, when he was making preparations for the
war against Cassius, would accept no barbarian assist-
ance, although many nations rushed to offer their
services; for he declared that the barbarians ought
not to know of the troubles arising between Romans.

While Marcus was making preparations for the

¹ ποιήση H. Steph., ποιήσει VC.

² μέγα Xyl., μέγαν VC.

³ καταλύσαντι Rk., καταλύσαντα VC.

⁴ ἀπεκάλει Dind., ἀνεκάλει VC.

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φύλιον πόλεμον ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ νῖκαι κατὰ διαφόρων βαρβάρων ἐν ταύτῳ· καὶ ὁ Κασσίου θάνατος ἀπηγγέλθη.¹ προσπέσων γὰρ βαδίζουσι τῷ Κασσίῳ Ἀντώνιος ἑκατόνταρχος ἑξαίφνης ἔτρωσε κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος οὐ πάνυ πληγῆ³¹ καιρία. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῇ ρύμη τοῦ ἵππου ἑξαχθεὶς ἀτελὲς τὸ τόλμημα κατέλιπεν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου διαφυγεῖν αὐτόν,² ὁ δὲ δέκαρχος ἐν τούτῳ τὸ λοιπὸν προσκατειργάσατο· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ὤρμησαν.—Xiph. 264, 25–32 R. St.

28, 1 "Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος τοσοῦτον ἤχθετο τῷ τοῦ Κασσίου ὀλέθρῳ ὥστε ἀποκεφαλισθέντος οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινε, ἀλλὰ πρὶν πλησιάσαι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας ταφῆναί που ἐκέλευσεν.—Exc. Val. 305 (p. 717).

27, 3² Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω μῆνας τε τρεῖς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐξ τὴν ἀρχὴν³ ὄνειρώξας ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτέρωθι ὦν ἐφονεύθη· καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, ἐπιὼν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ τῷ Κασσίῳ συνεξαστάνατα, πάνυ φιλανθρώπως πᾶσιν ἐχρήσατο, καὶ οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττόνων οὔτε τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων διεχρήσατο.⁴—Xiph. 264, 32–265, 5 R. St.

¹ Cf. Joann. Ant. : καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκ τῆς Παιονίας ἐστάλη οὐ μὴν ὄπλων αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων ἐδέησεν· ὁ γὰρ τοι Κάσσιος ἀναιρεθεὶς πρὸς τινος τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφθασεν.—Fr. 118 Muell. v. 17–20.

² αὐτόν R. Steph., αὐτό VC.

³ τὴν ἀρχὴν Zon., om. VC.

⁴ Cf. Joann. Ant. : καθ' ἡσυχίαν δ' οὖν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπελθόν, οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε ἰδιώτην οὔτε ἀρχοντα ἐσπουδακέναι τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου δόξαντα ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἢ ἐκόλασεν.—Fr. 118 Muell. v. 20–23.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

civil war, the death of Cassius was reported to him A.D. 175 at the same time with the news of many victories over various barbarians.¹ Cassius, it appears, while proceeding on foot, had encountered Antonius, a centurion, who suddenly wounded him in the neck, though the blow was not exactly a mortal one. Antonius, now, was carried on by the momentum of his horse and left the deed incomplete, so that his victim nearly escaped; but in the meantime the decurion finished what remained to be done. They cut off Cassius' head and set out to meet the emperor.

Marcus Antoninus was so greatly grieved at the death of Cassius that he could not bring himself even to look at the severed head of his enemy, but before the murderers drew near gave orders that it should be buried.

Thus was this pretender slain after a dream of empire lasting three months and six days; and his son, who was somewhere else, was also murdered: Marcus, upon reaching the provinces that had joined in Cassius' uprising, treated them all very leniently and did not put anyone to death, whether obscure or prominent.²

¹ Cf. Joan. Antioch. : "And he set out for Syria from Paeonia [Pannonia?], but he had no need of arms against the rebels, for Cassius had already perished at the hands of one of his followers."

² Cf. Joan. Antioch. : "And coming peacefully to Syria and Egypt, he neither investigated nor punished any who appeared to have favoured Cassius, whether nation or city, private citizen or official."

28,2 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰ τῶν σὺν τῷ Κασσίῳ οὔτ' ἀπέσφαξεν οὔτε ἔδησεν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ φρουρᾷ οὐδένα ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐσήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐγκαλουμένους πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔπεμψεν, ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς ῥητὴν δίκης
3 προθείς. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀλίγους πάνυ, ὅσοι καὶ ἔργῳ τι οὐ μόνον τῷ Κασσίῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκεκακουργήκεσαν,¹ ἐδικαίωσεν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι Φλάουιον Καλούσιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα οὔτε ἐφόνευσεν οὔτε τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' ἐς νῆσον ἀπλῶς
4 ἐνέβαλεν. τὰ δὲ ὑπομνήματα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μηδ' ὀνειδισμὰ τι ἐξ αὐτῶν σχῆ, καὶ πάντας τοὺς συγγενομένους αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν.—EHC. Val. 306 (p. 717).

29 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον μετήλλαξε καὶ ἡ Φαυστίνα, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς ποδάγρας ἦν εἶχεν, εἴτε ἄλλως, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῆ² ἐφ' οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον συνετέθειτο. καίτοι ὁ Μάρκος πάντα τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις εὔρεθέντα τοῦ Πούδεντος διέφθειρε μηδὲν ἀναγνούς, ἵνα μηδ' ὄνομά τινων τῶν ἐπιβούλων μάθῃ τῶν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ γεγραφότων, κακ' τούτου καὶ ἄκων
2 αὐτοὺς ἀναγκασθῆ μισῆσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι³ Οὐῆρος ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, ἧς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, προπεμφθείς, καὶ εὐρῶν αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι τοῦ Κασσίου ἠφάνισεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν

¹ ἐκεκακουργήκεσαν Bk., ἐκακουργήκεσαν cod. Peir.

² ἐλεγχθῆ R. Steph., ἐλεχθῆ VC.

³ λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι Bk., λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ VC, οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι cod. Peir.

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This same emperor neither slew nor imprisoned A.D. 175 nor put under guard at all any of the senators who had been associated with Cassius. Indeed, he did not so much as bring them before his own court, but merely sent them before the senate, as though charged with some other offence, and set a definite day for their trial. Of the others, he executed a very few, who had been guilty of some overt crime not only in co-operation with Cassius but also on their own account. A proof of this is that he did not slay or deprive of his property Flavius Calvisius,¹ the governor of Egypt, but merely confined him on an island. He also caused the records made in this man's case to be burned, in order that no reproach should attach to him from this source; and he released all who had been associated with him.

About this same time Faustina also died, either A.D. 176 of the gout, from which she suffered, or in some other manner, in order to avoid being convicted of her compact with Cassius. And yet Marcus destroyed all the papers that were found in the chests of Pudens² without reading any of them, in order that he might not learn even the name of any of the conspirators who had written anything against him and so be reluctantly forced to hate them. Another story is to the effect that Verus, who had been sent ahead into Syria, of which he had secured the governorship, found these papers among the effects of Cassius and destroyed them, remarking that this course would probably be most

¹ Identified by Klebs with C. Calvisius Statianus.

² Reimar suggested that perhaps Pudens was secretary of the Greek correspondence of Cassius, as Manilius (cf. lxxii [lxxiii]. 7, 4) was of his Latin correspondence.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἔσται κεχαρισμένον, ἂν δὲ καὶ
 χαλεπήνῃ τι, ἄμεινόν γε ἔσται ἕνα ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ
 3 πολλῶν ἀπολέσθαι. Μάρκος γε μὴν οὕτω τι
 φόνοις οὐκ ἔχαιρεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους
 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὥσπερ ἀθλητὰς ἀκινδύνως ἑώρα
 μαχομένους· σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν
 ὄξυ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβλέσιν ὥσπερ ἐσφαι-
 4 ρωμένοις πάντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οὕτω γε πόρρω
 παντὸς φόνου καθείσθηκει ὥστε καὶ λέοντά τινα
 δεδιδαγμένον ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ἐκέλευσε μὲν
 ἐσαχθῆναι αἰτησαμένου τοῦ δήμου, οὔτε δὲ ἐκείνον
 εἶδεν οὔτε τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσε,
 καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκειμένων· θί,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κηρυχθῆναι προσέταξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν
 ἄξιον ἐλευθερίας πεποίηκεν.—*Xiph.* 265, 5–16
R. St., Exc. Vat. 307, 308 (p. 718).
- 30 Τὴν δὲ Φαυστίαν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἰσχυρῶς
 πενθήσας ἔγραψε τῇ βουλῇ μηδένα τῶν Κασσίω
 συναραμένων τεθνάναι, ὡς καὶ ἐκ μόνου τούτου
 παραμυθίου τινὸς ἐπὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ τυχεῖν
 2 δυνησόμενος.¹ “μὴ γὰρ γένοιτο” ἔφη “μηδένα

¹ Cf. *Joann. Ant.*: (ἢ ἐκόλασεν c. 27, 4), ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνειλημμένων (ἐξεληλεγμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν κἀνταῦθα τῶν βουλευτῶν συχνοὶ τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου περιφανῶς ἐσπουδακότες) ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ, μηδὲν χαλεπὸν γνῶναι, τούτοις ἀντικρυς τοῖς ῥήμασι χρησάμενος· αὐτὰ γὰρ εἰρήσεται, τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σαφῶς ἐνδεικνύμενα. ἦν δ' οὖν τοιαῦτα· “ἰκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλή, καθαρὰν μου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς αἵματος βουλευτικῶν φυλάξασθαι. μὴ γένοιτο κτέ.—*Fr.* 118 *Muell.* v. 23–34.

Cf. *Petr. Patr.*: ὅτι ἐγκειμένης τῆς βουλῆς θανατωθῆναι τοὺς συμπράξαντας Κασσίω καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ἀντέγραψεν ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ ταῦτα· “δέομαι καὶ ἰκετεύω, καθαρὰν μου τὴν ἀρχὴν” κτέ.—*Exc. Vat.* 120 (p. 224 *Mai.* = p. 206, 29–207, 2 *Dind.*).

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ μήτε τῇ ἐμῇ μήτε τῇ ὑμετέρα
 ψήφῳ σφαγῆναι." καὶ τέλος ἔφη ὅτι "ἂν μὴ
 τούτου τύχῳ, σπεύσω πρὸς τὸν θάνατον." οὕτω
 τι καθαρὸς διὰ πάντων καὶ χρηστὸς καὶ εὐσεβῆς
 ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐξεβιάσατο ἔξω τι τῶν
 ἑαυτοῦ ἠθῶν πράξαι, οὐχ ἢ ἀνοσιουργία τῶν
 τετολμημένων οὐχ ἢ προσδοκία τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκ
 3. τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συγγνώμης.¹ τοσοῦτον γὰρ
 ἀπέσχε συμπλάσαι τινὰ ἐπιβουλήν ἐψευσμένην
 καὶ σκευωρήσασθαι τινὰ τραγωδίαν μὴ γεγενη-
 μένην, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς φανερώτατα ἐπαναστάντας
 αὐτῷ καὶ ὄπλα κατὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
 υἱέος αὐτοῦ λαβόντας, καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ
 δημάρχους καὶ βασιλέας, ἀφεῖναι, καὶ μηδένα
 αὐτῶν μήτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ μήτε διὰ τῆς γερουσίας
 μήτε δι' ἄλλης προφάσεως μηδεμιᾶς ἀποκτεῖναι.
 4. ἔξ οὐπερ καὶ πάννυ τι πιστεύω ὅτι καὶ τὸν
 Κάσσιον αὐτόν, εἶπερ ἐζωγρήκει, πάντως ἂν
 ἐσεσώκει. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ εὐηργέτησε τῶν
 σφαγέων, ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ
 υἱέος αὐτοῦ.—Xiph. 265, 16–24 R. St., Exc. Val.
 309 (p. 718).
 31 Ἐνομοθετήθη δὲ τότε μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἔθνει ὅθεν
 τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔστιν ἄρχειν, ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ
 Συρίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἐχούσῃ ἡγεμονεύων
 ἐνεόχμωσε. τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ
 ἐψηφίσατο ἢ βουλή ἐν τε τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ

¹ Cf. Joann. Ant. : καὶ οὐκ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μάρκον οὐδὲ προση-
 γάγετο ἐκβῆναι τῶν συνήθων λογισμῶν οὐ τὸ ἀδικὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον
 τῶν τετολμημένων, οὐχ ἢ ἀπιστία τῶν τολμησάντων, οὐ τὸ ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ὁμοίων ἐς αὐθις δέος.—Fr. 118 Muell. v. 34–38.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

continued, "that any one of you should be slain A.D. 176
during my reign either by my vote or by yours." And in concluding he said, "If I do not obtain this request, I shall hasten to my death." So pure and excellent and god-fearing did he show himself from first to last; and nothing could force him to do anything inconsistent with his character, neither the wickedness of their rash course nor the expectation of similar uprisings as the result of his pardoning these rebels.¹ So far, indeed, was he from inventing any imaginary conspiracy or concocting any tragedy that had not really occurred, that he actually released those who had in the most open manner risen against him and taken up arms both against him and against his son, whether they were generals or heads of states or kings; and he put none of them to death either by his own action or by that of the senate or on any other pretext whatever. Hence I verily believe that if he had captured Cassius himself alive, he would certainly have spared his life. For he actually conferred benefits upon many who had been the murderers, so far as lay in their power, of both himself and his son.

A law was passed at this time that no one should serve as governor in the province from which he had originally come, inasmuch as the revolt of Cassius had occurred during his administration of Syria, which included his native district. And it was decreed by the senate that silver images of Marcus and Faustina should be set up in the temple of

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch.: "And nothing roused Marcus or induced him to depart from his customary principles of action—neither the injustice and wickedness of their rash course nor the faithlessness of those who had ventured upon it nor yet the fear of similar uprisings in the future."

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τε¹ Ῥωμαίῳ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς ἀνάτεθῆναι καὶ
 βωμὸν ἰδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς κόρας
 τὰς ἐν τῷ ἄστει γαμουμένας μετὰ τῶν νυμφίων
 2 θύειν, καὶ ἐς τὸ θέατρον χρυσὴν εἰκόνα τῆς
 Φαυστίνης ἐπὶ δίφρου αἰεῖ, ὅσάκις γ'² ἂν ἐκεῖνος
 θεωρῇ, ἐσφέρεσθαί τε καὶ ἐν τῇ προεδρίᾳ ἐξ ἧς
 ζῶσα ἐθεᾶτο τίθεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν τὰς γυ-
 ναῖκας τὰς δυνάμει προεχούσας συγκαθίζεσθαι.
 3 Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ἐλθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ
 μνηθεὶς ἔδωκε μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τιμὰς, ἔδωκε
 δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διδασκάλους ἐν ταῖς
 Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ πάσης λόγων παιδείας μισθὸν
 32 ἐτήσιον φέροντας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλεγόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μεταξὺ
 λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλοῖς
 ἔτεσιν ἀποδεδημηκῶς ἦν, ἀνεβόησαν “ὀκτώ” καὶ
 τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς χερσίν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ χρυσοῦς
 τοσοῦτους ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον λάβωσι, προσενεδεί-
 ξαντο, διεμειδίασε καὶ ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς “ὀκτώ,”
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνὰ διακοσίας δραχμὰς αὐτοῖς
 2 κατένειμεν, ὅσον οὕτω πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν. ταῦ-
 τά τε ἔπραξε, καὶ τοῖς ὀφείλουσί τι τῷ βασιλικῷ
 καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ πᾶσι πάντα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα
 ἀφῆκεν ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, χωρὶς
 τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ
 περὶ αὐτῶν γράμματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καυθῆναι

¹ τε supplied by Reim.

² γ' Sylb., γὰρ C, om. V.

¹ The gold piece (*aureus*) was worth 100 sesterces.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

Venus and Roma, and that an altar should be erected whereon all the maidens married in the city and their bridegrooms should offer sacrifice; also that a golden statue of Faustina should be carried in a chair into the theatre, on every occasion when the emperor was to be a spectator, and placed in the special section from which she herself had been wont, when alive, to view the games, and that the most influential women should sit round about it. A.D. 176

When Marcus had come to Athens and had been initiated into the Mysteries, he not only bestowed honours upon the Athenians, but also, for the benefit of the whole world, he established teachers at Athens in every branch of knowledge, granting these teachers an annual salary. Then upon his return to Rome he made an address to the people; and while he was saying, among other things, that he had been absent many years, they cried out, "eight," and indicated this also with their hands, in order that they might receive that number of gold pieces¹ for a banquet. He smiled and also said "eight"; and later he distributed to them eight hundred sesterces apiece, a larger amount than they had ever received before. Not only did A.D. 178 he do this, but he remitted all debts owed by anyone to the emperor's private treasury or to the public treasury for a period of forty-five years, not including the fifteen years of Hadrian;² and he ordered all the documents relating to these debts

² Literally, forty-six and sixteen years, reckoning inclusively; cf. lxix. 8, 1². There was an interval of sixty years (4 × 15) between Hadrian's order (A.D. 118) and that of Marcus (A.D. 178). See Mommsen *Röm. Staatsrecht* II³. 1015, n. 4.

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- 3 ἐκέλευσε. χρήματά τε πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἐν αἷς καὶ τῇ Σμύρνῃ δεινῶς ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ φθαρείσῃ· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότι ἀνοικοδομῆσαι προσέταξεν. ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ νῦν θαυμάζω τῶν αἰτιωμένων αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ μέγαλόφρονα γενόμενον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα οἰκονομικώτατος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἦν, τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων ἀναλωμάτων οὐδὲ ἐν ἐξίστατο, καίπερ μήτε τινα ἐσπράξει χρημάτων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, λυπῶν,¹ καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔξω τῶν ἐγκυκλίων δαπανῶν.
- 33 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ Σκυθικὰ αὐθις αὐτοῦ ἐδεήθη, γυναῖκα τῷ υἱεῖ θάπτον δι' αὐτὰ ἢ ἐβούλετο Κρισπίναν συνώκισεν· οἱ γὰρ Κυιντίλιοι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, καίπερ δύο τε ὄντες καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἀνδρίαν ἐμπειρίαν τε πολλὴν ἔχοντες, τὸν πόλεμον παῦσαι, καὶ² διὰ τοῦτ' ἀναγκαίως
- 2 αὐτοὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐξεστράτευσαν. ὁ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἤτησε τὴν βουλὴν, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἔκειντο ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος πάντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰλλα ἔλεγεν εἶναι· “ ἡμεῖς γάρ,” ἔφη πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λέγων, “ οὕτως οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχομεν ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ
- 3 ὑμετέρα³ οἰκία οἰκοῦμεν.” ταῦτά τε εἰπὼν, καὶ τὸ δόρυ τὸ αἵματῶδες παρὰ τῷ Ἐννείῳ ἐς τὸ

¹ λυπῶν R. Steph., λιπῶν V, λυπῶν corr. to λιπῶν C.

² καὶ R. Steph., κὰν VC.

³ ὑμετέρα R. Steph., ἡμετέρα VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

to be burned in the Forum. He also gave gifts of A.D. 178 money to many cities, including Smyrna, which had suffered terrible destruction by an earthquake; and he assigned the task of rebuilding that city to a senator of praetorian rank. Therefore I am surprised to hear people even to-day censuring him on the ground that he was not an open-handed prince. For, although in general he was most economical in very truth, yet he never avoided a single necessary expenditure, even though, as I have stated,¹ he burdened no one by levies of money and though he found himself forced to lay out very large sums beyond the ordinary requirements.

When the Scythian situation once more demanded his attention, it caused him to give his son a wife, Crispina, sooner than he wished. For the Quintilii had been unable to end the war, although there were two of them and they possessed great shrewdness, courage and experience; and consequently the rulers themselves were forced to take the field. Marcus also asked the senate for money from the public treasury, not because such funds were not already at the emperor's disposal, but because he was wont to declare that all the funds, both these and others, belonged to the senate and to the people. "As for us," he said, in addressing the senate, "we are so far from possessing anything of our own that even the house in which we live is yours." Then, after making this speech and after hurling the bloody spear, that was kept in the temple of

¹ The reference may possibly be to a passage preserved by Zonaras (12, 1), and printed as a fragment at the end of this book (pp. 70-71).

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- πολέμιον δὴ χωρίον, ὥς γε καὶ τῶν συγγενομένων αὐτῷ ἤκουσα, ἀκοντίσας ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ τῷ Πατέρνῳ δούς χεῖρα μεγάλην ἐπέμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τῆς μάχης ἀγῶνα. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντέτειναν μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπάσης, κατε-
⁴¹κόπησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντες, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος τὸ δέκατον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη.—
 Xiph. 265, 24–267, 4 R. St.
- 18 “Ὅτι οἱ Ἰάζυγες ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ ἤτησάν τινα ἀφεθῆναί σφισιν ἐκ τῶν ὠμολογημένων καὶ συνεχώρηθη¹ τινὰ αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἀλλοτριωθῶσιν. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον οὔτε οὗτοι οὔτε οἱ Βούροι συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησαν, πρὶν πίστεις παρὰ Μάρκου λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν μέχρι παντὸς τῷ πολέμῳ χρήσεσθαι· ἐφοβούντο γὰρ μὴ καταλλαγεῖς τοῖς Κουάδοις, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσοίκους σφίσι πολεμίους ὑπολείπηται.—Exc. U⁶ 63 (p. 410).
- 19 “Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος τοὺς πρεσβευομένους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐδέχετο οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάντα, ἀλλ’ ὥς που ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἢ πολιτείαν ἢ ἀτέλειαν ἢ αἰδίου ἢ καὶ πρὸς χρόνον τινὰ ἀνεσιν τοῦ φόρου λαβεῖν ἢ καὶ τὴν τροφήν ἀθάνατον ἔχειν ἀξιοὶ ἦσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἰάζυγες χρησιμώτατοι αὐτῷ²
² ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι ἀφῆκε, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα πλὴν τῶν κατὰ τε τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιμιξίας συγκειμένων, τοῦ τε μὴ ἰδίῳις πλοίοις σφᾶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ³ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἀπέχεσθαι. καὶ ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοξο-

¹ συνεχωρήθη Bk., συνεχωρήθησαν MSS.

² αὐτῷ Urs., αὐτοῖς MSS.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λάνους διὰ τῆς Δακίας ἐπιμίγνυσθαι, ὅσάκις ἂν ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψῃ σφίσιν.—Exc. U^G 64 (p. 411).

20 † "Ὅτι τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις πρεσβευσαμένοις † δύο μυριάδες ἑκατέροις¹ στρατιωτῶν ἐν τείχεσιν ὄντες οὔτε νέμειν οὔτε γεωργεῖν οὔτ' ἄλλο τι μετὰ ἀδείας ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπον,² ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτομόλους παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τῶν σφετέρων πολλοὺς ὑπεδέχοντο, μὴ πάνυ τι αὐτοὶ ταλαιπωρούμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀφθόνως ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,
2 ὥστε τοὺς Κουάδους μὴ φέροντας τὸν ἐπιχειρισμὸν μεταναστῆναι πανδημεὶ πρὸς Σεμνόνας ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος προμαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, τὰς διόδους ἀποφράξας ἐκώλυσεν. οὔτως οὐ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προσκτήσασθαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τιμωρῆσασθαι ἐπεθύμει.—Exc. U^G 65 (p. 411).

21 "Ὅτι καὶ Ναρίσταὶ ταλαιπωρήσαντες τρισχίλιοι ἅμα ἠὺτομόλησαν καὶ γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἔλαβον.—Exc. U^G 66 (p. 412).

33, 4² Καὶ εἶγε πλέον ἐβεβιώκει, πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ ἂν ἐκεχείρωτο· νῦν δὲ τῇ ἐπτακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Μαρτίου μετήλλαξεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἦν καὶ τότε ἐνόσησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἤκουσα,
34 τῷ Κομμόδῳ χαριζομένων. μέλλων οὖν ἀποθνήσκειν τοῦτόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρακατέθετο (οὐ γὰρ ἤθελε δοκεῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν), καὶ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ σύνθημα αἰτοῦντι ἔφη " ἄπελ-

¹ ἑκατέροις Rk., ἑκάτεροι MSS.

² ἐπέτρεπον supplied by Rk.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

in order to have dealings with the Rhoxolani, as often as the governor of Dacia should give them permission.

A.D.
179-80

With regard to the Quadi and the Marcomani, who sent envoys:—the twenty thousand soldiers that were stationed in forts among each of these tribes would not allow them to pasture their flocks or till the soil or do anything else in security, but kept receiving many deserters from the enemy's ranks and captives of their own; yet the soldiers themselves were enduring no great hardships, inasmuch as they had baths and all the necessaries of life in abundance. The Quadi, accordingly, being unwilling to endure the forts built to keep watch upon them, attempted to migrate in a body to the land of the Semnones. But Antoninus learned beforehand of their intention and by barring the roads prevented their departure. This showed that he desired, not to acquire their territory, but to punish the men themselves.

And the Naristi, who had suffered hardships, at one and the same time deserted to the number of three thousand and received land in our territory.

Now if Marcus had lived longer, he would have subdued that entire region; but as it was, he passed away on the seventeenth of March, not as a result of the disease from which he still suffered, but by the act of his physicians, as I have been plainly told, who wished to do Commodus a favour. When now he was at the point of death, he commended his son to the protection of the soldiers (for he did not wish his death to appear to be due to Commodus), and to the military tribune who asked him for the watchword he said: "Go to the

A.D. 180

θε πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη δύομαι.”
τελευτήσας δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐς τιμὴν ἔλαβε καὶ
χρυσούς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέδριον ἔστη. ὁ μὲν οὖν
Μάρκος οὕτω μετήλλαξεν.—Xiph. 267, 4—14
R. St.

2 “Ὅτι οὕτω θεοσεβῆς ἦν ὁ Μάρκος ὥστε καὶ ἐν
ταῖς ἀποφράσιν οἴκοι θύειν.—Exc. Val. 310 (p.
721).

“Ὅτι εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἀπάσας, καὶ
ἄριστα διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν κράτει τινὶ γενομένων
ἤρξε, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον οὐ πολλὰ τῷ σώματι
ἀνδρίζεσθαι ἐδύνατο· καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀσθενεστάτου
3 καρτερικώτατον ἀπέδειξε. πλείστον δὲ ἐν εὐερ-
γείᾳ διῆγεν· ὅθεν πού· καὶ νεῶν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ ἰδρύσατο, ὀνόματί τινι ἰδιωτάτῳ καὶ
μήπω ἀκουσθέντι προσκαλέσας αὐτήν. αὐτὸς
μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπείχετο,
καὶ οὔτε ἐκῶν οὔτ’ ἄκων ἐπλημμέλει· τὰ δὲ δὴ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτήματα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τῆς
γυναικός, ἔφερε καὶ οὔτε ἐπολυπραγμόνει οὔτε
4 ἐκόλαζεν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν τις χρηστόν τι ἔπραττεν,
ἐπήνει καὶ ἐχρήτο ἐς ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ, τῶν δὲ ἐτέρων
οὐ προσεποιεῖτο, λέγων ὅτ ποιῆσαι μὲν τινὶ
ἀνθρώπους ὁποίους βούλεται ἔχειν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι,
τοῖς δὲ δὴ οὔσι προσήκει, ἐς ὃ τι ἂν τις αὐτῶν τῷ
κοινῷ χρήσιμος ἦ, χρῆσθαι. καὶ ὅτ οὐ προσ-
ποιητῶς ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντα ἔπραττε, πρόδηλον·
5 ἔτη γὰρ ὀκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα¹ καὶ μῆνας δέκα

¹ ὀκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα VC, N cod. Peir. Suid.

¹ Days on which no public business could be transacted ; some were festal days and some unlucky days.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

rising sun ; I am already setting." After his death A.D. 180 he received many marks of honour ; among other things a gold statue of him was set up in the senate-house itself. This then was the manner of Marcus' death.

Marcus was so godfearing that even on the *dies nefasti*¹ he sacrificed at home.

In addition to possessing all the other virtues, he ruled better than any others who had ever been in any position of power. To be sure, he could not display many feats of physical prowess ; yet he had developed his body from a very weak one to one capable of the greatest endurance. Most of his life he devoted to beneficence, and that was the reason, perhaps, for his erecting a temple to Beneficence on the Capitol, though he called her by a most peculiar name, that had never been heard before.² He himself, then, refrained from all offences and did nothing amiss whether voluntarily or involuntarily ; but the offences of others, particularly those of his wife, he tolerated, and neither inquired into them nor punished them. So long as a person did anything good, he would praise him and use him for the service in which he excelled, but to his other conduct he paid no attention ; for he declared that it is impossible for one to create such men as one desires to have, and so it is fitting to employ those who are already in existence for whatever service each of them may be able to render to the State. And that his whole conduct was due to no pretence but to real excellence is clear ; for although he lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and

² Wissowa identifies this goddess with *Indulgentia*.

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ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσι καὶ δύο¹ ζήσας, κὰν τούτοις τῷ τε πρὶν Ἀντωνίνῳ συχνὸν χρόνον ὑπάρξας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐννέα καὶ δέκα ἔτη καὶ ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας αὐταρχήσας, ὅμοιος διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ ἠλλοιώθη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν προσποιητὸν εἶχε.

- 35 Πάμπολλα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ παιδείας ὠφελήθη, ἐν τε τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς ἐν τε τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας² λόγοις ἀσκηθεῖς· τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸν τε Φρόντωνα τὸν Κορνήλιον καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη τὸν Κλαύδιον διδασκάλους εἶχε, τῶν δὲ τὸν τε Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἰούνιον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Νικομηδέα, τοὺς² Ζηνωνεῖους λόγους μελετῶντας, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ παμπληθεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπλάττοντο, ἵν' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλουτίζωνται. πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξήρθη· καὶ γὰρ πρὶν ἐκείνοις³ ὀμιλῆσαι, ἰσχυρῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὥρμητο. τοῖς τε γὰρ συγγενέσι πᾶσι, πολλοῖς καὶ δυνατοῖς πλουσίοις τε οὖσιν,³ οὕτω⁴ τι ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἤρεσεν ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀγαπηθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὅτ' μάλιστα ἐς τὸ γένος ποιηθεῖς οὐχ ὑπερέφρονησεν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι νέος ὢν καὶ Καῖσαρ τῷ τε⁵ Ἀντωνίνῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμμελέστατα ἐδούλευσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους⁴ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἐτίμησεν. ἠσπάζετό τε τοὺς ἀξιωτάτους ἐν τῇ Τιβεριανῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐν ἧ ᾧκει, πρὶν τὸν πατέρα ἰδεῖν, οὐχ ὅπως τὴν στολὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἐνδεδυκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς ἐσταλμένος,

¹ καὶ δύο om. cod. Peir. Suid.

² ῥητορικοῖς—φιλοσοφίας VC, ῥητορικοῖς καὶ φιλοσοφικοῖς cod. Peir., ῥητορικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας Suid.

³ ἐκείνοις VC, φιλοσόφους cod. Peir.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

twenty-two days, of which time he had spent a A.D. 180 considerable part as assistant to the first Antoninus, and had been emperor himself nineteen years and eleven days, yet from first to last he remained the same and did not change in the least. So truly was he a good man and devoid of all pretence.

His education also was of great assistance to him, for he had been trained both in rhetoric and in philosophical disputation. In the former he had Cornelius Fronto and Claudius Herodes for teachers, and, in the latter, Junius Rusticus and Apollonius of Nicomedeia,¹ both of whom professed Zeno's doctrines. As a result, great numbers pretended to pursue philosophy, hoping that they might be enriched by the emperor. Most of all, however, he owed his advancement to his own natural gifts; for even before he associated with those teachers he had a strong impulse toward virtue. Indeed, while still a boy he so pleased all his relatives, who were numerous, influential and wealthy, that he was loved by them all; and when Hadrian, chiefly for this reason, had adopted him, he did not become haughty, but, though young and a Caesar, served Antoninus most loyally throughout all the latter's reign and without giving offence showed honour to the others who were foremost in the State. He used always to salute the most worthy men in the House of Tiberius, where he lived, before visiting his father, not only without putting on the attire befitting his rank, but actually dressed as a private citizen, and receiving them in the very apart-

¹ An error for Chalcedon.

⁴ οὕτω τι VC, οὕτως cod. Peir.

⁵ τε supplied by Bk.

καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γέ τῷ δωματίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθευδε· καὶ πολλοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
 5 διδασκάλους οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἐφοίτα· μανδύας
 τε φαιάς, ὅσάκις γε καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς προήει,
 ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῷ προηγουμένῳ οὐκ ἔστιν
 ὅτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ πρόκριτος τῆς
 ἵππάδος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ
 6 τῶν λοιπῶν, καίπερ Καῖσαρ ὢν· οὕτω μὲν οὖν
 ἄλλως τε καλῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας
 ἐπὶ πλείστον ὠφελήθη, Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ Λα-
 τίνων ῥητορικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγων, καίπερ
 ἐς ἄνδρας ἤδη τελῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα αὐταρχήσειν
 36 ἔχων, αἰεὶ διεπίμπλατο. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρ
 ἀποδειχθῆναι ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ὦμους τε καὶ χεῖρας
 ἐλεφαντίνους ἔχειν καὶ αὐταῖς πάντα ὅσα τοῖς
 ἄλλοις¹ χρῆσθαι.

2 Ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς πολλῆς ἀσχολίας τε καὶ
 ἀσκήσεως ἀσθενέστατον τὸ σῶμα ἔσχε, καίτοι
 τοσαύτῃ εὐεξία ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χρησάμενος ὥστε καὶ
 ὄπλομαχεῖν καὶ σῦς ἀγρίους ἐν θήρᾳ κατα-
 βάλλειν² ἀπὸ ἵππου, τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς τὰς
 πλείστας οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοχειρία τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις γράφειν.

3 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαξίως ἑαυτοῦ εὐδαιμόνησεν·
 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ σῶμα³ ἔρρωτο, καὶ κακοῖς πλείστοις
 παρὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιέπεσεν.
 ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων μᾶλλον αὐτὸν
 τεθαύμακα, ὅτι ἐν τε ἀλλοκότοις καὶ ἐν ἐξαισίοις
 πράγμασι αὐτός τε διεγένετο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 4 διεσώσατο. ἐν δ' οὖν τοῦτο ἐς τὴν οὐκ εὐδαι-
 μονίαν αὐτοῦ συνηνέχθη, ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν καὶ θρέψας

¹ τοῖς ἄλλοις Bk., τοῖς ἀντις VC.

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καὶ παιδεύσας ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἄριστα, πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ ὅσον διήμαρτε. περὶ οὗ ἤδη ῥητέον, ἀπὸ χρυσῆς τε βασιλείας ἐς σιδηρᾶν καὶ κατιωμένην¹ τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν νῦν καταπεσοῦσης τῆς ἱστορίας.—Xiph. 267, 14—268, 21 R. St., Exc. Val. 311, 312^a (p. 721 sq.), Suid. s.v. Μάρκος gl. 3.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

son in the best possible way he was vastly dis- A.D. 180
appointed in him. This matter must be our next
topic; for our history now descends from a kingdom
of gold to one of iron and rust, as affairs did for the
Romans of that day.

¹ κατιωμένην Rk., καταιτιωμένην VC.

FRAGMENTS

· Οὐ¹ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐχρημα-
 τίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ποτὲ γεγωνὸς ἀργυρίων,
 πολέμων ἐπικειμένων, οὔτε τέλος καινὸν ἐπε-
 νόησεν οὔτ' αἰτῆσαι παρά του ἡνέσχετο χρήματα,
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις
 κειμήλια θέμενος, καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς κόσμον προσῆν
 τῇ αὐτοῦ γαμετῇ, ὠνεῖσθαι ταῦτα τὸν βουλόμενον
 προετρέπετο· ὅθεν ἀθροίσας [καὶ add. E] ἀργύρια
 τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε. καὶ νικήσας τὸν
 πόλεμον ἐκτήσατο πολυπλάσια, καὶ κήρυγμα
 ἔθετο τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῶν ὠνησαμένων τὰ
 κτήματα [BC^o, χρήματα AE] τὰ βασιλικὰ ἀνα-
 διδόναι τὸ ὠνηθὲν καὶ λαμβάνειν τὸ τίμημα. καὶ
 [ABC^o, ὅ E] τινες μὲν τοῦτο ἐποίησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους
 ἀνένευσαν· καὶ οὐδένα ἀναδοῦναι τὸ κτηθὲν αὐτῷ
 ἐβιάσατο.—Zon. 12, 1 (p. 79, 15—29 D).

Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος, ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν δημοσίων
 ἐξηντλημένων ταμείων, πράξασθαι μὲν χρήματα
 παρά τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ ἡνέσχετο, πάντα δὲ τὸν
 βασιλικὸν κόσμον ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἀγαγὼν πρὸς χρυ-
 σίον ἀπέδοτο. καταστάσης δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς
 κινήσεως, τοῖς μὲν ἐκουσίαν ποιούμενοις τὴν τῶν
 βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ἀνάδοσιν, τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρον τῆς
 τιμῆς ἀπεδίδου, τοὺς δὲ μὴ θέλοντας οὐκ ἠνάγκυ-
 κυζε.—*Exc. Salm.* n. 117 Muell. p. 396, 29—397,
 1 Cram.

¹ This passage from Zonaras is thought by Boissevain (*Hermes* xxvi. 1891, p. 445 f.) to be derived primarily from

FRAGMENTS

Yet he did not on this account collect money from the subject nations. On one occasion when, with wars impending, he found himself at a loss for funds, he neither devised any new tax nor brought himself to ask anyone for money, but instead exposed in the Forum all the heirlooms of the palace together with any ornaments that belonged to his wife, and urged any who so desired to buy them. In this way he raised funds which he paid to the soldiers. Then, after winning the war and gaining many times the amount in question, he issued a proclamation to the effect that any one of the purchasers of the imperial property who wished might return the article purchased and receive its value. Some did this, but the majority declined; and he compelled no one to return to him any object that had been thus acquired.

Marcus Antoninus, when the treasuries had become exhausted in the course of the war, could not bring himself to make levies of money contrary to precedent, but took all the imperial ornaments to the Forum and sold them for gold. When the barbarian uprising had been put down, he returned the purchase price to those who voluntarily brought back the imperial possessions, but used no compulsion in the case of those who were unwilling to do so.

Dio; it occurs in the middle of Zonaras' account of Antoninus Pius, but evidently belongs to his successor's reign. Compare the opening words of the parallel passage of the Exc. Salmas.

ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ ΟΥ ΒΟΥΚ ΛΧΧΙΙΙ

LXXII. Ούτος πανούργος μὲν οὐκ ἔφυ, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις
 1 ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ἄκακος, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολλῆς
 ἀπλότητος καὶ προσέτι καὶ δειλίας ἐδούλευσε τοῖς
 συνοῦσι, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγνοία τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ
 κρείττονος ἀμαρτῶν ἐς ἔθος κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐς
 2 φύσιν ἀσελγῆ καὶ μαιφόνου προήχθη. καὶ μοι
 δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Μάρκος σαφῶς προγνῶναι.
 ἦν δὲ ἐννεακαιδεκαέτης ὅτε μετήλλαξεν ὁ πατήρ
 αὐτοῦ, πολλοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν
 βουλευτῶν ἐπιτρόπους καταλιπών· ὧν ὁ Κόμμοδος
 ταῖς ὑποθήκαις καὶ συμβουλίαις χαίρειν εἰπών,
 καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις σπείσάμενος, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
 ἠπέιχθη, μισόπονός τε ὧν καὶ τῆς ἀστικῆς
 ῥαστώνης ἐπιθυμῶν.—Χιρῆ. 269, 6—18 R. St.,
 Exc. Val. 312^b (p. 722).

2 "Ὅτι οἱ Μαρκομάνοι¹ οὔτε τροφήν οὔτ' ἄνδρας
 συχνούς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπολλυμένων
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αἰεί τῶν χωρίων κακώσεως ἔτι εἶχον·
 δύο γοῦν μόνους τῶν πρώτων καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν
 καταδεεστέρων πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 2 εἰρήνης ἔπεμψαν. καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι αὐτοὺς
 δυνάμενος ῥαδίως, μισόπονός δὲ δὴ ὧν καὶ πρὸς
 τὰς ἀστικὰς ῥαστώνας ἐπειγόμενος ἐσπείσατο
 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφ' οἷς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ
 συνετέθειτο, καὶ ἵνα τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους καὶ τοὺς
 αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔλαβον, ἀποδώσιν·

¹ Μαρκομάνοι Μ, μαρκομάννοι ΑΒ.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

THIS man [Commodus] was not naturally wicked, A.D. 180 but, on the contrary, as guileless as any man that ever lived. His great simplicity, however, together with his cowardice, made him the slave of his companions, and it was through them that he at first, out of ignorance, missed the better life and then was led on into lustful and cruel habits, which soon became second nature. And this, I think, Marcus clearly perceived beforehand. Commodus was nineteen years old when his father died, leaving him many guardians, among whom were numbered the best men of the senate. But their suggestions and counsels Commodus rejected, and after making a truce with the barbarians he hastened to Rome; for he hated all exertion and craved the comfortable life of the city.

The Marcomani by reason of the multitude of their people that were perishing and the constant ravaging of their lands no longer had an abundance of either food or men. At any rate they sent only two of their chief men and two others of inferior rank as envoys to sue for peace. And, although Commodus might easily have destroyed them, yet he made terms with them; for he hated all exertion and was eager for the comforts of the city. In addition to the conditions that his father had imposed upon them he also demanded that they restore to him the deserters and the captives that they had taken in the meantime, and that they furnish annu-

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αὐτῶ, καὶ σίτον τινα κατ' ἔτος τακτὸν τελῶσιν,
 3 ὃν ὕστερον αὐτοῖς ἀφῆκεν. ὄπλα τέ τινα παρ'
 αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ στρατιώτας παρὰ μὲν τῶν
 Κουάδων μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, παρὰ δὲ τῶν
 Μαρκομάνων¹ ἐλάττους· ἀνθ' ὧν ἀνῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ²
 4 κατ' ἔτος διδόναι τινάς. προσεπέταξε³ μέντοι
 σφίσιν ἵνα μήτε πολλάκις μήτε πολλαχοῦ τῆς
 χώρας ἀθροίζωνται, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ ἐν ἐκάστῳ μηνὶ καὶ
 εἰς τόπον ἓνα ἑκατοντάρχου τινὸς Ῥωμαίου παρόν-
 τος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἵνα μήτε τοῖς Ἰάζυξι μήτε τοῖς
 Βούροις μήτε τοῖς Οὐανδίλοις⁴ πολεμῶσιν. ἐπὶ
 μὲν τούτοις συνηλλάγη, καὶ τά τε φρούρια πάντα
 τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν μεθορίαν τὴν
 ἀποτετμημένην ὄντα ἐξέλιπεν . . . —Exc. U^q 67
 (p. 412).

3 "Ὅτι τοῖς Βούροις ὁ Κόμμοδος εἰρήνην ἔδωκε
 πρεσβεύσασιν. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, καίτοι πολ-
 λάκις αὐτὴν αἰτηθεῖς, οὐκ ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι τε
 ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ ἀνοχὴν εἰς τὸ
 2 παρασκευάσασθαι λαβεῖν ἤθελον· τότε δέ, ἐπεὶ δὴ
 ἐξετρυχώθησαν, συνηλλάγη σφίσιν ἑμήρους λα-
 βῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους παρὰ τε τῶν Βούρων πολ-
 λούς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων⁵ μυρίους καὶ πεντακισ-
 χιλίους κομισάμενος, καὶ ἀναγκάσας τοὺς ἄλ-
 λους ὁμόσαι ὥστε μήτ' ⁶ ἐνοικήσειν ποτὲ μήτ'
 ἐννεμεῖν⁷ τεσσαράκοντα στάδια τῆς χώρας σφῶν

¹ Μαρκομάνων Bs., μαρκομάννων MSS.

² τὸ Reim., τῶν MSS.

³ προσεπέταξε AB, προσέταξε M.

⁴ Οὐανδίλοις Bs., βανδήλοις MSS.; cf. βανδίλους Ixxvii. 20.
 3 (cod. Peir.).

⁵ ἄλλων (and ἄλλους, ἄλλοις below) perhaps corrupt; Bekker proposed Ἄλανων (Ἄλανούς, Ἄλανοῖς).

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3 τῆς πρὸς τῇ Δακίᾳ οὔσης. ὁ αὐτὸς Σαβινιανὸς καὶ Δακῶν τῶν προσόρων μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντας καὶ μέλλοντας τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθήσειν ὑπηγάγετο, γῆν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρα δοθήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος. —Exc. U^g 68 (p. 413).

4 "Ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀπρεπῆ ἔπραξε, πλείστους δὲ ἐφόνευσε.—Exc. Val. 313 (p. 722).

Καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν πολλάκις ὑπὸ τινων, πλείστους δὲ ἐφόνευσε καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν φανερώς τοὺς δὲ λάθρα φαρμάκοις, καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ 2 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀνθήσαντας, πλὴν τοῦ τε Πομπηϊανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Περτίνακος καὶ τοῦ Οὐικτωρίνου· τούτους γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε. λέγω δὲ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας ἔτι παραδόσεως ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκείας ἤδη τηρήσεως. ἔλθων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν διαλεχθεὶς ἄλλα τέ τινα ἀπελήρησε, καί τι καὶ 3 τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ¹ ἐπαίνοις εἶπεν, ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ποτὲ ἐς πηλὸν βαθὺν ἐμπεσόντα ἰππεύων ἐρρύσατο. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ σεμνολογήματα αὐτοῦ 4 ἦν, ἐσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν Κλαύδιος Πομπηϊανὸς ἐπεβούλευσε· ξίφος γάρ τι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς ἐσόδου στενοχωρία ἀνατείνας, "ἰδού," ἔφη, "τοῦτό σοι ἡ βουλή πέπομφεν."² οὗτος ἠγγύητο³ μὲν τὴν θυγατέρα Λουκίλλης, ἐχρήτη δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς κόρης μητρί, 5 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῷ Κομμόδῳ ὠκείωτο ὡς καὶ

¹ αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.

² πέπομφεν Reim., οὐ πέπομφεν VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

Dacia. The same Sabinianus also, when twelve A.D. 180 thousand of the neighbouring Dacians had been driven out of their own country and were on the point of aiding the others, dissuaded them from their purpose, promising them that some land in our Dacia should be given them.

Commodus was guilty of many unseemly deeds, and killed a great many people.

Many plots were formed by various people against Commodus, and he killed a great many, both men and women, some openly and some by means of poison, secretly, making away, in fact, with practically all those who had attained eminence during his father's reign and his own, with the exception of Pompeianus, Pertinax and Victorinus; these men for some reason or other he did not kill. I state these and subsequent facts, not, as hitherto, on the authority of others' reports, but from my own observation. On A.D.
182(?) coming to Rome he addressed the senate, uttering a lot of trivialities; and among the various stories that he told in his own praise was one to this effect, that once while out riding he had saved the life of his father, who had fallen into a deep quagmire. Such were his lofty pratings. But as he was entering the hunting-theatre, Claudius Pompeianus formed a plot against him: thrusting out a sword in the narrow entrance, he said: "See! This is what the senate has sent you." This man had been betrothed to the daughter of Lucilla, but had intimate relations both with the girl herself and with her mother; in this way he had become friendly with Commodus, so that he was his companion both at banquets and in

³ ἠγγύητο Dind., ἐνεγγεγύητο VC.

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συνεστιᾶσθαι καὶ συννεανιεύεσθαι αὐτῷ. ἡ γὰρ Λουκίλλα οὐδὲν ἐπιεικεστέρα οὐδὲ σωφροнесτέρα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κομμόδου ὑπάρχουσα ἤχθετο μὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς¹ τῷ Πομπηιανῷ· ὅθεν καὶ ἀνέπεισε τὸν εἰρημένον ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Κομμόδῳ, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἀπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὴ φωραθεῖσα
 6 ἐπανηρέθη. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὴν Κρισπίναν ὁ Κόμμοδος, ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ δὴ τινι ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῇ. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ ἀμφοτέραι ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Καπρίαν ὑπερωρίσθησαν.

Μαρκία δὲ τις Κουαδράτου² τῶν τότε φονευθέντων ἐνὸς παλλακῆ, καὶ Ἐκλεκτος πρόκοιτος, ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου πρόκοιτος, ἡ δὲ παλλακῆ
 7 ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Ἐκλέκτου μετὰ ταῦτα γυνή· καὶ ἐπέϊδε καὶ ἐκείνους βιαίως ἀποθνήσκοντας. ἱστορεῖται δὲ αὕτη πολλά τε ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν σπουδάσαι καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς εὐηργετηκένοι, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τῷ Κομμόδῳ πᾶν δυναμένη.—Xiph. 269, 19—270, 14 R. St.

5 “Ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Σάλουιον³ καὶ Πάτερνον Γαρρουτήνιον ἐς τοὺς ὑπατευκότας κατειλεγμένον, ἄλλους τε μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τινα καὶ γυναῖκα εὐπατρίδα ἀπέσφαξεν. καίτοι καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δυνηθεὶς ἂν μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου τελευταίην
 2 πᾶν εὐθύς⁴ κατ’ αὐτοῦ ὅ τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, ἅτε καὶ ἐλλογιμώτατος ὢν καὶ στρατιὰν μεγάλην ἐπιτετραμμένος τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἀνηρτημένος, πρᾶξαι, οὐδὲν ἠθέλησε διὰ τε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιείκειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τεθνηκότος εὐνοίαν

¹ αὐτῆς H. Steph., αὐτῆς VC.

² Κουαδράτου H. Steph., κοδράτου VC.

³ Σάλουιον Val., σελβιον cod. Peir., σερόιον VC.

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youthful escapades. Lucilla, who was no more modest or chaste than her brother Commodus, detested her husband, Pompeianus. It was for this reason that she persuaded him to make the attack upon Commodus; and she not only caused his destruction but was herself detected and put out of the way. Commodus also put Crispina to death, having become angry with her for some act of adultery. But before their execution both women were banished to the island of Capreae. A.D.
182(?)

There was a certain Marcia, the mistress of Quadratus (one of the men slain at this time), and Eclectus, his cubicularius;¹ the latter became the cubicularius of Commodus also, and the former, first the emperor's mistress and later the wife of Eclectus; and she saw them also perish by violence. The tradition is that she greatly favoured the Christians and rendered them many kindnesses, inasmuch as she could do anything with Commodus.

Commodus also killed Salvius Julianus and Tarrutenius Paternus, who was enrolled among the ex-consuls, and others with them, including even a woman of the nobility.² And yet Julianus, after the death of Marcus, could have done at once anything whatever that he wished against Commodus, since he was a man of great renown, was in command of a large army, and enjoyed the devotion of his soldiers; but he had refused to make any rebellious move, both because of his own probity and because of the good will that he bore to Marcus even after that

¹ The official who had charge of the sleeping and living rooms.

² Vitrasia Faustina.

⁴ εὐθὺς Dind., εὐθὺ cod. Peir.

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νεοχμῶσαι· καὶ ὁ Πάτερνος ῥαδίως ἂν αὐτόν,¹
εἶπερ ἐπεβεβουλεύκει² οἱ ὥσπερ ἠτιάθη, φο-
νεύσας ἕως ἔτι τῶν δορυφόρων ἦρχεν, οὐκ ἐποίησεν.
—Exc. Val. 314 (p. 725), cf. Xiph. 270, 15—18
R. St.

3 Ἐφόνευσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κυιντιλίους,³ τὸν τε
Κονδιανὸν⁴ καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον· μεγάλην γὰρ εἶχον
δόξαν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ ὁμόφρο-
σύνη καὶ πλούτῳ. ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῶν προσόντων
σφίσιν ὑπωπτεύοντο καλῶν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν νεώτε-
4 ρον ἐνενόουν, ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι. καὶ οὕτως
αὐτοί, ὥσπερ ἔζησαν ἅμα, οὕτω καὶ ἀπέθανον
μεθ' ἐνὸς τέκνου· διαπρεπέστατα γὰρ τῶν πώποτε
ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἐν
ταῖς ἀρχαῖς διεχωρίσθησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ
πολυκτῆμονες καὶ παμπλούσιοι, καὶ ἦρχον ὁμοῦ
καὶ πυρήδρευον ἀλλήλοις.

6 Κονδιανὸς δὲ Σέξτος ὁ τοῦ Μαξίμου υἱός, φύσει
τε καὶ παιδείᾳ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρων, ἐπειδὴ
ἦσθετο καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν φερούσης θανατηφόρου
ψήφου (διέτριβε δὲ ἐν Συρίᾳ), αἷμα λαγῶ ἔπιε,
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τε ἵππον ἀνέβη καὶ κατέπε-
σεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίτηδες, τό τε αἷμα ἤμεσεν ὡς
ἴδιον, καὶ ἀρθεῖς ὡς καὶ παραχρῆμα τελευ-
2 τήσων ἐς οἶκημα ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφα-
νῆς ἐγένετο, κριοῦ δὲ σῶμα ἐς λάρνακα ἀντ'
αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθὲν ἐκαύθη. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ
μὲν ἀμείβων αἰεὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα

¹ αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτὸς cod. Peir.

² ἐπεβεβουλεύκει Dind., ἐπιβεβουλεύκει cod. Peir.

³ Κυιντιλίους R. Steph., κυιντιλιανούς VC.

⁴ Κονδιανὸν Reim., καρδιανὸν VC (but correct form in ch. 6, 1).

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

emperor's death. . And Paternus, if he had plotted against Commodus, as he was accused of doing, could easily have killed him while he himself was still in command of the Pretorians; but he had not done so. A.D.
182(?)

Commodus likewise killed the two Quintilii, Con- dianus and Maximus; for they had a great reputation for learning, military skill, brotherly accord, and wealth, and their notable talents led to the sus- picion that, even if they were not planning any rebellion, they were nevertheless displeased with existing conditions. And thus, even as they had lived together, so they died together, along with the son of one of them. They had offered the most striking example ever seen of mutual affection; and at no time had they ever been separated, even in the offices they held.¹ They had grown prosperous and exceedingly wealthy, and were wont to hold office together and to act as assistants to each other.

Sextus Con- dianus, the son of Maximus, who surpassed all others by reason both of his native ability and his training, when he heard that sentence of death had been pronounced against him, too, drank the blood of a hare (he was living in Syria at the time), after which he mounted a horse and purposely fell from it; then, as he vomited the blood, which was supposed to be his own, he was taken up, apparently on the point of death, and was carried to his room. He himself now dis- appeared, while a ram's body was placed in a coffin in his stead and burned. After this, constantly changing his appearance and clothing, he wandered

¹ Cf. the account of the Scribonii in lxiii (lxii). 17.

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ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπλανᾶτο, διαδοθέντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τούτου (οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ τὰ τηλικαῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνειν) ζήτησις
 3 αὐτοῦ μεγάλη πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὁμοιότητα πολλοὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ συνεγνωκότες τι αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑποδέδεγμένοι πη αὐτὸν ἐκολάσθησαν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους οὐδὲ ἑορακότες ποτὲ ἴσως αὐτὸν τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθη-
 4 σαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἴτε ὄντως ἐσφάγη (πλείισται γὰρ κεφαλαὶ ὡς ἐκείνου οὔσαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθησαν) εἴτε καὶ ἀπέφυγεν, οὐδεὶς οἶδεν· ἕτερος δέ τις ἐτόλμησε μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κομμόδου θάνατον Σέξτος τε εἶναι φῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ τε πλούτου καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος αὐτοῦ ὀρμηῆσαι. καὶ πολλὰ γε ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀνακριθεὶς ἐκομψεύσατο,
 5 ὡς μέντοι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν¹ τι αὐτὸν ὁ Περτίναξ, ὃν ἐκεῖνος διεπεφύκει, ἀνήρετο, πλείστον ἐσφάλη, μηδὲ συνεῖναι τὸ λεγόμενον δυνηθεὶς. οὕτω που τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως αὐτῷ ἐώκει, τῆς δὲ δὴ παιδείας αὐτοῦ οὐ μετεσχῆκει.

7 Τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα παρών, καὶ ἕτερου τοιούδε εἶδον. ἔστιν ἐν Μαλλῶ² πόλει τῆς Κιλικίας Ἀμφιλόχου χρηστήριον, καὶ χρᾶ δι' ὄνειράτων. ἔχρησεν οὖν καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ, ὃ διὰ γραφῆς ἐκεῖνος ἐδήλωσε· παιδίον γὰρ τῷ πίνακι ἐνεγέγραπτο δύο δράκοντας ἀποπνίγον καὶ λέων
 2 νεβρὸν διώκων. οὐδὲ ἔσχον αὐτὰς συμβαλεῖν, τῷ πατρὶ συνῶν ἄρχοντι τῆς Κιλικίας, πρὶν

¹ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Suid., ἑλληνικῶν V, ἑλληνικῶς C, ἑλληνοκῶν cod. Peir.

² Μαλλῶ Reim., μαλῶ VC.

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πυθέσθαι τοὺς τε ἀδελφοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐζήλωσε, τρόπον τινὰ πνιγένας, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἔτι νήπιος ὧν ἱστόρηται τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἡρας ἐπιπεμφθέντας αὐτῷ δράκοντας ἀποπνίξαι (καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Κυιντίλιοι ἀπηγχονήθησαν), καὶ τὸν Σέξτον φεύγοντα καὶ διωκόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος.—Xiph. 270, 18—271, 25 R. St., Exc. Val. 315 (p. 725) = Suid. s. v. Σέξτος.

3 Πάμπολυν ἂν ὄχλον τῇ συγγραφῇ παράσχοιμι, εἰ ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον τοὺς θανατωθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γράφοιμι, ὅπόσους ἐκεῖνος ἢ διὰ συκοφαντίας ψευδεῖς ἢ δι' ὑποψίας οὐκ ἀληθεῖς ἢ διὰ πλοῦτον λαμπρὸν ἢ διὰ γένος εὐδόκιμον ἢ διὰ παιδείας ὑπεροχὴν ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν διεχρήσατο.—Xiph. 271, 25—30 R. St.

4 Ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ μὲν¹ πλούτου ἐπιδείγματα, πολλῶ δὲ πλείω καὶ φιλοκαλίας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρέσχετο. ἔστι δέ τι καὶ δημωφελὲς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν· Μανιλίου γὰρ τῷ Κασσίῳ συγγενομένου καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς αὐτοῦ τὰς Λατίνας διοικήσαντος, καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ² δυνηθέντος καὶ φυγόντος, εἶτα φωραθέντος, οὔτε τι ἀκοῦσαι καίτοι πολλὰ μηνύσειν ὑπισχνουμένου ἠθέλησε, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ πάντα κατέκαυσε πρὶν ἀναγνωσθῆναι.—Exc. Val. 316 (p. 725).

8 Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ πόλεμοί τινες αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν Δακίαν βαρβάρους, ἐν οἷς ὁ τε Ἀλβῖνος καὶ ὁ Νίγρος οἱ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Σεουήρῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀντιπολεμήσαντες εὐδοκίμησαν, μέγιστος

¹ μὲν supplied by Bk.

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at the time, and could not comprehend what the figures meant, until I learned that the brothers ^{A.D. 182(?)} had been strangled, so to speak, by Commodus (who later emulated Hercules), just as Hercules, when an infant, is related to have strangled the serpents sent against him by Juno (for the Quintilii, too, had been strangled), and until I learned also that Sextus was a fugitive and was being pursued by a more powerful adversary.

I should render my narrative very tedious were I to give a detailed report of all the persons put to death by Commodus, of all those whom he made away with as the result of false accusations or unjustified suspicions or because of their conspicuous wealth, distinguished family, unusual learning, or some other point of excellence.

Commodus displayed in Rome itself many indications of wealth and very many more, even, of a love of the beautiful. In fact, he occasionally performed an act of public service. Thus, when Manilius, who had been associated with Cassius, had been secretary of his Latin correspondence, and had possessed the greatest influence with him, was captured after taking to flight, the emperor would not listen to a word from him, though he offered to give a great deal of information, and he burned all the conspirator's papers without reading them.

He also had some wars with the barbarians beyond Dacia, in which Albinus and Niger, who later fought against the emperor Severus, won fame; but the greatest struggle was the one with the Britons. ^{A.D. 184}

² *αὐτῶ* St., *αὐτοῦ* cod. Peir.

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2 δὲ ὁ Βρεττανικός. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔθνων
 ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διόριζον αὐτούς τε
 καὶ τὰ τῶν¹ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα, καὶ πολλὰ
 κακουρούντων, στρατηγὸν τέ τινα μετὰ τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν οὓς εἶχε κατακοψάντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ
 Κομμοδος Μάρκελλον Οὔλπιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμ-
 3 ψεν. οὕτως δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ μέτριος καὶ εὐτελής ὢν,
 στρατιωτικῶς τε αἰεὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν τροφήν καὶ περὶ
 πάντα τὰλλα ζῶν, ὅτε ἐπολέμει, ὑψηλόφρων καὶ
 φρονηματώδης ἐγίγνετο, χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς
 ἀδωρότατος ἦν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἡδὺς τὸ ἦθος ἢ φιλάν-
 4 θρωπος. ἀϋπνότατος δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν γενό-
 μενος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ
 ἐγρηγορέναι βουλόμενος, δώδεκα γραμματεῖα,²
 οἷά γε ἐκ φιλύρας ποιεῖται, καθ' ἑκάστην ἑσπέραν
 ὡς εἰπεῖν συνέγραφε, καὶ προσέταττέ τινα ἄλλο
 ἄλλη ὥρα κομίζειν τισίν, ἵν' ἐγρηγορέναι τὸν
 στρατηγὸν αἰεὶ νομίζοντες μηδὲ αὐτοὶ ἄδην³
 καθεύδοιεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὑπνομαχεῖν
 πεφυκώς, ἐπὶ πλεόν δὲ τοῦτο⁴ ἐκ τῆς ἀσιτίας⁵
 5 ἡσκήκει. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἡκιστα ἄδην ἐσιτεῖτο,
 καὶ ὅπως μηδὲ τῶν ἄρτων διαπίμπλᾶται, ἐκ τῆς
 Ῥώμης αὐτοὺς μετεπέμπετο, οὐχ ὡς οὐ δυνάμενος
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐσθίειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑπὸ τῆς παλαιότη-
 τος αὐτῶν μὴ δύνηται, μηδὲ σμικρῷ πλεόν του
 πάνυ ἀναγκαίου φαγεῖν. τὰ γὰρ οὖλα αὐτοῦ
 κακῶς ἔχοντά ραδίως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄρτων ξηρότη-
 τος ἡμάσσετο. ἐπετήδευε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μείζον αὐτὸ
 πλάττεσθαι, ἵν' ὡς μάλιστα διαγρυπνεῖν δοκῇ.

¹ τῶν supplied by R. Steph.

² γραμματεῖα Suid. A., γραμμάτια cod. Peir. VC Suid. BV.

³ ἄδην Bk., ἄδδην VC.

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When the tribes in that island, crossing the wall A.D. 184 that separated them from the Roman legions, proceeded to do much mischief and cut down a general together with his troops, Commodus became alarmed and sent Ulpius Marcellus against them. This man, who was temperate and frugal and always lived like a soldier in the matter of his food as well as in everything else when he was at war, was becoming haughty and arrogant; he was most conspicuously incorruptible, and yet was not of a pleasant or kindly nature. He showed himself more wakeful than any other general, and as he wished the others who were associated with him to be alert also, he used to write orders on twelve tablets, such as are made out of linden wood, almost every evening, and bid an aide to deliver them to such-and-such persons at various hours, so that these officers, believing the general to be always awake, might not themselves take their fill of sleep. For nature in the first place had made him able to resist sleep, and he had developed this faculty by the discipline of fasting. For in general he would never eat to satiety, and in order that he might not take his fill even of bread, he used to send to Rome for it. This was not because he could not eat the bread of the country, but in order that his bread might be so stale that he should be unable to eat even a small portion more than was absolutely necessary; for his gums were tender and, if the bread was very dry, would soon begin to bleed. However, he purposely exaggerated his natural tendency by simulating, in order that he might have the greatest possible reputation for

⁴ τοῦτο VC, αὐτὸ καὶ cod. Peir. Suid.

⁵ ἀσιτίας VC, τροφῆς cod. Peir. Suid.

- 6 Μάρκελλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος ὦν τοὺς τε βαρ-
 βάρους τοὺς ἐν Βρεττανία δεινῶς ἐκάκωσε, καὶ
 μικροῦ δεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ
 τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἀποθανεῖν μελλήσας ὅμως
 ἀφείθη.
- 9 Περέννιον δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων μετὰ τὸν Πάτερ-
 νον¹ ἄρχοντα συνέβη διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας στα-
 σιάσαντας ἀναιρεθῆναι· τοῦ γὰρ Κομμόδου ἄρ-
 ματηλασίαις καὶ ἀσελγείαις ἐκδεδωκότος ἑαυτὸν,
 καὶ τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόντων οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν
 πράττοντος, ὁ Περέννιος ἠναγκάζετο οὐχ ὅτι τὰ
 στρατιωτικὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰλλα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν
²¹ καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ προστατεῖν. οἱ οὖν στρατιῶται,
 ὅποτε τι σφίσι μὴ καταθύμιον ἀπαντήσαι,² τὴν
 αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Περέννιον³ ἀναφέροντες ἐμήνιον⁴
 αὐτῷ.—*Xiph.* 271, 30—272, 28 *R. St., Exc. Val.*
 317 (p. 725) = *Suid. s. v. Μάρκελλος.*
- ^{2a} "Ὅτι οἱ ἐν Βρεττανία στρατιῶται Πρίσκον
 ὑποστράτηγον εἶλοντο αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ παρη-
 τήσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι " τοιοῦτος ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτοκράτωρ
 οἱοὶ ὑμεῖς στρατιῶταί ἐστε."—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat.*
 122 (p. 224 *Mai.* = p. 208, 8—11 *Dind.*).
- ²² Καὶ οἱ ἐν Βρεττανία τοίνυν ὑπάρχοντες, ἐπειδὴ
 τι καὶ ἐπετιμήθησαν· ἐφ' οἷς ἐστασίαζον (οὐ
 γὰρ πρὶν ἠσύχασαν ἢ αὐτοὺς τὸν Περτίνακα
 παῦσαι), χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀκοντιστὰς
 ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολέξαντες ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμ-
³ ψαν. ὦν μηδενὸς κωλύοντος τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλη-
 σιασάντων, ὁ Κόμμοδος ἀπήντησέ τε αὐτοῖς
 καὶ ἐπύθετο " τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται; τί
 βουλόμενοι πάρεστε;" εἰπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν " ἤκο-

¹ Πάτερνον *R. Steph.*, μάτερνον *VC.*

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

wakefulness. Such a man was Marcellus; and he A.D. 184
ruthlessly put down the barbarians of Britain, and
later, when, thanks to his peculiar excellence, he
was all but on the point of being put to death by
Commodus, he was nevertheless pardoned.

Perennis,¹ who commanded the Pretorians after A.D. 185
Paternus, met his death as the result of a mutiny (186?)
of the soldiers. For, inasmuch as Commodus had
given himself up to chariot-racing and licentiousness
and performed scarcely any of the duties pertaining
to his office, Perennis was compelled to manage
not only the military affairs, but everything else
as well, and to stand at the head of the State.
The soldiers, accordingly, whenever any matter did
not turn out to their satisfaction, laid the blame
upon Perennis and were angry with him.

The soldiers in Britain chose Priscus, a lieutenant,
emperor; but he declined, saying: "I am no more
an emperor than you are soldiers."

The lieutenants in Britain, accordingly, having
been rebuked for their insubordination,—they did
not become quiet, in fact, until Pertinax quelled them,
—now chose out of their number fifteen hundred
javelin-men and sent them into Italy. These men
had already drawn near to Rome without encounter-
ing any resistance, when Commodus met them and
asked: "What is the meaning of this, soldiers?
What is your purpose in coming?" And when they

¹ This is the Latin form of the name; Dio and Herodian
call him Perennius.

² ἀπαντήσαι R. Steph., ἀπαντήσοι VC.

³ Περέννιον R. Steph., πυρέννιον VC.

⁴ ἐμήνιον v. Herw., ἐμηνίων VC Zon.

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μεν· Περέννιος γάρ σοι ἐπιβουλεύει, ἵνα αὐτο-
 κράτορα τὸν υἱὸν ἀποδείξῃ," ἐπείσθη τε αὐτοῖς;
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου ἐνάγοντος; ὃς
 κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περεννίου ποιεῖν ὅσα
 4 ἠβούλετο δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐμίσει, καὶ ἐξέδωκε τὸν
 ἑπαρχον¹ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὧν ἦρχεν, οὐδὲ ἐτόλ-
 μησε καταφρονῆσαι χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους,
 πολλαπλασίους αὐτῶν δορυφόρους ἔχων. καὶ
 αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι² καὶ ἠκίσαντο καὶ κατέκοψαν, καὶ
 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ υἱεῖς δύο προσδιε-
 10 φθάρησαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐσφάγη, ἠκιστα δὲ³
 τοῦτο παθεῖν καὶ δι' ἑαυτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὀφείλων, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον
 διὰ τὴν φιλαρχίαν αἰτιώτατος τῷ Πατέρνῳ⁴ τῷ
 συνάρχοντι τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο· ἰδία μὲν γὰρ
 οὐδὲν πώποτε οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς πλοῦτον
 περιεβάλετο,⁵ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδωρότατα καὶ σωφρο-
 νέστατα διήγαγε, τοῦ δὲ Κομμόδου καὶ⁶ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀσφάλειαν ἐποιεῖτο.—*Xiph.*
 272, 28—273, 15 R. St.

2 "Ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος εὐθυμίαις⁷ τε πάνυ προσέκειτο
 καὶ ἀρματηλασία προσεῖχε, καὶ οὔτ' ἀρχὴν τῶν⁸
 τοιούτων τι αὐτῷ ἔμελεν, οὔτ' εἰ καὶ σφόδρα
 ἐπεφροντίκει, διαθέσθαι γε αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀβρό-
 τητος καὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐδύνατο.

Καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι τούτου⁹ ἀπαλλαγέντες (ἦν

¹ ἑπαρχον Sylb., ἱππαρχον VC.

² ἐκεῖνοι Sylb., ἐκεῖνον VC.

³ δὲ Leuncl., δὲ VC.

⁴ Πατέρνῳ R. Steph., πατέρνα VC.

⁵ περιεβάλετο R. Steph., περιεβάλλετο VC.

⁶ καὶ supplied by Hier. Wolf.

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δὲ αὐτῶν κορυφαῖος ὁ Κλέανδρος) οὐδὲν ὅ τι κακὸν οὐκ ἔδρων, πωλοῦντες πάντα, ὑβρίζοντες, ἀσελγαίνοντες.—Exc. Val. 318 (p. '726), Xiph. 273, 15—18, R. St.

Κόμμοδος δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου περί τε τὰς ῥαστώνας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περί τε τὰς μάχας τῶν τε θηρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶχεν. ἄνευ γὰρ ὧν οἴκοι ἔδρα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θηρία πολλάκις ἔφθειρε· καὶ πέντε γοῦν ἵππους ποταμίους¹ ἅμα καὶ δύο ἐλέφαντας ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἡμέρα χωρὶς αὐτὸς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ κατεχρήσατο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ῥινοκέρωτας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ καμηλοπάρδαλιν. ταῦτα μὲν μοι κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν λόγου γέγραπται.—Xiph. 273, 18—25, R. St.

11 "Ὅτι τῷ Οὐικτωρίνῳ² πολιαρχήσαντι ἀνδριάς ἔστη. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλήs, καὶ δὴ ποτε πολλῆs μὲν φήμης πολλῶν δὲ καὶ λόγων ὡs εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου αὐτοῦ γιγνομένων ἀπεθρασύνατο,³ καὶ πρὸs τὸν Περέννιον προσελθὼν,⁴ "ἀκούω," ἔφη, "ὅτι με ἀποκτεῖναι ἐθέλετε· τί οὖν μέλλετε; τί δὲ ἀναβάλλεσθε,⁵ 2 ἐξὸν ὑμῶν ἤδη καὶ τήμερον αὐτὸ δράσαι;" ἄλλ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου δεινὸν ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸs ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτῳ θανάτῳ ἐχρήσατο, καίπερ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐν τοῖs πάνυ τιμηθεῖs, καὶ

¹ ποταμίους V. πολεμίους C.

² Οὐικτωρίνῳ Bk., βικτωρίνῳ cod. Peir.

³ ἀπεθρασύνατο Bk., ἀπεθρασύνετο cod. Peir.

⁴ Xiphilinus' account begins: Οὐικτωρίνῳ (βικ. cod.) δὲ τῷ πολιαρχήσαντι τελευτήσαντι ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐδόθη. οὗτος, βουλομένου πολλάκις ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦ Κομμόδου, ἀναβαλλομένου δὲ καὶ

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their head, after getting rid of this man [Perennis],^{A.D. 186(?)} refrained from no form of mischief, selling all privileges, and indulging in wantonness and debauchery.

Commodus devoted most of his life to ease and to horses and to combats of wild beasts and of men. In fact, besides all that he did in private, he often slew in public large numbers of men and of beasts as well. For example, all alone with his own hands, he dispatched five hippopotami together with two elephants on two successive days; and he also killed rhinoceroses and a camelopard. This is what I have to say with reference to his career as a whole.

A statue was set up to Victorinus,¹ who had been prefect of the city. He had not died as the victim of any plot; in fact, at one time, when a persistent rumour and many reports, one may almost say, were being circulated about his death, he became emboldened, and approaching Perennis, said: "I hear that you men wish to kill me. Why, then, do you delay? Why do you put it off, when you might do it this very day?" Yet not even after that was he molested by any outside person, but he took his own life; and yet he had been honoured among the foremost men by Marcus, and in point of moral

¹ Cf. Xiph.: "The statue was granted to Victorinus, who had been city prefect, at his death. This man, when Commodus wished to slay him but kept putting the matter off and hesitating, . . . approached Perennis and said: 'I hear,' " etc.

ὀκνοῦντος τὴν πράξιν, . . . προσελθὼν τῷ Περηννίῳ ποτέ, "ἀκούω (ἄκου cod.)," ἔφη, κτέ.

⁵ ἀναβάλλεσθε Val., ἀναβάλλεσθαι cod. Peir.

τῆ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῆ τῶν λόγων παρασκευῇ οὐδενὸς τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν¹ δεύτερος γενόμενος. ἀμέλει δύο ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πάντα τὸν
 3 τρόπον αὐτοῦ δηλώσω. τῆς τε Γερμανίας ποτὲ ἄρχων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπειράθη τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πείσαι μὴ δωροδοκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουεν αὐτοῦ, ἀνέβη τε ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ σιωπῆν² τῷ κήρυκι κηρῦξαι προστάξας³ ὤμοσε
 4 μήτ' εἰληφέναι δῶρά ποτε μήτε λήψεσθαι, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὁμόσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἡγεμονεύσας ἓνα τῶν παρέδρων ὁμοιότροπόν πως ἐκείνῳ ὄντα τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἐπὶ πλοῖον δέ τι ἐπιθεὶς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπεμψεν.—Exc. Val. 319 (p. 726), Xiph. 273, 25—274, 4 R. St.

12 Τοιοῦτος μὲν τις ὁ Οὐικτωρίνος⁴ ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλέανδρος ὁ μετὰ τὸν Περέννιον μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς καὶ ἐπράθη μετὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἀχθοφορήσων⁵ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεκόμιστο, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος οὕτως ηὔξηθη ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου προκοιτῆσαι, τὴν τε παλλακίδα αὐτοῦ
 2 Δαμοστρατίαν γῆμαι, καὶ τὸν Σαώτερον· τὸν Νικομηδέα τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἀποκτεῖναι πρὸς πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις· καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος μέγιστον ἠδυνήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγειν καὶ νεῶν τοῦ Κομμόδου ποιήσασθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
 3 ἔλαβον. ὁ δ' οὖν⁶ Κλέανδρος μέγας ὑπὸ τῆς

¹ ἑαυτὸν VC, ἑαυτῶν cod. Peir.

² σιωπῆν Bs., σιγῆν Reiske, ἑαυτὸν cod. Peir.

³ προστάξας Val., προστάξαι cod. Peir.

⁴ Οὐικτωρίνος Bk., Βικτωρίνος VC.

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τύχης ἀρθεῖς καὶ ἐχαρίσατο καὶ ἐπώλησε βου-
 λείας, στρατείας, ἐπιτροπείας, ἡγεμονίας, πάντα
 πράγματα. καὶ ἤδη τινὲς πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά
 σφισιν ἀναλώσαντες βουλευταὶ ἐγένοντο, ὥστε
 καὶ λεχθῆναι ἐπὶ Ἰουλίου Σόλωνος ἀνδρὸς ἀφα-
 νεστάτου ὅτι ἐς τὸ συνέδριον τῆς οὐσίας στερηθεῖς
 4 ἐξωρίσθη. ταῦτά τε ὁ Κλέανδρος ἐποίει, καὶ
 ὑπάτους ἐς ἓνα¹ ἐνιαυτὸν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν
 ἀπέδειξεν· ὁ μήτε² πρότερόν ποτε μήθ' ὕστερον
 ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ Σεουῆρος ὁ μετὰ
 5 ταῦτα αὐταρχήσας ὑπάτευσεν. ἠργυρολόγει
 . μὲν οὖν πανταχόθεν, καὶ ἐκτήσατο πλεῖστα τῶν
 πώποτε ὀνομασθέντων προκοίτων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 πολλὰ μὲν τῷ Κομμόδῳ ταῖς τε παλλακαῖς
 αὐτοῦ ἐδίδου, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς οἰκίας καὶ ἐς
 βαλανεῖα ἄλλα τέ τινα χρήσιμα καὶ ἰδιώταις
 καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδαπάνη.

13 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κλέανδρος ἐς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον
 ἀρθεῖς ἔπεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπώλετο
 μετὰ ἀτιμίας. ἀπέκτειναν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ
 στρατιῶται ὥσπερ τὸν Περέννιον, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος.
 ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυρὰ σιτοδεία, ἐπὶ
 πλεῖστον δ' αὐτὴν Παπίριος Διούσιος ἐπὶ τοῦ
 σίτου τεταγμένος ἐπηύξησεν, ἵν' ὡς αἰτιώτατον
 αὐτῆς τὸν Κλέανδρον ἀπὸ τῶν κλεμμάτων ὄντα
 3 καὶ μισήσωσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διαφθείρωσι. καὶ
 ἔσχεν οὕτως. ἵπποδρομία τις ἦν, μελλόντων δὲ
 τὸ ἔβδομον τῶν ἵππων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι πλῆθος τι
 παιδίων ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἐσέδραμε, καὶ αὐτῶν
 παρθένος τις μεγάλη καὶ βλοσυρὰ ἠγεῖτο, ἦν
 δαίμονα ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων ἐνόμισαν

¹ ἓνα Zon., om. VC.

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the favour of Fortune, bestowed and sold senatorships, military commands, procuratorships, governorships, and, in a word, everything. In fact, some men became senators only after spending all they possessed, so that it was said of Julius Solon, a very obscure man, that he had been stripped of all his property and banished to—the senate. Besides all this, Cleander appointed twenty-five consuls for one year, a thing that never happened before or since; one of these consuls was Severus, who later became emperor. Cleander, accordingly, was obtaining money from every source, and he amassed more wealth than any who had ever been named cubicularii. A great deal of it he gave to Commodus and his concubines, and he spent a great deal on houses, baths, and other works of benefit either to individuals or to cities.

So this Cleander, too, who had been raised to so exalted a station, fell suddenly and perished in dishonour. It was not the soldiers, however, that killed him, as in the case of Perennis, but the populace. A famine occurred, sufficiently grievous in itself; but its severity was vastly increased by Papirius Dionysius, the grain commissioner, in order that Cleander, whose thefts would seem chiefly responsible for it, might incur the hatred of the Romans and be destroyed by them. And so it came to pass. There was a horse-race on, and as the horses were about to contend for the seventh time, a crowd of children ran into the Circus, led by a tall maiden of grim aspect, who, because of what afterwards happened, was thought to have been a divinity.

² μήτε Zon., μη VC.

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- 4 γεγονέναι. τά τε γὰρ παιδιά συνεβόησαν πολλά καὶ δεινά, καὶ ὁ δῆμος παραλαβὼν αὐτὰ οὐδὲν ὄ τι οὐκ ἐξέκραγε, καὶ τέλος καταπήδησας ὤρμησε πρὸς τὸν Κόμμοδον ἐν τῷ Κυϊντιλίῳ προαστείῳ¹ ὄντα,² πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ κάγαθὰ ἐπευχόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου καταρώμενος. καὶ ὅς στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἔτρωσάν τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.
- 5 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνείρχθη διὰ τοῦτο ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν δορυφόρων ἰσχύι θαρρήσας ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἠπείχθη. πλησιαζόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ Κομμόδῳ, καὶ μηδενός οἱ μηνύοντος τὸ γινόμενον, Μαρκία ἐκείνη ἢ τοῦ Κουαδράτου
- 6 ἐσήγγειλε τὸ πραττόμενον· καὶ ὁ Κόμμοδος οὕτως ἔδεισεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δειλότατος ὢν, ὥστε αὐτίκα καὶ τὸν Κλεάνδρον καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ, ὃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Κομμόδου χερσὶν ἐτρέφετο, σφαγῆναι κελεῦσαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν παιδίον προσουδίσθη καὶ διεφθάρη, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου σῶμα παραλαβόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσυραν καὶ ἠκίσαντο, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ κοντοῦ³ περιήνεγκαν, καὶ τινας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν μέγα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δυναμένων ἐφόνευσαν.
- Xiph. 274, 4—275, 19, Exc. Val. 320.
- 14 Κόμμοδος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐθυμιῶν καὶ παιδιῶν ἀνανεύων ἐφόνα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας διεχειρίζετο· ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος, ὃν καὶ δημοσία περιελάμβανε τε καὶ κατεφίλει καὶ πατέρα ὠνόμαζεν, Ἰούλιός τε Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗτος μὲν ὡς καὶ λέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου κατακοντίσας·

¹ προαστείῳ Zon., ἀστείῳ VC.

² ὄντα Zon., ὄντι VC.

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2 ὅστις ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας παρόντας ἤσθετο, ἐκείνους τε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τῶν Ἑμεσηνῶν, ὅθεν ἦν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πάντα προσκατεχρήσατο, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἵππον τε ἀνέβη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὤρμησε. κὰν
3 ἐξέφυγεν, εἰ μὴ παιδικά τινα συνεπῆκτο· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ κράτιστα ἵππευε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον καμὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινε καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς κατελαμβάνετο, ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ ἑαυτόν. ἀνηρέθη δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος πρὸς τοῦ Κομμόδου, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου ταχθεὶς.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ νόσος μεγίστη¹ ὣν ἐγὼ οἶδα· δισχίλιοι γοῦν πολλάκις ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἐν τῇ
4 Ῥώμῃ ἐτελεύτησαν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἄστει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν κακούργων ἀπέθανον· βελόνας γὰρ μικρὰς δηλητηρίοις τισὶ φαρμάκοις ἐγχρίοντες ἐνίεσαν δι' αὐτῶν ἐς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὸ δεινόν· ὅπερ πού καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἐγεγόνει.
15 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλλυντο, ἦν δὲ ἀπάντων νοσημάτων καὶ ἀπάντων κακουρημάτων χαλεπώτερος Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Κόμμοδος, διὰ τε τὰλλα καὶ ὅτι ἠναγκάζοντο, ἃ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' εὐνοίαν ἐψηφίζοντο, ταῦτ' ἐκείνῳ διὰ φόβον
2 ἀπονέμειν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος. Κομμοδιανὴν γοῦν τήν τε Ῥώμην αὐτήν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα Κομμοδιανά, τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ταῦτα ἐψηφίζετο Κομμοδιανὰ καλεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. ἑαυτῷ δὲ

¹ μεγίστη H. Steph., μεγάλη VC.

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while on horseback.¹ This man, when he learned A.D. 189 of the arrival of the assassins, murdered them at night, and also destroyed all his enemies at Emesa, his native city; then he mounted a horse and set out to go to the barbarians. And he would have escaped, had he not taken along a boy-favourite with him, since he himself was an excellent horseman; but he could not bring himself to desert the lad, who had become wearied, and so, when he was being overtaken, he killed both the boy and himself. Dionysius, the grain commissioner, also met his death by the orders of Commodus.

Moreover, a pestilence occurred, the greatest of any of which I have knowledge; for two thousand persons often died in Rome in a single day. Then, too, many others, not alone in the City, but throughout almost the entire empire, perished at the hands of criminals who smeared some deadly drugs on tiny needles and for pay infected people with the poison by means of these instruments. The same thing had happened before in the reign of Domitian.²

Now the death of these victims passed unheeded; for Commodus was a greater curse to the Romans than any pestilence or any crime. Among other reasons was this, that whatever honours they had been wont to vote to his father out of affection they were now compelled out of fear and by direct command to assign also to the son. He actually A.D. 190 ordered that Rome itself should be called Commodiana, the legions Commodian, and the day on which these measures were voted Commodiana.

¹ Probably because the "Roman Hercules" (ch. 15) feared Alexander might detract from his glory.

² See lxvii. 11, 6.

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ἄλλας τε παμπόλλους ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τὴν Ἡρα-
 κλέους ἀπήνεγκε. τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ἀθάνατον
 εὐτυχῆ κολωνίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης¹ (καὶ γὰρ ἄποι-
 κον αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο) ἐπωνόμασεν.
 3 καὶ ἀνδριάς τε αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς χιλίων λιτρῶν μετὰ
 τε ταύρου καὶ βοῦς θηλείας ἐγένετο, καὶ τέλος
 καὶ οἱ μῆνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπεκλήθησαν,
 ὥστε καταριθμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς οὕτως, Ἀμαζόνιος
 Ἀνίκητος Εὐτυχῆς Εὐσεβῆς² Λούκιος Αἴλιος
 Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Αὐγουστος Ἡράκλειος Ῥω-
 4 μαῖος Ὑπεραίρων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα
 μετελάμβανε τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸν δ' Ἀμαζόνιον
 καὶ τὸν Ὑπεραίροντα παγίως ἑαυτῷ ἔθετο ὡς καὶ
 ἐν πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς πάντα ἀνθρώπους καθ' ὑπερ-
 βολὴν νικῶν· οὕτω καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐμεμῆνει τὸ
 5 κάθαρμα. καὶ τῇ βουλῇ οὕτως ἐπέστελλεν·
 “ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος
 Κόμμοδος Αὐγουστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς, Σαρμα-
 τικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Βρεττανικὸς, Εἰρηνο-
 ποιὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀνίκητος,³ Ῥωμαῖος
 Ἡρακλῆς, Ἀρχιερεὺς, δημάρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
 ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ὄγδοον, ὕπατος
 τὸ ἑβδομον, Πατὴρ Πατρίδος, ὑπάτοις στρατη-
 6 γοῖς δημάρχοις⁴ γερουσίᾳ Κομμοδιανῇ εὐτυχεῖ
 χαίρειν.” καὶ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ παμπληθεῖς ἐν
 Ἡρακλέους⁵ σχήματι ἕστησαν. καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα
 τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦν τε ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ

¹ τῆς οἰκουμένης Bs., οἰκουμένην τῆς γῆς VC.

² Εὐτυχῆς Εὐσεβῆς VC Zon., Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Joan. Ant.

³ ἀνίκητος R. Steph., εὐτυχῆς ἀνίκητος VC.

⁴ δημάρχοις Bs., following Blancus' translation, μαρχικοῖς VC Zon.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐς τὰ γράμματα πάντα ὁμοίως ἐσγράφεσθαι ἐψηφίσθη.

16 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ χρυσοῦς, οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὗτος ὁ θεός (καὶ γὰρ καὶ¹ τοῦτ' ἤκουεν) ἐξαίφνης ποτὲ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου σπουδῆ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσας τριάκοντα ἵππων ἀμίλλας ἐν δυσὶν ὥραις ἐποίησεν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἤκιστα καὶ
2 τὰ χρήματα αὐτὸν ἐπέλιπεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλόδωρος, καὶ πολλάκις τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔδωκεν· τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐς ἐκεῖνα ἂ εἶπον ἐδαπάνη. ὅθεν καὶ ἐγκλήματα καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφέρων οὓς μὲν ἐφόνευεν, οἷς δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν
3 ἐπίπρασκε.² καὶ τέλος ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας δύο χρυσοῦς ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀπαρχήν, κατ' ἔτος ἐκέλευσέν οἱ ἀποφέρειν, τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις πόλεσι βουλευτὰς κατὰ πέντε δραχμὰς. καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτων περιποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ πάντα κακῶς ἐς τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ἀνήλισκε.

17 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δημοσίῳ οὐδαμόθεν³ ἄρματα ἤλασε, πλὴν εἰ μὴ που ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτί, ἐπιθυμήσας μὲν καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἄρματηλατῆσαι, αἰσχυνοθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὀφθῆναι τοῦτο ποιῶν· οἴκοι δὲ συγε-

¹ καὶ supplied by Sylb.

² Cf. Exc. Val. : ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ παραλόγως ἐδαπάνη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε τᾶλλα αὐτῷ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλεάνδρου πορισθέντα, καίπερ ἀμύθητα ὄντα, ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθη ἐγκλήματα καὶ γυναιξὶ θανάτου μὲν οὐκ ἄξια φόβου δὲ τινος καὶ ἀπειλῆς γέμοντα ἐπιφέρειν. κακ τούτου πολλοῦ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπίπρασκε καὶ ὡς παρ' ἐκόντων αὐτῶν τινὰ ἀνάγκη ἐλάμβανεν. —Exc. Val. 321 (p. 729).

³ οὐδαμόθεν] οὐδαμῶς or οὐδαμοῦ? Bs.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

“Golden Age,” and that this should be recorded in A.D. 192 all the records without exception.

Now this “Golden One,” this “Hercules,” this “god” (for he was even given this name, too) suddenly drove into Rome one afternoon from his suburb and conducted thirty horse-races in the space of two hours. These proceedings had much to do with his running short of funds. He was also fond, it is true, of bestowing gifts, and frequently gave largesses to the populace at the rate of one hundred and forty denarii per man; but most of his expenditures were for the objects I have mentioned. Hence he brought accusations against both men and women, slaying some and to others selling their lives for their property.¹ And finally he ordered us, our wives, and our children each to contribute two gold pieces² every year on his birthday as a kind of first-fruits, and commanded the senators in all the other cities to give five denarii apiece. Of this, too, he saved nothing, but spent it all disgracefully on his wild beasts and his gladiators.

In public he nowhere drove chariots except sometimes on a moonless night, for, though he was eager to play the charioteer in public, too, he was ashamed to be seen doing so; but in private he was constantly

¹ Cf. *Exc. Val.* : “Commodus used to make many unusual expenditures, and for this reason neither his other revenues nor the funds provided by Cleander, though incalculable in amount, sufficed him, and he was compelled to bring charges against even women—charges not calling for capital punishment, yet full of vague terror and threats. In consequence he sold them their lives for a large price and got something from them by force under the guise of a voluntary offering.”

² See note on p. 54.

IDIUS ROMAN HISTORY

- χῶς τοῦτ' ἔπραττε, τῇ πρασίῳ σκευῇ χρώμενος.
 2 θηρία μέντοι πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ
 δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἔμονο-
 μάχει, οἴκοι μὲν ὥστε καὶ φονεύειν τινά (ἐν ξυρῶ
 τε ἐτέρων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀφαιρῶν, παρέτεμνε
 τῶν μὲν ῥίνα τῶν δὲ οὖς τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τι), ἐν δὲ
 τῷ κοινῷ ἄνευ σιδήρου καὶ ἄνευ αἵματος ἀνθρω-
 3 πείου. ἐνέδυνε¹ δέ, πρὶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θέατρον
 ἐσιέναι, χιτῶνα χειριδωτὸν σηρικὸν λευκὸν διά-
 χρυσον² (καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γε³ αὐτὸν τῷ σχήματι
 ὄντα ἠσπαζόμεθα), ἐσιῶν δὲ ὀλοπόρφυρον χρυσῷ
 κατάπαστον, χλαμύδα τε ὁμοίαν τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν
 τρόπον λαμβάνων, καὶ στέφανον ἔκ τε λίθων
 Ἰνδικῶν καὶ ἔκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένον, κηρύκειόν
 4 τε τοιοῦτον φέρων ὁποῖον ὁ Ἑρμῆς. ἡ γὰρ λεοντῆ
 τό τε ῥόπαλον ἐν τε ταῖς ὁδοῖς προεφέρετο αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐπιχρύσου, εἴτε
 παρείη εἴτε καὶ ἀπείη,⁴ ἐτίθετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ
 τοῦ Ἑρμῆος σχήματι ἐσήει τε ἐς τὸ θέατρον, καὶ
 ἀπορρίψας τὰ ἄλλα οὕτως ἐν τῷ χιτῶνι ἀνυπό-
 5 δητος ἔργου εἶχετο.
- 18 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἄρκτους τε ἑκατὸν
 αὐτὸς μόνος, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς περιβολῆς τῆς
 κρηπίδος ἀκοντίζων, ἀπέκτεινε· διείληπτο γὰρ
 τὸ θέατρον πᾶν συμπήκτοις τισὶ διαμέτροις, τήν
 τε στέγην περίδρομον ἔχουσι καὶ διχῆν τέμνουσιν
 ἀλληλα, ἵν' ἐξ ὀλίγου πανταχόθεν τετραχῆν τὰ
 2 θηρία μεμερισμένα ῥᾶον ἀκοντίζηται. καὶ ἔπιεν
 ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ καμών, κύλικι ῥοπαλωτῇ παρὰ

¹ ἐνέδυνε Bk., ἐνέδου VC.

² διάχρυσον Camerarius, στάχρυσον VC.

³ γε Bk., τε VC.

⁴ παρείη—ἀπείη Bk., παρήει—ἀπήει VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γυναικὸς γλυκὺν οἶνον ἐψυγμένον λαβῶν, ἀμυστί·
 ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡμεῖς παραχρῆμα πάντες·
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις εἰωθὸς λέγεσθαι
 ἐξεβοήσαμεν, “ζήσειας.”¹—Xiph. 275, 19—278,
 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 321, 322, 323, 324, Suid. s. vv.
 ἀμυστί *et* κύλιξ ῥοπαλωτή.

- 3 Καὶ μὴ μέ τις κηλιδοῦν τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκον,
 ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συγγράφω, νομίση. ἄλλως
 μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶπον αὐτά· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὸ
 τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγένετο καὶ παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ
 καὶ εἶδον ἕκαστα καὶ ἤκουσα καὶ ἐλάλησα, δίκαιον
 ἠγησάμην μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αὐτά, ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἀναγκαιο-
 τάτων, τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐσέπειτα ἐσομένων παρα-
 4 δοῦναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐπ’
 ἐμοῦ πραχθέντα καὶ λεπτουργήσω καὶ λεπτο-
 λογήσω μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρότερα, ὅτι τε συνεγενόμην
 αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅτι μηδένα ἄλλον οἶδα τῶν τι δυνα-
 μένων ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀξίαν λόγου καταθέσθαι
 διηκριβωκότα αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ἐμοί.
- 19 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτ’ ἐγένετο· ἐν
 δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοτὲ μὲν βοτὰ, κάτω ἐς τὸ τοῦ
 κύκλου ἔδαφος καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν, ὅσα ἐπλή-
 σίαζε, τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαγόμενα ἢ καὶ ἐν δικτύοις
 αὐτῷ προσφερόμενα, κατέκοπτε, καὶ τίγριν ἔσφα-
 2 ξεν ἵππον τε ποτάμιον καὶ ἐλέφαντα. πράξας
 δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρίστου
 ἐμονομάχει. ἤσκει δὲ καὶ ἐχρήτο τῇ ὀπλίσει τῇ
 τοῦ σεκούτορος καλουμένου, τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἐν
 τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ δὲ ξίφος τὸ ξύλινον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ

¹ ζήσειας VC Suid., ζήσεις cod. Peir.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

some chilled sweet wine in a cup shaped like a club, A.D. 192
he drank it at one gulp. At this both the populace and we [senators] all immediately shouted out the words so familiar at drinking-bouts, "Long life to you!"

And let no one feel that I am sullyng the dignity of history by recording such occurrences. On most accounts, to be sure, I should not have mentioned this exhibition; but since it was given by the emperor himself, and since I was present myself and took part in everything seen, heard and spoken, I have thought proper to suppress none of the details, but to hand them down, trivial as they are, to the memory of those who shall live hereafter, just like any events of the greatest weight and importance. And, indeed, all the other events that took place in my lifetime I shall describe with more exactness and detail than earlier occurrences, for the reason that I was present when they happened and know no one else, among those who have any ability at writing a worthy record of events, who has so accurate a knowledge of them as I.

On the first day, then, the events that I have described took place. On the other days he descended to the arena from his place above and cut down all the domestic animals that approached him and some also that were led up to him or were brought before him in nets. He also killed a tiger, a hippopotamus, and an elephant. Having performed these exploits, he would retire, but later, after luncheon, would fight as a gladiator. The form of contest that he practised and the armour that he used were those of the *secutores*, as they were called: he held the shield in his right hand and the wooden

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- ἔχων· καὶ πάνυ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει ὅτι
 3 ἦν ἐπαρίστερος. ἀντηγωνίζετο δὲ αὐτῷ γυμναστής
 τις ἢ καὶ μονομάχος νάρθηκα ἔχων, ἔστι μὲν ὅτε
 ὄν αὐτὸς προεκαλεῖτο, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε ὄν ὁ δῆμος
 ἠρεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰλλα ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς
 ἄλλοις μονομάχοις ἐποίει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι
 μὲν ὀλίγον τι λαμβάνοντες ἐσίασι, τῷ δὲ δὴ
 Κομμόδῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καθ' ἐκάστην
 ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν μονομαχικῶν χρημάτων ἐδίδοντο.
 4 παρειστήκεσαν δὲ αὐτῷ μαχομένῳ Αἰμίλιός τε
 Λαῖτος ὁ ἑπαρχος καὶ ¹ Ἐκλεκτος ὁ πρόκοιτος,
 οὓς ² καὶ σκιαμαχήσας καὶ νικήσας δῆλον ὅτι
 ἐφίλει ὥσπερ εἶχε διὰ τοῦ κράνους. καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐμάχοντο. καὶ τῇ γε πρώτῃ
 ἡμέρᾳ αὐτὸς πάντας σφᾶς κάτωθεν, τό τε τοῦ
 Ἑρμοῦ σχῆμα πᾶν μετ' ἐπιχρύσου ράβδου λαβὼν
 καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὁμοίου ἀναβάς, συνέβαλεν· ὅπερ
 5 πού καὶ ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ ἔσχομεν. καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε τὴν συνήθη ἔδραν ἀνήει καὶ ἐκεῖθεν
 τὰ λοιπὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐθεώρει· ἐπράττετο δ' οὐδὲν
 ἔτι παιδιᾶς ἐχόμενον, ἀλλ' ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς
 ἀποθνήσκειν. καὶ δὴ ποτε βραδυνάντων τινῶν
 περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τοὺς τε ἀντιπάλους συνέδησεν
 ἀλλήλοις καὶ πάντας ἅμα μάχεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.
 6 κακὰ τούτου ἠγωνίσαντο μὲν εἰς πρὸς ἓνα οἱ συνδε-
 δεμένοι, ἔσφαξαν δὲ τινες καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν προσή-
 κοντάς σφισιν, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τῆς
 στενοχωρίας ἐμπελασθέντες αὐτοῖς.
 20 Τοιαύτη μὲν τὸ σῦμπαν ἢ θέα ἐκείνη τέσσαρσι
 καὶ δέκα ἡμέραις ἐγένετο· ἀγωνιζομένου δ' αὐτοῦ.

¹ καὶ Bk., καὶ δ VC.

² οὓς supplied by Reim.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀεὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων συνεφοιτῶμεν, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι Πομπηϊανὸς Κλαύδιος ὁ γέρων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ἀπήντησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς ἔπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδέποτε ἀφίκετο, αἰρούμενος ἀποσφαγῆναι ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου παῖδα ἐπιδεῖν
 2 τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντα. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπεβοῶμεν τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκελευόμεθα, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνεχῶς, “καὶ κύριος εἶ καὶ πρῶτος εἶ καὶ πάντων εὐτυχέστατος. νικᾶς, νικήσεις.¹ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος, Ἀμαζόνιε, νικᾶς.” τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ δήμου πολλοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον, εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ παρακύψαντες ἀπηλλάττοντο τὸ μὲν τι² αἰσχυνόμενοι τοῖς ποιουμένοις, τὸ δὲ καὶ δεδιότες, ἐπειδὴ λόγος διῆλθεν ὅτι τοξεῦσαί τινας ἐθελήσει ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Στυμφαλίδας.
 3 καὶ ἐπιστεύθη γε οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ἐπειδὴ ποτε πάντας τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑπὸ νόσου ἢ καὶ ἑτέρας τινὸς συμφορᾶς ἐστερημένους ἀθροίσας δρακόντων τέ τινα αὐτοῖς εἶδη περὶ τὰ γόνατα περιέπλεξε, καὶ σπόγγους ἀντὶ λίθων βάλλειν δούς ἀπέκτεινέ σφας ῥοπάλῳ παίων ὡς γίγαντας.—*Xiph.* 278, 4—279, 26 *R. St., Exc. Val.* 325, 326.

21 Οὗτος μὲν ὁ φόβος πᾶσι κοινὸς καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦν· ἔπραξε δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι τοιούδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἐξ οὗ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἀπολείσθαι προσεδοκήσαμεν. στρουθὸν γὰρ ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμῶν προσῆλθεν ἔνθα ἐκαθήμεθα, τῇ τε ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ

¹ εὐτυχέστατος. νικᾶς νικήσεις *R. Steph.*, εὐτυχεστάτας νίκας νικήσεις *VC Zon.*

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

was fighting, we senators together with the knights A.D. 192 always attended. Only Claudius Pompeianus the elder never appeared, but sent his sons, while remaining away himself; for he preferred even to be killed for this rather than to behold the emperor, the son of Marcus, conducting himself in such a fashion. For among other things that we did, we would shout out whatever we were commanded, and especially these words continually: "Thou art lord and thou art first, of all men most fortunate. Victor thou art, and victor thou shalt be; from everlasting, Amazonian, thou art victor." But of the populace in general, many did not enter the amphitheatre at all, and others departed after merely glancing inside, partly from shame at what was going on, partly also from fear, inasmuch as a report spread abroad that he would want to shoot a few of the spectators in imitation of Hercules and the Stymphalian birds. And this story was believed, too, because he had once got together all the men in the city who had lost their feet as the result of disease or some accident, and then, after fastening about their knees some likenesses of serpents' bodies, and giving them sponges to throw instead of stones, had killed them with blows of a club, pretending that they were giants.

This fear was shared by all, by us [senators] as well as by the rest. And here is another thing that he did to us senators which gave us every reason to look for our death. Having killed an ostrich and cut off its head, he came up to where we were sitting, holding the head in his left hand and in

² τὶ H. Steph., τοὶ VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐκείνην καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ἡματωμένον ἀνα-
 2 τείνας, καὶ εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ σεσηρῶς ἐκίνησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι καὶ
 ἡμᾶς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δράσει. καὶ συχνοὶ παρα-
 χρήμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ γελάσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν τῷ
 ξίφει (γέλως γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀλλ' οὐ λύπη ἔλαβεν),
 εἰ μὴ δάφνης φύλλα, ἃ ἐκ τοῦ στεφάνου εἶχον,
 αὐτὸς τε διέτραγον¹ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πλησίον
 μου καθημένους διατραγεῖν ἔπεισα, ἵν' ἐν τῇ τοῦ
 στόματος συνεχεῖ κινήσει τὸν τοῦ γελᾶν ἔλεγχον
 ἀποκρυψώμεθα.

3 Τοιούτων δ' οὖν τούτων γενομένων παρεμυθή-
 σατο ἡμᾶς ὅτι μέλλων αὐθις μονομαχῆσαι παρήγ-
 γειλεν ἡμῖν ἐν τε τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἱππάδι καὶ ἐν
 ταῖς² μανδύαις ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσελθεῖν, ὅπερ οὐκ
 ἄλλως ποιούμεν ἐσιόντες ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ τῶν
 αὐτοκρατόρων τις μεταλλάξειε, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ
 τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ κράνος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς πύλας
 καθ' ἃς οἱ τελευτῶντες ἐκφέρονται ἐξεκομίσθη.
 ἐκ γὰρ τούτων καὶ πάνυ πᾶσι πάντως ἀπαλλαγὴ
 τις αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι ἐνομίζετο.

22 Ἀπέθανέ γέ τοι, μάλλον δὲ ἀνηρέθη, οὐκ ἐς
 μακρὰν. ὁ γὰρ Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἐκλεκτος ἀχθόμενοι
 αὐτῷ δι' ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ φοβηθέντες
 (ἠπεῖλει γὰρ σφίσιν, ὅτι ἐκωλύετο ταῦτα ποιεῖν),
 2 ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. ὁ γὰρ Κόμμοδος ἀμφοτέρους
 ἀνελεῖν ἐβούλετο τοὺς ὑπάτους, Ἐρύκιόν τε
 Κλᾶρον καὶ Σόσσιον Φάλκωνα,³ καὶ ὑπατὸς τε
 ἅμα καὶ σεκούτωρ ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου
 ἐν ᾧ οἱ μονομάχοι τρέφονται προελθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ
 τὸν οἶκον τὸν πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ εἰς ἕξ

¹ διέτραγον Dind., διέφαγον VC.

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- 3 αὐτῶν ὧν, εἶχε. καὶ μηδεὶς ἀπιστήση· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ κολοσσοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν καὶ ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιθείς, καὶ ῥόπαλον δούς λέοντά τέ τινα χαλκοῦν ὑποθείς ὡς Ἡρακλεῖ εἰκέναι, ἐπέγραψε πρὸς τοῖς δηλωθείσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπωνύμοις καὶ τοῦτο, “πρωτόπαλος σεκουτόρων, ἀριστερὸς μόνος νικήσας δωδεκάκις” οἶμαι “χιλίους.”¹—*Xiph.* 279, 26—280, 24 R. St.
- 4 Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ τε Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἐκλεκτός ἐπέθεντό αὐτῷ, κοινωσάμενοι καὶ τῇ Μαρκία τὸ βούλευμα. ἐν γοῦν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσχολίαν περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐχόντων, φάρμακον διὰ τῆς Μαρκίας ἐν
 β κρέασι βοείοις αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠδυνήθη παραχρῆμα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ οἴνου ὑπὸ τε τῶν λουτρῶν, οἷς αἰεὶ ἀπλήστως ἐχρήτο, φθαρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξήμεσέ τι κακ τοῦτου ὑποτοπήσας αὐτὸ ἠπείλει τινά, οὕτω δὴ Νάρκισσόν τινα γυμναστὴν ἐπέπεμψαν² αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου λούμενον³ αὐτὸν
 β ἀπέπνιξαν. τῷ μὲν οὖν Κομμόδῳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα καὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄρξαντι, ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα ἕν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας· καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ οἰκία ἡ τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς Αὐρηλίων αὐταρχοῦσα ἐπαύσατο.
- 23 Πόλεμοι δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στάσεις μέγισται συνέβησαν, συνέθηκα δ' ἐγὼ τούτων τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαῦσδε. βιβλίον τι περὶ τῶν

¹ Cf. *Petr. Patr.* : . . . ἔγραψεν Λούκιος Κόμοδος Ἡρακλῆς
^{3a} ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ φερόμενον ἐπίγραμμα γέγονεν ὅτι

<ὁ τοῦ> Διδὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς
 οὐκ εἶμι Λούκιος, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζουσί με.

—*Exc. Vat.* 124 (p. 225 Mai. = p. 208, 18—23 Dind.).

² ἐπέπεμψαν *Sylb.*, ἔπεμψαν *VC.*

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

he were one of them. Let no one doubt this state-^{A.D. 192}ment. Indeed, he actually cut off the head of the Colossus, and substituted for it a likeness of his own head; then, having given it a club and placed a bronze lion at its feet, so as to cause it to look like Hercules, he inscribed on it, in addition to the list of his titles which I have already indicated, these words: "Champion of *secutores*; only left-handed fighter to conquer twelve times (as I recall the number) one thousand men."¹

For these reasons Laetus and Eclectus attacked him, after making Marcia their confidant. At any rate, on the last day of the year, at night, when people were busy with the holiday, they caused Marcia to administer poison to him in some beef. But the immoderate use of wine and baths, which was habitual with him, kept him from succumbing at once, and instead he vomited up some of it; and thus suspecting the truth, he indulged in some threats. Then they sent Narcissus, an athlete, against him, and caused this man to strangle him while he was taking a bath. Such was the end of Commodus, after he had ruled twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He had lived thirty-one years and four months; and with him the line of the genuine Aurelii ceased to rule.

After this there occurred most violent wars and civil strife. I was inspired to write an account of these struggles by the following incident. I had

¹ Cf. Patr.: ". . . was written by Lucius Commodus Hercules, and upon it was inscribed the well-known couplet:

'Jove's son, victorious Hercules, am I,
Not Lucius, e'en though forced that name to bear.'"

³ λούμενον Dind., λούδμενον VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY.

ὄνειράτων καὶ τῶν σημείων δι' ὧν ὁ Σεουήρος
 τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἤλπισε, γράψας ἐδημο-
 2 σίενσα· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεῖνος πεμφθέντι παρ'
 ἐμοῦ ἐντυχῶν πολλά μοι καὶ καλὰ ἀντεπέστειλε.
 ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἤδη
 λαβὼν κατέδαρθον, καὶ μοι καθεύδοντι προσέταξε
 τὸ δαιμόνιον ἱστορίαν γράφειν.¹ καὶ οὕτω δὴ
 3 ταῦτα περὶ ὧν νῦν καθίσταμαι ἔγραψα. καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ γε τοῖς τε² ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Σεουήρῳ
 μάλιστα ἤρεσε, τότε δὴ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσήκοντα συνθεῖναι ἐπεθύμησα·
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ἰδίᾳ ἐκεῖνο ὑπολιπεῖν ἀλλ'
 ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔδοξε μοι, ἵν'
 ἐν μιᾷ πραγματείᾳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα, μέχρις ἂν
 4 καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ δόξῃ, γράψας καταλίπω. τὴν δὲ
 δὴ θεὸν ταύτην ἐπιρρωννύουσάν με πρὸς τὴν
 ἱστορίαν εὐλαβῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ὀκνηρῶς δια-
 κείμενον, καὶ πονούμενον ἀπαγορεύοντά τε ἀνα-
 κτωμένην δι' ὄνειράτων, καὶ καλὰς ἐλπίδας περὶ
 τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου διδοῦσάν μοι ὡς ὑπολειψο-
 μένου³ τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀμαυρώσοντος,
 ἐπίσκοπον τῆς τοῦ βίου διαγωγῆς, ὡς ἔοικεν,
 5 εἴληχα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῇ ἀνάκειμαι. συνέλεξα
 δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι τῆς
 Σεουήρου μεταλλαγῆς πραχθέντα ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα,
 καὶ συνέγραψα ἐν ἄλλοις δώδεκα· τὰ γὰρ λοιπά,
 ὅπου ἂν καὶ προχωρήσῃ, γεγράφεται.
 24 Πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Κομμόδου τελευταίας σημεία
 τάδε ἐγένετο· αἰετοί τε γὰρ περὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

¹ γράφειν Rk., γραφῆναι VC.

² τε Sylb., τότε VC.

³ ὑπολειψόμενου Reim., ὑπολειψόμενος VC.

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πολλοὶ καὶ ἔξεδροι ἐπλανῶντο, προσεπιφθεγγόμενοι οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον, καὶ βύας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔβυξε, πῦρ τε νύκτωρ ἀρθὲν ἐξ οἰκίας τινὸς καὶ ἐς τὸ Εἰρηναῖον ἐμπεσὸν τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων ἐπενείματο, ἔς τε τὸ παλάτιον μετεωρισθὲν ἐσῆλθε καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα φθαρῆναι. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δῆλου ἐγένετο ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ δεινὸν στήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτῆς ἀφίξεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ κατασβεσθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῃ χειρὶ ἠδυνήθη, καίτοι παμπόλλων μὲν ἰδιωτῶν παμπόλλων δὲ στρατιωτῶν ὑδροφορούντων, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐπελθόντος ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ ἐπισπέρχοντος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντα ὅσα κατέσχε διέφθειρεν, ἐξαναλωθὲν ἐπαύσατο.
—Xiph. 280, 24—282, 8, R. St.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

about the Capitol and moreover uttered screams that A.D. 192
boded nothing peaceful, and an owl hooted there ;
and a fire that began at night in some dwelling leaped
to the temple of Pax and spread to the storehouses
of Egyptian and Arabian wares, whence the flames,
borne aloft, entered the palace and consumed very
extensive portions of it, so that nearly all the State
records were destroyed. This, in particular, made
it clear that the evil would not be confined to the
City, but would extend over the entire civilized
world under its sway. For the conflagration could
not be extinguished by human power, though vast
numbers both of civilians and soldiers carried water,
and Commodus himself came in from the suburb
and encouraged them. Only when it had destroyed
everything on which it had laid hold did it spend its
force and die out.

ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ ΟΦ. ΒΟΟΚ LXXIV

LXXIV Περτίναξ δὲ ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν, ἦρξε
 1, 1 δὲ πάνυ βραχύν τινα χρόνον, εἶτα πρὸς τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν ἀνηρέθη. λανθάνοντος γὰρ ἔτι τοῦ
 γεγενημένου περὶ τὸν Κόμμοδον ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν
 οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐκλεκτον καὶ Λαῖτον, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν
 ἐμήνυσαν.¹ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα
 2 αὐτοῦ ἠδέως αὐτὸν ἐπελέξαντο. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς
 ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ἀκούσας ὧν ἔλεγον, ἔπεμψε τὸν
 πιστότατον τῶν ἐταίρων τὸ σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Κομ-
 μόδου ὀψόμενον. ὡς δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐβεβαιώσατο,
 οὕτω δὴ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κρύφα ἐσεκομίσθη,
 καὶ ἔκπληξιν μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέσχε, τῇ
 δὲ δὴ παρουσίᾳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Λαῖτον, καὶ ἐξ ὧν
 ὑπέσχετο (τρισχιλίας γὰρ αὐτοῖς δραχμὰς κατ'
 ἄνδρα δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο²), προσεποιήσατο
 3 αὐτούς. κὰν πάντως ἠσύχασαν, εἰ μὴ τελευτῶν
 τὸν λόγον³ ὧδέ πως εἶπε, “πολλὰ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες
 συστρατιῶται, καὶ δυσχερῆ τῶν παρόντων ἐστίν,
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐθις σὺν ὑμῖν⁴ ἐπανορθώ-
 σεται.” ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπετόπησαν πάντα
 τὰ ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς
 δεδομένα καταλυθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἐδυσκόλαναν μὲν,
 ἠσύχασαν δὲ ὅμως ἐπικρύπτοντες τὴν ὀργήν.
 4 ἐξελθὼν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον

¹ ἐμήνυσαν H. Steph., ἐνόμισαν VC.

² ἐπηγγείλατο Bk., ἐψηφίσατο VC.

³ τελευτῶν τὸν λόγον Rk., τελευτὴν τῶν λόγων VC.

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νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἡμᾶς
 ὅπως τις, οἷα ἐν ὀμίλῳ καὶ ἐν ὠθισμῷ τοσοῦτω,
 προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἠδυνήθη, ἔπειτα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτο-
 σχεδίου εἶπεν ὅτι “ὠνόμασμαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, οὐδὲν μέντοι τῆς ἀρχῆς
 δέομαι, ἀλλ’ ἐξίσταμαι ἤδη καὶ τήμερον αὐτῆς
 διὰ τε τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀρρωστίαν καὶ
 5 διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχέρειαν.” λεχθέντων
 δὲ καὶ ἐπηνούμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γνώμης καὶ ὡς
 ἀληθῶς ἠρούμεθα· τὴν τε γὰρ ψυχὴν ἄριστος
 ἦν καὶ τῷ σώματι ἔρρωτο, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον βραχύ
 τι ὑπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐνεποδίζετο.

2 Καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε Περτίναξ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ
 Κόμμοδος πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, πολλὰ γε ἐς
 αὐτὸν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου
 συμβοησάντων. ἠθέλησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ
 σῶμα αὐτοῦ σῦραι καὶ διασπάσαι ὥσπερ καὶ
 τὰς εἰκόνας, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Περτίνακος τῇ γῆ
 ἤδη τὸν νεκρὸν κεκρύφθαι, τοῦ μὲν σώματος
 ἀπέσχοντο, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἐνεφοροῦντο, οὐδὲν ὅ
 τι οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντες· Κόμμοδον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς
 οὐδ’ αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμαζεν, ἀλιτήριον δέ
 τινα καὶ τύραννον ἀποκαλοῦντες προσετίθεσαν
 ἐπίσκόπτοντες τὸν μονομάχον, τὸν ἄρματηλάτην,
 3 τὸν ἀριστερόν, τὸν κηλήτην. τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς,
 ὅσοις καὶ μάλιστα¹ ἐκ τοῦ Κομμόδου φόβος
 ἐπήρτητο,² ὁ ὄχλος ἐπέλεγεν “εὐγε εὐγε,³
 ἐσώθης, ἐνίκησας.” ὅσα τε εἰώθεσαν ἐν τοῖς
 θεάτροις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμόδου θεραπείᾳ εὐρύθ-
 μως πως ἐκβοᾶν, ταῦτα τότε μετασχηματί-

¹ καὶ μάλιστα Sylb., μάλιστα καὶ VC.

² ἐπήρτητο Kuiper, ἐπήρτο VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

it was still night, and after greeting us, so far as it was possible for anyone to approach him in the midst of such a jostling throng, he said off-hand: "I have been named emperor by the soldiers; however, I do not want the office and shall resign it at once, this very day, because of my age and feeble health, and because of the distressing state of affairs." This was no sooner said than we gave him our genuine approbation and chose him in very truth; for he was not only most noble in spirit but also strong in body, except that he suffered from a slight impediment in walking by reason of his feet.

In this way was Pertinax declared emperor and Commodus a public enemy, after both the senate and the populace had joined in shouting many bitter words against the latter. They wanted to drag off his body and tear it limb from limb, as they did do, in fact, with his statues; but when Pertinax informed them that the corpse had already been interred, they spared his remains, but glutted their rage against him in other ways, calling him all sorts of names. For no one called him Commodus or emperor; instead they referred to him as an accursed wretch and a tyrant, adding in jest such terms as "the gladiator," "the charioteer," "the left-handed," "the ruptured." To those senators on whom the fear of Commodus had rested most heavily, the crowd called out: "Huzza! Huzza! You are saved; you have won." Indeed, all the shouts that they had been accustomed to utter with a kind of rhythmic swing in the amphitheatres, by way of paying court to Commodus, they now chanted with

⁸ εὖγε εὖγε Casaubon, ἄγε ἄγε VC.

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4 ζοντες ἐς τὸ γελοϊότατον ἐξῆδον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀπηλλαγμένοι, τὸν δὲ οὐδέπω φοβούμενοι, τό τε διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ὡς ἐλεύθεροι ἐκαρποῦντο, καὶ ἀξίωμα παρρησίας ἐν τῷ ἀδεεῖ αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκει σφίσι τὸ μηκέτι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ ἐξυβρίζειν ἤθελον.—Xiph. 282, 15—283, 29 R. St.

3 Ἦν δὲ ὁ Περτίναξ Λίγυς¹ ἐξ Ἀλβης Πομπηίας, πατρὸς οὐκ εὐγενοῦς, γράμματα ὅσον ἀποζην ἐξ αὐτῶν ἠσκημένος. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Πομπηιανῷ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ συνεγεγόνει, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν² ἐν τοῖς ἰππεύσει χιλιαρχήσας ἐς τοῦτο προεχώρησεν ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ
2 αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ ἔγωγε τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ Περτίνακος καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἔσχατον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τὸν Πομπηιανὸν εἶδον· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ τὸν Κόμμοδον διῆγε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλάχιστα κατέβαινέ, τό τε γῆρας καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νόσημα προβαλλόμενος, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅτε πρότερον ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἐς τὴν γερουσία³ ἐσῆλθε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ τὸν Περτίνακα πάλιν ἐνόσει· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου καὶ ἔβλεπε καὶ ἔρρωτο³ καὶ ἐβούλευε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Περτίναξ τά τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήθρου ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρεκάθιζεν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Γλαβρίωνα τὸν Ἀκίλιον ἐποίει· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
4 τότε καὶ ἤκουεν καὶ ἔβλεπε. τούτους μὲν οὖν

¹ Λίγυς Xyl., λίβυς VC.

² δι' αὐτόν Bk., κατὰ τοῦτ' VC.

³ ἔρρωτο Rk., ἐῶρα cod. Peir. (ἐπὶ γάρ — ἐβούλευε om. VC).

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ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα, ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν δημο-
 τικώτατα· καὶ γὰρ εὐπροσήγορος ἦν, ἤκουέ τε
 ἐτοίμως ὅ τι τις ἀξιοίη, καὶ ἀπεκρίνετο ἀνθρω-
 πίνως ὅσα αὐτῷ δοκοίη. εἰστία τε ἡμᾶς σωφρό-
 νως· καὶ ὅποτε μὴ τοῦτο ποιοίη, διέπεμπεν
 ἄλλοις ἄλλα καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα. καὶ αὐτὸν
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι καὶ μεγάλαυχοι
 διεγέλων, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, οἷς ἀρετὴ ἀσελγείας
 προτιμότερα ἦν, ἐπηνοῦμεν.—*Xiph. 283, 29—284,*
12 R. St., Exc. Val. 327 (p. 729).

2, 5. "Ὅτι τρισυῦτον τὸ διάφορον τῆς περὶ Περτί-
 νακος δόξης πρὸς τὸν Κόμμοδον πάντες εἶχον,
 ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὰ γεγονότα¹ ὑποπτεύειν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐπὶ πείρα
 καθεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 ἔθνεσιν ἀρχόντων τοὺς ἀγγείλαντάς σφισιν αὐτὰ
 6 καταδῆσαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελον ἀληθῆ εἶναι,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο δόξαι τὸν Κόμμοδὸν
 ἀπολωλέναι βεβουλῆσθαι² ἢ τῷ Περτίνακι μὴ
 προστίθασθαι,³ διότι τὸν μὲν καὶ ἀμαρτῶν τι
 τοιοῦτο πᾶς ἐθάρσει, τὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἀνα-
 μάρτητος ὢν.—*Exc. Val. 328 (p. 729).*

4 ἵππε· Ἐτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βρεττανία μετὰ τὴν μεγά-
 λην ἐκείνην στάσιν ἦν ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐπαίνων παρὰ
 πᾶσιν ἀξιουμένου, ἵππος τις ὄνομα Περτίναξ
 ἐνίκησεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ· ἦν δὲ τῶν πράσιων καὶ
 2 ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐσπουδάζετο. τῶν οὖν στα-
 σιωτῶν αὐτοῦ μέγα ἀναβοησάντων, καὶ εἰπόντων

¹ γεγονότα Val., γεγονότατα cod. Peir.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

conducted himself in a very democratic manner A.D. 193 toward us [senators]; for he was easy of access, listened readily to anyone's requests, and in answer gave his own opinion in a kindly way. Again, he used to give us banquets marked by moderation; and whenever he did not do this, he would send round various dishes, even the most inexpensive, to different ones of us. For this the wealthy and vain-glorious made great sport of him; but the rest of us, who valued virtue above licentiousness, approved his course:

So different was the opinion of everybody regarding Pertinax as contrasted with Commodus, that when people heard what had happened, they suspected that the story of his assassination had been put forth by Commodus to test them, and in consequence many of the governors in the provinces imprisoned the men who brought the news. It was not that they did not wish the report to be true, but that they were more afraid of appearing to have desired the death of Commodus than they were of failing to attach themselves to Pertinax. For of the latter no one, even if he committed an error so serious as this, was afraid, but of the former, every one, even if innocent of wrong-doing.

While Pertinax was still in Britain, after that great revolt which he quelled, and was being accounted worthy of praise on all sides, a horse named Pertinax won a race at Rome. It belonged to the Greens and was favoured by Commodus. So, when its partisans raised a great shout, crying, "It

² βεβουλησθαι supplied by Bs.

³ Περτίνακι μὴ προστίθεσθαι Val., Περτίναξι προτίθεσθαι cod. Peir.

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- αὐτὸ¹ τοῦτο· “Περτίναξ ἐστίν,” οἱ ἕτεροὶ οἱ ἀντιστασιωταί² σφῶν, οἷά· που· ἀχθόμενοι τῷ Κομμόδῳ, προσεπέυξαντο, εἰπόντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, “εἰ γὰρ ὄφειλεν εἶναι.”³ ὕστερον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἵππῴον ἀπαλλαγέντα τε τῶν δρόμων ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως καὶ ἐν ἄγρῳ ὄντα μετεπέμψατο ὁ Κόμμοδος, καὶ ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον τὰς τε ὅπλας αὐτοῦ κατὰ χρυσώσας καὶ τὰ νῶτα³ δέρματι ἐπιχρύσῳ κόσμήσας· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξαπίνης ἰδόντες ἀνεβόησαν αὖθις “Περτίναξ ἐστί.” καὶ ἦν μὲν που μαντικὸν αὐτὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ τὸ λεχθέν, ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐν τῷ ετεὶ ἐκείνῳ ἵπποδρομία ἐγένετο, καὶ εὐθύς ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὸν Περτίνακα περιῆλθεν· ἐλογοποιήθη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ροπάλου τὰ ὅμοια, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Περτίνακι αὐτὸ ὁ Κόμμοδος μονομαχήσειν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλων ἔδωκεν.
- 5 Οὕτω μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Περτίναξ κατέστη, καὶ ἔλαβε τὰς τε ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις τὰς προσηκούσας καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ δημοτικῷ εἶναι βούλεσθαι· πρόκριτος γὰρ τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπωνομάσθη· καὶ εὐθύς ἐς κῆσμον ὅσα πρὶν πλημμελῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀτάκτως, καθίστατο·
- 2 φιλανθρωπία τε γὰρ καὶ χρηστότης καὶ οἰκονομία βελτίστη καὶ πρόνοια τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐπιμελεστάτη περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα διεδείκνυτο· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἂν ἀγαθὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἔπραττεν ὁ Περτίναξ, καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀφείλε τῶν ἀδίκως πεφονευμένων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπώμοσε
- 3 μηδέποτε τοιαύτην δίκην προσδέξεσθαι.⁴ καὶ

¹ αὐτό Reim., αὐτῷ VC.

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αὐτίκα οἱ μὲν τοὺς συγγενεῖς οἱ δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἀνεκάλουν μετὰ δακρύων ὁμοῦ καὶ χαρᾶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο πρὶν ἐξῆν ποιεῖν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνορύττοντες τὰ σώματα, οἱ μὲν ὀλόκληρα οἱ δὲ μέρη, ὡς που ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἢ τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἢ τοῦ χρόνου εἶχεν, εὐθέτουν καὶ ἐς τὰ προγονικὰ μνημεῖα ἀπετίθεντο.

4 Τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα τότε τὸ βασίλειον εἶχεν ἀχρηματία ὥστε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες δραχμῶν μόναι εὐρέθησαν. χαλεπῶς δ' οὖν ὁ Περτίναξ ἔκ τε τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ τῶν ὄπλων τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ τῶν παιδικῶν τῶν τοῦ Κομμόδου ἀγείρας ἀργύριον, τοῖς τε δορυφόροις ἔδωκεν ὅσα ὑπέσχητο,¹ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
5 καθ' ἑκατὸν² δραχμάς. σύμπαντα γὰρ ὅσα ὁ Κόμμοδος ἐπὶ τε τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ ἐς ὀπλομαχίαν ἢ καὶ ἐς ἀρματήλασίαν ἐκέκτητο, ἐς τὸ πωλητήριον ἐξετέθη, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον πῆρας ἕνεκα, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν τε ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν διαιτημάτων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν ὠνησομένων αὐτά.—Xiph. 284, 12—285, 19. R. St.

6 Ὁ δὲ Λαῖτος τὸν Περτίνακα δι' εὐφημίας ἤγε καὶ τὸν Κόμμοδον ὕβριζε.³ βαρβάρους γοῦν τινὰς χρυσίον παρ' αὐτοῦ πολὺ ἐπ' εἰρηνη εἰληφότας μεταπέμψάμενος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐν ὁδῷ ἦσαν) ἀπήτησεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι “λέγετε τοῖς οἴκοι Περτίνακα ἀρχεῖν” ἤδεσαν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξ ὧν ἐπεπόνθησαν ὅτε

¹ ὑπέσχητο Bk., ὑπέσχετο VC Zon.

² ἑκατόν Zon., ἕκαστον VC.

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their relatives and others their friends with mingled A.D. 193
tears and joy, even these exhibitions of emotion not having been permitted formerly. After this they exhumed the bodies, some of which were found intact and some in fragments, according to the manner of death or the lapse of time in each case; and after duly arranging them, they deposited them in their ancestral tombs.

At this time, then, there was such a dearth of funds in the imperial treasury that only a million sesterces could be found. Pertinax therefore raised money as best he could from the statues, the arms, the horses, the furniture, and the favourites of Commodus, and gave to the Pretorians all that he had promised and to the populace a hundred denarii per man. Indeed, all the articles that Commodus had collected, whether as luxuries or for gladiatorial combats or for chariot-driving, were exposed in the auction-room, primarily, of course, to be sold; yet with the further purpose of showing up the late emperor's deeds and practices, and also of finding out who their purchasers would be.

Laetus kept speaking well of Pertinax and abusing Commodus.¹ For instance, he sent after some barbarians who had received a large sum of gold from Commodus for making peace (they were still on their way), and demanded its return, telling them to inform their people at home that Pertinax was ruler; for the barbarians knew his name only too well because of the reverses they had suffered

¹ Cf. Exc. Val.: "Laetus kept showing up all the evil deeds of Commodus."

² Cf. Exc. Val. 329 (p. 730): ὅτι ὁ Λαίτος [ὁ ὕπατος] ὅσα κακῶς ἐποίησεν ὁ Κόμμοδος ἐξήλεγχεν.

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- 2 μετὰ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐστρατεύετο.¹ καὶ ἕτερον δέ τι τοιούδε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμόδου διαβολῇ, ὁμοίως ἔπραξε. κοπρίας τινὰς καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς αἰσχιστὰ μὲν τὰ εἶδη αἰσχίω δὲ τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχοντας καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑβριν τὴν τε ἀσέλγειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ὑπερπλουτοῦντας εὐρών, ἐδημοσίευσεν τὰς τε προσηγορίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γέλωσι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀργῇ τε καὶ λύπῃ, τοσαῦτα γὰρ τινες αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ἦσαν ἐφ' ὅσοις
- 3 ἐκεῖνος πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐσφάκει. οὐ μόντοι γε καὶ δι' ὅλου ὁ Λαίτος πιστὸς ἔμεινε τῷ Περτίνακι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἐν ἀκαρεῖ ὧν γὰρ ἤθελε μὴ τυγχάνων προσπαρώξυνε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς λελέξεται, κατ' αὐτοῦ.—Xiph. 285, 19—286, 3 R. St., Exc. Val. 329, 330.
- 7 Τὸν μὲν οὖν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ² ὁ Περτίναξ τὸν Σουλπίκιανὸν τὸν Φλάουιον³ πολιάρχῃν ἔταξε, καὶ ἄλλως ἄξιον ὄντα τούτου τυχεῖν οὔτε δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα Αὐγουσταν οὔτε τὸν υἱὸν Καίσαρα, καίπερ ψηφισαμένων ἡμῶν, ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν,
- 2 ἀλλ' ἐκάτερον ἰσχυρῶς διεκρούσατο, εἴτ' οὖν ὅτι μηδέπω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐρριζώκει, εἴτε καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνην τε ἀκολασταίνουσαν οὐκ ἠβουλήθη τὸ τῆς Αὐγουστής ὄνομα μιᾶναι, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν παιδίον ἔτι ὄντα οὐκ ἠθέλησε, πρὶν παιδευθῆναι, τῷ τε ὄγκῳ⁴ καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος δια-
- 3 φθαρῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αὐτὸν ἔτρεφέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ⁵ πρότερον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθὺς ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθέμενος,

¹ ἐστρατεύετο R. Steph., ἐστράτευτο VC cod. Peir. 1)

² αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.

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ταῦτά τε τοῖς τέκνοις διένειμε (καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρα εἶχε) καὶ παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ δαιτᾶσθαι αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσεν, ὀλίγα ἅττα αὐτοῖς, ὡς πατὴρ καὶ οὐχ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ, συγγινόμενος.—*Xiph.* 286, 3–15 R. St.

- 8 Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀρπάζειν οὔτε τοῖς Καισαρείοις ἀσελγαίνειν ἔτι ἐξῆν, δεινῶς οὔτοι ἐμίσουν αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Καισάρειοι οὐδέν, ἅτε καὶ ἄοπλοι¹ ὄντες, ἐνεωτέρισαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ ὁ
 2 Λαῖτος ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ὑπατον Φάλκωνα, ὅτι καὶ γένει καὶ χρήμασιν ἤκμαζεν, αὐτοκράτορα² ἐπιλέγονται, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἐσάξειν, τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παρασκευὴν ἐξε-
 3 τάζοντος, ἤμελλον. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθε, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔφη· “οὐ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ὦ πατέρες, ὅτι πέντε πού καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας δραχμῶν εὐρῶν τοσοῦτον τοῖς στρατιώταις διένειμα ὅσον³ Μάρκος τε καὶ Λούκιος, οἷς ἑξακισμύρια καὶ ἑπτακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια
 4 μυριάδες κατελείφθησαν. ἀλλ' αἴτιοι τῆς ἀχρηματίας ταύτης οἱ θαυμαστοὶ Καισάρειοι γεγόνασι.” καὶ ἐψεύσατο μὲν ὁ Περτίναξ ὅτι ἐπ' ἴσης τῷ Λουκίῳ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδώρησατο (οἱ⁴ μὲν γὰρ ἐς πεντακισχιλίας ὁ δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίας αὐτοῖς ἐδεδώκει), οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι παρόντες ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ (πάμπολλοι δὲ ἦσαν) δεινῶς ἠγανάκ-
 5 τησαν καὶ φοβερόν τι διετονθόρυσαν. μελ-

¹ ἄοπλοι *Blancus* (in vers.), ἄπλοι V, ἀπλοῖ C.

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to himself previously and divided it between his children (he had also a daughter), and ordered that they should live with their grandfather; there he visited them occasionally, but rather as their father than as emperor. A.D. 193

Since, now, neither the soldiers were allowed to plunder any longer nor the imperial freedmen to indulge in lewdness, they both hated him bitterly. The freedmen, for their part, attempted no revolt, being unarmed; but the Pretorian troops and Laetus formed a plot against him. At first they selected Falco, the consul, for emperor, because he was distinguished for both his family and wealth, and they were planning to bring him to the camp while Pertinax was at the coast investigating the corn supply. But the emperor, learning of the plan, returned in haste to the city, and coming before the senate, said: "You should not be left in ignorance of the fact, Fathers, that although I found on hand only a million sesterces, yet I have distributed as much to the soldiers as did Marcus and Lucius, to whom were left twenty-seven hundred millions. It is these wonderful freedmen who are to blame for this shortage of funds." Now Pertinax was not telling the truth when he claimed to have bestowed upon the soldiers as much as Lucius and Marcus, inasmuch as they had given them about twenty thousand, and he only about twelve thousand, sesterces apiece; and the soldiers and the freedmen who were present in the senate in very large numbers became highly indignant and muttered

² αὐτοκράτορα St., εἰς αὐτοκράτορα VC.

³ ὅσον Leuncl., ὥστε VC.

οἱ Naber, δ VC.

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λόντων δὲ ἡμῶν καταψηφιεῖσθαι τοῦ Φάλκωνος, καὶ ἤδη· γε αὐτὸν πολέμιον ὀνομαζόντων, ἀναστάς ὁ Περτίναξ καὶ ἀνακραγών “ μὴ γένοιτο ” ἔφη “ μηδένα βουλευτὴν ἐμοῦ ἄρχοντος μηδὲ δικαίως θανατωθῆναι. ” καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐσώθη, καὶ¹ εὐλαβηθεὶς καὶ αἰδεσθεὶς τὸν λειπόμενον χρόνον ἐν ἀγρῷ διῆγεν.

9. Ὁ δὲ Λαίτος παραλαβὼν τὴν κατὰ τὸν Φάλκωνα ἀφορμὴν, πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου κελεύοντος διέφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τοῦτο αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ
2 αὐτοὶ προσαπόλωνται, ἐθορύβησαν· διακόσιοι δὲ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θρασύτεροι καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον τὰ ξίφη ἀνατετακότες ὥρμησαν. οὐδὲ ἔγνω πρότερον προσιόντας ὁ Περτίναξ αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἄνω γενέσθαι· τότε δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐσδραμοῦσα
3 ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γεγόμενον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος πρᾶγμα εἶτ' οὖν γενναῖον εἶτε ἀνόητον, εἶθ' ὅπως τις αὐτὸ² ὀνομάσαι ἐθέλει, ἔπραξε. δυνηθεὶς γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐπελθόντας (τῇ τε γὰρ νυκτερινῇ φυλακῇ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ὤπλιστο, καὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐν
4 τῷ παλατίῳ τότε ἄνθρωποι πολλοί), εἰ δὲ μή, κατακρυφθῆναί γε καὶ διαφυγεῖν ποι τὰς τε πύλας τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς διὰ μέσου θύρας κλείσας, τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δὲ καταπλήξειν αὐτοὺς ὀφθεις καὶ πείσειν ἀκουσθεὶς ἀπήντησε τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἤδη οὖσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν τις αὐτοὺς εἶρξε, καὶ οἱ πυλωροὶ οἱ τε

¹ καὶ supplied by Bs.; (ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος) εὐλαβηθεὶς . . . διῆγεν Petr. Patr., om. VC cod. Peir.

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10 ἄλλοι Καισάρειοι οὐχ ὅτι τι συνέκλεισαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς προσανέωξαν. ἰδόντες δ' οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠδέσθησαν, πλὴν ἑνός, καὶ τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς¹ ἐς τὸ δάπεδον ἤρρισαν² καὶ τὰ ξίφη ἐς τοὺς κουλεοὺς ἐναπέθεντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος προπηδήσας εἶπέ τε ὅτι “τοῦτό σοι τὸ ξίφος οἱ στρατιῶται πέπόμφασι,” καὶ προσπεσὼν εὐθύς ἔπληξεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐπέσχον ἀλλὰ τὸν τε αὐτοκράτορά σφῶν κατέκοψαν
 2 καὶ τὸν Ἐκλεκτον. μόνος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος οὐτ' ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτόν καὶ ἐπήμυνεν αὐτῷ ὅσον ἠδυνήθη, ὥστε καὶ τρῶσαί τινας· ὅθεν ἐγὼ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄνδρα αὐτόν ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι νομίζων, τότε δὴ καὶ πάνυ ἐθαύμασα. ἀποτεμόντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Περτίνακος περί τε³ δόρυ περιέπειραν, τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλαμπρυνόμενοι.
 3 οὕτω μὲν ὁ Περτίναξ ἐπιχειρήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲ ἔγνω καίπερ ἐμπειρότατος πραγμάτων ὢν, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀθρόα τινὰ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' εἶπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ πολιτικὴ κατάστασις καὶ χρόνου καὶ σοφίας χρήζει. ἐβίω⁴ δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα, ἠρξε δὲ ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ.—Xiph. 286, 15—288, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 331, Exc. Vat. 126.

11 Διαγγελλομένου δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Περτίνακα πάθους οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἔτρεχον οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο. Σουλπικιανὸς δέ (ἔτυχε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Περτίνακος ἀποσταλεῖς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστήσῃται) ἔμεινέ

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from making any door fast, had actually opened A.D. 193 absolutely all the entrances. The soldiers on seeing him were at first abashed, all save one, and kept their eyes on the ground, and they thrust their swords back into their scabbards; but that one man leaped forward, exclaiming, "The soldiers have sent you this sword," and forthwith fell upon him and wounded him. Then his comrades no longer held back, but struck down their emperor together with Eclectus. The latter alone had not deserted him, but defended him as best he could, even wounding several of his assailants; hence I, who felt that even before that he had shown himself an excellent man, now thoroughly admired him. The soldiers cut off the head of Pertinax and fastened it on a spear, glorying in the deed. Thus did Pertinax, who undertook to restore everything in a moment, come to his end. He failed to comprehend, though a man of wide practical experience, that one cannot with safety reform everything at once, and that the restoration of a state, in particular, requires both time and wisdom. He had lived sixty-seven years, lacking four months and three days, and had reigned eighty-seven days.

When the fate of Pertinax was noised about, some ran to their homes and others to those of the soldiers, all taking thought for their own safety. But Sulpicianus, who had been sent by Pertinax to the camp to set matters in order there, remained

¹ *καὶ τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς Rk., τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ VC.*

² *ἤρρισαν Sylb., ἔρρισαν VC.*

³ *Leuncl. proposed to read τὸ for τε, but Sylburg supplied καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως περιήνεγκαν after περιέπειραν; cf. Zon.: δόρατι περιπέραντες περιῆγον.*

⁴ *ἐβίω Zon., ἐπεβίω VC.*

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τε ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔπραττεν ὅπως ἂν αὐτοκράτωρ
 2 ἀποδειχθῆ. κὰν τούτῳ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Δίδιος,¹
 χρηματιστῆς τε ἄπληστος καὶ ἀναλωτῆς ἀσελ-
 γῆς, νεωτέρων τε ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν, διὸ
 καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα
 τὸ Μεδιόλανον ἐξελήλατο—οὗτος οὖν ἀκούσας
 τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Περτίνακος σπουδῆ ἐς τὸ
 στρατόπεδον παρεγένετο, καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις
 τοῦ τείχους ἐστῶς παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας
 3 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. ὅτε δὴ καὶ
 πρᾶγμα αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς Ῥώμης
 ἐγένετο· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν πωλητηρίῳ
 τινὲ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς· πᾶσα ἀπε-
 κηρύχθη. καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπίπρασκον μὲν οἱ τὸν
 αὐτοκράτορά σφω ἀπεκτονότες, ὠνητίων δὲ ὅ
 τε Σουλπικιανὸς καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὑπερβάλλοντες
 4 ἀλλήλους, ὁ μὲν ἔνδοθεν ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν. καὶ μέχρι
 γε πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ
 βραχὺ προστιθέντες προῆλθον, διαγγελλόντων
 τινῶν καὶ λεγόντων τῷ τε Ἰουλιανῷ² ὅτι “Σουλπι-
 κιανὸς³ τοσοῦτον δίδωσι· τί οὖν σὺ προστίθης;”
 καὶ τῷ Σουλπικιανῷ ὅτι “Ἰουλιανὸς τοσοῦ-
 τον ἐπαγγέλλεται· τί οὖν σὺ προσυπισχνῆ;”
 5 κὰν ἐπεκράτησεν ὁ Σουλπικιανὸς ἔνδον τε ὦν
 καὶ πολιάρχων, τὰς τε πεντακισχιλίας⁴ πρό-
 τερος ὀνομάσας, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς οὐκέτι κατ'
 ὀλίγον ἀλλὰ χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντή-
 κοντα ἅμα δραχμαῖς ὑπερέβαλε, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ

¹ Cf. Exc. Val. 332: ὅτι ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Δίδιος ἦν τὸ μὲν
 γένος βουλευτικὸν τὸν δὲ τρόπον δεινὸν ἔχων· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα
 καὶ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμητῆς ἄπληστος καὶ ἀναλωτῆς ἀσελγῆς
 ἐγένετο, ὅθεν πού (τοῦ cod.) νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἀεὶ ἐπεθύμει.

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6 μέγα βοῶν καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνδεικνύμενος. τῇ τε γὰρ ὑπερβολῇ αὐτοῦ δουλωθέντες, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸν Σουλπικιανὸν ὡς καὶ τιμωρήσοντα τῷ Περτίνακι φοβηθέντες, ὅπερ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεινεν, ἐσέδέξαντό τε αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέδειξαν.—Xiph. 288, 13—289, 12 R. St., Exc. Val. 332 (p. 730).

12 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἠπείχθη, παμπληθεῖς δορυφόρους μετὰ σημείων συχνῶν ὥσπερ ἐς παράταξιν¹ τινα ἄγων, ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν δῆμον προκαταπλήξας πρόσθηται καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται τά τε ἄλλα ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ Κόμμοδον² ἐπωνόμαζον. ἡμεῖς δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ὡς που ἐκάστῳ διηγγέλλετο, ἐφοβούμεθα μὲν τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι τι ἢ πρὸς τὸν Περτίνακα ἐπιτήδειον . . .² (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ εἰς ἕξ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Περτίνακος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτετιμήμην³ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδεδείγμην, καὶ ἐκείνον πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐν δίκαις συναγορεύων τισὶν ἀδικοῦντα³ ἐπέδειχεν). ὅμως δ' οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι οἴκοι, μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου ὑποπτρευθῶμεν, καταμεῖναι) προήλθομεν, τοῦχ ὅτι λελουμένοι⁴ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδειπνηκότες, καὶ ὡσάμενοι διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήλθομεν, καὶ ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ τά τε ἄλλα ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ λέγοντος, καὶ ὅτι “ὑμᾶς τε ὄρω ἄρχοντος δεομένους, καὶ αὐτός, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ἀξιότατός εἰμι ὑμῶν ἡγεμονεῦσαι.

¹ παράταξιν Irmsch, πράξιν VC.

² Lacuna, recognized by Bk., who supplied, ἢ πρὸς τὸν

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

the amount with his fingers. So the soldiers, capti- A.D. 193
vated by this excessive bid and at the same time
fearing that Sulpicianus might avenge Pertinax (an
idea that Julianus put into their heads), received
Julianus inside and declared him emperor.

So toward evening the new ruler hastened to the
Forum and the senate-house. He was escorted by a
vast number of Pretorians with numerous standards,
as if prepared for action, his object being to intimi-
date both us and the populace at the outset and
thereby to secure our allegiance; and the soldiers
were calling him "Commodus" and extolling him in
various other ways. As for us [senators], when the
news was brought to each of us individually and we
ascertained the truth, we were possessed by fear of
Julianus and the soldiers, especially all of us who
had [done] any favours for Pertinax [or anything to
displease Julianus]. I was one of these, for I had
received various honours from Pertinax, including
the praetorship, and when acting as advocate for
others at trials I had frequently proved Julianus to
be guilty of many offences. Nevertheless, we made
our appearance, partly for this very reason, since it
did not seem to us to be safe to remain at home, for
fear such a course might in itself arouse suspicion. So
when bath and dinner were over we pushed our way
through the soldiers, entered the senate-house, and
heard him deliver a speech that was quite worthy of
him, in the course of which he said: "I see that you
need a ruler," and I myself am best fitted of any to

¹ Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπαχθὲς ἐγεγένητο (reading ὄσοις for ὄσοι above).
Bs. suggests ἐπεπράχειμεν for ἐγεγένητο, retaining ὄσοι.

³ ἐτετιμήμην Sylb., ἐτετιμήκειν VC.

⁴ λελουμένοι Rk., δεδουλωμένοι VC.

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καὶ εἶπον ἄν. πάντα τὰ προσόντα μοι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἤδειτε καὶ πεπειραμένοι μου ἦτε. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐδεήθην πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφίγμαι, ἵνα μοι
 5 τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων δοθέντα ἐπικυρώσητε." "μόνος" τε "γὰρ ἦκω" ἔλεγε, πᾶν μὲν ἔξωθεν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὀπλίταις περιέστοιχισμένος, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ συνεδρίῳ στρατιώτας ἔχων, καὶ τοῦ συνειδότος ἡμᾶς τοῦ, περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμνησκεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐμισοῦμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφοβούμεθα.

13 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν αὐταρχίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῆς βουλῆς δογμάτων¹ βεβαιωσάμενος ἀνῆλθεν ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, καὶ εὐρῶν τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ τῷ Περτίνακι παρεσκευασμένον πολλά τε αὐτοῦ κατεγέλασε, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος ὅθεν τι καὶ ὀπωσοῦν εὐρεθῆναι τότε ἠδυνήθη πολυτίμητον, διεπίμπλατο ἔνδον ἔτι τοῦ νεκροῦ κειμένου, καὶ ἐκύβευεν, ἄλλους τε καὶ Πυλάδην τὸν ὀρχηστὴν
 2 παραλάβων. τῇ δὲ δὴ ὑστεραία ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀνήειμεν ὡς αὐτόν, πλαττόμενοι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ σχηματιζόμενοι ὅπως μὴ κατάφωροι ἐπὶ τῇ λύπῃ γενώμεθα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐσκυθρώπαζε φανερώως, καὶ διελάλουν ὅσα ἠθελόν, καὶ παρε-
 3 σκευάζοντο πράξαι ὅσα ἐδύναντο.² καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον ἦλθε καὶ τῷ Ἰανῷ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῦ, θύσειν ἔμελλεν, ἐξέκραγον πάντες ὥσπερ ἐκ συγκειμένου τινός, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἄρπαγα αὐτὸν καὶ πατροφόνον ὀνομάζοντες. ὡς δὲ προσποιησάμενος μὴ χαλεπαίνειν ἀργυρίου

¹ δογμάτων Leuncl.; πραγμάτων VC.

² ἐδύναντο Bk.; ἠδύναντο VC.

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τι αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο, ἀγανακτήσαντες ὡς καὶ δεκαζόμενοι ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα πάντες “οὐ θέλομεν, 4 οὐ λαμβάνομεν.” καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ περίξ οἰκοδομήματα φρικῶδές τι συνεπήχησεν.¹ ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐγγὺς προσεστηκότας κτείνεσθαι προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιπαρωξύνθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο οὔτε τὸν Περτίνακα ποθῶν οὔτε τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν λοιδορῶν οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοώμενος οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πολλοὶ² πολλαχοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι καὶ φονευόμενοι ἀντεῖχον. 5 καὶ τέλος ὄπλα ἀρπάσαντες συνέδραμον ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον, κἀνταῦθα διετέλεσαν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄποτοι βοῶντες, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Νίγρον τὸν Πεσκέννιον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σύρίᾳ ὄντας ἐπαμῦναί σφισι δεόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ τε κραυγῇ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ τῇ τε ἀγρυπνίᾳ κακωθέντες διελύθησαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐλπίδας ἀναμένοντες.—Χιρῆ. 289, 12—290, 32 R. St.

5^a “οὐ βοηθῶ τῷ δήμῳ· οὐ γάρ· με ἐπεβοήσατο.”
—Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 142, 14.

14 Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσας ἀνελευθέρως³ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐχρήτο, θωπεύων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς τι δυναμένους καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰ δὲ χαριζόμενος, προσεγέλατε καὶ προσέπαιζε πρὸς τοὺς τυχόντας, ἔς τε τὰ

¹ συνεπήχησεν Bk., συνεπήχησαν VC.

² πολλοὶ Bk., πολλοὶ καὶ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

some money, they became indignant at the implication that they could be bribed, and all cried out together: "We don't want it! We won't take it!" And the surrounding buildings echoed back their shout in a way to make one shudder. When Julianus heard their reply, he could endure it no longer, but ordered those standing nearest to be slain. That exasperated the populace all the more, and it did not cease expressing its regret for Pertinax and abusing Julianus, invoking the gods and cursing the soldiers; but though many were wounded and killed in many parts of the city, they continued to resist. Finally they seized arms and rushed together into the Circus, and there spent the night and the following day without food or drink, shouting and calling upon the remainder of the soldiers, especially Pescennius Niger and his followers in Syria, to come to their aid. Later, exhausted by their shouting, by their fasting, and by their loss of sleep, they separated and kept quiet, awaiting the hoped-for deliverance from abroad.

"I do not assist the populace, for it has not called upon me."¹

After seizing the power in this manner Julianus managed affairs in a servile fashion, paying court to the senate as well as to all the men of any influence; now he would make promises, now bestow favours, and he laughed and jested with anybody and everybody.

¹ The pertinence of these words is uncertain; von Gutschmid would assign them to a speech of Julianus. The grammarian has just quoted a part of ch. 13, 4 ("from Book lxxiv"), and then cites these words as occurring a little farther along.

³ ἀνελευθέρως Zon., ἀνελευθέροις VC.

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θέατρα συνεχῶς ἐσεφοίτα, καὶ συμπόσια πολλὰ
 2 συνεκρότει, τό τε σύμπαν οὐδέν· ὃ τι οὐκ ἐπὶ
 θεραπείᾳ ἡμῶν ἐποίει. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιθανὸς
 ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκράτῳ τῇ θωπείᾳ χρώμενος
 ὑπώπτευέτο· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ εἰκότος, κἂν
 χαρίζεσθαι τισι δοκῇ, δολερὸν τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι
 νομίζεται.—*Xiph.* 290, 32—291, 8 R. St.

2^a Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα
 αὐτοῦ οὐ προσεδέξατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι “χαλκοῦν μοι
 δότε, ἵνα καὶ μείνη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ
 αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς μὲν χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς·
 ὁρῶ καθαιρεθέντας, τοὺς δὲ χαλκοῦς μένοντας,”
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο εἰπὼν· ἀρετὴ γὰρ ἢ διαφυ-
 λάττουσα τὴν μνήμην τῶν κρατούντων· ὁ γὰρ
 δοθεὶς αὐτῷ χαλκοῦς ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτοῦ καθηρέθη.
 —*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat.* 128 (p. 226 Mai. = p. 209,
 24-32 Dind.).

3 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ
 τῶν ἔξω ταύτης γενομένων καὶ νεωτερισθέντων
 ἤδη ἔρῳ. τρεῖς γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνδρες, τριῶν
 ἕκαστος πολιτικῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ἄλλων
 ξενικῶν συχῶν ἄρχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο τῶν
 πραγμάτων, ὃ τε Σεουῆρος καὶ ὁ Νίγρος καὶ ὁ
 Ἀλβῖνος, οὗτος μὲν τῆς Βρεττανίας ἄρχων,
 4 Σεουῆρος δὲ τῆς Παννονίας, Νίγρος δὲ τῆς Συρίας.
 καὶ τούτους ἄρα οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ τρεῖς οἱ ἐξαίφνης
 φανέντες καὶ τὸν ἥλιον περισχόντες, ὅτε τὰ
 ἐσιτήρια πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔθνευ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς
 παρόντων ἡμῶν, ὑπήνιπτοντο. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκφανέσ-
 τᾶτοι ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συνεχῶς
 τε αὐτοὺς ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντεπιδεικνύειν, καὶ
 προσέτι καὶ διαθροεῖν ὅτι δεινὸν αὐτῷ συμβή-

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5 σεται. ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ηὐχόμεθα ταῦθ' οὕτω γενέσθαι καὶ ἠλπίζομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γε τοῦ παρόντος δέους οὐδ' ἀναβλέπειν ἐς αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ παρορῶντές πως, ἐτολμῶμεν. καὶ
 15 τοιοῦτο μὲν τοῦτο οἶδα γινόμενον.¹ τῶν δὲ δὴ τριῶν ἡγεμόνων ὧν εἶρηκα δεινότατος ὁ Σεουήρος ὧν,² καὶ προγνοὺς ὅτι μετὰ τὸ καταλῦσαι τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ τρεῖς συναράξουσι³ καὶ ἀντιπολεμήσουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐγνώκει τὸν ἕνα τὸν ἐγγύτερον αὐτῷ προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ γράμματά τινι τῶν πιστῶν δούς τῷ
 2 Ἀλβίνῳ ἐπεπόμφει, Καίσαρα αὐτὸν ποιῶν· τὸν γὰρ δὴ Νίγρον φρόνημα ἔχοντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικλητοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι ἀπέγνω. καὶ ὁ μὲν⁴ Ἀλβῖνος ὡς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἐσόμενος κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πάντα πλὴν τοῦ Βυζαντίου προσποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο,
 3 οὐδέποτε ἔξω τῶν ὄπλων γινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἑξακοσίους τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διῆγεν· οὐδὲ ἀπεδύσαντό ποτε ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς θώρακας πρὶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι.—*Xiph.* 291, 8—292, 2 *R. St.*
 4 "Ὅτι οὗτος⁵ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ καὶ ἀπληστία ἀσελγείᾳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Περτίνακος, ὅτε τῆς Ἀφρικῆς

¹ γινόμενον Bk., γινόμενον VC.

² Cf. *Exc. Val.* 333 (p. 730): ὅτι ὁ Σεουήρος δεινότατος ἦν τό τε μέλλον ἀκριβῶς προνοῆσαι καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διοικῆσαι, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὡς καὶ ἐμφανὲς ἐξευρεῖν, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δυσλόγιστον ὡς καὶ ἀπλοῦν διακρίναι, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δυσδιάθετον ὡς καὶ ῥᾶστον ἐξεργάσασθαι.

³ συναράξουσι R. Steph., συναρράξουσι VC.

⁴ μὲν supplied by Bk.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

As for us, however much we hoped and prayed that A.D. 193 it might so prove, yet the fear of the moment would not permit us to gaze up at them save by furtive glances. So much for this incident, which I give from my own knowledge. Now of the three leaders that I have mentioned, Severus was the shrewdest;¹ he understood in advance that after Julianus had been deposed the three would clash and fight against one another for the empire, and he therefore determined to win over the rival who was nearest to him. So he sent a letter by one of his trusted friends to Albinus, appointing him Caesar; as for Niger, who was proud of having been summoned by the populace, he had no hopes of him. Albinus, accordingly, in the belief that he was to share the rule with Severus, remained where he was; and Severus, after winning over everything in Europe except Byzantium, was hastening against Rome. He did not venture outside the protection of arms, but having selected his six hundred most valiant men, he passed his time day and night in their midst; these did not once put off their breastplates until they were in Rome.

This man,² when governor of Africa, had been tried and condemned by Pertinax for corruption,

¹ Cf. Exc. Val.: "Severus was most shrewd, both in accurately forecasting the future and in successfully handling the situation of the moment, in discovering everything concealed as if it were manifest, in deciding every complicated problem as if it were simple, and in accomplishing every difficult task as if it were most easy."

² The reference is uncertain; see critical note.

⁵ In the margin of cod. Peir. is written *φλούβιος*, a corrupt form that might be for *φούλβιος*, *φλάβιος* or *φάβιος*. The order of this excerpt in the collection determines its position between ch. 15. 1 and 16. 1, but its pertinence is not known.

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ἦρχε, κατεδεδίκαστο, τότε δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆ τοῦ Σεουήρου χάριτι ἀπεδέδεικτό.¹—Exc. Val. 334 (p. 730).

16 Καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ταῦτα μαθὼν πολέμιόν τε τὸν Σεουήρον διὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο κατ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ² τάφρευμα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ διετάφρευσε καὶ πύλας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπέστησεν ὡς καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐκστρατεύσων² καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πολεμήσων. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ στρατόπεδον, ὥσπερ ἐν πολεμίᾳ. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ταραχὴ καὶ αὐλιζομένων καὶ γυμναζομένων ὡς ἐκάστων, ἀνδρῶν ἵππων ἐλεφάντων, πολὺς δὲ καὶ φόβος ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλισμένων,³ ἅτε καὶ μισούντων σφᾶς, ἐγένετο.³ ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ γέλως ἡμᾶς ἐλάμβανεν· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ δορυφόροι ἄξιόν τι τοῦ τε ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐπάγγελίας σφῶν, ἅτε καὶ ἀβρῶς διαιτᾶσθαι μεμαθηκότες, ἐποίουν, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Μισηνῷ⁴ ναυλοχοῦντος μεταπεμφθέντες οὐδ' ὅπως γυμνάσωνται ἤδεσαν, οἳ τε ἐλέφαντες ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς πύργοις⁵ οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἔτι τοὺς ἐπιστάτας⁶ ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους κατέ-
⁴ βαλλον. μάλιστα δὲ ἐγελῶμεν ὅτι τὸ παλάτιον κιγκλίσι τε καὶ θύραις ἰσχυραῖς ἐκρατύνατο· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν Περτίνακα οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἱ στρατιῶται ῥαδίως οὕτως, εἴπερ συνεκέκλειτο,⁷ πεφο-

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νευκέναι ἐδόκουν,¹ ἐπίστευεν² ὅτι δυνησεται κατακλεισθεὶς ἐς αὐτό, ἂν ἠττηθῆ, περιγενέσθαι.

• —Xiph. 292, 2–17 R. St., Exc. Val. 335 (p. 730 sq.), Suid. s. v. ἐπιστάτις.

5 Ἐσφαξε μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον καὶ τὴν Μάρκιαν, ὥστε σύμπαντας τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας τῷ Κομμόδῳ φθαρῆναι (καὶ γὰρ³ τὸν Νάρκισσον⁴ ὕστερον ὁ Σεουῆρος θηρίοις ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο κηρύξας ὅτι “οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Κόμμοδον ἀποπνίξας”), ἔκτεινε δὲ καὶ παῖδας συχνοὺς ἐπὶ μαγγανεύμασιν, ὡς καὶ ἀποστρέψαι τι τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ προμάθοι αὐτά, δυνησόμενος. ἐπίτε τὸν Σεουῆρον αἰεί τινας ὡς δολοφονήσοντας
17 αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο καὶ τὴν Ῥάβενναν ἀκουιτὶ⁵ παρέλαβε, καὶ οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ἢ πείσοντας ὑποστρέψαι ἢ εἴρξοντας τῶν παρόδων, προσεχώ-
2 ρουν αὐτῷ, οἳ τε δορυφόροι, οἷς μάλιστα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐθάρρει, τῇ τε συνεχείᾳ τῶν πόνων ἀπεκναίοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν φήμην τῆς τοῦ Σεουῆρου παρουσίας δεινῶς ἐξεπλήττοντο, συγκαλέσας ἡμᾶς ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς κοινωνὸν αὐτῷ⁶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
3 ἐκέλευε τὸν Σεουῆρον ψηφίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐκ γραμμάτων τοῦ Σεουῆρου πεισθέντες ὅτι οὐδὲν κακόν, ἂν τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐκδῶσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγωσι,

“Ὅτι Οὐεσπρώνιος Κάνδιδος ἀξιῶσει μὲν ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκων, σκυθρωπότητι δὲ καὶ ἀγροικία πολὺ πλεῖον⁷ προφέρων, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.—Exc. Val. 336 (p. 733).

¹ ἐδόκουν VC, ἔδοξαν cod. Peir.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

locked, Julianus believed that in case of defeat he A.D. 193 would be able to shut himself up there and survive.

He accordingly put to death both Laetus and Marcia, so that all who conspired against Commodus perished; for later Severus gave Narcissus to the wild beasts, causing it to be expressly proclaimed that he was the man who had strangled Commodus. Julianus also killed many boys as a magic rite, believing that he could avert some future misfortunes if he learned of them beforehand. And he kept sending men against Severus to slay him by treachery. But Severus presently reached Italy, and took possession of Ravenna without striking a blow. Moreover, the men whom Julianus kept sending against him, either to persuade him to turn back or else to block his advance, were going over to Severus' side; and the Pretorians, in whom Julianus reposed most confidence, were becoming worn out by their constant toil and were becoming greatly alarmed at the report of Severus' near approach. At this juncture Julianus called us together and bade us appoint Severus to share his throne. But the soldiers, convinced by letters of Severus that if they surrendered the slayers of Pertinax and themselves kept the peace they

Vespronius Candidus, a man of the first rank, but much more prominent for his sullenness and boorishness, came near being killed by the soldiers.

² ἐπίστευεν VC, ἐπίστευσαν cod. Peir.

³ γάρ supplied by Bk.

⁴ Νάρκισσον R. Steph., ναρκισσιανόν VC.

⁵ ἀκονιτί R Steph., ἀκοντί VC.

⁶ αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῶ VC.

⁷ πλείον Bk., πλείω cod. Peir.

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πείσονται, τούς τε ἀποκτείναντας τὸν Πέρτινακα·
 συνέλαβον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο Σιλίῳ Μεσσάλα τῷ
 4 ὑπατεύοντι τότε ἐμήνυσαν. καὶ ὃς συναγαγὼν
 ἡμᾶς ἐς τὸ Ἀθήναιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν
 αὐτῷ τῶν παιδευομένων ἀσκήσεως, τὰ παρὰ τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν ἐδήλωσε· καὶ τοῦ τε Ἰουλιανοῦ
 θάνατον κατεψηφισάμεθα καὶ τὸν Σεουήρου
 αὐτοκράτορα ὠνομάσαμεν, τῷ τε Περτίνακι
 5 ἥρωικὰς τιμὰς ἀπεδώκαμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰουλιανὸς
 οὕτως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ κατακείμενος
 ἐφονεύθη, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν, “καὶ τί δεινὸν
 ἐποίησα; τίνα ἀπέκτεινα;” ἔζησε δὲ ἐξήκοντά
 τε ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἴσας, ἀφ’
 ὧν ἕξ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἦρξεν ἡμέρας.—*Xiph.* 292,
 17—293, 10 R. St.

6 Δίων οδ’ βιβλίῳ· “ἀνδρῶν γάρ ἐστι φρονίμων
 μήτ’ ἄρχειν πολέμου μήτ’ ἐπιφερόμενον αὐτὸν
 ἀναδύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἐθελοντί¹ σωφρο-
 νήσαντι συγγνώμην, κἂν προαμάρτη τι, ποιεί-
 σθαι . . .”—*Bekk. Anecd.* 168, 7 sqq.

¹ ἐθελοντί de Boer, ἐθέλοντι cod.

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EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

LXXV Σευήρος μὲν δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ οὕτω γενόμενος
 1,1 τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους¹ τοὺς χειρουργήσαντας τὸ
 κατὰ τὸν Περτίνακα ἔργον θανάτῳ ἐζημίωσε,
 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, πρὶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι μετα-
 πεμφάμενος καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ περισχῶν οὐκ εἰδότας
 τὸ μέλλον σφίσι συμβήσεσθαι, πολλά τε καὶ
 πικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφῶν παρα-
 νομίας ὄνειδίσας αὐτοῖς, τῶν τε ὄπλων ἀπέλυσε
 τοὺς τε ἵππους ἀφείλετο καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήλα-
 - 2 σεν.² ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἄκοντες τὰ τε
 ὄπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἠφίεσαν, ἐν
 τε τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄζωστοι ἐσκεδάωννυτο· εἷς δέ τις,
 οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος τοῦ ἵππου ἀποστῆναι ἀλλ'
 ἔπακολουθοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ χρεμετίζοντος, καὶ
 ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο· καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς
 ὄρωσι καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἠδέως ἀποθνήσκειν.

¹ δορυφόρους placed here instead of after γενέσθαι by Bs., who also supplies the second τοὺς.

² Cf. Exc. Salm.: Σεβήρος ἔστειλε γράμματα εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπαν-
 τῆσαι αὐτῷ τοὺς στρατιώτας. συνελθόντας δὲ ὄνειδισεν εἰπὼν
 ὅτι καὶ κἂν μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτόχειρες Περτίνακος τοῦ βασιλέως,
 ἀλλὰ, δέον αὐτοὺς ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας ἐκεῖνον, τοῦτο μὴ
 ποιήσαντες ὑπ' αἰτίαςιν εἰσι φόβου. "ἐπὶ φυλακῇ γὰρ βασιλικῇ τα-
 χθέντες," ἔφη, "οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τὰ ξίφη διαζώννυσθε
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ." καὶ ἀπολαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀπε-
 δίωξεν αὐτούς. εἷς δὲ στρατιώτης, οὐκ ἀνασχομένου τοῦ ἵππου
 ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀκολουθοῦντος καὶ χρεμετίζοντος, ὑπεραλ-
 γῆς γενόμενος τὸν ἵππον ἔσφαξε καὶ ἑαυτόν.—Exc. Salm. 127
 Muell. (v. 1-12).

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

SEVERUS, on becoming emperor in the manner A.D. 193 described, inflicted the death penalty on the Pretorians who had taken part in the slaying of Pertinax; and as for the others, he summoned them, before he came to Rome, and having surrounded them in the open while they were ignorant as yet of the fate in store for them, uttered many bitter reproaches against them for their lawless deed against their emperor, and then relieved them of their arms, took away their horses, and banished them from Rome.¹ Thereupon the majority of them proceeded reluctantly to throw away their arms and let their horses go, and were scattering, wearing only their tunics and ungirded; but one man, when his horse would not go away, but kept following him and neighing, slew both the beast and himself, and it seemed to the spectators that the horse, too, was glad to die.

¹ Cf. Exc. Salm. : "Severus sent letters to Rome summoning the soldiers to come out to meet him. And when they had assembled, he reproached them, declaring that even though they had not been the actual slayers themselves of the emperor Pertinax, nevertheless, through their failure to slay, as they should have done, those who had killed him, they were responsible for his murder. 'As men appointed for the guarding of the emperor,' he said, 'you gird your swords, not on your left side, but on your right.' And taking from them their arms and their horses, he drove them away. But one soldier, when his horse refused to leave him, but kept following him and neighing, was overcome by grief and slew both the horse and himself."

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3 Πράξας δὲ ὁ Σεουήρος ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
 ἐσῆει, μέχρι¹ μὲν τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἵππου
 καὶ ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἱππικῇ ἐλθῶν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν τε πο-
 λιτικὴν ἀλλαξάμενος καὶ βαδίσας· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ
 στρατὸς πᾶς, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς, ὀπλισμένοι
 4 παρηκολούθησαν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ θεὰ πασῶν ὧν
 εἴρακα λαμπροτάτη· ἡ τε γὰρ πόλις πᾶσα
 ἄνθεσί τε καὶ δάφναις ἐστεφάνωτο καὶ ἱματίοις
 ποικίλοις ἐκεκόσμητο, φώσι² τε καὶ θυμιάμασιν
 ἔλαμπε, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ
 γανύμενοι³ πολλὰ ἐπευφήμουν, οἳ τε στρατιῶται
 ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ὥσπερ ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ πομπῆς
 ἐκπρεπόντως ἀνεστρέφοντο, καὶ προσέτι ἡμεῖς
 5 ἐν κόσμῳ περιήειμεν. ὁ δ' ὄμιλος ἰδεῖν τε αὐτὸν
 καὶ τι φθεγγομένου ἀκοῦσαι, ὥσπερ τι ὑπὸ τῆς
 τύχης ἠλλοιωμένου, ποθοῦντες ἠρεθίζοντο· καί
 τινες καὶ ἐμετεώριζον ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἐξ ὑψη-
 λοτέρου αὐτὸν κατίδωσιν.—*Xiph.* 293, 19—294,
 15 R. St.

2 Ἐσελθὼν δὲ οὕτως ἐνεανιεύσατο μὲν οἶα καὶ οἱ
 πρῶην ἀγαθοὶ αὐτοκράτορες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς
 οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ·⁴ καὶ ὤμοσε
 περὶ τούτου, καὶ τό γε μείζον, ψηφίσματι κοινῶ
 αὐτὸ κυρωθῆναι προσετετάχει, πολέμιον καὶ τὸν
 αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετήσοντα αὐτῷ ἔς τι
 τοιοῦτον, αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν,
 2 νομίζεσθαι δογματίσας. πρῶτος μέντοι αὐτὸς
 τὸν νόμον τουτονὶ παρέβη καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξε,
 πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σόλων ὁ
 Ἰούλιος, ὁ καὶ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο κατὰ πρόσταξιν

¹ μέχρι Leuncl., καὶ μέχρι VC.

² φωσί Naber, φωτί VC.

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αὐτοῦ συγγράψας, οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐσφάγη·
καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἡμῖν οὐ καταθύμια ἔπραττεν,
3 αἰτίαν τε¹ ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει στρατιωτῶν
ὀχλώδη τὴν πόλιν ποιῆσαι· καὶ δαπάνη χρημάτων
περιττῆ τὸ κοινὸν βάρῦναι,² καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι
μὴ ἐν τῇ τῶν συνόντων οἱ εὐνοία ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ
ἐκείνων ἰσχύι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐποιεῖτο·
4 μάλιστα δὲ ἐπεκάλουν αὐτῷ τινὲς ὅτι, καθεστη-
κότος ἔκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῆς τε³
Μακεδονίας καὶ τοῦ Νωρικοῦ μόνον⁴ τοὺς σωματο-
φύλακας εἶναι, κακ τούτου καὶ τοῖς εἵδεσιν αὐτῶν
ἐπιεικεστέρων καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀπλουστέρων
5 ὄντων, τοῦτο μὲν κατέλυσεν, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν
στρατοπέδων ὁμοίως πάντων τὸ αἰεὶ ἐνδεὲς ὄν
ἀντικαθίστασθαι τάξας, αὐτὸς μὲν⁵ ὡς καὶ ἐπι-
στησομένοις⁶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μᾶλλον
αὐτοῖς χρησόμενος,⁷ καί τι καὶ ἄθλον τοῖς ἀγα-
θοῖς τὰ πολέμια προθήσων ἐποίησεν αὐτό, τῷ δὲ
δὴ ἔργῳ σαφέστατα τὴν⁸ τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας παραπώλεσε πρὸς ληστείας καὶ μονο-
6 μαχίας ἀντὶ τῆς πρὶν στρατείας τραπομένην, καὶ
τὸ ἄστυ ὄχλου στρατιωτῶν συμμίκτου⁹ καὶ ἰδεῖν
ἀγριωτάτων καὶ ἀκούσαι φοβερωτάτων ὁμιλῆσαι
τε ἀγροικοτάτων ἐπλήρωσε.—Xiph. 294, 15–30
R. St., Exc. Val. 337 (p. 733).

3 Σημεῖα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤλπισε,
ταῦτα ἐγένετο. ὅτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον
ἐσεγράφη, ὄναρ ἔδοξε λύκαινάν τινα κατὰ ταῦτα

¹ τε supplied by Reim.

² βάρῦναι Reim., ἐβάρυνεν cod. Peir.

³ τε supplied by R. Steph.

⁴ μόνον cod. Peir., μόνων VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

this decree at his behest, was murdered not long afterward. There were many things Severus did that were not to our liking, and he was blamed for making the city turbulent through the presence of so many troops and for burdening the State by his excessive expenditures of money, and most of all, for placing his hope of safety in the strength of his army rather than in the good will of his associates [in the government]. But some found fault with him particularly because he abolished the practice of selecting the body-guard exclusively from Italy, Spain, Macedonia and Noricum,—a plan that furnished men of more respectable appearance and of simpler habits,—and ordered that any vacancies should be filled from all the legions alike. Now he did this with the idea that he should thus have guards with a better knowledge of the soldier's duties, and should also be offering a kind of prize for those who proved brave in war; but, as a matter of fact, it became only too apparent that he had incidentally ruined the youth of Italy, who turned to brigandage and gladiatorial fighting in place of their former service in the army, and in filling the city with a throng of motley soldiers most savage in appearance, most terrifying in speech, and most boorish in conversation.

The signs which had led him to hope for the imperial power were as follows. When he was admitted to the senate, he dreamed that he was

⁵ μέν supplied by Val.

⁶ ἐπιστησομένοις Rk., ἐπιστησόμενος cod. Peir.

⁷ χρησόμενος Reim., χρησάμενος cod. Peir.

⁸ σαφέστατα τήν Rk., σαφέστατήν cod. Peir.

⁹ συμμίκτου cod. Peir., συμμίκτων VC.

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τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ θηλάζειν. μέλλοντί τε αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰουλίαν ἄγεσθαι ἢ Φαυστίνα ἢ τοῦ Μάρκου γυνὴ τὸν θάλαμόν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ
 2 κατὰ τὸ παλάτιον παρεσκεύασεν. ὕδωρ τε ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῷ καθεύδοντί ποτε, ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἀνεδόθη. καὶ ἐν Αουγδούνῳ ἄρχοντι πᾶσα αὐτῷ ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις προσῆλθέ τε καὶ ἠσπάσατο, ὄναρ φημί. καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀνήχθη ἐς περιωπὴν ὑπὸ τινος, καὶ καθορῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐφήπτετο αὐτῶν ὥσπερ παναρμονίου τινὸς ὀργάνου,
 3 καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεφθέγγετο. καὶ αὐθις ἵππον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ τὸν μὲν Περτίνακα ἀναβεβηκότα¹ ἀπορρίψαι, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκόντα ἀλαβεῖν ἐνόμισε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὄνειράτων ἔμαθεν, ὕπαρ δὲ ἐς² τὸν βασιλικὸν δῖφρον ἔφηβος ὧν ἔτι ἀγνοία ἐνιδρύθη.³ τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεδήλωσε.
 4 Καταστάς δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἡρῶν τῷ Περτίνακι κατεσκεύασε, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τε ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀπάσαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἅπασι προσέταξεν ἐπιλέγεσθαι, καὶ χρυσῆν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐλεφάντων ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἐσάγεσθαι, καὶ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκέλευσε θέατρα θρόνους⁴ τρεῖς
 2 καταχρύσους αὐτῷ ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ἢ δὲ δὴ ταφὴ καίτοι πάλαι τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ τοιάδε ἐγένετο. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ βῆμα ξύλινον ἐν χρῶ τοῦ λιθίνου κατεσκευάσθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶκημα

¹ ἀναβεβηκότα Rk., καὶ ἀναβεβηκότα VC.

² ἐς Leuncl., ἐς τε VC.

³ ἐνιδρύθη Bk., ἐνιδρύνθη VC.

⁴ θρόνους Leuncl., θρόνους τε VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἄτοιχόν περίστυλον, ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ
 πεπιοικιλμένον, ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη ὁμοία,
 3 κεφαλὰς περίξ θηρίων χερσαίων τε καὶ θαλασ-
 σίων ἔχουσα, ἐκομίσθη στρώμασι πορφυροῖς καὶ
 διαχρύσοις κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν εἶδωλόν τι
 τοῦ Περτίνακος κήρινον, σκευῇ ἐπινικίῳ εὐθετη-
 μένον, ἀνετέθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰς μυίας παῖς εὐπρε-
 πῆς, ὡς δῆθεν καθεύδοντος, πτεροῖς ταῶνος
 4 ἀπεσόβει. προκειμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ὅ τε Σεουήρος
 καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ αἴ τε γυναῖκες ἡμῶν προ-
 σήειμεν πενθικῶς¹ ἐσταλμένοι· καὶ ἐκεῖναι μὲν ἐν
 ταῖς στοαῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπαίθριοι ἐκαθεζόμεθα. κακ-
 τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἀνδριάντες πάντων τῶν ἐπιφα-
 5 νῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔπειτα χοροὶ παίδων
 καὶ ἀνδρῶν θρηνώδη τινὰ ὕμνοι ἐς τὸν Περτίνακα
 ᾄδοντες παρῆλθον· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη
 πάντα τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐν εἰκόσι χαλκαῖς, ἐπιχωρίως
 σφίσιν ἐσταλμένα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ γένη,
 τό τε τῶν ῥαβδούχων καὶ τὸ τῶν γραμματέων
 τῶν τε κηρύκων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα,
 6 ἐφείπετο. εἶτ' εἰκόνες ἦκον ἀνδρῶν ἄλλων, οἷς
 τι ἔργον ἢ ἐξεύρημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα λαμπρὸν
 ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἷ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ οἱ
 πεζοὶ ὠπλισμένοι οἷ τε ἀθληταὶ ἵπποι καὶ τὰ
 ἐντάφια, ὅσα ὅ τε αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἡμεῖς αἴ τε
 γυναῖκες ἡμῶν καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς οἱ ἐλλόγιμοι οἷ τε
 δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει συστήματα ἐπέμψαμεν·
 καὶ αὐτοῖς βωμὸς περίχρυσος, ἐλέφαντί τε καὶ
 5 λίθοις Ἰνδικοῖς ἠσκημένος, ἠκολούθει. ὡς δὲ
 παρεξῆλθε ταῦτα, ἀνέβη ὁ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα
 τὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐγκώμιον τοῦ Περ-
 τίνακος· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ μέσου τῶν

EPITOME OF BOOK · LXXV

was set a shrine, without walls, but surrounded by A.D. 193 columns, cunningly wrought of both ivory and gold. In it there was placed a bier of the same materials, surrounded by heads of both land and sea animals and adorned with coverlets of purple and gold. Upon this rested an effigy of Pertinax in wax, laid out in triumphal garb; and a comely youth was keeping the flies away from it with peacock feathers, as though it were really a person sleeping. While the body lay there in state, Severus as well as we senators and our wives approached, wearing mourning; the women sat in the porticos, and we men under the open sky. After this there moved past, first, images of all the famous Romans of old, then choruses of boys and men, singing a dirge-like hymn to Pertinax; there followed all the subject nations, represented by bronze figures attired in native dress, and the guilds of the City itself—those of the lictors, the scribes, the heralds, and all the rest. Then came images of other men who had been distinguished for some exploit or invention or manner of life. Behind these were the cavalry and infantry in armour, the race-horses, and all the funeral offerings that the emperor and we [senators] and our wives, the more distinguished knights, and communities, and the corporations of the City, had sent. Following them came an altar gilded all over and adorned with ivory and gems of India. When these had passed by, Severus mounted the rostra and read a eulogy of Pertinax. We shouted our

¹ πενθικῶς Sylb., . . . μυθικῶς VC.

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λόγων αὐτοῦ ἐπεβοῶμεν, τὰ μὲν ἐπαίνουντες τὰ
 δὲ καὶ θρηνοῦντες τὸν Περτίνακα, πλείστα δὲ
 2 ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο. καὶ τέλος, μελλούσης τῆς
 κλίνης κινηθήσεσθαι, πάντες ἅμα ὠλοφυράμεθα
 καὶ πάντες ἐπεδακρύσαμεν. κατέκόμεσαν δὲ
 αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος οἱ τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ αἱ
 ἀρχαὶ αἱ τε ἐνεστῶσαι καὶ αἱ ἐς νέωτα ἀποδε-
 3 δειγμένοι, καὶ ἵππεῦσί τισι φέρειν ἔδοσαν. οἱ
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πρὸ τῆς κλίνης προήειμεν, καί τινες
 ἐκόπτοντο ἐτέρων πένθιμόν τι ὑπαυλούντων· ὁ
 δ' αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν εἶπετο, καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὸ
 Ἄρειον πεδῖον ἀφικόμεθα. ἐπεσκεύαστο δὲ ἐν
 αὐτῷ πυρὰ πυργοειδῆς τρίβολος, ἐλέφαντι καὶ
 χρυσῷ μετὰ ἀνδριάντων τινῶν κεκοσμημένη, καὶ
 ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἄκρας ἄρμα ἐπίχρυσον, ὅπερ ὁ
 4 Περτίναξ ἤλαυνεν. ἐς οὖν ταύτην τὰ ἐντάφια
 ἐνεβλήθη καὶ ἡ κλίνη ἐνετέθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ
 εἶδωλον ὃ τε Σεουήρος καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς τοῦ Περ-
 τίνακος ἐφίλησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ βῆμα ἀνέβη,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡ βουλή πλὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ ἰκρία,
 ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτηδείως τὰ γινόμενα
 5 θεωρήσωμεν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ ἱππὰς τὸ
 τέλος προσφόρως σφίσιν ἐσκευασμένοι, οἱ τε
 ἵππεῖς οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ περὶ τὴν πυρὰν
 πολιτικὰς τε ἅμα καὶ πολεμικὰς¹ διεξόδους
 διελίττοντες διεξῆλθον· εἶθ' οὕτως οἱ ὑπατοὶ πῦρ
 ἐς² αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου αἰετός
 τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνέπτατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Περτίναξ οὕτως
 ἠθανατίσθη.—Xiph. 294, 30—296, 32 R. St.
 6 "Ὅτι ὁ Περτίναξ, τὸ μὲν εὐπόλεμον ἄγροικον τὸ

¹ πολεμικὰς Sylb.; ποιητικὰς VC.

² ἐς Bk., ἐπ' VC.

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δὲ εἰρηναῖον δειλὸν ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκβαῖνον, ἀμφοτέρα κρᾶτιστος ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, φοβερός μὲν πολεμῆσαι σοφὸς δὲ εἰρηνεῦσαι ὢν· καὶ τὸ μὲν θρασύ, οὐ τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέχει, πρὸς τε τὸ ἀλλόφυλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ στασίαζον, τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικές, οὐ τὸ δίκαιον μεταλαμβάνει, πρὸς τε τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σῶφρον ἐνεδείκνυτο. προαχθεὶς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν οὐκ ἠλέγχθη¹ ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ μείζονος αὐξήσεως, ὥστε ἐν μὲν τοῖς ταπεινότερος ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀγκωδέστερος τοῦ καθήκοντος γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διετέλεσεν σεμνὸς ἔξω τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ, πρᾶος ἔξω τοῦ ταπεινοῦ, φρόνιμος ἄνευ κακουργίας, δίκαιος ἄνευ ἀκριβολογίας, οἰκονομικὸς χωρὶς ῥυπαρίας, μεγαλόνομος χωρὶς αὐχρήματος.—Exc. Val. 338 (p. 734).

6 Ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος ἐξεστράτευσε κατὰ τοῦ Νίγρου. οὗτος δὲ Ἰταλὸς μὲν ἦν, ἐξ ἰππέων, οὔτε δὲ ἐς τὸ κρεῖττον οὔτε ἐς τὸ χεῖρον ἐπίσημος, ὥστε τινὰ ἢ πάνυ αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ πάνυ ψέγειν· διὸ καὶ τῆς Συρίας ὑπὸ Κομμόδου προσετάχθη. ἐχρήτη δὲ ὑποστρατήγῳ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ Αἰμιλιανῷ, ὅτι τε μεσεύων καὶ ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς πράγμασι πάντων τῶν τότε βουλευόντων καὶ συνέσει καὶ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων προφέρειν ἐδόκει (ἐπὶ πολλῶν γὰρ ἔθνῶν ἐξήταστο, ὑφ' ὧν περ καὶ ἐξώγκωτο), ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἀλβίνου προσήκων ἦν.—Xiph. 296, 32—297, 5 R. St., Exc. Val. 339, 340 (p. 734).

2^a Ὅτι ὁ Νίγρος ἦν μὲν οὐδ' ἄλλως ἀρτίφρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ δυνηθεὶς ἐπλημμέλησε· τότε δὲ καὶ μάλλον ὠγκώθη, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν²

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

being harsh and a peaceful one cowardly, Pertinax A.D. 193 excelled equally in both respects, being formidable in war and shrewd in peace. He showed boldness, of which bravery is an ingredient, toward foreigners and rebels, but clemency, into which justice enters, toward his countrymen and the orderly element. When advanced to preside over the destinies of the world, he never showed himself unworthy of his increased dignity, so as to appear more subservient in some things and more haughty in others than was fitting, but remained unchanged absolutely from first to last—being dignified without sullenness, gentle without humility, shrewd without knavery, just without excessive strictness, frugal without stinginess, high-minded without boastfulness.

Severus now made a campaign against Niger. This man was an Italian of the equestrian order, and was remarkable for nothing either good or bad, so that one could neither praise nor censure him very much; and so he had been assigned to Syria by Commodus. He had as one of his lieutenants Aemilianus, since this man, by remaining neutral and watching events in order to take advantage of them, seemed to surpass all the senators of that day in understanding and in experience of affairs (he had been tested in many provinces and as a result had grown conceited), and also because he was a relative of Albinus.

Niger was not a man of keen intelligence in any case, but made mistakes in spite of his vast power. At this time he was more puffed up than ever, so

¹ ἡλέγχθη Val., ἡλέχθη cod. Peir.

² μέν Rk., μὲν τόν cod. Peir.

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Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν νέον ὀνομάζουσι χαίρειν, τῷ δὲ ἐρομένῳ “ τίς σοι ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπιτέτροφεν ; ” τὸ ξίφος δεῖξαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ τοῦτο. ” — EHC. Val. 341 (p. 734).

3 Συνερρωγότης δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πέρινθον ἐπεστράτευσε. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ σημείων οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἐταράχθη· αἰετός τε γὰρ ἐπ’ ἄγαλμα στρατιωτικὸν ἰζήσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέμεινε, καίπερ ἀποσοβούμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἀλῶναι, καὶ μέλισσαι κηρία περὶ τὰ σημεία τὰ στρατιωτικά, τὰς τε εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, περιέπλασσον. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον.

4 Ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ περὶ Κύζικον συμβαλὼν τισι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἠττήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσφάγη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μεταξὺ τῶν στενῶν τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῆς Κίου πόλεμος
5 αὐτοῖς μέγας γίνεται καὶ πολύτροπος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συστάδην ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς λόφους καταλαβόντες ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἐς πλοῖα ἐμβεβηκότες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπετοξάζοντο. κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἐνίκων οἱ Σεουήρειοι, ὑπὸ τῷ Κανδίδῳ ταπτόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις ὅθεν ἐμάχοντο, ὑπερδεξίοις οὖσι, πλεονεκ-
6 τοῦντες· μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νίγρου ἐπιφανέντος παλινδίωξις γίνεται καὶ νίκη τῶν Νιγρείων. ἔπειτα τοῦ Κανδίδου τῶν σημειοφόρων ἐπιλαμβανομένου, καὶ στρέφοντος αὐτοὺς ἀντιπροσώπους τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τὴν φυγὴν ὀνειδίζοντος, αἰσχυνθέντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντεπεκράτησαν.

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κᾶν¹ πανωλεθρία τούτους διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ ἡ πόλις ἐγγὺς ἦν καὶ νύξ σκοτεινὴ ἐγένετο.

7 . Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Ἰσσω̄ πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις μεγίστη γίνεται μάχη, τῷ μὲν Σεουηρείῳ στρατεύματι Οὐαλεριανοῦ τε καὶ Ἀνυλλίνου² ἐπιστατούντων, Νίγρου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρόντος τάγμασι καὶ συντάσσοντος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη, αἱ Κιλικεῖοι πύλαι,

2 διὰ τὴν στενότητα οὕτω προσαγορεύονται· ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἀπότομα ἀνατείνει, ἔνθεν δὲ κρημνοὶ βαθεῖς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καθήκουσιν. ὁ οὖν Νίγρος στρατόπεδον ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς ἰσχυροῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πρῶτως μὲν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς τοὺς τε λιθοβόλους, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔταξεν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς τοὺς προσμιγνύντας σφίσι ἀμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρῶντο·

3 τό τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ⁴ ὑπὸ τε τῶν κρημνῶν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσει ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὕλης ἀνεκβάτου οὔσης ἐπέφρακτο. τό τε οὖν στρατεύμα οὕτω διέταξε, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεχώρισεν, ὅπως, ἂν τις αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἐθελήσῃ,

4 μὴ δυνηθῇ. ὁ οὖν Ἀνυλλῖνος συνιδῶν⁵ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα προεβάλετο, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸ κούφον πᾶν ἐπέταξεν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν πόρρωθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνείργωσι τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἱ δ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ἄνοδόν σφίσι ἀντιπαράσχωσι· τοὺς δ' ἵππεάς

¹ κᾶν Bk., καὶ ἄν VC.

² Ἀνυλλίνου Bs., ἀνυλλίνου VC (and similarly below).

³ προσμιγνύντας H. Steph., προμιγνύντας VC.

⁴ ἀριστερὰ . . . δεξιὰ Lobek, ἀριστερᾶ . . . δεξιᾶ VC.

⁵ συνιδῶν Bk., ἀνιδῶν VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

Indeed, they would have utterly destroyed them, A.D. 194
had not the city been near and had not a dark night come on.

After this there was a tremendous battle at Issus, near the "Gates," as they are called. In this struggle Valerianus and Anullinus commanded the army of Severus, while Niger himself was present with his own forces and arrayed them for the battle. This pass, the "Cilician Gates,"¹ is so named because of its narrowness; for on the one side precipitous mountains tower aloft and on the other high cliffs descend to the sea. Niger, now, pitched his camp here on a well-fortified hill; and he stationed in his front line the heavy-armed troops, then the javelin-men and stone-throwers, and behind all the rest the archers, in order that the front ranks, fighting at close range, should hold back their antagonists, while the others from a distance should bring their strength into play over the heads of those in front. As for his flanks, he was protected on the left and on the right respectively by the cliffs on the side of the sea and by the forest, which was impenetrable. Thus he arrayed his army; and he stationed the baggage-carriers in the rear, so that none of the troops would be able to flee even if they wished. Anullinus, seeing this, placed his heavy-armed troops in front and behind them all his light-armed forces, in order that the latter by discharging their weapons from a distance over the heads of the others should hold back the enemy, while the men in front made the advance up the slope safe for them; his cavalry he sent with

¹ Cf. Xen., *Anab.* i. 4, 4.

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μετὰ Οὐαλεριανοῦ ἔπεμψε, τὴν τε ὕλην τρόπον
 τινὰ περιελθεῖν καὶ κατὰ νότου τοῖς Νιγρείοις
 5 αἰφνίδιον ἐπιπεσεῖν κελεύσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς χεῖρας
 ἤεσαν, τῶν Σεουηρείων τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰς μὲν προ-
 βαλομένων τὰς δὲ ἐπιβαλομένων¹ ἐς χελώνης
 τρόπον, καὶ οὕτω πλησιασάντων τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
 ἐγένετο μὲν ἰσόρροπος ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ μακρότατον,
 ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου πολὺ τῷ πλήθει σφῶν καὶ
 6 τῇ τοῦ χωρίου φύσει προέσχον. κἂν παντελῶς
 ἐκράτησαν, εἰ μὴ νέφη ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ ἄνεμος
 ἐκ νηνεμίας βρονταί τε σκληραὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ
 ὄξειαι μεθ' εὐτοῦ λάβρου κατὰ πρόσωπον
 αὐτοῖς προσέπεσον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Σεουηρεί-
 ους ἄτε καὶ κατόπιν ὄντα² οὐκ ἐλύπει ταῦτα,
 τοὺς δὲ Νιγρείους ἐμπίπτοντα ἐξ ἐναντίας
 7 ἰσχυρῶς ἐτάραττε. μέγιστον δ' αὕτη³ ἡ συν-
 τυχία τοῦ γενομένου τοῖς μὲν θάρσος ὡς καὶ
 παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθουμένοις, τοῖς δὲ δέος ὡς καὶ
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμουμένοις ἐμβαλοῦσα τοὺς μὲν καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπέρρωσε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν
 8 δύναμιν ἐξεφόβησε· καὶ σφίσι φεύγουσιν ἤδη ὁ
 Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπεφάνη. ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτὸν ἀνά-
 παλιν ἐτράποντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀνυλλίνου
 σφᾶς ἀνακόψαντος ἀνέστρεψαν· εἶτ' ἄνω καὶ
 κάτω διατρέχοντες, ὅπη διαπέσοιεν, ἐπλανῶντο.
 8 Καὶ φθόρου δὴ τοῦτον πλεῖστου ἐν τῷδε τῷ
 πολέμῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι· δύο γὰρ μυριάδες τῶν
 μετὰ τοῦ Νίγρου διώλοντο· καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα τὸ τοῦ
 2 ἱερέως ὄναρ ἐδήλου· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Παννονίᾳ ὄντος τοῦ

¹ προβαλομένων . . . ἐπιβαλομένων Bk., προβαλλομένων . . . ἐπιβαλλομένων VC.

² ὄντα Reim., ὄντας VC.

³ αὕτη H. Steph., αὔτη VC.

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Σεουήρου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς ὄναρ εἶδεν ἄνδρα τινὰ μέλανα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσβιαζόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀπολλύμενον· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Νίγρου ἔξελληνίζοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν μέλανα
 3 ἐκείνον εἶναι ἔγνωσαν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἔφυγε μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ Νίγρος, διανοούμενος ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους φυγεῖν, ἐάλω δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν καταδιωξάντων καὶ ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν. καὶ ταύτην ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον πέμψας ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ἵν' ἰδόντες αὐτὴν¹ οἱ Βυζάντιοι προσχωρήσωσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουῆρος τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου φρονήσαντας ἐδικαίου.—*Xiph.* 297, 5—299, 9 R. St.

4 "Ὅτι ὁ Σεουῆρος τὰς πόλεις τοὺς τε ἰδιώτας τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλαζε τοὺς δὲ ἡμείβετο, τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα, τοὺς δὲ δὴ πλείους τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισεν. ἠργυρολόγησέ τε δεινῶς· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα τῷ Νίγρῳ καὶ ἰδιῶταί τινες καὶ δῆμοι, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκούσιοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαστοί,
 5 ἐδεδώκεσαν, τετραπλάσια ἐπεσέπραξεν. καὶ ἠσθάνετο μὲν που καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο,² πολλῶν δὲ δὴ χρημάτων χρήζων ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ θρυλούμενα ἐποιεῖτο.—*Exc. Val.* 342 (p. 734).

9 Κάσσιος δὲ Κλήμης βουλευτῆς παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Σεουήρῳ κρινόμενος οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ὡδέ³ πῶς ἐπαρρησιάσατο. "ἐγώ" ἔφη "οὔτε σὲ οὔτε Νίγρον ἠπιστάμην, καταληφθεῖς⁴ δὲ δὴ⁵ ἐν

¹ αὐτὴν Zon., αὐτόν VC.

² Some words have probably been lost before τοῦτο. Bekker supplied *κακηγορούμενος* διά.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

in Pannonia the priest of Jupiter in a dream saw A.D. 194
a black man force his way into the emperor's camp and come to his death by violence; and by interpreting the name of Niger people recognized that he was the black man in question. Upon the capture of Antioch not long after this, Niger fled from there toward the Euphrates, intending to make his escape to the barbarians; but his pursuers overtook him and cut off his head. Severus caused the head to be sent to Byzantium and to be set up on a pole, that the sight of it might induce the Byzantines to join his cause. After this he proceeded to punish those who had belonged to Niger's party.

As for the various cities and private citizens, Severus punished some and rewarded others; of the Roman senators he slew none, but deprived most of them of their property, and confined them on islands. He was merciless in his raising of funds; thus, for example, he exacted four times the amount that any individuals or peoples had given to Niger, whether they had done so voluntarily or under compulsion. He himself doubtless perceived [that he was ill spoken of because of] this, but, as he required large sums of money, he paid no attention to what people said.

Cassius Clemens, a senator, when on trial before Severus himself, did not conceal the truth, but freely expressed his mind, to this general effect: "I," he said, "was acquainted with neither you nor Niger, but, finding myself in the midst of his partisans, I

³ ὠδε Leuncl., ὠδι VC.

⁴ καταληφθείς Zon. BCEc, καταλειφθείς VC Zon. A.

⁵ δῆ R. St., δῆν VC.

τῆ ἐκείνου μερίδι τὸ παρὸν ἀναγκαίως ἐθεράπευσα,
 οὐχ ὡς σοὶ πολεμήσων· ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰουλιανὸν κατα-
 2 λύσων.· οὐτ' οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τι ἠδίκησα, τὰ αὐτὰ
 σοι κατ' ἀρχὰς σπουδάσας, οὐθ' ὅτι μὴ πρὸς σὲ
 ὕστερον, ἐγκαταλιπὼν ὃν ἄπαξ¹ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαι-
 μονίου ἔλαχον,² μετέστην· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σὺ τῶν
 παρακαθημένων σοι καὶ συνδικαζόντων τούτων
 οὐδένα ἂν ἠθέλησας προδόντα σε πρὸς ἐκείνον
 3 αὐτομολῆσαι. ἐξέταζε οὖν μὴ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν
 μηδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα. πᾶν
 γὰρ ὃ τι ἂν ἡμῶν καταγνῶς, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτοῦ
 καὶ τῶν σῶν ἐταίρων καταψηφιῇ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ
 μάλιστα μήτε δίκη μήτ' ἀποφάσει τινὶ ἀλώση,
 ἀλλὰ τῆ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φήμη, ἧς ἐς αἴδιον
 μνήμη καταλείψεται,³ δόξεις † ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς
 4 συνέβη⁴ † ἑτέροις ἐγκαλεῖν." τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ
 Σεουῆρος τῆς παρρησίας θαυμάσας, τὴν ἡμίσειαν
 αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας ἔχειν συνεχώρησεν.—Xiph. 299,
 9-25 R. St.

"Ὅτι, συχνοὶ ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου φρονήσαντες,
 καὶ τῶν οὐτ' ἰδόντων ποτὲ αὐτὸν οὔτε συναρα-
 μένων οἱ, ἐπηρεάσθησαν.—Exc. Val. 343 (p. 737).
 10 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Βυζάντιοι καὶ ζῶντος τοῦ Νίγρου καὶ
 τελευτήσαντος πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔδρασαν.
 ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐν καιρῷ πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἠπείρων
 καὶ τῆς διὰ μέσου σφῶν θαλάσσης κεῖται, τῆ τε
 τοῦ χωρίου ἅμα καὶ τῆ τοῦ Βοσπόρου φύσει
 2 ἰσχυρῶς παρεσκευασμένη. αὐτὴ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ με-
 τεώρου πεπόλισται, προέχουσα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν·

¹ ὃν ἄπαξ Rk., ἄπαξ ὃν VC.

² ἔλαχον Bk., ἔλαβον VC.

³ καταλείψεται St., καταλείψεται VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ ἐκείνη χειμάρρου δίκην ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου κατα-
 θέουσα τῆ. τε ἄκρα προσπίπτει, καὶ μέρει μὲν
 τινι ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ ἀποτρέπεται κἀνταῦθα τὸν τε
 κόλπον καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ποιεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι
 πρὸς τὴν Προποντίδα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν
 3 πολλῇ σπουδῇ χωρεῖ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ τείχη
 καρτερώτατα εἶχον. ὃ τε γὰρ θῶραξ αὐτῶν
 λίθοις τετραπέδοις παχέσι συνωκοδόμητο, πλαξὶ
 χαλκαῖς συνδουμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν¹ καὶ
 χώμασι καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν ὠχύρωτο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν
 τείχος παχὺ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ ἐπάνωθεν
 αὐτοῦ περιδρομον καὶ στεγανὸν καὶ εὐφύλακτον
 4 ὑπάρχειν. πύργοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι ἔξω τε
 ἐκκείμενοι καὶ θυρίδας πέριξ ἐπαλληλάς ἔχοντες
 ἦσαν, ὥστε τοὺς προσβάλλοντας τῷ κύκλῳ ἐντὸς
 αὐτῶν ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι. δι' ὀλίγου τε γὰρ καὶ οὐ
 κατ' εὐθύ, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῆ οἱ δὲ τῆ σκολιώτερον
 ὠκοδομημένοι, πᾶν τὸ προσπίπτον σφισιν ἐνεκυ-
 5 κλοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ δὴ περιβόλου τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῆς
 ἠπείρου² μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο,³ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τυχόν-
 τας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀμύνασθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῆ θάλαττη
 ἦττον· αἶ τε γὰρ πέτραι ἐφ' ὧν ἐπωκοδόμητο
 καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βοσπόρου δεινότης θαυμαστῶς σφίσι
 συνεμάχουν. οἷ τε λιμένες ἐντὸς τείχους ἀμφό-
 τεροι κλειστοὶ ἀλύσεσιν ἦσαν, καὶ αἶ χηλαὶ
 αὐτῶν πύργους ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολὺ προέχοντας
 ἔφερον, ὥστ' ἀπορον τῷ πολεμίῳ⁴ τὸν πρόσπλουν
 6 ποιεῖν. τὸ δ' ὅλον ὁ Βόσπορός σφας μέγιστα

¹ αὐτῶν Zon., αὐτοῦ VC.

² πρὸς? (corr. from πρὸ?) τῆς ἠπείρου C, πρὸ τῆς ἠπείρου V, πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον Zon.

³ μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο Bs., μέγα ὕψος VC, ἐς μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο Zon.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

into the sea; and the latter, rushing down from the ^{A.D. 191} Euxine like a mountain torrent and hurling itself against the headland, is diverted in part to the right, forming there the bay and the harbours, but the greater part of the water flows on with great speed past the city itself toward the Propontis. Moreover, their walls were very strong. The breastwork of the walls was constructed of massive squared stones fastened together by bronze plates, and on the inside they were strengthened with mounds and buildings; so that the whole seemed to be one thick wall on top of which there was a covered passageway easy of defence. There were many large towers constructed on the outside of the wall and provided with windows set close together on every side, so that anyone assailing the wall would be intercepted between them; for as they were built at short intervals and not in a straight line, but some here and some there along a rather crooked circuit, they were bound to command any attacking party from every side. The sections of the wall on the land side were raised to a great height, so as to repel even any chance assailants from that quarter, but the portions along the sea were lower; for there the rocks on which the walls were built and the dangerous character of the Bosphorus proved wonderfully effective allies for the Byzantines. The harbours within the wall had both been closed with chains and their breakwaters carried towers that jutted far out on either side, making approach impossible for the enemy. In a word, the Bosphorus is of the greatest

⁴ πολεμίω Blancus (in vers.), πολέμω VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὠφελεί· ἀνάγκη γὰρ πᾶσα, ἀν' ἅπαξ τις ἐς τὸ
 ῥεῦμα ἐμπέσῃ, καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γῆν
 ἐκπεσεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ μὲν φίλῳ ἡδιστόν ἐστι,
 τῷ δὲ ἐναντίῳ ἀπορώτατον.

11 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ
 προσέτι καὶ μηχαναὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ τείχους
 ποικιλώταται ἦσαν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς
 πλησιάζοντας καὶ πέτρας καὶ δοκοὺς ἐνέβαλλον,¹
 τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας καὶ λίθους καὶ
 βέλη δόρατά τε ἠφίεσαν, ὥστε ἐντὸς πολλοῦ
 χωρίου μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀκινδύνως πελάσαι δύ-
 2 νασθαι· ἀρπάγας² τε ἕτεραι ἔχουσαι καὶ καθ-
 ἴεντο ἐξαπιναίως καὶ ἀνέσπων διὰ βραχέος καὶ
 πλοῖα καὶ μηχανήματα. Πρίσκος πολίτης ἐμὸς
 τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐτεκτήνατο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 θανάτου τε ἅμα ὠφλε καὶ ἐσώθη· ὁ γὰρ Σεουῆρος
 τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ μαθὼν ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἀπο-
 θανεῖν, καὶ τούτου ἔς τε ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτῷ ἐχρή-
 σατο καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἄτρων πολιορκίαν, καὶ μόνα
 γέ τὰ ἐκείνου μηχανήματα οὐκ ἐκαύθη ὑπὸ τῶν
 3 βαρβάρων. καὶ πλοῖα δὲ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πεντα-
 κόσια, τὰ μὲν πλείιστα³ μονήρη, ἔστι δ' ἂ καὶ
 δίκροτα, κατεσεκύαστο ἐμβόλους ἔχοντα· καὶ τινὰ
 αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης καὶ ἐκ τῆς
 πρῶρας πηδαλίοις ἤσκητο καὶ κυβερνήτας ναύτας
 τε διπλοῦς εἶχεν, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀναστρεφόμενοι
 καὶ ἐπιπλέωσι καὶ ἀναχωρῶσι, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους
 καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσπλῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ σφῶν
 σφάλλωσι.

12 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἔδρασαν καὶ ἔπαθον οἱ

¹ ἐνέβαλλον H. Steph., ἐνέβαλον VC.

² ἀρπάγας Leuncl., ἄρπαγας V, ἀρπαγὰς C.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Βυζάντιοι, ἅτε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὡς εἰπεῖν
 στόλοις ἐπὶ ὄλον τριετῆ χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι·
 λελέξεται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ τὰ ἐχόμενά τινος θαύματος.
 ἦρουν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλοῖά τινα παραπλέοντα
 εὐκαίρως ἐπιτιθέμενοι, ἦρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις τῶν
 2 ἐν τῷ ὄρμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐσῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀγκύρας
 αὐτῶν ὑφύδροις κολυμβηταῖς ὑποτέμνοντες, καὶ
 ἦλους¹ ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς σφῶν, καλωδίους ἐκ τῆς
 φιλίας ἐκδεδεμένους, ἐμπηγνύντες, ἐπεσπῶντο,
 ὥστ' αὐτὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτομάτας προσπλεύσας
 ὁρᾶσθαι, μήτ' ἐρέτου μήτ' ἀνέμου μηδενὸς ἐπι-
 3 σπέρχοντος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐθελουταί τινες ἔμποροι,
 ὡς καὶ ἄκοντες, ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἠλίσκοντο, καὶ τὰ
 ἀγώγιμα μεγάλων χρημάτων πωλήσαντες ἐξέ-
 πλεον ἐκδιδράσκοντες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἐκδαπανηθέντων τῶν
 ἔνδον ἐς τὸ² στενὸν κομιδῆ τῶν τε πραγμάτων
 καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐληλύθεσαν,
 4 πρότερον μὲν, καίπερ πάνυ πιεζόμενοι ἅτε καὶ
 τῶν ἔξω πάντων ἀποκεκλειμένοι,³ ὅμως ἀντεῖχον,
 καὶ ἔς τε τὰς ναῦς τοῖς τε ξύλοις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν
 οἰκιῶν καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ ταῖς τῶν⁴ γυναικῶν, σχοινία
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλέκοντες, ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ὅποτε τινὲς
 τῷ τείχει προσβάλοιεν, τοὺς τε λίθους σφίσι
 τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ ἵππους χαλκοῦς καὶ
 5 ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς ὄλους ἐπερρίπτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 καὶ ἡ τροφή σφας ἐπέλιπεν ἢ νενομισμένη καὶ
 δέρματα διαβρέχοντες ἦσθιον, εἶτα καὶ ταῦτα
 καταναλώθη, οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐξέπλευσαν, τηρή-

¹ ἦλους Zon., ἦλοις VC.

² τό Leuncl., οἱ VC.

³ ἀποκεκλειμένοι Dind., ἀποκέκλεισμένοι VC.

⁴ τῶν Bk., ἐκ τῶν VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

of the Byzantines, since for the entire space of three A.D. 194 years they were besieged by the armaments of practically the whole world. I shall relate a few of the incidents that were in any way marvellous. They used to capture not only ships that were sailing past, by making opportune attacks, but also triremes that were in their opponents' roadstead. They accomplished this by causing divers to cut their anchors under water and drive into the ships' sides nails that were attached by ropes to the friendly shore; then they would draw the ships towards them, so that these appeared to be sailing up all by themselves, of their own accord, with neither oarsman nor wind to urge them forward. There were even instances in which traders purposely allowed themselves to be captured by the Byzantines, though they pretended it was against their will, and after selling their wares for a great price, made their escape by sea.

When all the supplies in the city had been consumed and both their fortunes and the hopes based thereon had been reduced to extreme straits, at first, even though they were in dire distress, cut off as they were from all outside aid, they nevertheless continued to resist: For their ships they used timbers taken from the houses and braided ropes made of the hair of their women; and as often as any of the foe assaulted the wall, they would hurl down upon them the stones from the theatres and whole bronze horses and statues of bronze. When even their customary food failed them, they proceeded to soak hides and eat them. Then, when these, too, were used up, the greater part of the population, after waiting for a storm and rough

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σαντες ζάλην καὶ καταιγίδα ὥστε μηδένα ἀνταναχθῆναί σφισιν, ἵν' ἢ ἀπόλωνται ἢ ἐπισιτίσωνται, καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἀπροσδοκῆτως τοῖς ἀγροῖς πάνθ' ὁμοίως ἐλήζοντο, οἱ δ' ὑπολειπόμενοι
 6 δεινότατον ἔργον ἔδρασαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράποντο καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύοντο.

13 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν; οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ τὰ σκάφη καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν κατεγέμισαν, ἦραν χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ τότε ἐπιτηρήσαντες. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὄναντό γε αὐτοῦ· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καταβαρεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ βραχὺ πάνυ τοῦ
 2 ὕδατος ὑπερέχοντας ἰδόντες ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐσκεδασμένοις, ὥς που καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἦγε, προσπίπτοντες ναυμαχίας μὲν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἔσχον, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς ἔκοπτον, πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς κοντοῖς ὠθοῦντες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις ἀναρρηγνύντες, ἔστι δ' ἀ
 καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ προσβολῇ σφῶν ἀνατρέποντες.
 3 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δρᾶσαι μὲν οὐδέν,¹ οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ἠθέλον' ἠδύναντο· διαφυγεῖν δέ πη πειρώμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀπλήστως αὐτῷ χρώμενοι, ἐβαπτίζοντο, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καταλαμι
 4 βανόμενοι διώλλυντο. θεώμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ τέως μὲν ἐθεοκλύτουν καὶ ἐπεβόων ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι² τοῖς γινομένοις, ὡς ἐκάστῳ τι τῆς θεᾶς ἐκείνης ἢ τοῦ πάθους προσέπιπτεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πανσυδὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπολλυμένους εἶδον, τότε δὴ

¹ οὐδέν R. Steph., οὐθέν VC.

² ἄλλοι Dind., ἀλλοῖς VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- ἄθροοι καὶ ἀνώμωξαν καὶ ἀνεθρήνησαν, κακ
 τούτου τό τε λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν νύκτα
 5 πᾶσαν ἐπέθεν. τοσαῦτα γὰρ τὰ πάντα ναυάγια
 ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν
 ἐξενεχθῆναί τινα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἠττάν
 σφῶν, καὶ πρὶν ἀκουσθῆναι, γνωσθῆναι. καὶ τῇ
 ὑστεραίᾳ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐπὶ μείζον τὸ δεινὸν
 6 ἠϋξήθη· ὡς γὰρ ὁ κλύδων ἐστόρεστο, πᾶσα ἡ
 θάλασσα ἢ πρὸς τῷ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν
 καὶ τῶν ναυαγίων καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπληρώθη,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξεβράσθη, ἅσπε καὶ
 χαλεπώτερον ἐκ τῆς ὄψεώς σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ ἔργου φανῆναι.
- 14 Παρέδοσαν μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα τὴν πόλιν καὶ
 ἄκοντες οἱ Βυζάντιοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρα-
 τιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει διεχρήσαντο . . .¹
 πάντας· πλὴν τοῦ πύκτου ὃς πολλὰ τοὺς Βυζαν-
 τίους ὠφέλησε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔβλαψεν·
 οὗτος γὰρ παραχρῆμα πύξ τε παίσας τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν τινὰ καὶ ἑτέρῳ λάξ ἐνθορών, ὅπως
 ὀργισθέντες διαφθείρωσιν αὐτόν· προαπώλετο.²
- 2 ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος οὕτως ἦσθη ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ
 Βυζαντίου ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐν τῇ
 Μεσοποταμίᾳ τότε ὄν· αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶπεῖν, “ ἴλομεν
 3 δὲ καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον.” ἔπαυσε δὲ τὴν πρῆξιν τῆς
 τε ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ,
 καὶ δασμοφόρον ἀποφήνας τὰς τε οὐσίας τῶν
 πολιτῶν δημεύσας, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῆς
 Περινηθίοις ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ αὐτῇ ἐκείνοι οἷα κώμη

¹ Lacuna recognized by Reim., who supplied τοὺς δ' ἄλλους διέσωσαν.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

a chorus of groans and lamentations, and after that A.D. 194 they mourned for the rest of the day and the whole night.¹ The total number of the wrecks proved so great that some drifted on the islands and the Asiatic coast, and the defeat became known by these relics before it had been heard of. The next day the horror was increased still more for the townspeople; for when the waves had subsided, the whole sea in the vicinity of Byzantium was covered with corpses and wrecks and blood, and many of the remains were cast up on shore, with the result that their disaster appeared even worse to their eyes than it had been in reality.

The Byzantines, accordingly, were constrained to surrender the city at once. The Romans put to death all the soldiers and magistrates, [but spared all the rest] except the pugilist who had greatly aided the Byzantines and injured the Romans. He perished at the very outset; for, in order to make the soldiers angry enough to kill him, he promptly struck one of them with his fist and leaped upon another with his heels. Severus was so pleased at the capture of Byzantium that he blurted out the fact to his soldiers in Mesopotamia, where he was at the time: "We have taken Byzantium, too." He deprived the city of its independence and of its proud position as a state, and made it tributary, confiscating the property of the citizens. He granted the city and its territory to the Perinthians, and they, treating it like a village, visited every kind of

¹ Compare Thucydides' account (vii. 71) of the naval battle in the Great Harbour of Syracuse.

² προαπώλετο Bk., προσαπώλετο VC.

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4 χρώμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ὕβριζον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
δικαίως πως ποιῆσαι ἔδοξε· τὰ δὲ δὴ τείχη τῆς
πόλεως διαλύσας ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν πλέον τῆς
στερήσεως τῆς δόξης, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως αὐτῶν
ἐκαρποῦντο, ἐλύπησε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίων μέγα
καὶ φυλακτήριον καὶ ὀρμητήριον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ
τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάρους καθεῖλε.
5 καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ τὰ τε τείχη πεπτωκότα ὥσπερ ὑπ'
ἄλλων τινῶν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐαλωκότα,
ἐτεθείμην δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐστηκότα καὶ ἠκηκόειν
αὐτῶν καὶ λαλούντων. ἑπτὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν
Θρακίων πυλῶν πύργοι καθήκοντες¹ πρὸς τὴν
θάλασσαν ἦσαν, τούτων δ' εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλω τῷ
6 προσέμιξεν, ἥσυχος ἦν, εἰ δὲ δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ
ἐνεβόησέ³ τινα ἢ καὶ λίθον ἐνέρριψεν,² αὐτός τε
ἤχει καὶ³ ἐλάλει καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο
ποιεῖν παρεδίδου, καὶ οὕτω διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως
ἐχώρει, οὐδὲ ἐπετάραττον ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ
μέρει πάντες, παρὰ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἕτερος, τὴν
τε ἤχην καὶ τὴν φωνὴν διεδέχοντό τε καὶ παρε-
πέμποντο.

LXXV Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Βυζαντίων τείχη ἦν,
1, 1 Σεουήρος δέ, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπολιορκεῖτο, κατὰ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἐπιθυμία δόξης ἐστράτευσε, τῶν τε
Ὀρροηνῶν⁴ καὶ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρα-
βίων.—Xiph. 299, 25—303, 21 R. St.

2 "Ὅτι οἱ Ὀρροηνοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀδιαβηνοὶ ἀποστά-
τες καὶ Νίσιβιν πολιορκοῦντες, καὶ ἠττηθέντες
ὑπὸ Σεουήρου, ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ
τὸν τοῦ Νίγρου θάνατον, οὐχ ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἠδικη-

¹ καθήκοντες Suid., καθεστηκότες VC Zon.

² ἐνέρριψεν VC, προσέρριψεν Zon., ἔρρηξεν Suid.

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κότες τι παραιτούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἀπαιτοῦντες ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο πεποιηκότες· τοὺς γὰρ στρατιώτας τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου φρονήσαντας ἔλεγον¹ ἐκείνου ἔνεκα ἐφθαρκέσαι. καὶ τινα καὶ δῶρα αὐτῷ ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τὰ περιοντα ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὰ τείχη ἀήρηκεσαν ἐκλιπεῖν οὔτε φρουροὺς² λαβεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξαχθῆναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἠξίου. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος συνέστη.—EHC. U^G 69 (p. 413).

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβὰς ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας οὔσης ἄλλως τε δὴ³ καὶ τότε πλέον ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐξικμασμένης ἐκινδύνευσε παμπληθεῖς στρατιώτας ἀποβαλεῖν· κεκμηκόσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ κονιορτὸς ἐμπίπτων ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησεν, ὥστε μήτε βαδίζειν μήτε λαλεῖν ἔτι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον φθέγγεσθαι, “ ὕδωρ ὕδωρ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεφάνη μὲν,⁴ ἐξ ἴσου δὲ τῷ μὴ εὐρεθέντι ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ ἀτοπίας ἦν, ὁ Σεουῆρος κύλικά τε ἤτησε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος πληρώσας ἀπάντων ὁρώντων ἐξέπιδε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς προσπιόντες ἀνερρώσθησαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Νίσιβιν ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπέμεινε, Λατερανὸν⁵ δὲ καὶ Κάνδιδον καὶ Λαῖτον ἐς τοὺς προειρημένους βαρβάρους ἄλλον ἄλλη ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ἐπερχόμενοι οὗτοι τὴν τε χώραν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐδήουν

¹ ἔλεγον Urs., ἔλαττον MSS.

² φρουροὺς Bk., φόρους MSS.

³ δὴ Reim., δὲ VC.

⁴ μὲν Bs., μὲν ἰκμάς VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

as if they had committed any wrong, but to demand reciprocal favours, pretending that they had acted as they had on his behalf; for they claimed it was for his sake that they had destroyed the soldiers who favoured Niger's cause. They also sent him some gifts and promised to restore the captives and whatever spoils there were still left; yet they were unwilling either to abandon the forts that they had captured or to receive garrisons, but actually demanded the removal from their country of such garrisons as still remained. It was this that led to the present war.

After crossing the Euphrates and invading the enemy's territory, where the country is always destitute of water and at that time by reason of the heat had become especially parched, he came very near losing a vast number of soldiers. For when they were already wearied by their march and by the hot sun, they encountered a dust-storm that caused them great distress, so that they could no longer march or even talk, but only cry, "Water! Water!" And when water did appear, on account of its strangeness it meant no more to them than if it had not been found at all,—until Severus called for a cup, and filling it with the water, drained it in full view of all; then, indeed, some others likewise drank and were refreshed. Afterwards Severus reached Nisibis, and tarrying there himself, sent Lateranus, Candidus, and Laetus in various directions among the barbarians named; and these generals upon reaching their goals proceeded to lay waste the barbarians' land and to capture their

⁵ Λατερανὸν Reim., λατερνὸν VC.

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4 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλάμβανον. μέγα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ Σεουήρῳ φρονοῦντι, ὡς καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπους καὶ συνέσει καὶ ἀνδρία ὑπερβεβηκότι, πρᾶγμα παραδοξότατον συνηνέχθη. Κλαύδιος γάρ τις ληστής καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν κατατρέχων καὶ πολλῇ διὰ τοῦτο σπουδῇ ζητούμενος, προσῆλθέ τε, αὐτῷ ποτὲ μεθ' ἰππέων ὡς καὶ χιλίαρχός τις ὢν, καὶ ἠσπάσατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφίλησε, καὶ οὔτε εὐθὺς ἐφωράθη οὔθ' ὕστερον συνελήφθη.—Xiph. 303, 21—304, 8 R. St.

1 "Ὅτι οἱ Ἀράβιοι, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς σφισι τῶν πλησιοχώρων βοηθῆσαι ἠθέλησε πρὸς Σεουῆρον αὐθις ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἐπιεικέστερά τινα προτεινόμενοι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχον ὧν ἐβούλοντο, ἐπειδὴ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦλθον.—Exc. U^G 70 (p. 414).

3 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τοὺς Σκύθας πολεμσεύοντας βρονταί τε καὶ ἀστραπαὶ μετ' ὄμβρου καὶ κεραυνοὶ βουλευομένοις σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐμπεσόντες, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἀποκτείναντες, ἐπέσχον.

2 Ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος αὐθις τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ ποιήσας, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Λαίτῳ τὸ ¹ δὲ τῷ Ἀνυλλίνῳ καὶ τῷ Πρόβῳ δούς, ἐπὶ τὴν † Ἀρχὴν ² † ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτην, τριχῇ ἐσβαλόντες, οὐκ ἀμογητὶ ἐχειροῦντο· ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος ἀξίωμα τῇ Νισίβει δούς ἰππεῖ ταύτην ἐπέτρεψεν, ἔλεγέ τε
3 βολον αὐτὴν τῆς Συρίας πεποιῆσθαι. ἐλέγχεται

¹ Either τὰ δὲ should be read with Bk., or καὶ <τὸ τρίτον> τῷ Πρόβῳ with Reim.

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δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολέμων ἡμῖν συνεχῶν,
ὡς καὶ δαπανημάτων πολλῶν, αἰτία οὖσα· δίδωσι
μὲν γὰρ ἐλάχιστα, ἀναλίσκει δὲ παμπληθῆ, καὶ
πρὸς ἐγγυτέρους καὶ τῶν Μήδων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων
προσεληλυθότες αἰεὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
μαχόμεθα.—Xiph. 304, 8-22 R. St.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

the facts themselves that this conquest has been **A.D. 196** a source of constant wars and great expense to us. For it yields very little and uses up vast sums; and now that we have reached out to peoples who are neighbours of the Medes and Parthians rather than of ourselves, we are always, one might say, fighting the battles of those peoples.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

LXXV Τῷ δὲ Σεουήρῳ πόλεμος αὐθις, μήπω¹ ἐκ τῶν
 4, 1 βαρβαρικῶν ἀναπνεύσαντι, ἐμφύλιος πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀλβῖνον τὸν Καίσαρα συνηνέχθη. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ ἔτι ἐδίδου τιμὴν,
 ἐπειδὴ τὸν Νίγρον ἐκποδῶν ἐποιήσατο, τὰ τε
 ἄλλα τὰ ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐβούλετο κατεστήσατο· ὁ
 δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτηι ὑπεροχὴν.
 2 συγκινουμένης οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τῆς οἰκουμένης
 ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ ἡσυχίαν ἤγομεν, ὅσοι μὴ
 πρὸς τοῦτον ἢ ἐκείνον φανερώς ἀποκλίναντες
 ἐκοινώνουν σφίσι καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν
 ἐλπίδων, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν ἀλλ'
 ἐκφανέστατα κατωδύρατο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τελευ-
 ταία πρὸ τῶν Κρονίων ἵπποδρομία, καὶ συνέδρα-
 μεν ἐς αὐτὴν² ἄπλετόν τι χρῆμα ἀνθρώπων.
 3 παρῆν δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ τῇ θεᾷ διὰ τὸν ὑπατον φίλον
 μου ὄντα, καὶ πάντα τὰ λεχθέντα ἀκριβῶς
 ἤκουσα, ὅθεν καὶ γράψαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἠδυνήθην.
 ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. συνῆλθον μὲν ὥσπερ εἶπον
 ἀμύθητοι, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐξαχῶς ἀμιλλώμενα
 ἐθείσαντο, ὅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου³
 ἐγεγόνει, μηδὲν μηδένα παράπαν ἐπαινέσαντες,
 4 ὅπερ εἴθισται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνοί τε οἱ δρόμοι
 ἐπαύσαντο καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ ἠνίοχοι ἐτέρου ἄρ-

¹ μήπω R. Steph., μήπως V, μηπῶ C.

² αὐτὴν Leuncl., αὐτὸ VC.

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ξασθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη σιγάσαντες¹ ἀλλήλους
 ἐξαίφνης τὰς τε χεῖρας πάντες ἅμα συνεκρότησαν
 καὶ προσεπεβόησαν, εὐτυχίαν τῇ τοῦ δήμου
 5 σωτηρίᾳ αἰτούμενοι. εἶπόν τε τοῦτο, καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ βασιλίδα καὶ ἀθάνατον
 ὀνομάσαντες “μέχρι πότε τοιαῦτα πάσχομεν;”
 ἔκραξαν “καὶ μέχρι ποῦ πολεμούμεθα;” εἰπόν-
 τες δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιουτότροπα τέλος ἐξεβόη-
 σαν ὅτι “ταῦτά ἐστιν,” καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν
 ἵππων ἐτράποντο. οὕτω μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας
 6 ἐπιπνοίας ἐνεθουσίασαν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως
 τοσαῦται μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἤρξαντο τὰ
 αὐτὰ ἅμα ἀναβοᾶν ὥσπερ τις ἀκριβῶς χορὸς
 δεδιδαγμένος, οὔτ’ εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀπταιστῶς ὡς καὶ
 μεμελετημένα. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον
 ἡμᾶς ἐτάραττε, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ
 ἀέρι τῷ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοσοῦτον ὥφθη ὥστε τοὺς
 μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὅλην τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν
 7 αὐτὸν καίεσθαι δοκεῖν. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα θαυ-
 μάσας ἔχω, ψεκὰς ἐν αἰθρίᾳ ἀργυροειδῆς ἐς τὴν
 τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰν κατερρῦη. φερομένην
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐκ εἶδον, πεσοῦσης δὲ αὐτῆς
 ἠσθόμην, καὶ κέρματά τινα ἀπ’ αὐτῆς χαλκᾶ
 κατηργύρωσα, ἃ καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τὴν αὐτὴν
 ὄψιν εἶχε· τῇ γὰρ τετάρτῃ πᾶν τὸ ἐπαλειφθὲν
 αὐτοῖς ἠφανίσθη.

5 Νουμεριανὸς δὲ τις γραμματιστῆς τῶν τὰ
 παιδία γράμματα διδασκόντων, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης
 ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτῷ,
 ἀφορμηθεὶς, βουλευτῆς τε εἶναι τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 πλασάμενος καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἄθροισιν ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ σιγάσαντες Reim., σιγήσαντες VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

event, they first enjoined silence upon one another A.D. 196 and then suddenly all clapped their hands at the same moment and also joined in a shout, praying for good fortune for the public welfare. This was what they first cried out; then, applying the terms "Queen" and "Immortal" to Rome, they shouted: "How long are we to suffer such things?" and "How long are we to be waging war?" And after making some other remarks of this kind, they finally shouted, "So much for that," and turned their attention to the horse-race. In all this they were surely moved by some divine inspiration; for in no other way could so many myriads of men have begun to utter the same shouts at the same time, like a carefully trained chorus, or have spoken the words without a mistake, just as if they had practised them. This demonstration was one thing that increased our apprehensions still more; another was the sudden appearance of such a great fire in the northern sky at night that some supposed the whole city was burning, and others that the very sky was afire. But what I marvelled at most was this: a fine rain resembling silver descended from a clear sky upon the Forum of Augustus. I did not, it is true, see it as it was falling, but noticed it after it had fallen, and by means of it I plated some bronze coins with silver; they retained the same appearance for three days, but by the fourth day all the substance rubbed on them had disappeared.

Numerianus, a schoolmaster who taught children their letters, set out from Rome for Gaul for some reason or other, and by pretending to be a Roman senator sent by Severus to raise an army, he col-

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Σεουήρου πεμφθῆναι, συνήγαγέ τινα βραχείαν
 πρῶτον ἰσχύν, καί τινας τῶν τοῦ Ἀλβίνου
 ἰππέων διέφθειρε, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 2 Σεουήρου ἐνεανιεύσατο· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Σεουήρος,
 καὶ νομίσας ὄντως τινὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν εἶναι,
 ἐπέστειλεν ἐπαινῶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ δύναμιν κελεύων
 πλείονα προσλαβεῖν· καὶ ὅς λαβὼν πλείονα
 δύναμιν ἄλλα τε θαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείξατο, καὶ
 χιλίας καὶ ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας
 3 δραχμῶν ἐλὼν τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἔπεμψε. νικήσαντος
 δὲ τοῦ Σεουήρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν οὔτ' ἀπεκρύ-
 ψατό τι οὔτ' ἤτησεν ὡς ἀληθῶς βουλευτῆς
 γενέσθαι, καὶ τιμαῖς μεγάλαις πλούτῳ τε ἀν-
 αὔξηθῆναι δυνηθεὶς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγρῷ
 τινί, σμικρὸν τι ἐφ' ἡμέραν λαμβάνων παρ'
 αὐτοῦ, διεβίω.

6 Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀγὼν τῷ τε Σεουήρῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀλβίνῳ¹
 πρὸς τῷ Λουγδούνῳ· τοιοῦσδε πεντε-
 καίδεκα μὲν μυριάδες στρατιωτῶν ^{ἐγγεστῶν} ἀμφοτέροις
 ὑπῆρχον, παρήσαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφότεροι τῷ πολέμῳ
 ἅτε περὶ ψυχῆς θέοντες, καίτοι τοῦ Σεουήρου
 2 μηδεμιᾶ πω μάχῃ ἑτέρα παραγεγονότος. ἦν δὲ
 ὁ μὲν Ἀλβῖνος καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ
 προήκων, ἄτερος δὲ τὰ² πολέμια κρείττων καὶ
 δεινὸς στρατηγῆσαι. συνέβη δὲ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον
 προτέρα μάχῃ νικῆσαι τὸν Λούπον τῶν τοῦ
 Σεουήρου στρατηγῶν ὄντα, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν
 αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι στρατιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ τότε ἀγὼν
 3 πολλὰς ἔσχεν ἰδέας τε καὶ τροπὰς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
 λαιὸν κέρας τοῦ Ἀλβίνου ἠττήθη τε καὶ κατέ-
 φυγεν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα, καὶ οἱ Σεουήρειοι στρατιῶται
 διώκοντες συνεσέπεσον, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἐφόνεον

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καὶ τὰς σκηναὶς διήρπαζον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ περὶ
τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ τεταγμένοι, τοῦ Ἀλβίνου στρα-
τιῶται, κρυπτὰς τάφρους εχοντες πρὸ αὐτῶν¹
καὶ ὀρύγματα γῆ ἐπιπολαίως κεκαλυμμένα, μέχρι
μὲν ἐκείνων προήεσαν καὶ ἠκόντιζον πόρρωθεν,
περαιτέρω δὲ οὐ προεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς
δεδιότες ἀνέστρεφον, ὅπως ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς
4 ἐναντίους ἐς δίωξιν· ὃ δὴ ποτε καὶ ἐγένετο·
ἀγανακτήσαντες γὰρ οἱ Σεουήρειοι πρὸς τὴν δι'
ὀλίγου αὐτῶν ἐξόρμησιν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες
αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν ἐκ βραχέος ἀνάφευξιν, ὥρμησαν ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ μεταιχμίου σφῶν
ἐμβατοῦ ὄντος, καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὰς τάφρους
5 παθήματι δεινῶ συνηνέχθησαν· οἳ τε γὰρ πρω-
τοστάται καταρραγέντων εὐθύς τῶν ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς
ἐπικειμένων ἐς τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐνέπεσον, καὶ οἱ
ἐπιτεταγμένοι σφίσιν ἐμπίπτοντες αὐτοῖς ἐσφάλ-
λοντο καὶ κατέπιπτον, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δείσαντες
ἀνεχώρουν ὀπίσω καὶ ἅτε ἐξαίφνης ἀναστρε-
φόμενοι αὐτοῖ τε ἔπταιον καὶ τοὺς οὐραγοῦντας
ἀνέτρεπον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς φάραγγα αὐτοὺς βαθεῖαν
6 συνῶσαι. ἐγένετο² δὴ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν ἐς τὰς
τάφρους πεσόντων φόνος πολὺς ἀναμῖξ ἵππων
τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ
μεταξὺ τῆς τε φάραγγος καὶ τῶν τάφρων βαλλό-
μενοί τε καὶ τοξευόμενοι διεφθείροντο. ἰδὼν δὲ
ταῦτα ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐπεκούρησε μὲν αὐτοῖς μετὰ
τῶν δορυφόρων, τοσοῦτου δὲ ἐδέησεν αὐτοὺς
ὠφελῆσαι ὥστε καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους ὀλίγου δεῖν
προσαπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀποβαλὼν
7 ἐκινδύνευσεν· ὡς δὲ εἶδε φεύγοντας πάντας τοὺς

¹ αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτῶν VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

plunder their tents. In the meantime Albinus' A.D. 197 troops on the right wing, having concealed trenches in front of them and pits covered over with earth on the surface, advanced as far as these pitfalls and hurled their javelins at long range; then, instead of continuing to go forward, they turned back, as if frightened, with the purpose of drawing their foes in pursuit. And this is exactly what happened. For Severus' men, nettled by their brief charge and despising them for their flight after so short an advance, rushed against them in the belief that the whole intervening distance was passable; but on reaching the trenches, they met with a terrible disaster. For the men in the front rank, as soon as the surface-covering was broken through, fell into the excavations, and those immediately behind stumbled over them, slipped, and likewise fell in; the rest drew back in terror, but their retreat was so sudden that they not only lost their footing themselves, but also upset those in the rear and drove them into a deep ravine. Great, indeed, was the loss of life among both these and those who had fallen into the trenches, as horses and men perished in wild confusion. And in the midst of this disorder the men between the ravine and the trenches were being annihilated by showers of missiles and arrows. Severus, seeing this, came to their aid with the Pretorians, but, far from helping them, he came very near destroying the Pretorians, too, and found his own life imperilled when he lost his horse! When he saw all his men in flight, he tore off his

² ἐγένετο H. Steph., ἐγένοντο VC.

ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν χλαμύδα περιρρηξάμενος καὶ τὸ
 ξίφος σπασάμενος ἐς τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐσεπήδησεν,
 ὅπως ἢ αἰσχυνοθέντες ὑποστρέψωσιν· ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς
 αὐτοῖς συναπόληται. ἔστησαν γοῦν τινὲς τοιοῦ-
 του αὐτὸν ἰδόντες· καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν, κὰν τούτῳ
 τοῖς ἐφεπομένοις σφίσιν ἐναντίοι ἐξαίφνης φανέν-
 τες συχνοὺς μὲν ἐκείνων ὡς καὶ Ἀλβινεῖους
 κατέκοψαν· πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας
 8 ἔτρεψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἵππεῖς ἐκ πλαγίου
 οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Λαίτου ἐπιγενόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐχειρ-
 γάσαντο. ὁ γὰρ Λαῖτος, ἕως μὲν ἀγχωμάλως
 ἠγωνίζοντο, περιεωρᾶτο¹ ἐλπίζων ἐκείνους τε
 ἀμφοτέρους ἀπολεῖσθαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ κράτος
 τοὺς λοιποὺς στρατιώτας ἐκατέρωθεν δώσειν·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν ἐπικρατέστερα τοῦ Σεουήρου
 γενόμενα, προσεπελάβετο τοῦ ἔργου.

X 7 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Σεουήρος οὕτως ἐνίκησεν· ἢ δὲ
 δύναμις ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρῶς ἔπταισεν ἅτε
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀναριθμήτων πεσόντων. καὶ πολ-
 λοὶ καὶ τῶν κρατησάντων ὠλοφύραντο τὸ πάθος·
 2 τό τε γὰρ πεδίου πᾶν μεστὸν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν
 καὶ ἵππων ἐωρᾶτο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τραύμασι
 πολλοῖς κατακεκομμένοι καὶ οἶα² κρεουργηθέντες
 ἔκειντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄτρωτοι ἐσεσώρευντο, τά τε
 ὄπλα ἔρριπτο, καὶ τὸ αἷμα πολὺ ἐρρύη, ὥστε καὶ
 3 ἐς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐσπεσεῖν· ὁ δ' Ἀλβῖνος κατα-
 φυγὼν ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ πρὸς τῷ Ῥοδανῷ κειμένην,
 ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ περίξ φρουρούμενα ἤσθετο,
 ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε· λέγω γὰρ οὐχ ὅσα ὁ Σεουήρος
 ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο· ἰδὼν δ' οὖν
 τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

¹ περιεωρᾶτο C, περιωρᾶτο VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πολλὰ δὲ τῇ γλώττῃ χαρισάμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο
 ῥιφήναι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
 4 πέμψας ἀνεσταύρωσεν. ἐφ' οἷς δῆλος γενόμενος
 ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη οἱ¹ αὐτοκράτορος ἀγαθοῦ, ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον, οἷς ἐπέστειλεν, ἐξεφό-
 βησεν· ἅτε γὰρ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ ὀπλισμένου
 κεκρατηκῶς ἐξέχεεν ἐς τοὺς ἀνόπλους πᾶν ὅσον
 ὀργῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου ἠθροίκει.
 μάλιστα δ' ἡμᾶς ἐξέπληξεν ὅτι τοῦ τε Μάρκου
 υἱὸν καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε,
 τῷ τε Κομμόδῳ, ὃν πρῶην ὑβρίζεν, ἠρωικὰς
 8 ἐδίδου τιμάς. πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν λόγον ἀνα-
 γινώσκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν Σύλλου καὶ Μαρίου καὶ
 Αὐγούστου αὐστηρίαν τε καὶ ὠμότητα ὡς ἀσφα-
 λεστέραν ἐπαινῶν, τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ² Καί-
 σαρος ἐπιείκειαν ὡς ὀλεθρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις
 γεγενημένην κακίζων ἀπολογία τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 2 Κομμόδου ἐπήγαγε, καθαπτόμενος τῆς βουλῆς ὡς
 οὐ³ δικαίως ἐκείνον ἀτιμαζούσης, εἶγε καὶ αὐτῆς
 οἱ πλείους αἴσχιον βιοτεύουσιν. “εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο
 ἦν” ἔφη “δεινόν, ὅτι αὐτοχειρία ἐφόνευεν ἐκείνος
 θηρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν τις χθὲς καὶ πρῶην ἐν
 Ὠστίοις,⁴ ὑπατευκῶς γέρων, δημοσίᾳ μετὰ πόρνης
 3 πάρδαλιν μιμουμένης ἔπαιζεν. ἀλλ' ἐμονομάχει
 νῆ Δία. ὑμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς μονομαχεῖ; πῶς οὖν καὶ
 ἐπὶ τί τάς τε ἀσπίδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κράνη τὰ
 χρυσᾶ ἐκείνα ἐπρίαντό τινες;” ἀναγνοὺς δὲ

¹ εἶη οἱ Bs., οἱ εἶη Sylb., εἶη VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

upon it to the full, while giving free rein to his A.D. 197
tongue as well, ordered all but the head to be cast
away, but sent the head to Rome to be exposed
on a pole. As this action showed clearly that he
possessed none of the qualities of a good ruler, he
alarmed both us and the populace more than ever
by the commands that he sent; for now that he
had overcome all armed opposition, he was venting
upon the unarmed all the wrath that he had stored
up against them in the past. He caused us especial
dismay by constantly styling himself the son of
Marcus and the brother of Commodus and by be-
stowing divine honours upon the latter, whom but
recently he had been abusing. While reading to
the senate a speech, in which he praised the severity
and cruelty of Sulla, Marius and Augustus as the
safer course and deprecated the mildness of Pompey
and Caesar as having proved the ruin of those very
men, he introduced a sort of defence of Commodus
and inveighed against the senate for dishonouring
that emperor unjustly, in view of the fact that the
majority of its members lived worse lives. "For
if it was disgraceful," he said, "for him with his
own hands to slay wild beasts, yet at Ostia only
the other day one of your number, an old man
who had been consul, was publicly sporting with a
prostitute who imitated a leopard. But, you will
say, Commodus actually fought as a gladiator. And
does none of you fight as a gladiator? If not, how
and why is it that some of you have bought his
shields and those famous golden helmets?" After

² *καὶ* supplied by R. Steph.

³ *οὐ* supplied by R. Steph.

⁴ *Ὀστίοις* Bk., *ὀστίοις* VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ταῦτα τριάκοντα μὲν καὶ πέντε ἀπέλυσε τῶν τὰ
 4 Ἀλβίνου φρονῆσαι αἰτιαθέντων, καὶ ὡς μηδεμίαν
 τὸ παράπαν αἰτίαν ἐσχηκόσιν αὐτοῖς προσε-
 φέρετο (ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς γερουσίας),
 ἐννέα δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδρῶν θάνατον κατεψηφί-
 σατο, ἐν οἷς ἄρα καὶ Σουλπικιανὸς ὁ τοῦ Περ-
 τίνακος πενθερὸς ἠριθμεῖτο.—*Xiph.* 304, 22—
 308, 21 R. St.

5 "Ὅτι πάντες μὲν ἐπλάττοντο τὰ Σευήρου φρο-
 νεῖν, ἠλέγχοντο δὲ ἐν ταῖς αἰφνιδίαις ἐπαγγελίαις,
 μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐπικαλύπτειν τὸ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κε-
 κρυμμένον· τῆς γὰρ ἀκοῆς ἐξαπίνης αὐτοῖς προσ-
 πιπτούσης ἀφυλάκτως ἐκινουῦντο· καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῶν ἠθῶν ὡς ἕκαστοι
 κατάδηλοι ἐγίνοντο· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα
 προσποιεῖσθαι πλέον ἐγινώσκοντο.—*Petr. Patr.*
exc. Vat. 130 (p. 227 Mai. = p. 210, 19–26 Dind.)

XXIV "Ὅτι ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς τιμωρου-
 9, 5 μένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ . . .¹ τῷ Κλάρῳ τῷ Ἐρυκίῳ
 μηνυτῇ κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι, ἵνα τόν τε ἄνδρα
 διαβάλη καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἀξιοχρεώτερον πρὸς
 τε τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ποιεῖσθαι
 νομισθεῖη· καὶ τὴν γε σωτηρίαν τὴν τε ἄδειαν
 6 αὐτῷ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀπο-
 θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐνδείξαι εἴλετο, πρὸς
 τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τοῦτου ἀνέπεισεν·
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἀφῆκεν ὅσον γε μήτ' ἀπο-
 κτεῖναι μήτ' ἀτιμάσαι· ταῖς γὰρ δὴ βασάνοις
 ἰσχυρῶς πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἠκρίβωσεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ

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λόγῳ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ τότε αὐτῷ ποιησάμενος.¹
—Exc. Val. 344 (p. 737).

LXXV Ὅτι διὰ² τοὺς Καληδονίους μὴ ἐμμείναντας
5, 4 ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ τοῖς Μαιάταις παρεσκευασ-
μένους ἀμῦναι, διὰ τε³ τὸ τότε τὸν Σεουῆρον τῷ
παροίκῳ⁴ πολέμῳ προσκείσθαι, κατηναγκάσθη
ὁ Λούπος⁵ μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν εἰρήνην· παρὰ
τῶν Μαιατῶν ἐκπρίασθαι, αἰχμαλώτους τινὰς
ὀλίγους ἀπολαβών.—Exc. UR 18 (p. 414).

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐκστρατεύει κατὰ
τῶν Πάρθων· ἀσχολουμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐς τοὺς
ἐμφυλίους πολέμους ἐκεῖνοι ἀδείας λαβόμενοι
τὴν τε Μεσοποταμίαν εἶλον, στρατεύσαντες
παμπληθεί, καὶ μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐχειρώ-
σαντο, εἰ μὴ Λαῖτος αὐτὴν· πολιορκούμενος ἐν
2 αὐτῇ· διεσώσατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλείον
ἔδοξάσθη, ὧν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ
δημόσια καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ
ἄριστος. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν προειρημένην
Νίσιβιν ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐνέτυχε συτὶ μεγίστῳ· ἰππέα
τε γὰρ ἔκτεινεν ὀρμήσας καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν

¹ Cf. Petr. Patr. : ὅτι Σεουῆρος τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς γράψαντας κατ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀλβίνον διελέγξει βουλόμενος ἡβουλήθη καὶ Βιβιανὸν ἄνδρα ὑπατευκότα καὶ τὰ Ἀλβίνου δοκοῦντα φρονεῖν υποφθεῖραι, ἵνα τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος κατὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀξιόπιστον τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσῃ. ὁ δὲ εἶλατο σφάγῃναι ἢ πρᾶξαι τι ἐλευθερίας ἀλλότριον. Ἰουλιανὸν οὖν εὐρῶν πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνέπεισε καὶ κατηγορῶν ἐχρήσατο.—Exc. Val. 131 (p. 227 Mai. = p. 210, 27—211, 2 Dind.) ² διὰ Rk., διὰ τὸ MSS.

³ διὰ τε Bs., καὶ διὰ Rk., διὰ MSS.

⁴ Huebner proposed Παρθικῶ for παροίκῳ.

⁵ Λούπος Urs., λούπιος MSS.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

under torture, disregarding the rank Julianus then A.D. 197 had.¹

Inasmuch as the Caledonians did not abide by their promises and had made ready to aid the Maeatae, and in view of the fact that Severus at the time was devoting himself to the neighbouring war,² Lupus was compelled to purchase peace from the Maeatae for a large sum; and he received a few captives.

After this Severus made a campaign against the A.D. 198 Parthians. For while he had been occupied with the civil wars they had taken advantage of their immunity and had captured Mesopotamia, whither they had made an expedition in full force. They had also come very near seizing Nisibis, and would have succeeded, had not Laetus, who was besieged there, saved the place. In consequence Laetus acquired still greater renown, though he had already shown himself a most excellent man in all his relations, both private and public, whether in war or in peace. Severus, on reaching the aforesaid Nisibis, found there an enormous boar. It had charged and killed a horseman, who, trusting to his

¹ Cf. *Patric.* : "Severus in his desire to convict the senators who had written to Albinus against him, wished to destroy also Vibianus, an ex-consul, who was thought to be on Albinus' side, in order that with the aid of his testimony against the senators he might make his accusation convincing. But Vibianus chose rather to be slain than to do anything inconsistent with a noble nature. Severus then discovered Julianus, persuaded him to play the part, and employed him as accuser!"

² If the text is correct, the reference is probably to conflicts in Gaul with the surviving members of Albinus' party. Huebner would read "the Parthian war," in which case the place of this fragment would be rather uncertain.

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πειρώμενον καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχύι θαρρήσαντα, μόλις δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν συλληφθεὶς τε καὶ σφαγεὶς, τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντων τῶν συλλαβόντων αὐτόν, τῷ Σεουήρῳ προσεκομίσθη.

3 τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οὐ μεινάντων αὐτόν ἀλλ' οἴκαδε¹ ἀναχωρησάντων (ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Οὐολόγαισος, οὗ ἀδελφὸς συνῆν τῷ Σεουήρῳ) πλοῖα κατασκευάσας ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, καὶ πλέων τε καὶ βαδίζων παρ' αὐτόν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι λίαν ὀξύτατα καὶ ταχινὰ καὶ εὖ ἐσταλμένα (τῆς παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε χωρίων ἄφθονον διδούσης αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ξύλων χορηγίαν) τὰ κατασκευασθέντα, ταχέως τὴν τε Σελεύκειαν

4 καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐκλειφθείσας ἔλαβε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Κτησιφῶντα ἔλῶν ἐκείνην τε πᾶσαν διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε· φόνον τε ἀνθρώπων πλεῖστον εἰργάσατο, καὶ ζῶντας ἐς δέκα μυριάδας εἶλεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὸν Οὐολόγαισον ἐπεδίωξεν οὔτε Κτησιφῶντα κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτῶν² μόνον ἐστρατευκῶς ἴν' αὐτὴν διαρπάσῃ ὄχετο, τὸ μὲν ἀγνωσία τῶν χωρίων τὸ δ' ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

5 ὑπέστρεψε δὲ καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδόν· τά τε γὰρ ξύλα καὶ ὁ χόρτος ὁ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ² εὗρεθεις κατανάλωτο· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πεζῆ ἄνω παρὰ τὸν Τίγριν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλοίων ἀνεπορεύθησαν.—Xiph. 308, 21—309, 17 R. St., Exc. Val. 345 (p. 737).

10 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σεουῆρος τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν διαβὰς ἐπειράθη μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἄτρων οὐ πόρρω ὄντων ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα κατεκαύθη καὶ στρατιῶται συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπώλοντο

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2 *πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἐτρώθησαν. ἀπανέστη οὖν
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνέζευξεν ὁ Σεουῆρος. ἐν ᾧ δὲ
 ἐπολέμειν δύο ἄνδρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέκτεινεν
 Ἰούλιον Κρίσπον χιλιαρχοῦντα τῶν δορυφόρων,
 ὅτι ἀχθесθεῖς τῇ τοῦ πολέμου κακώσει ἔπος τι
 τοῦ Μάρωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ παρεφθέγγατο, ἐν ᾧ
 ἐνῆν στρατιώτης τις τῶν μετὰ Τούρνου τῷ Αἰνεΐα
 ἀντιπολεμούντων ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων ὅτι. "ἵνα
 δη τὴν Λαουινίαν¹ ὁ Τοῦρνος ἀγάγηται, ἡμεῖς ἐν
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ παραπολλύμεθα." καὶ τὸν κατηγο-
 3 ρήσαντα αὐτοῦ στρατιώτην Οὐαλέριον χιλίαρχον
 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Σεουῆρος ἀπέδειξεν. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ
 καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον, ὅτι τε φρόνημα εἶχε καὶ ὅτι
 ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως
 στρατεύσειν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ Λαῖτος αὐτῶν ἠγοῖτο.
 καὶ τούτου τὸν φόνον,² διότι οὐκ εἶχε φανερὰν
 αἰτίαν εἰ μὴ τὸν φθόνον, τοῖς στρατιώταις
 προσῆπτεν ὡς παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τετολ-
 μηκόσιν.*

11 *Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄτρα ἐστράτευσε,
 πολλὰ μὲν σιτία παρασκευάσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
 μηχανήματα καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν
 ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν ἑτοιμασάμενος, ἄλλων κεχειρωμένων, μόνην ταύτην
 ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην ἀντέχειν. καὶ ἀπώλεσε καὶ
 χρήματα πλείστα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα πάντα,
 πλὴν τῶν Πρισκείων, ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἔφην, καὶ σὺν
 2 τούτοις καὶ στρατιώτας πολλούς. συχνοὶ μὲν
 γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς ἐφθείροντο, τῆς
 βαρβαρικῆς ἵππου (φημὶ δὴ τῆς τῶν Ἀραβίων³)*

¹ Λαουινίαν R. Steph., Χαβινίαν VC.

² φόνον Zon., φόβον VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

bers were wounded. He accordingly retired from there and shifted his quarters. While he was engaged in this war he put to death two distinguished men. One was Julius Crispus, a tribune of the Pretorians; and the reason was that Crispus, vexed at the war's havoc, had casually quoted some verses of the poet Maro,¹ in which one of the soldiers fighting on the side of Turnus against Aeneas bewails his lot and says: "In order that Turnus may marry Lavinia, we are meanwhile perishing all unheeded." And Severus made Valerius, the soldier who accused him, tribune in his place. The other man that he put to death was Laetus, for the reason that Laetus was proud and was beloved by the soldiers, who used to declare they would not go on a campaign unless Laetus led them. He tried to fasten the responsibility for this murder, for which he had no evident reason save jealousy, upon the soldiers, making it appear that they had been rash enough to commit the deed contrary to his will.

He himself made another expedition against Hatra, having first got ready a large store of food and prepared many siege engines; for he felt it was disgraceful, now that the other places had been subdued, that this one alone, lying there in their midst, should continue to resist. But he lost a vast amount of money, all his engines, except those built by Priscus, as I have stated above,² and many soldiers besides. A good many were lost on foraging expeditions, as the barbarian cavalry (I mean that

¹ Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 371-3.

² In lxxiv (lxxv). 11.

³ Ἀραβίων Reim., ἀρράβων VC.

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πανταχοῦ ὀξέως· τε καὶ¹ σφοδρῶς ἐπιπιπτούσης αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ Ἄτρηνοὶ ἐξικνουῦντο μὲν καὶ ταῖς τοξείαις ἐπὶ μακρότατον (καὶ γὰρ ἐκ μηχανῶν
 3 βέλη τινὰ ἐξέκρουον, ὥστε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου ὑπασπιστῶν βαλεῖν, σύνδύο τε αὐτῶν βέλη ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ῥύμην ἰέντων, πολλαῖς τε ἅμα χερσὶ καὶ πολλοῖς τοξεύμασι βαλλόντων), πλείστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκάκωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπειδὴ τῷ τείχει προσέμιξαν, καὶ πολὺ πλείον ἐπεὶ καὶ
 4 διέρρηξάν τι αὐτοῦ· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νάφθα τὸ ἀσφαλτῶδες ἐκεῖνο, περὶ οὗ ἄνω μοι γέγραπται, ἀφιέντες² σφίσι τά τε μηχανήματα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πάντας, οἷς ἐπεβλήθη, κατέπρησαν. καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Σεουήρος ἀπὸ βήματος
 12 ὑψηλοῦ ἐθεώρει. πεσόντος δὲ πη, τοῦ ἔξωθεν περιβόλου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν παντων προθυμουμένων ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσβιάσασθαι, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Σεουήρος τοῦτο³ πράξαι, τορῶς πανταχόθεν τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν σημανθῆναι κελεύσας· δόξα
 2 τε γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς καὶ πάμπολλα τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀναθήματα ἔχοντος μεγάλη ἦν, καὶ προσεδόκησεν ἐθελοντὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίους, ἵνα μὴ βία ἀλόντες ἀνδραποδισθῶσιν,
 3 ὁμολογήσειν. μίαν γοῦν διαλιπὼν ἡμέραν, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, προσέταξεν αὐθις τοῖς στρατιώταις τῷ τείχει, καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθέντι νυκτός, προσβαλεῖν· καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν Εὐρωπαϊῶν τῶν δυναμένων τι κατεργάσασθαι οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ὀργῇ ὑπήκουσεν, ἕτεροι δὲ δὴ Σύροι

¹ πανταχοῦ ὀξέως τε καὶ Sylb., πανταχοῦ τε ὀξέως καὶ C, πανταχοῦ τε καὶ ὀξέως καὶ V.

² ἀφιέντες C, ἐφιέντες V.

³ τοῦτο Rk., τοῦ VC.

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ἀναγκασθέντες ἀντ' αὐτῶν προσβαλεῖν κακῶς
 4 ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ οὕτω θεὸς ὁ ῥυσάμενος τὴν
 πόλιν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας δυνηθέντας ἂν ἐς
 αὐτὴν ἐσελθεῖν διὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἀνεκάλεσε, καὶ
 τὸν Σεουήρον αὖ βουλευθέντα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦτο
 5 λαβεῖν διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτως
 γοῦν ὁ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ τούτοις διηπορήθη ὥστε
 τινὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν¹ ὑποσχομένου αὐτῷ ἐάν γε
 αὐτῷ δώσῃ² πεντακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα
 μόνους τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἄνευ τοῦ
 τῶν ἄλλων κινδύνου τὴν πόλιν ἐξαιρήσειν, ἔφη
 πάντων ἀκουόντων “ καὶ πόθεν τοσοῦτους στρα-
 τιώτας ἔχω ; ” πρὸς τὴν ἀπείθειαν τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν τοῦτο εἰπών.—*Xiph.* 309, 17—311, 5
R. St.

13 Εἴκοσι δ' οὖν ἡμέρας τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσε-
 δρεύσας ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην μετὰ τοῦτο ἦλθε
 καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐνήγισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον
 τὴν ἄνω διὰ τοῦ Νείλου ἀνέπλευσε καὶ εἶδε
 πασαν αὐτὴν πλὴν βραχέων· οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθη
 πρὸς τὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μεθόρια διὰ λοιμώδη νόσον
 2 ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε πάντα καὶ τὰ
 πάνυ κεκρυμμένα· ἦν γὰρ οἶος μηδὲν μήτε
 ἀνθρώπινον μήτε θεῖον ἀδιερεύνητον καταλιπεῖν·
 καὶ τούτου τά τε βιβλία πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητόν
 τι ἔχοντα, ὅσα γε καὶ εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθη, ἐκ πάντων
 ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνεῖλε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάν-
 δρου μνημεῖον συνέκλεισεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτι μήτε
 τὸ τούτου σῶμα ἴδῃ μήτε τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγραμ-
 μένα ἀναλέξηται.—*Xiph.* 311, 5–14 *R. St.*, *Exc.*
Val. 346 (p. 737) = *Suid.* *s.vv.* Σεβῆρος σοφιστῆς
 Ῥωμαῖος, οἶος, *et* ἀναλεξάμενος.

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who were compelled to make the assault in their place, were miserably destroyed. Thus Heaven, that saved the city, first caused Severus to recall the soldiers when they could have entered the place, and in turn caused the soldiers to hinder him from capturing it when he later wished to do so. Severus, in fact, found himself so embarrassed by the situation that, when one of his associates promised, if he would give him only five hundred and fifty of the European soldiers, to destroy the city without any risk to the other troops, he said within the hearing of all: "And where am I to get so many soldiers?"—referring to the soldiers' disobedience. A.D. 200(?)

After conducting the siege for twenty days, he then went to Palestine, where he sacrificed to the spirit of Pompey. Thence he sailed to Upper Egypt, passing up the Nile, and viewed the whole country with some few exceptions; for instance, he was unable to pass the frontier of Ethiopia because of a pestilence. He inquired into everything, including things that were very carefully hidden; for he was the kind of person to leave nothing, either human or divine, uninvestigated. Accordingly, he took away from practically all the sanctuaries all the books that he could find containing any secret lore, and he locked up the tomb of Alexander; this was in order that no one in future should either view Alexander's body or read what was written in the above-mentioned books. So much, then, for what Severus was doing. A.D. 200

¹ αὐτὸν H. Steph., αὐτὸν VC.

² δώση R. Steph., δώσει VC, δῶ St.

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- 3 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει· ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν, ὃ δὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου πολλαχόθεν ἀκριβώσας ἔχω, δικαιοτάτος εἶμι εἰπεῖν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Ἄτλαντος τοῦ ὄρους σαφῶς ἀναδίδοται. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μακεννίτιδι παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ὠκεανῷ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, καὶ ὑπεραίρει πολὺ πλείστον ἀπάντων ὄρων, ὅθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ κίονα αὐτὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶναι ἔφησαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνέβη ποτέ τις ἐπ' ἄκρον
- 4 αὐτοῦ οὔτε τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ εἶδε. χιόνος τε οὖν αἰεὶ διὰ ταῦτα πεπλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παμπληθὲς ὑπὸ τὸ θέρος ἀφίησιν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἐλώδη πάντα τὰ περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον πληθύνεται, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸν Νεῖλον τὴν ὠραίαν ἐπαύξει.¹ πηγὴ γὰρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ πού καὶ τοῖς κροκοδείλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκατέρωθι ὁμοίως γεννω-
- 5 μένοις τεκμηριοῦται. καὶ θαυμάση² μηδεὶς εἰ τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλησιν ἄγνωστα ἐξηυρήκαμεν.³ πλησίον γὰρ οἱ Μακεννῖται τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ τῇ κάτω οἰκοῦσι, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἄτλαντα ἀφικνοῦνται.
- 14 Τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, Πλαυτιανὸς δὲ παραδυναστεύων τῷ Σεουήρῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχικὴν ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, πλείστα τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέγιστα δυναθεῖς, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων αὐτῷ ἐθανάτωσε . . . —Xiph. 311, 14–32 R. St.
- 2 Ὅτι ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον Σατορνῖνον ἀποκτείνας τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀρξάντων τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πάντα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα περιέ-

¹ ἐπαύξει Sylb., ἐπαύξειν VC.

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κοψεν, ὅπως μηδεὶς φρόνημα ἀπὸ τῆς προστασίας αὐτῶν σχῶν τῇ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἡγεμονία ἐφεδρεύσῃ· ἤδη γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ
 3 ἀθάνατος ἑπαρχος εἶναι ἤθελεν. ἐπεθύμει τε πάντων καὶ πάντα παρὰ πάντων ἦτει καὶ πάντα ἐλάμβανε, καὶ οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἀσύλητον εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πανταχόθεν ἤρπαζε καὶ συνεφόρει· καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἅπαντες ἔπεμπον.¹ καὶ τέλος ἵππους Ἡλίῳ ἱεροῦς² τιγροειδεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ νήσων, πέμψας ἑκατοντάρχους,
 4 ἐξέκλεψεν· ἐν γὰρ τοῦτο εἰπὼν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περιεργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν δεδηλωκέναί νομίζω. καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνο προσθήσω, ὅτι ἀνθρώπους ἑκατὸν εὐγενεῖς³ Ῥωμαίους ἐξέτεμεν οἴκοι, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἤσθετο· πᾶσαν γὰρ ἐκ τούτου τὴν τε παρανομίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἃν τις καταμάθοι. ἐξέτεμε δὲ οὐ παῖδας μόνον οὐδὲ⁴ μεράκια, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 5 ἄνδρας, καὶ ἔστιν οὗς αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχοντας, ὅπως ἡ Πλαυτίλλα⁵ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ, ἣν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔγημε, δι' εὐνούχων τὴν τε ἄλλην θεραπείαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν τὴν τε λοιπὴν θεωρίαν ἔχη. καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐνούχους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, καὶ πατέρας καὶ ἀόρχεις,⁶ ἐκτομίας τε καὶ
 6 πωγωνίας. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ οὐκ ἀπεικότως ὑπὲρ πάντας τὸν Πλαυτιανόν, καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὐτοκρά-

¹ καὶ πολὺ—ἔπεμπον R. Steph., καὶ πολλοὶ πλείονα αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ Σευήρῳ ἅπαντες ἔπεμπον VC, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ Σεβήρῳ ἔπεμπον cod. Peir.

² ἱεροῦς supplied by Rk.

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so presumptuous as the result of his authority over A.D. 200 them as to lie in wait for the captaincy of the body-guards; for already it was his ambition to be, not simply the only prefect, but permanent prefect as well. He wanted everything, asked everything from everybody, and would take everything. He left no province and no city unplundered, but snatched and gathered in everything from all sides; and everybody sent a great deal more to him than to Severus. Finally, he sent centurions and stole horses with tiger-like stripes,¹ sacred to the Sun, from the islands in the Red Sea.² This one statement will suffice, I think, to make clear all his officiousness and greed; but I will add one thing more. At home he castrated a hundred Roman citizens of noble birth—though none of us knew of it until after he was dead. From this anyone may comprehend the full extent both of his lawlessness and of his power. Nor was it boys or youths alone that he castrated, but grown men as well, some of whom had wives. His purpose was that Plautilla, his daughter, whom Antoninus afterward married, should have only eunuchs as her attendants in general, and especially as her teachers in music and other branches of art. So we saw the same persons both eunuchs and men, fathers and impotent, emasculated and bearded. In view of this, one might not improperly claim that Plautianus had power beyond all men, equalling

¹ Probably zebras.

² The Persian Gulf.

³ εὐγενεῖς VC, συγγενεῖς cod. Peir.

⁴ οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε V cod. Peir., εἶτε C.

⁵ Πλαυτίλλα cod. Peir., πλαυτία VC.

⁶ πατέρας καὶ ἀόρχεις Sylb., πατέρας καὶ ἀόρχας cod. Peir., πατέρας ἀόρχεις V.

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τορας, ἰσχυῖσαι ἄν τις εἴποι. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα
καὶ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ καὶ¹ εἰκόνες οὐ μόνον πολλῶ
7 πλείους ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζους τῶν ἐκείνων, οὐδ' ἐν
ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
'Ρώμῃ' οὐδ' ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν ἢ δήμων μόνον ἀλλὰ
καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς γερουσίας ἀνετίθεντο· τήν τε
τύχην αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ βου-
λευταὶ ὤμνυσαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ
δημοσία ἅπαντες ἠϋχοντο.—*Xiph.* 312, 1—23
R. St. Exc. Vat. 347 (p. 737 sq.).

15 Ἀγτίος^a δὲ τούτων αὐτὸς ὁ Σεουῆρος μάλιστ'
ἐγένετο· οὕτως αὐτῶ ὑπεῖκεν ἐς πάντα· ὥστ'
ἐκείνον μὲν ἐν αὐτοκράτορος αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν ἐπάρχου²
μοίρα εἶναι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ μὲν πάνθ'
ἀπλῶς ὅσα ὁ Σεουῆρος καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττει
ἤδει, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἀπορρήτων
2 οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἠπίστατο· τήν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ
τῶ υἱεῖ ἐμνήστευσε, πολλὰς καὶ σεμνὰς κόρας
παραλιπών, ὑπατόν τε ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διάδοχον
τῆς αὐταρχίας ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔχειν ἠϋξάτο, καί ποτε
καὶ ἐπέστειλε· “φιλῶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὥστε καὶ
εϋχεσθαι προαποθανεῖν αὐτοῦ.”—*Xiph.* 312, 23—
31 *R. St.*

^{2a} ὥστε καὶ τινὰ τολμῆσαι γρά-
φειν³ πρὸς αὐτόν, πρὸς τέταρτον Καίσαρα.—
Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 132^b (p. 227 *Mai.* = p. 211,
7–8 *Dind.*)

^{2b} “Ὅτι καὶ πολλῶν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ψηφισθέντων
παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ὀλίγα ἐδέξατο εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς
ὅτι “ταῖς ψυχαῖς με φιλεῖτε καὶ μὴ τοῖς ψηφίσι-
μασιν.”—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat.* 133 (p. 227 *Mai.* =
p. 211, 9–11 *Dind.*)

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3 Ἡνείχετό γέ τοι ὄρων καὶ ἐν ταῖς καταλύσεσιν
 αὐτὸν ταῖς κρείττοσιν ἀυλιζόμενον καὶ τὰ ἐπι-
 τήδεια καὶ ἀμείνω καὶ ἀφθονώτερα αὐτοῦ¹ ἔχοντα,
 ὥστε δεηθεῖς ποτε ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι μου
 κεστρέως, οὗς ἡ λίμνη μεγάλους ἐκτρέφει, παρ'
 4 ἐκείνου μετεπέμψατο. ὅθεν εἰ καί τι ἐπὶ μειώσει
 τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' ἔκ γε
 τῶν ἐναντίων, πολὺ καὶ μειζόνων καὶ λαμπρο-
 τέρων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκεῖνο πᾶν ἀπημβλύνετο. ποτὲ
 γοῦν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐν Τυάνοις νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν
 ἐπισκεπτομένου, οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ περὶ τὸν
 Πλαυτιανὸν ὄντες οὐκ εἴασαν τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας
 5 αὐτῷ συνεσελεθῆν. ὁ τε² τὰς δίκας τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 λεγομένας διατάττων κελευσθεῖς ποτε ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Σεουήρου ἀργοῦντος δίκην τινὰ ἐσαγαγεῖν οὐκ
 ἠθέλησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι,
 6 ἂν μὴ Πλαυτιανὸς μοι κελεύσῃ." καὶ οὕτω καὶ
 ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς αὐτοῦ κατε-
 κράτει ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὔγουσταν
 πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐργάσασθαι. πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῇ
 ἤχθετο, καὶ σφόδρα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεουήρον
 αἰεὶ διέβαλλέν, ἐξετάσεις τε κατ' αὐτῆς καὶ
 7 βασάνους κατ' εὐγενῶν γυναικῶν ποιούμενος. καὶ
 ἡ μὲν αὐτῇ τε φιλοσοφεῖν διὰ ταῦτ' ἤρξατο καὶ
 σοφισταῖς συνημέρευεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πλαυτιανὸς
 ἀσωτότατός τε ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ
 εὐωχεῖσθαι ἅμα καὶ ἐμείν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πλήθους τῶν τε σιτίων καὶ τοῦ οἴνου πέψαι
 ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοῖς μειράκίοις ταῖς τε κόραις οὐκ
 ἄνευ διαβολῆς χρώμενος, τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ

¹ αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

The emperor submitted to seeing him lodge in A.D. 200 better lodging-places and enjoy better and more abundant food than he himself had. Hence in Nicaea, my native city, when Severus once wanted a mullet, large specimens of which are found in the lake there, he sent to Plautianus to secure it. Hence, even if he ever did do anything calculated to diminish the other's power, it was completely deprived of its force by acts of a contrary nature which were more important and conspicuous. Thus, on one occasion, when Severus went to visit him, when he had fallen ill at Tyana, the soldiers about Plautianus would not permit the emperor's escort to enter with him. And again, when the man who arranged the cases that were to be pleaded before Severus was once ordered by the latter in a moment of leisure to bring forward some case or other, he refused, saying: "I cannot do so, unless Plautianus bids me." So greatly did Plautianus have the mastery in every way over the emperor, that he often treated even Julia Augusta in an outrageous manner; for he cordially detested her and was always abusing her violently to Severus. He used to conduct investigations into her conduct as well as gather evidence against her by torturing women of the nobility. For this reason she began to study philosophy and passed her days in company with sophists. As for Plautianus, he became the most sensual of men; for he would gorge himself at banquets and vomit as he ate, as the mass of food and wine that he swallowed made it impossible for him to digest anything; and though he made use of lads and girls in notorious fashion, yet he

² δ τε Sylb., ὅτι VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὐθ' ὄραν τινὰ οὐθ' ὄρασθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἢ τῆς Ἰουλίας μήτι γε ἑτέρων τινῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν.—Xiph. 312, 31—313, 21 R. St., Exc. Val. 348 = Suid. s. v. Ἰουλιὰ Αὐγούστα, Exc. Val. 349 (p. 738 sq.).

16 Ἐγένετο δ' ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἀγῶν γυμνικός,¹ ἐν ᾧ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀθλητῶν ἀναγκασθὲν συνῆλθεν ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς θαυμάσαι πῶς αὐτοὺς τὸ στάδιον ἐχώρησε. καὶ γυναῖκες δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τούτῳ ἀγριώτατα ἀμιλλώμεναι² ἐμαχέσαντο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πάνυ ἐπιφανεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποσκώπτεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκωλύθη· μηκέτι μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα· μηδαμόθεν μονομαχεῖν.

2 Εἰκόνων δέ ποτε πολλῶν τῷ Πλαυτιανῷ γενομένων (ἄξιον γὰρ ἀφηγήσασθαι τὸ πραχθέν) δυσχεράνας πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Σεουήρος τινὰς αὐτῶν συνεχώνευσε, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τούτου θροῦς διῆλθεν ὡς καὶ καθήρηται καὶ διέφθαρται, καὶ τινες³ συνέτριψαν εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ ὕστερον ἐκολάσθησαν· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἄρχων Ῥάκιος Κώνστας, ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος. ἀλλ' οὐ χάριν τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ὅτι τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃς τοῦ Κώνσταντος κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰπόντος, θᾶσσον ἂν τὸν οὐρανὸν συμπεσεῖν ἢ Πλαυτιανόν τι ὑπὸ Σεουήρου παθεῖν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότης ἐκείνῳ τῷ λόγῳ, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἐλέχθη, πιστεῦσαί⁴ τινά, —ταῦτα τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰπόντος, καὶ προσέτι

¹ γυμνικός Bs., γυναικὸς VC.

² ἀμιλλώμεναι Bs., ἀλάμεναι VC, ἀλάμεναι cod. Vat. Pal. 61, Ἀλαμάνναι Rk.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου νεανιευσαμένου πρὸς
ἡμᾶς τοὺς συνδικάζοντας αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος ὅτι
“ἀδύνατόν ἐστι κακόν τι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ Πλαυτιανῷ
γενέσθαι,” οὐδ’ ἀπηνιαύτισεν¹ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ
Πλαυτιανός, ἀλλ’ ἐσφάγη καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ
δ σύμπασαι διεφθάρησαν. πρὸ δὲ τούτου κῆτος
ὑπερμέγεθες ἐς τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίκλην λιμένα
ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἑάλω, καὶ τὸ μίμημα αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ
κυνηγέσιον ἐσαχθὲν πεντήκοντα ἀρκτους εἴσω
ἐδέξατο. ὤφθη δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ κομήτης
ἀστὴρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ οὐκ αἴσιόν τι σημαίνειν
ἐλέγετο.—Xiph. 313, 21—314, 13 R. St.

¹ ἀπηνιαύτισεν Bk., ἀπενιαύτισεν VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

though, moreover, Severus himself boldly confirmed it A.D. 200 to us who were assisting him in the trial of the case, declaring, "It is impossible for Plautianus to come to any harm at my hands," nevertheless this very Plautianus did not live the year out, but was slain and all his images destroyed. But before that happened, a vast sea-monster came ashore in the harbour named for Augustus and was captured; a model of him, taken into the hunting-theatre, admitted fifty bears into its interior. Moreover, a comet was seen in Rome for many days and was said to portend nothing favourable.

ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ ΟΥ ΒΟΟΚ LXXVII

XXVI Ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ τῆς δεκετηρίδος τῆς ἀρχῆς
 1, 1 αὐτοῦ ἐδώρησατο τῷ τε ὀμίλῳ παντὶ τῷ σιτο-
 δοτουμένῳ¹ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς δορυφόροις
 ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσι χρυσοῦς.
 ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μέγιστον ἠγάλλετο· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς
 οὐδεὶς πώποτε τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀθροῖς ἐδεδώκει·
 ἐς γὰρ τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην πεντακισχίλιαι μυριά-
 2 δεσ δραχμῶν ἀναλώθησαν. ἐποιήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ
 γάμοι τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου
 καὶ τῆς Πλαυτίλλης τῆς τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ θυ-
 γατρὸς· καὶ τοσαῦτα τῇ θυγατρὶ οὗτος ἔδωκεν²
 ὅσα καὶ πεντήκοντα γυναιξὶ βασιλίσσαις ἤρκεσεν
 ἄν· εἶδομεν δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸ παλά-
 τιον κομιζόμενα· εἰστιάθημεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ³ ἅμα,
 τὰ μὲν βασιλικῶς τὰ δὲ βαρβαρικῶς, ἐφθά τε
 πάντα ὅσα νομίζεται, καὶ ὡμὰ ζῶντά τε ἄλλα
 3 λαβόντες. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ θεαὶ τηνικαῦτα παντο-
 दाπαὶ ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῇ δεκετηρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις. ἐν ταύ-
 ταις ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ σύες τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἐξήκοντα
 ἄγριοι ἐπάλαισαν ἀλλήλοις ὑπὸ παραγγέλματος,
 ἐσφάγησαν δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θηρία καὶ ἐλέφας
 4 καὶ κοροκότας· τὸ δὲ ζῶον τοῦτο Ἰνδικόν τέ ἐστι
 καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅσα καὶ ἐγὼ

¹ σιτοδοτουμένῳ Hoeschel, σιτοδοουμένῳ VC.

² ἔδωκεν Bk., δέδωκεν VC.

³ ἐν ταύτῳ Reim., ἐν τῷ VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπίσταμαι ἐσήχθη, ἔχει δὲ χροιάν μὲν λεαίνης
 τίγριδι μεμιγμένης, εἶδος δὲ ἐκείνων τε καὶ κυνὸς
 καὶ ἀλώπεκος ἰδίως πως συγκεκραμένον. τῆς δὲ
 δεξαμενῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐς πλοίου
 σχῆμα κατασκευασθείσης ὡς τετρακόσια θηρία
 5 καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀφείναι ἀθρόως, ἔπειτα ἐξαίφνης
 διαλυθείσης ἀνέθορον ἄρκτοι λέαιναι πάνθηρες
 λέοντες στρουθοὶ ὄναγροι βίσωνες¹ (βοῶν τι
 τοῦτο εἶδος, βαρβαρικὸν τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν),
 ὥστε ἐπτακόσια τὰ πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ
 ὁμοῦ καὶ διαθέοντα ὀφθῆναι καὶ σφαγῆναι· πρὸς
 γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἐορτῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐπταημέρου γεγονυίας
 καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπτάκις ἑκατὸν ἐγένετο·

2 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Βεσβίῳ² τῷ ὄρει πῦρ τε πλεῖστον
 ἐξέλαμψε καὶ μυκῆματα μέγιστα ἐγένετο, ὥστε
 καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπύην, ἐν ἧ, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
 οἰκῶν διάγω, ἐξακουσθῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίου
 ἐξειλόμην τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας
 ὅτι μάλιστα, ἵνα σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστικῶν πραγ-
 2 μάτων ἄγων ταῦτα γράψαιμι. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐκ τῶν
 περὶ τὸ Βέσβιον γεγονότων νεοχμὸν τι ἔσεσθαι,
 καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν αὐτίκα
 ἐνεοχμώθη· μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ Πλαυ-
 τιανὸς καὶ ὑπέρμεγας ἐγεγόνει, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
 δῆμον ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ποτὲ εἶπεῖν· “τί τρέμεις,
 3 τί δὲ ὠχριάς; πλείον τῶν τριῶν κέκτησαι.” ἔλε-
 γον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον δῆθεν ἀλλ' ἄλλως,

¹ βίσωνες Bk., βίσσωνες VC.

² Βεσβίῳ Reim., βαιβίῳ (and βαίβιον below) VC.

¹ Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 21, 30) describes the corocotta as the offspring of a dog and wolf, and again (viii. 30, 45) as the offspring of a hyena and lioness. Capitolinus (*Vit. Antonin.*

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

colour of a lioness and tiger combined, and the general appearance of those animals, as also of a dog and a fox, curiously blended.¹ The entire receptacle in the amphitheatre had been constructed so as to resemble a boat in shape, and was capable of receiving or discharging four hundred beasts at once; and then, as it suddenly fell apart, there came rushing forth bears, lionesses, panthers, lions, ostriches, wild asses, bisons (this is a kind of cattle foreign in species and appearance), so that seven hundred beasts in all, both wild and domesticated, at one and the same time were seen running about and were slaughtered. For to correspond with the duration of the festival, which lasted seven days, the number of the animals was also seven times one hundred. A.D. 202

On Mount Vesuvius a huge fire blazed up, and there were bellowings mighty enough to be heard even in Capua, where I live whenever I am in Italy. I have selected this place for various reasons, and particularly for its quiet, in order that when I have leisure from the offices of the capital I may write this history. In view, now, of what happened on Vesuvius, it seemed probable that some change in the State was about to occur; and, in fact, there was an immediate change in the fortunes of Plautianus. This man had in very truth grown great and more than great, so that even the populace in the Circus once exclaimed: "Why do you tremble? Why are you pale? You possess more than do the three." They pretended, to be sure, that they were not saying this of him but in another connexion, but 10, 9) states that the first Antoninus had exhibited the animal in Rome.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τρεῖς δὲ ἐνέφαινον τὸν τε Σευηῆρον καὶ τοὺς υἰίας
 αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ Γέταν· ὠχρία δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ
 ἔτρεμεν ἕκ τε τῆς διαίτης ἦν διητᾶτο, καὶ ἕκ τῶν
 ἐλπίδων ὧν ἠλπιζε, καὶ ἕκ τῶν φόβων ὧν ἐφό-
 βεῖτο· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέως μὲν ἦτοι ἐλάνθανε τὰ
 πλείω αὐτὸν τὸν Σευηῆρον, ἢ καὶ εἰδὼς αὐτὰ οὐ
 4 προσεποιεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ Γέτας
 τελευτῶν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανόν, ἅτε
 καὶ μισῶν αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέτι φοβούμενος, ἐμήνυσεν,
 ἐκείνόν τε χαλκοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔστησε καὶ τοῦτον
 οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐτίμησεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
 5 τῆς πολλῆς παρέλυσεν· ὅθεν ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς δεινῶς
 ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ πρότερον διὰ
 τὴν θυγατέρα ἀτιμαζομένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μισῶν τότε
 δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἠχθαιρεν ὡς αἴτιον τῆς ἀτιμίας
 ἐκείνης αὐτῷ, καὶ τραχύτερον αὐτῷ προσφέρεσθαι
 ἤρξατο.

3 Δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῇ τε γυναικὶ ἀναι-
 δεστάτῃ οὔσῃ ἀχθόμενος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι τε
 πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττεν ἐπολυπραγμόνει καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ
 πᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἐπετίμα· βαρυνόμενος, ἀπαλλαγῆναι
 2 τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπεθύμησε· κακὰ τούτου δι'
 Εὐόδου τοῦ τροφέως αὐτοῦ¹ Σατορνῖνόν τινα ἑκα-
 τόνταρχον καὶ ἄλλους δύο ὁμοίους αὐτῷ ἔπεισεν
 ἐσαγγεῖλαί οἱ ὅτι δέκα τισὶν ἑκατοντάρχοις, ἐξ
 ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν, ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς κεκελευκῶς εἶη
 3 καὶ τὸν Σευηῆρον καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον κτεῖναι· καί
 τινα καὶ γραφὴν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἰληφότες
 ἀνεγίνωσκον· ἐξαίφνης δὲ ταῦτ' ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις

¹ αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ταῖς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἤρωσι πεπονημέναις, τῆς τε
 θέας ἀφειμένης καὶ δείπνου μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι,
 ἐγίνετο.¹ ὅθεν οὐχ ἤκιστα τὸ σκευώρημα κατε-
 4 φάνη· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὔτε ἑκατοντάρχους δέκα ἅμα
 οὔτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὔτε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οὔτε ἐκείνη
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ τοιοῦτό τι ὁ Πλαυ-
 τIANός, ἄλλως τε καὶ γράψας, προστάξαι ἐτέτολ-
 μήκει. ὅμως πιστὸν αὐτὸ ἔδοξε τῷ Σεουήρῳ,
 ὅτι τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τὸν Ἄλβινον ὄναρ
 ζῶντά τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτῷ² ἐωράκει.

4 Σπουδῇ οὖν, ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν
 μετεπέμψατο. καὶ ὅς οὔτως ἠπείχθη, μᾶλλον δὲ
 οὔτως αὐτῷ τὸν ὄλεθρον τὸ δαιμόνιον προεμήνυσεν,
 ὥστε τὰς ἡμιόλους τὰς ἀγούσας αὐτὸν πεσεῖν ἐν
 2 τῷ παλατίῳ. καὶ αὐτὸν³ ἐσιόντα οἱ θυρωροὶ οἱ
 ἐπὶ τῶν κινκλίδων μόνον ἐσεδέξαντο, οὐδ' εἶσαν
 οὐδένα αὐτῷ συνεσελθεῖν· ὅπερ ποτὲ αὐτὸς περὶ
 τὸν Σεουήρον ἐν τοῖς Τυάνοις ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ
 ὑπώπτευσεν μὲν τι ἐκ τούτου, περίφοβός τε ἐγένε-
 νετο, οὐ μὲντοι ἔχων ὅπως ἀναχωρήσει ἐσῆλθε·
 3 καὶ ὁ Σεουήρος καὶ πάνυ πρᾶως αὐτῷ διελέχθη·
 “τί τε τοῦτο ἔδοξέ σοι ποιῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τί ἀπο-
 κτεῖναι ἡμᾶς ἠθέλησας;” λόγον τε αὐτῷ ἔδωκε,
 καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀπολογουμένου αὐτοῦ
 ἀκούσων. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀρνούμενόν τε αὐτὸν
 καὶ θαυμάζοντα τὰ λεγόμενα τό τε ξίφος προσπη-

¹ ἐγίνετο Bk., ἐγίνοντο VC.

² αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῷ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

in the palace in honour of dead ancestors,¹ after the A.D. 205
spectacle was over and as dinner was about to be served. These circumstances in particular betrayed the fraud; for Plautianus would never have dared to give such instructions either to ten centurions at once, or in Rome, or in the palace, or on that day, or at that hour, and especially not in writing. Nevertheless Severus believed the information trustworthy, inasmuch as he had dreamed the night before that Albinus was alive and plotting against him.

He therefore summoned Plautianus in haste, as if upon some other business. And Plautianus hurried so, or rather Heaven gave him such an intimation of his approaching destruction, that the mules that brought him dropped in the palace yard. And when he entered, the porters at the latticed gates admitted him alone inside and would permit no one else to go in with him, just as he himself had once done in the case of Severus at Tyana. This caused him to suspect something, and he became alarmed; but as he had no way of withdrawing, he went in. Severus talked to him in a very mild manner, and asked: "Why have you seen fit to do this? Why did you wish to kill us?" He also gave him an opportunity to speak and acted as if intending to listen to his defence. But Antoninus, as Plautianus was making denial and expressing amazement at what was said, rushed up, took away his sword, and

¹ Apparently an "All Souls' Day," the departed ancestors (or "heroes") probably being, in this case, the deified emperors.

² αὐτὸν R. Steph., αὐτὸ VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 δήσας ἀφείλετο καὶ πύξ ἔπαισε· καὶ ἠθέλησε μὲν καὶ αὐτοχειρία σφάξαι εἰπόντα ὅτι “ἔφθης· με κτεῖναι.” ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς κωλυθεὶς ἐκέλευσέν τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν φονεῦσαι αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτόν τις τῶν τριχῶν τοῦ γενείου ἐκτίλας¹ τῇ τε Ἰουλίᾳ καὶ τῇ Πλαυτίλλῃ² προσήνεγκεν ὁμοῦ οὔσαις, πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν αὐτὰς ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ εἶπεν “ἴδετε τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ὑμῶν,” καὶ τούτου τῇ μὲν πένθος
 5 τῇ δὲ χαρὰν ἐνέβαλεν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν καὶ μέγιστόν τῶν ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων δυνηθεὶς, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμοῦ³ αὐτοκρατόρων⁴ μᾶλλον πάντα καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτόν καὶ τρέμειν, καὶ ἐπὶ μειζόνων ἐλπίδων αἰωρηθεὶς, οὕτως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ γαμβροῦ ἐσφάγη καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἐς ὁδόν τινα ἐρρίφη· μετὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἀνηρέθη καὶ ἐτάφη τοῦ Σεουήρου κελεύσαντος.

5 Καὶ ὁ Σεουήρος μετὰ ταῦτα συνήγαγε μὲν τὴν βουλήν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατηγορήσεται τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν τε φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὡς μὴ δυναμένην τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους
 2 στέγειν ὠδύρατο, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἠτιάσατο ὅτι οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐτετιμῆκει καὶ ἐπεφιλήκει, τοὺς δὲ δὴ μηνύσαντάς οἱ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν⁵ αὐτοῦ πάνθ’ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς οὐκ ἀναγκαίους, ἵν’ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν διηγήσασθαι
 3 ἐνδείξηται ὅτι οὐ πάνυ σφίσι πιστεύει. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ἐκινδύνευσαν, καί τινες καὶ ἀπέθανον· ὁ μέντοι Κοίρανος ἔλεγε μὲν, οἷά που πλείστοι πρὸς τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας πλάτ-

¹ ἐκτίλας H. Steph., ἐκτίλλας VC.

² Πλαυτίλλῃ R. Steph., πλακίλλῃ VC.

³ ἐμοῦ H. Steph., ἐμὲ VC.

⁴ αὐτοκρατόρων H. Steph., ἀνακτόρων VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τονται αεί' ἑταῖρός τε αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ὅσ᾽ αἰς γε
 ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀσπαζομένων αὐτὸν
 ἐσεκαλοῦντο, συνεφείπετό σφίσι μέχρι τῆς κιγ-
 κλίδος τῆς τελευταίας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκοινώνει
 4 τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ διατρίβων
 Πλαυτιανῷ μὲν ἔξω τοῖς δὲ ἔξω ἔνδον ἐδόκει
 εἶναι· καὶ διὰ τε¹ τοῦτο πλέον ὑπωπτεύθη, καὶ
 διότι ὄναρ ποτὲ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἰδόντος ἰχθῦς
 τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἀναβάντας πρὸς τοὺς
 πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεπτωκέναι, ἔφη καὶ τῆς γῆς
 5 αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄρξειν. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐπὶ
 ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐν νήσῳ περιορισθεὶς κατήχθη τε μετὰ
 τοῦτο, καὶ ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων
 κατελέχθη, καὶ ὑπάτευσε μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν
 6 προάρξας, ὥσπερ ὁ Πομπήιος. Καϊκίλιος μέντοι
 Ἄγρικόλας ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν κολάκων αὐτοῦ
 ἀριθμούμενος, πονηρία δὲ καὶ ἀσελγεία οὐδενὸς
 ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος ὢν, κατεψηφίσθη ἀποθανεῖν,
 ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε καὶ οἴνου ἐψυγμένου ἐμπλησθεὶς
 τό τε ποτήριον, ὃ πέντε μυριάδων ἐώνητο· συνέ-
 τριψε, καὶ ἐπαπέθανεν αὐτῷ τὰς φλέβας τεμῶν.
 6 Σατορνῖνος μέντοι καὶ Εὐόδος τότε μὲν ἐτιμή-
 θησαν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐθανατώ-
 θησαν. ψηφίζομένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπαίνους τινὰς τῷ
 Εὐόδῳ ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐκώλυσεν εἰπών· “ αἰσχρὸν
 ἐστὶν ἐν δόγματι ὑμῶν τοιοῦτό τι περὶ Καισαρείου

¹ τε supplied by Bk.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII .

such as most men are wont to indulge in when referring to those who are favoured by Fortune) that he had been an intimate of Plautianus and that, whenever the other suspected senators were invited into his house in advance of the general throng of those who came to pay Plautianus their respects, he had accompanied them as far as the last gate, yet he denied that he had shared in Plautianus' secrets, asserting that he always remained in the space midway, thus giving to Plautianus the impression that he was outside and to those outside that he was inside. Because of this he was regarded with all the greater suspicion; and there was the further reason that once, when Plautianus dreamed that fishes came up out of the Tiber and fell at his feet, Coeranus had declared that he should rule both the land and the water. But this man, after being confined on an island for seven years, was later recalled, was the first Egyptian to be enrolled in the senate, and became consul, like Pompey, without having previously held any other office. Caecilius Agricola, on the other hand, who was numbered among the foremost flatterers of Plautianus and was second to no man on earth in knavery and licentiousness, was sentenced to death; he accordingly went home and, after drinking his fill of chilled wine, shattered the cup, which had cost him two hundred thousand sesterces, and cutting his veins, fell dead upon the fragments. As for Saturninus and Euodus, they were honoured at the time, but were later executed by Antoninus. While we were engaged in voting sundry eulogies to Euodus, Severus restrained us, saying: "It would be disgraceful for anything of that sort concerning an imperial freedman to appear

2 ἀνδρὸς γεγράφθαι.” καὶ οὐ τοῦτον μόνον ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀπε-
λευθέρους οὔθ’ ὑβρίζειν οὔθ’ ὑπεραυχεῖν εἶα· ἐφ’
ᾧ καὶ καλῶς ἤκουεν· ἢ δ’ αὖ γερουσία ὑμνοῦσά
ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀντικρυς ἐξεβόησεν,
ὅτι “ πάντες πάντα καλῶς ποιοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ σὺ
3 καλῶς ἄρχεις.” Πλαυτίλλα δὲ καὶ Πλαύτιος,¹
οἱ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ υἱεῖς, τότε μὲν ἐσώθησαν ἐς
Λιπάραν ἐξορισθέντες, ἐπὶ δ’ Ἀντωνίνου ἀπώ-
λοντο· καίτοι καὶ ζῶντες ἐν τε δέει καὶ ταλαί-
πωρία πολλῇ τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων οὐκ εὐπορία
διήγον.—Xiph. 314, 13—318, 9 R. St., Exc. Val.
350 (p. 741).

7 Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σεουήρου παῖδες, ὃ τε Ἀντωνῖνος
καὶ ὁ Γέτας, οἷον παιδαγωγοῦ τινὸς ἀπηλαγμένοι
τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐποίουν· καὶ
γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας ἡσχυνον καὶ παῖδας ὑβρίζον
χρήματά τε παρεξέλεγον, καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους
τούς τε ἄρματηλάτας προσηταιρίζοντο, τῇ μὲν
ὁμοιότητι τῶν ἔργων ζηλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, τῷ δὲ
2 ἀντισπουδάξουν στασιάζοντες· εἰ γὰρ τῷ ὅ ἕτερος
προσέθετο, πάντως ἂν τὸ ἐναντίον ὁ ἕτερος ἀνθη-
ρεῖτο· καὶ τέλος συμβαλόντες ἐν γυμνασίᾳ τινὶ
ἵππων σμικρῶν ζεύγεσιν ἐς μεγάλην φιλονεικίαν
ἤλασαν ὥστε τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐκπεσεῖν τε ἐκ τοῦ
3 δικύκλου καὶ τὸ σκέλος κατεάξαι· παθόντος δὲ
αὐτοῦ² τοῦτο καὶ νοσηλευομένου ὁ Σεουήρος οὐδὲν
τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ παράπαν ἐξέλιπεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐδίκαζεν καὶ πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα
διώκει· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν³ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο, τὸν
δὲ δὴ Κύντιλλον τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν φονεύσας αἰτίαν

¹ Πλαύτιος Sylb., πλαῦτος VC.

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ἔσχεν. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς βουλευτάς, τοὺς μὲν κατηγορηθέντας παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπολογησαμένους καὶ ἄλόντας.—Exc. Val. 351 (p. 741), Xiph. 318, 9—20 R. St.

4 “Ὅτι ὁ Κύντιλλος εὐγενέστατός τε ὢν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς ἀριθμηθείς, ἐν τε ταῖς τοῦ γήρως πύλαις ἐστῶς καὶ ἐν ἀγρῶ ζῶν, καὶ οὐτε πολυπραγμονῶν τι οὔτε παραπράσσω, ὅμως καὶ ἐσυκοφαντήθη καὶ ἀνηρέθη. μέλων δ' οὖν τελευτήσειν ἤτησε τὰ ἐντάφια, ἃ πρὸ πολλοῦ παρεσκεύαστο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ διερρυηκότα αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου εἶδε, “τί τοῦτο;” ἔφη,
5 “ἐβραδύναμεν.” καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λιβανώτου θυμιάσας εἶπεν ὅτι “τὴν αὐτὴν εὐχὴν¹ εὐχομαι ἦν καὶ Σερουιανὸς² ἐπ' Ἀδριανῷ ἠΰξαστο.” ἐκεῖνός τε οὖν ἀπώλετο· καὶ μονομάχων ἀγῶνες ἐγένοντο ἐν οἷς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τίγριδες δέκα ἅμα ἐσφάγησαν.—Exc. Val. 352 (p. 741), Xiph. 318, 20—29 R. St.

8 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπρωνιανὸν ἐτελέσθη, παράδοξα ὄντα καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι. ἔσχε γὰρ αἰτίαν ὅτι ποτὲ ἢ τήθη αὐτοῦ ὄναρ ἐορακέναι ἐλέχθη ὡς βασιλεύσει, καὶ ὅτι μαγεία τινὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χρήσασθαι ἔδοξε· καὶ ἀπὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ
2 τῆς Ἀσίας κατεψηφίσθη. ἀναγίνωσκομένων οὖν ἡμῖν τῶν βασάνων τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένων, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνεγέγραπτο ὅτι ὁ μὲν τις ἐπύθετο τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξετάσεως τεταγμένων τίς τε³ διηγήσατο τὸ ὄναρ τίς τε ἤκουσεν· ὁ δὲ τις ἔφη τὰ τε ἄλλα.

¹ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐχὴν cod. Peir.; τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην VC.

² καὶ Σερουιανὸς Val., καὶ σευηριανὸς V, καὶ σευκριανὸς C, καὶ σαριουλια δς cod. Peir. ³ τε H. Steph., δὲ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

Quintillus Plautianus.¹ He also put to death many A.D. 205 other senators, some of them after they had been duly accused before him, had made their defence, and been convicted.

Quintillus, a man of the noblest birth and long counted among the foremost members of the senate, a man now standing at the gates of old age, living in the country, interfering in no one's business and doing aught amiss, nevertheless became the victim of informers and was put out of the way. As he was about to die, he called for his shroud, which he had made ready long before; and on perceiving that it had fallen to pieces through lapse of time, he said: "What does this mean? We are late." And then, as he burnt incense, he remarked: "I make the same prayer as Servianus made for Hadrian."² So he died at this time; and gladiatorial contests were held, in which, among other novelties, ten tigers were slain at once.

After this came the *dénouement* of the case of Apronianus—an incredible affair even in the hearing. This man was accused because his nurse was reported to have dreamed once that he should be emperor and because he was believed to have employed some magic to this end; and he was condemned while absent at his post as governor of Asia. Now when the evidence concerning him, taken under torture, was read to us, there appeared in it the statement that one of the persons conducting the examination had inquired who had told the dream and who had heard it, and that the man under examination had

¹ Hirschfeld identifies with M. Plautius Quintillus.

² Cf. lxix. 17.

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καὶ ὅτι “ φαλακρόν τινα βουλευτὴν παρακύψαντα
 3 εἶδον.” ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦθ' ἡμεῖς ἐν δεινῷ
 πάθει ἐγενόμεθα· ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὔτε
 ἐκεῖνος εἰρήκει οὔτε ὁ Σεουήρος ἐγεγράφει, ὑπὸ δὲ
 ἐκπλήξεως καὶ οἱ μηδεπώποτε ἐς τοῦ Ἀπρω-
 νιανοῦ¹ πεφοιτηκότες, οὐχ ὅτι οἱ φαλακροὶ ἀλλὰ
 4 καὶ οἱ ἄλλως ἀναφαλαντῖαι, ἔδεισαν. καὶ
 ἐθάρσει μὲν οὐδεὶς πλὴν τῶν πάνυ κομώντων,
 πάντες δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους περιεβλέπομεν, καὶ ἦν
 θροῦς “ ὁ δεινὰ ἐστίν.” “ οὐκ' ἀλλ' ὁ δεινὰ.”
 οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι· τὸ τότε μοι συμβάν, εἰ καὶ
 γελοϊότατόν ἐστιν· τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀμηχανία συνε-
 σχέθη ὥστε καὶ πῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας τῆ
 5 χειρὶ ζητῆσαι· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτεροι
 πολλοὶ ἔπαθον. καὶ πάνυ γε ἐς τοὺς φαλα-
 κροειδεῖς ἀφῆρῶμεν ὡς καὶ ἐς² ἐκείνους τὸν
 ἑαυτῶν κίνδυνον ἀπωθούμενοι, πρὶν δὴ προσα-
 νεγνώσθη ὅτι ἄρα περιπόρφυρον ἱμάτιον ὁ φαλα-
 6 κρὸς ἐκεῖνος εἶχε. λεχθέντος γὰρ τούτου πρὸς
 Βαίβιον Μάρκελλῖνον ἀπείδομεν· ἠγορανομήκει
 γὰρ τότε καὶ ἦν φαλακρότατος· ἀνάστας γοῦν
 καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς μέσον “ πάντως που γνωριεῖ με,
 7 εἰ ἑώρακεν” ἔφη. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τοῦτο ἡμῶν
 ἐσήχθη τε ὁ μηνυτής, καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἐσιώπησε
 παρεστῶτος αὐτοῦ, περιβλέπων ὃν γνωρίσειε,
 τέλος δὲ νεύματί τινος ἀφανεῖ προσσχῶν³ ἔφη
 9 τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι· καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Μαρκελ-
 λῖνος ἐάλω φαλακροῦ παρακύψεως, ἐξήχθη τε ἐκ

¹ Ἀπρωιανοῦ R. Steph., ἀπρωιανοῦ VC.

² ἐς supplied by H. Steph.

³ προσσχῶν Bk., προσχῶν VC.

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τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλοφυρόμενος. καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεξελθὼν οὐκέτ' ἠθέλησε περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ταύτη τὰ τέκνα τέσσαρα ὄντα ἀσπασάμενος λόγον εἶπε περιπαθέστατον· ἔφη γάρ· “ ἔν με τοῦτο λυπεῖ, τέκνα, ὅτι ὑμᾶς
 2 ζῶντας καταλείπω.” καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη, πρὶν τὸν Σεουήρον μαθεῖν ὅτι καὶ κατεψηφίσθη· τῷ μέντοι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου παρασχόντι Πολληνίῳ Σεβεννῷ δίκη τιμωρὸς ἀπήντησεν. ἐκδοθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ Σαβίνου τοῖς Νωρικοῖς, ὧν ἄρξας οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐπε-
 3 ποιήκει, αἴσχιστα πέπονθε· καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τε τῆς γῆς κείμενον καὶ ἰκετεύοντα οἰκτρῶς, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν Ἄσπακα¹ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ φειδοῦς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀπωλώλει οἰκτρῶς. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἄσπαξ οὗτος δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο σκῶψαι, στωμύλασθαι, πάντων ἀνθρώπων καταφρονῆσαι, φίλοις χαρίσασθαι, ἐχθρὸν ἀμύνασθαι.
 4 καὶ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους πικρὰ καὶ ἀστεῖα ἀποφθέγματα φέρεται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σεουήρον αὐτόν. ὧν ἓν καὶ τοῦτο· ἐς γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐγγραφέντος “ συγχαίρω σοι, Καῖσαρ,” ἔφη, “ ὅτι πατέρα εὔρες,” ὡς καὶ ἀπάτορος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὑπ' ἀφανείας² ὄντος.
 10 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Βούλλας³ τις Ἰταλὸς ἀνὴρ, ληστήριον συστησάμενος⁴ ὡς ἑξακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐλήζετο τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο, παρόντων μὲν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, παρόντων δὲ καὶ

¹ Probably a corruption on the part of the excerptor for Αὔσπικα (and similarly just below).

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

out of the senate-chamber bewailing his fate. When A.D. 205 he had passed through the Forum, he refused to proceed farther, but just where he was took leave of his children, four in number, and spoke these most affecting words: "There is only one thing that causes me sorrow, my children, and that is that I leave you behind alive." Then his head was cut off, before Severus even learned that he had been condemned. Just vengeance, however, befell Pollenius Sebennus, who had preferred the charge that caused Marcellinus' death. He was delivered up by Sabinus to the Norici, whom he had treated in anything but a decent fashion while acting as their governor, and he had to endure a most shameful experience; we saw him lying on the ground and pleading piteously, and had he not obtained mercy, because of Auspex, his uncle, he would have perished miserably. This Auspex was the cleverest man imaginable for jokes and chit-chat, for despising all mankind, gratifying his friends, and taking vengeance on an enemy. Many bitter and witty sayings of his are reported, addressed to various persons, many even to Severus himself. Here is one of the latter kind. When the emperor was enrolled in the family of Marcus, Auspex said: "I congratulate you, Caesar, upon finding a father," implying that up to that time he had been fatherless by reason of his obscure birth.

At this period one Bulla, an Italian, got together a A.D.
206-
207(?) robber band of about six hundred men, and for two years continued to plunder Italy under the very

² ἀφανείας Sylb., ἀφανεία VC.

³ Βούλλας Zon., βούλας VC.

⁴ συστησάμενος Zon., στησάμενος VC.

2 στρατιωτῶν τοσούτων. ἐδιώκετο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ
 συχνῶν ἀνδρῶν, φιλοτίμως αὐτὸν ἀνιχνεύοντος
 τοῦ Σεουήρου, οὔτε δὲ ἑωρᾶτο ὀρώμενος οὔτε
 εὔρισκετο εὔρισκόμενος οὔτε κατελαμβάνετο
 ἀλισκόμενος· τοσαύτη καὶ μεγαλοδωρία καὶ σοφία
 ἐχρήτη. ἐμάνθανε γὰρ πάντας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ῥώμης ἐξιόντας καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον
 καταίροντας, τίνες τε καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ, καὶ τίνα καὶ
 3 ὅποσα κέκτηνται· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, μέρος ἄν
 τι παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν εἶχον λαβῶν, εὐθύς ἠφίει, τοὺς
 δὲ δὴ τεχνίτας κατεῖχε χρόνον τινά, καὶ χρη-
 σάμενός σφισιν, εἶτα καὶ προσδούς¹ τι ἀπέλυε.
 καί ποτε δύο ληστῶν αὐτοῦ ἀλόντων καὶ θηρίοις
 δοθήσεσθαι μελλόντων πρὸς τε τὸν δεσμοφύλακα
 κατῆλθε, πλασάμενος ὡς τῆς πατρίδος² ἄρχων
 καὶ τινῶν ἀνθρώπων τοιούτων δεόμενος, καὶ οὕτω
 4 λαβῶν αὐτοὺς ἔσωσε. τῷ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχῳ τῷ τὸ
 ληστρικὸν καθαιροῦντι προσελθὼν κατηγόρησεν
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὡς περ ἄλλος τις ὢν, καὶ ὑπέσχετο,
 εἰ ἀκολουθήσει αὐτῷ, παραδοῦναί οἱ τὸν ληστήν·
 καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐς κοῖλόν τινα καὶ λοχμώδη³
 τόπον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Φήλικα⁴ ἀγαγὼν (καὶ
 τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς προσωνόμαστο) ῥαδίως συνέλαβε.
 5 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβη σχῆμα ἄρχον-
 τος ἀναλαβῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον
 τῆς τε κεφαλῆς ἀπεξύρησε, καὶ ἔφη “ ἄγγελλε
 τοῖς δεσπόταις σου ὅτι τοὺς δούλους ὑμῶν
 τρέφετε, ἵνα μὴ ληστεύωσι.” πλείστους γὰρ

¹ προσδούς Sylb., προδούς VC.

² τῆς πατρίδος perhaps corrupt; Bs. suggests τῆς πόλεως.

³ λοχμώδη H. Steph., λογγώδη VC Zon.

⁴ Φήλικα Leuncl., φίληκα VC.

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ὅσους τῶν Καισαρείων εἶχε, τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγομίσθους
 6 τοὺς δὲ καὶ παντελῶς ἀμίσθους γεγονότας. ταῦτ'
 οὖν ὁ Σεουήρος ὡς ἕκαστα πυνθανόμενος, ὀργῇ
 ἔφερεν ὅτι ἐν τῇ Βρεττανία τοὺς πολέμους δι'
 ἑτέρων νικῶν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία ληστοῦ ἥττων
 ἐγένετο· καὶ τέλος χιλίαρχον ἐκ τῶν σωματο-
 φυλάκων σὺν ἵππεῦσι πολλοῖς ἔστειλε, δεινὰ
 ἄττα αὐτῷ ἀπειλήσας, ἂν μὴ ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἀγάγη.
 καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μαθὼν ὅτι γυναικί τινι ἀλλοτρία
 χρῶτο, ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' ἀδεία¹
 7 συνάρασθαι σφίσι. κακ' οὗτου ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ
 καθεύδων συνελήφθη. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Παπινιανὸς²
 ὁ ἑπαρχος ἀνήρετο "διὰ τί ἐλήστευσας;" καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἀπεκρίνατο "διὰ τί σὺ ἑπαρχος εἶ;" καὶ
 θηρίοις μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ κηρύγματος ἐδόθη, καὶ
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ληστρικὸν διελύθη· οὕτω που ἐν
 ἐκείνῳ πᾶσα ἢ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ἰσχὺς ἦν.
 11 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε
 ... τοὺς τε παῖδας ἐκδιαιτωμένους ὀρῶν καὶ τὰ στρα-
 τεύματα ὑπὸ ἀργίας ἐκλυόμενα, καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι
 οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσεται. ἤδει δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα
 μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ὑφ' ὧν ἐγεγέννητο³ (καὶ γὰρ
 ἐς τὰς ὀροφὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν οἴκων τῶν ἐν τῷ παλα-
 τίῳ, ἐν οἷς ἐδίκαζεν, ἐνέγραψεν, ὥστε πᾶσι, πλὴν
 τοῦ μορίου τοῦ τὴν ὥραν, ὡς φασιν, ἐπισκο-
 πήσαντος ὅτε ἐς τὸ φῶς ἐξῆι, ὀρᾶσθαι· τοῦτο
 γὰρ οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκατέρωθι ἐνετύπωσεν), ἤδει δὲ
 2 καὶ παρὰ μάντεων ἀκούσας. ἀνδριάντι γὰρ αὐτοῦ

¹ ἀδεία Rk., ἀδείας VC.

² Παπινιανὸς R. Steph., παπιανὸς VC.

³ ἐγεγέννητο R. Steph., ἐγεγέννητο VC.

¹ i.e. the horoscope.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

Bulla had with him, in fact, a very large number of imperial freedmen, some of whom had been poorly paid, while others had received absolutely no pay at all. Severus, informed of these various occurrences, was angry at the thought that though he was winning the wars in Britain through others, yet he himself had proved no match for a robber in Italy; and finally he sent a tribune from his body-guard with many horsemen, after threatening him with dire punishment if he should fail to bring back the robber alive. So this tribune, having learned that the brigand was intimate with another man's wife, persuaded her through her husband to assist them on promise of immunity. As a result, the robber was arrested while asleep in a cave. Papinian, the prefect, asked him, "Why did you become a robber?" And he replied: "Why are you a prefect?" Later, after due proclamation, he was given to wild beasts, and his band was broken up—to such an extent did the strength of the whole six hundred lie in him.

Severus, seeing that his sons were changing their mode of life and that the legions were becoming enervated by idleness, made a campaign against Britain, though he knew that he should not return. He knew this chiefly from the stars under which he had been born, for he had caused them to be painted on the ceilings of the rooms in the palace where he was wont to hold court, so that they were visible to all, with the exception of that portion of the sky which, as astrologers express it, "observed the hour"¹ when he first saw the light; for this portion he had not depicted in the same way in both rooms. He knew his fate also by what he had heard from the seers; for a thunderbolt had struck a statue of

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209(?)

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις δι' ὧν ἐκστρατεύσειν ἔμελλεν ἔστῶτι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκεῖσε φέρουσαν ἀποβλέποντι, σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσὼν τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ γράμματα ἀπήλειψε· καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ὡς οἱ μάντεις ἀπεφήναντο, οὐκ ἐπανῆκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τοῦτο μετήλλαξε. καὶ χρήματα δὲ πάμπολλα συνεξήγαγε.—Xiph. 318, 29—321, 24 R. St.

- 12 Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστα εἰσι, Καληδόριοι καὶ Μαιάται· καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα ὡς εἰπεῖν συγκεχώρηκεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι ὃ τὴν νῆσον δίχῃ τέμνει, Καληδόριοι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους, καὶ νέμονται ἑκάτεροι ὄρη ἄγρια καὶ ἄνυδρα καὶ πεδία ἔρημα καὶ ἐλώδη, μήτε τείχη μήτε πόλεις μήτε γεωργίας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἔκτε νομῆς καὶ θήρας ἀκροδρύων τέ τινων ζῶντες·
 2 τῶν γὰρ ἰχθύων ἀπείρων καὶ ἀπλέτων ὄντων οὐ γεύονται. διαιτῶνται δὲ ἐν σκηναῖς γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι,¹ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπικοίνοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα κοινῶς² ἐκτρέφοντες. δημοκρατοῦνταί τε ὡς πλήθει, καὶ ληστεύουσιν ἡδιστα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρχοντας τοὺς θρασυ-
 3 τάτους αἰροῦνται.³ στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἄρμάτων, ἵππους ἔχοντες μικροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς,⁴ καὶ πεζοί· καὶ εἰσι καὶ δραμεῖν ὀξύτατοι καὶ συστήναι παγιώτατοι. τὰ δὲ ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἄσπις

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ δόρυ βραχύ,¹ μῆλον χαλκοῦν ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ
 στύρακος ἔχον, ὥστε σειόμενον· κτυπεῖν πρὸς
 κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐναντίων· εἰσὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
 4 ἐγχειρίδια. δύνανται δὲ καὶ λιμὸν καὶ ψῦχος καὶ
 ταλαιπωρίαν πᾶσαν ὑπομένειν· ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἔλη
 καταδυόμενοι καρτεροῦσιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας,
 τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνην² ἔξω τοῦ ὕδατος ἔχοντες, καὶ
 ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις τῷ τε φλοιῷ καὶ ταῖς ῥίζαις δια-
 τρέφονται, καὶ πρὸς πάντα³ σκευάζουσί τι
 βρῶμα, ἀφ' οὗ, κυάμου τι μέγεθος ἐμφαγόντες
 οὔτε πεινώσιν οὔτε διψῶσι.—Xiph. 321, 24—322,
 12 R. St., Treu Exc. Anon. Byz. p. 21, 26—22, 15.

5 · Τοιαύτη μὲν τις νῆσος ἢ Βρεττανία ἐστί, καὶ
 τοιοῦτους οἰκήτορας ἢ γε πολεμία ἔχει. νῆσος
 γὰρ ἐστί, καὶ τότε σαφῶς ὥσπερ εἶπον ἐλήλεγκ-
 ται. καὶ αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι ἑπτα-
 κισχίλιοι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα δύο εἰσὶ, τοῦ δὲ
 δὴ πλάτους τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον δέκα καὶ τριακόσιοι
 καὶ δισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ ἐλάχιστον τριακόσιοι· καὶ
 τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐ πολλῷ τινὶ τῆς ἡμισείας ἔλαττόν
 τι ἔχομεν.

13 Ὁ δ' οὖν Σεουῆρος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν κατα-
 στρέψασθαι ἐθελήσας⁴ ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Καλη-
 δονίαν, καὶ διῶν αὐτὴν ἀμύθητα πράγματα ἔσχε,
 τὰς τε ὕλας τέμνων καὶ τὰ μετέωρα κατα-
 σκάπτων τὰ τε ἔλη χωνυῶν καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς
 2 ζευγνύων· οὔτε γὰρ μάχην τινὰ ἐμαχέσατο οὔτε
 πολέμιόν τινα ἐν παρατάξει εἶδε. πρόβατα δὲ

¹ Cf. Treu 22, 8, 9: ἀσπίδα μόνην ἔχοντες ἀντὶ κράνους καὶ θώρακος καὶ κνημίδων.

² μόνην Zon. Treu; μόνον VC.

³ πρὸς πάντα Bs., περὶ πάντα VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

and a short spear,¹ with a bronze apple attached A.D. 208
to the end of the spear-shaft, so that when it is shaken it may clash and terrify the enemy; and they also have daggers. They can endure hunger and cold and any kind of hardship; for they plunge into the swamps and exist there for many days with only their heads above water, and in the forests they support themselves upon bark and roots, and for all emergencies they prepare a certain kind of food, the eating of a small portion of which, the size of a bean, prevents them from feeling either hunger or thirst.

Such is the general character of the island of Britain and such are the inhabitants of at least the hostile part of it. For it is an island, and the fact, as I have stated,² was clearly proved at that time. Its length is 951 miles, its greatest breadth 308, and its least 40.³ Of all this territory we hold a little less than one half.

Severus, accordingly, desiring to subjugate the whole of it, invaded Caledonia. But as he advanced through the country he experienced countless hardships in cutting down the forests, levelling the heights, filling up the swamps, and bridging the rivers; but he fought no battle and beheld no enemy in battle array. The enemy purposely put sheep

¹ Cf. Treu's excerpt: "having only a shield in place of helmet, breastplate and greaves."

² Cf. xxxix. 50, 4, lxvi. 20.

³ Literally, 7132, 2310, and 300 stades, respectively. 7½ stades are here reckoned to the mile (cf. Vol. III., p. 237 n.). Jordanes (*Get.* 2, 11), whose source is Dio, gives the same figures in stades for the first two dimensions, but omits the third.

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- καὶ βούς προβαλλομένων αὐτῶν ἐξεπίτηδες· οἱ στρατιῶται ἤρπαζον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείον ἀπατώμενοι τρύχωνται· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων δεινῶς ἐκακοῦντο καὶ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι ἐπεβουλεύοντο. εἴτ' ἀδυνατοῦντες βαδίζειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων ἐφονεύοντο ἵνα μὴ ἀλίσκωνται, ὥστε ἐς πέντε
 3 μυριάδας ὅλας τελευτήησαι. οὐ μέντοι ἀπέστη γε πρὶν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς νήσου πλησιάσαι, ὅπου γε τὰ μάλιστα τὴν τε τοῦ ἡλίου παράλλαξιν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν τε νυκτῶν καὶ τῶν θερινῶν καὶ τῶν χειμερινῶν μέγεθος ἀκριβέστατα κατεφώρασε.
 4 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διὰ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς πολεμίας κομισθεὶς (ἐκομίσθη γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγω τινὶ τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν) ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἐπανῆλθεν, ἐς ὁμολογίαν τοὺς Βρεττανούς, ἐπὶ τῷ χώρῳ οὐκ ὀλίγης ἐκστῆναι, ἀναγκάσας ἐλθεῖν.
- 14 Ἐξέπληττε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄντωνίνος καὶ ἐς φροντίδας ἀνηνύτους καθίστη, ὅτι τε ἀκολάστως ἔζη, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν δῆλος ἦν, εἰ δυνήθειη, φονεύσων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβούλευσε. ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξεπήδησεν ἐξαΐφνης ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς ὡς ὑπὸ
 2 τοῦ Κάστορος ἀδικούμενος· οὗτος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τῶν περὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον Καισαρείων ἦν, καὶ ἐπεπίστευτο τὴν τε μνήμην¹ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα. καὶ συνέστησαν μὲν τινες ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατιῶται προπαρεσκευασμένοι καὶ συνεβόησαν, κατελή-

¹ μνήμην Hirschfeld, ἄγνώμην VC.

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φθησαν δὲ δι' ὀλίγου αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Σεουήρου
ἐπιφανέντος σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ταραχωδεστέρους
3 κολάσαντος. ἄλλοτε δὲ προσήλαυνον μὲν ἀμφό-
τεροι πρὸς τοὺς Καληδονίους, ἵνα τά τε ὄπλα παρ'
αὐτῶν λάβωσι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν διαλεχ-
θῶσιν, ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν ἀντι-
κρυσ αὐτοχειρία ἐπεχείρησεν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ
ἐπὶ ἵππων, καὶ ὁ Σεουήρος, καίπερ καὶ τοὺς ταρα-
σοὺς ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ὑποτετακώς,¹ ὅμως ἵππευσε
καὶ αὐτός, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα συνεφείπετο,
4 τό τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτὸ συνεωράτο· κὰν τῷ
καιρῷ τούτῳ τῇ τε σιγῇ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸν ἵππον
ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀναχαιτίσας ἐσπάσατο τὸ ξίφος ὡς
καὶ κατὰ νότου τὸν πατέρα πατάξων. ἰδόντες δὲ
τοῦτο οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ συνιππεύοντες ἐξεβόησαν, καὶ
οὕτως ἐκεῖνός τε ἐκπλαγεὶς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἔδρασε, καὶ
ὁ Σεουήρος μετεστράφη μὲν πρὸς τὴν βοήν αὐτῶν
καὶ εἶδε τὸ ξίφος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφθέγγατό τι,
ἀλλ' ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τελέσας ὅσα ἐχρῆν,
5 ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐπανῆλθε. καὶ καλέσας τὸν τε
υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Παπινιανὸν² καὶ τὸν Κάστορα ξίφος
τέ τι τεθῆναι ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευσέ, καὶ ἐγκα-
λέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι τε ἄλλως τοιοῦτόν τι ἐτόλμησε
καὶ ὅτι πάντων ὁρώντων τῶν τε συμμάχων καὶ
τῶν πολεμίων τηλικούτου κακὸν δράσειν ἔμελλεν,
τέλος ἔφη· “ἀλλ' εἴγε ἀποσφάξαι με ἐπιθυμίεις,
6 ἐνταῦθά με κατάχρησαι· ἔρρωσαι γάρ, ἐγὼ δὲ
καὶ γέρων εἰμὶ καὶ κεῖμαι. ὡς εἴγε τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ
ἀναδύη, τὸ δὲ αὐτόχειρ μου γενέσθαι ὀκνεῖς,

¹ ὑποτετακώς Carps, ὑποτετμηκώς VC, ὑποτετμημένος Rk., ὑποτετηκώς or ὑποσεσηπώς Bs., ὑπεσκληκώς Kuiper.

² Παπινιανὸν R. Steph., παπιανὸν VC (and similarly below).

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

but they were quickly checked when Severus himself appeared among them and punished the more unruly ones. On another occasion, when both were riding forward to meet the Caledonians, in order to receive their arms and discuss the details of the truce, Antoninus attempted to kill his father outright with his own hand. They were proceeding on horseback, Severus also being mounted, in spite of the fact that he had somewhat strained¹ his feet as the result of an infirmity, and the rest of the army was following; the enemy's force were likewise spectators. At this juncture, while all were proceeding in silence and in order, Antoninus reined in his horse and drew his sword, as if he were going to strike his father in the back. But the others who were riding with them, upon seeing this, cried out, and so Antoninus, in alarm, desisted from his attempt. Severus turned at their shout and saw the sword, yet he did not utter a word, but ascended the tribunal, finished what he had to do, and returned to headquarters. Then he summoned his son, together with Papinian and Castor, ordered a sword to be placed within easy reach, and upbraided the youth for having dared to do such a thing at all and especially for having been on the point of committing so monstrous a crime in the sight of all, both the allies and the enemy. And finally he said: "Now if you really want to slay me, put me out of the way here; for you are strong, while I am an old man and prostrate. For, if you do not shrink from the deed, but hesitate to murder me with your own

¹ The text is uncertain at this point; see critical note. Severus' infirmity was the gout; cf. ch. 16, 1 and Spart., *Sever.* 16, 6 (*affectus articulari morbo*).

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παρέστηκέ σοι Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος, ᾧ δύνασαι κελεύσαι ἵνα με ἐξεργάσῃται· πάντως γάρ που πᾶν τὸ κελευσθέν ὑπὸ σου, ἅτε καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ὄντος, ποιήσει.” ἵ τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ὅμως οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἔδρασε, καίπερ πολλάκις μὲν τὸν Μάρκον αἰτιασάμενος ὅτι τὸν Κόμμοδον οὐχ ὑπεξείλε, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ υἱεὶ ἀπειλήσας τοῦτο ποιήσειν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὀργιζόμενος αἰεί ποτε ἔλεγε, τότε δὲ φιλότεκνος μάλλον, ἢ φιλόπολις ἐγένετο· καίτοι καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τούτῳ παῖδα προέδωκε, σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὰ γενησόμενα.

15 Ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ αὐθις, καλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐντύχῳσιν ἀποκτεῖναι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν,

“ μή τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον·
 χεῖράς θ' ἡμετέρας, μηδ' ὄντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ¹
 κοῦρον ἔοντα φέροι· μηδ' ὅς φύγοι² αἰπὺν
 ὄλεθρον.”

2 γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ τῶν Καληδονίων προσ-
 αποστάντων τοῖς Μαιάταις, ἠτοιμάζετο μὲν ὡς
 καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς πολεμήσων, καὶ αὐτὸν περὶ
 ταῦτ' ἔχοντα ἢ νόσος τῇ τετάρτῃ τοῦ Φεβρουα-
 ρίου ἀπήνεγκε, συνεργασαμένου τι πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ
 τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, ὡς λέγεται. πρὶν γοῦν μετα-
 λάξαι, τάδε λέγεται τοῖς παισὶν εἰπεῖν (ἐρῶ γάρ,
 αὐτὰ τὰ λεχθέντα; μηδὲν ὅ τι καλλωπίσας):
 “ ὁμονοεῖτε, τοὺς στρατιώτας πλουτίζετε, τῶν

¹ μήτηρ supplied by H. Steph.

² φύγοι C, φύγη. VC¹.

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- 3 ἄλλων πάντων καταφρονεῖτε.” ἐκ δὲ τούτου τό
 τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ στρατιωτικῶς κοσμηθὲν ἐπὶ πυρὰν
 ἐτέθη καὶ τῇ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν
 παίδων περιδρομῇ ἐτιμήθη, τὰ τε δῶρα τὰ
 στρατιωτικὰ οἷ τι τῶν παρόντων ἔχοντες ἐς
 4 αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἱ υἱεῖς ἐνῆκαν. καὶ
 μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐς ὑδρίαν πορφυροῦ λίθου
 ἐμβληθέντα ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἐς τὸ
 Ἄντωνινεῖον¹ ἀπετέθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ὑδρίαν
 ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου μεταπέμψασθαί τε
 αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπιψηλαφήσαντα εἰπεῖν “ χωρήσεις
 ἄνδρα ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη οὐκ ἐχώρησεν.”—*Xiph.* 322,
 12—324, 25 R. St.
- 16 Ἦν δὲ τὸ σῶμα βραχὺς μὲν ἰσχυρὸς. δέ, καίπερ
 ἀσθενέστατος ὑπὸ τῆς ποδάγρας γενόμενος, τὴν
 δὲ δὴ ψυχὴν καὶ δριμύτατος καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατος·
 παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπετύγχανε,
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολυγνώμων μᾶλλον ἢ πολύλογος
 ἦν. φίλοις οὐκ ἀμνήμων, ἐχθροῖς βαρύτατος,
 ἐπιμελῆς μὲν πάντων ὧν πράξαι ἤθελεν,² ἀμελῆς
 δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λογοποιουμένων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ χρήματα ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον
 3 οὐδένα ἔνεκα αὐτῶν³ ἀπέκτεινε, πορίζων, πάντα
 μὲν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδαπάναι ἀφθονώτατα, καὶ
 πλείστα γε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκοδομημάτων
 ἀνεκτήσατο, καὶ σφισι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα ὡς καὶ ἐκ
 καινῆς αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων κατεσκευακῶς
 ἐπέγραψε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μάτην ἐς τε ἐπισκευὰς
 καὶ κατασκευὰς ἐτέρων ἀνάλωσεν, ὅς γε καὶ τῷ
 Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νεῶν ὑπερμεγέθη
 4 ὠκοδομήσατο. καίτοι δὲ πάμπλειστα δαπανήσας,

¹ Ἄντωνίνειον H. Steph., ἀντωνίλειον VC.

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and scorn all other men." After this his body, A.D. 211 arrayed in military garb, was placed upon a pyre, and as a mark of honour the soldiers and his sons ran about it; and as for the soldiers' gifts, those who had things at hand to offer as gifts threw them upon it, and his sons applied the fire. Afterwards his bones were put in an urn of purple stone,¹ carried to Rome, and deposited in the tomb of the Antonines. It is said that Severus sent for the urn shortly before his death, and after feeling of it, remarked: "Thou shalt hold a man that the world could not hold."

Severus was small of stature but powerful, though he eventually grew very weak from gout; mentally he was very keen and very vigorous. As for education, he was eager for more than he obtained, and for this reason was a man of few words, though of many ideas. Toward friends not forgetful, to enemies most oppressive, he was careful of everything that he desired to accomplish, but careless of what was said about him. Hence he raised money from every source, except that he killed no one to get it, and he met all necessary expenditures quite ungrudgingly. He restored a very large number of the ancient buildings and inscribed on them his own name, just as if he had erected them in the first place from his own private funds. He also spent a great deal uselessly in repairing other buildings and in constructing new ones; for instance, he built a temple of huge size to Bacchus and Hercules. Yet, though his expenditures were enormous, he nevertheless

¹ Porphyry? Herodian (iii. 15, 7) says alabaster.

² μέν—ἤθελεν cod. Peir., τῶν πρακτέων VC.

³ ἔνεκα αὐτῶν cod. Peir., τούτων χάριν VC.

ὅμως οὐκ εὐαριθμήτους τινὰς μυριάδας δραχμῶν καταλέλοιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλάς. καὶ ἐνεκάλει μὲν τοῖς μὴ σωφρονοῦσιν,¹ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῆς μοιχείας νομοθετῆσαί τινά· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γραφαὶ αὐτῆς ὅσαι πλείσται ἐγένοντο (τρισχιλίας γούν ὑπατεύων εὐρον ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐγγεγραμμένας). ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγοι πάνυ αὐταῖς ἐπεξήεσαν, 5 οὐκέτι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπολυπραγμόνει. ὅθεν καὶ μάλα ἀστείως Ἀργεντοκόξου τινὸς γυναῖκα Καληδουρίου πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὔγουσταν, ἀποσκώπτουσάν τι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέδην σφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσία, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι “ πολλῶ ἄμεινον ἡμεῖς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπληροῦμεν ὑμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ φανερώς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὀμιλοῦμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ λάθρα ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μοιχεύεσθε.”—Xiph. 324, 25—325, 15 R. St., Exc. Val. 353 (p. 741).

- 17 Τοῦτο μὲν ἡ Βρεττανίς εἶπεν, ἐχρήτο δὲ ὁ Σεουήρος καταστάσει τοῦ βίου εἰρήνης οὔσης τοιαῦδε. ἔπραττέ τι πάντως νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐβάδιζε² καὶ λέγων καὶ ἀκούων τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ πρόσφορα· εἶτ' ἐδίκαζε, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τις ἐορτὴ μεγάλη εἴη. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἄριστα αὐτὸ³ ἔπραττε· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δικαζομένοις ὕδωρ ἰκανὸν ἐνέχει, καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς συνδικάζουσιν αὐτῶ παρρησίαν πολλὴν ἐδίδου.
- 2 ἔκρινε δὲ μέχρι μεσημβρίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἵππευεν ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐδυνήθη· εἶτ' ἐλουτο, γυμνασάμενός τινα τρόπον. ἠρίστα δὲ ἡ καθ' ἑαυτὸν

¹ σωφρονοῦσιν Xyl., φρονοῦσιν VC.

² ἐβάδιζε C Zon., ἐδίκαζε V.

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DIO'S. ROMAN HISTORY

ἢ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, οὐκ ἐνδεῶς. εἶτ' ἐκάθειπεν
 ὡς πλήθει· ἔπειτ' ἐξαρθεὶς τὰ τε λοιπὰ προσ-
 διώκει καὶ λόγοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Λατίνοις
 3 συνεγίνετο ἐν περιπάτῳ. εἶθ' οὕτω πρὸς ἑσπέραν
 ἐλουτο¹ αὐθις, καὶ ἐδείπνει μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν·
 ἠκιστὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλον τινὰ συνέστιον ἐποιεῖτο,
 καὶ ἐν μόναις ταῖς πάνυ ἀναγκαίαις ἡμέραις τὰ
 4 πολυτελῆ δεῖπνα συνεκρότει. ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη
 ἐξήκοντα πέντε καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας
 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι² (τῇ γὰρ ἐνδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀπρι-
 λίου ἐγεγέννητο), ἀφ' ὧν ἤρξεν ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα
 καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς. τό τε σύμπαν
 οὕτως ἐνεργὸς ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἀποψύχων
 ἀναφθέγξασθαι· “ ἄγετε, δότε, εἴ τι πράξαι
 ἔχομεν.”—Xiph. 325, 15—32 R. St.

¹ ἐλουτο Bk., ἐλούετο VC Zon.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

plentiful luncheon, either by himself or with his A.D. 211 sons. Next, he generally took a nap. Then he rose, attended to his remaining duties, and afterwards, while walking about, engaged in discussion in both Greek and Latin. Then, toward evening, he would bathe again and dine with his associates; for he very rarely invited any guest to dinner, and only on days when it was quite unavoidable did he arrange expensive banquets. He lived sixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, for he was born on the eleventh of April. Of this period he had ruled for seventeen years, eight months, and three days. In fine, he showed himself so active that even when expiring he gasped: "Come, give it here, if we have anything to do."

² πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι VC, cod. Paris. 1712, ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι Ζον.

ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ ΟΥ ΒΟΥΚ ΛΧΧΥΙΙ

LXXVII Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πᾶσαν τὴν
1, 1 ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβε· λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελ-
 φοῦ, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἔργῳ μόνος εὐθύς ἤρξε. καὶ πρὸς
 μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους κατελύσατο καὶ τῆς χώρας
 αὐτοῖς ἐξέστη καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐξέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ
 οἰκείους τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλλαξεν, ὧν καὶ Παπινιανὸς ¹
 ὁ ἑπάρχος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὧν ἦν καὶ
 Εὐδοσὸς ὁ τροφεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ² ὁ Κάστωρ, ἣ τε γυνὴ
 αὐτοῦ ἢ Πλαυτίλλα καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἀδελφὸς
2 Πλαύτιος. καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δὲ αὐτῇ ἄνδρα
 ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἐλλόγιμον διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν
 ἐπιφανέστατον ἐχειργάσατο· τὸν γὰρ Εὐπρεπῆ
 τὸν ἄρματηλάτην, ἐπειδὴ τὰναντία αὐτῷ ἐσπού-
 दाζεν, ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν γήρᾳ
 ἀπέθανε, πλείστοις ἀγῶσιν ἵππων στεφανωθείς·
 δύο γὰρ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀνείλετο,
3 ὅσους οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἠθέλησε
 μὲν καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς φοιεῦσαι, οὐκ
 ἠδυνήθη δὲ οὔτε τότε δι' ἐκεῖνον οὔθ' ὕστερον ἐν
 τῇ ὁδῷ διὰ τὰ στρατεύματα· πάνυ γὰρ εὐνοίαν
 αὐτοῦ εἶχον, ἄλλως τε ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιό-
 τατος τῷ πατρὶ ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνῆλθε,
4 καὶ τοῦτον κατειργάσατο. προσεποιούντο μὲν
 γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, πάντα δὲ

¹ Παπινιανὸς R. Steph., παπιανὸς VC.

² καὶ supplied by Rk.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἔδρων, καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι δεινόν τι παρ' αὐτῶν γενήσοιτο. ὅπερ που καὶ πρὶν πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν προεγνώσθη. Αὖτις τε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοιοῦσας αὐτῶν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ὀμοιοῦσας ψηφισθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται τὸ τῇ Ὀμοιοῦσας
 5 τυθησόμενον¹ ἱερεῖον ἠτοίμασαν, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος ὡς καὶ βουθυτήσων ἀφίκετο, οὔτε δὲ οὗτος ἐκείνους οὔθ' οἱ ὑπηρέται τὸν ὕπατον εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσαν πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν νύκτα ζητοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε μὴ δυνηθῆναι
 6 τότε τὴν θυσίαν γενέσθαι. καὶ τῇ ὕστεραία δύο λύκοι εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβάντες ἐκείθεν ἐξεδιώχθησαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ που καταληφθεὶς ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἐσφάγη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους ἐγένετο.

2 Ἐβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ἄντωνῖνος φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκφανέστερον ἤδη τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὥστε συγκρυβῆναι ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν μάχαι αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλευόντων ἀλλήλοις, πολλαὶ
 2 δὲ καὶ ἀντιφυλακαὶ συνέβαινον. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ γυμνασταί, καὶ ἔξω καὶ οἴκοι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, συχνοὶ τὸν Γέταν ἐφρούρουν, ἔπεισε τὴν μητέρα μόνους σφᾶς εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ὡς καὶ συναλλάξουσιν,² μεταπέμψασθαι· καὶ οὕτω πιστεύσαντος τοῦ Γέτα ἐσῆλθε
 3 μὲν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴσω ἐγένοντο, ἑκατόνταρχοί τινες ἐσεπήδησαν ἀθρόοι, παρὰ τοῦ Ἄντωνίνου πρόπαρεσκευασμένοι, καὶ αὐτὸν

¹ τυθησόμενον H. Steph., τεθησόμενον VO.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

they were diametrically opposed, and anybody could A.D. 211
 see that something terrible was bound to result from
 the situation. This was foreseen even before they
 reached Rome. For when the senate had voted
 that sacrifices should be offered in behalf of their
 concord both to the other gods and to Concord
 herself, and the assistants had got ready the victim
 to be sacrificed to Concord and the consul had
 arrived to superintend the sacrifice, neither he
 could find them nor they him, but they spent nearly
 the entire night in searching for one another, so
 that the sacrifice could not be performed then.
 And on the next day two wolves went up on the
 Capitol, but were chased away from there; one of
 them was found and slain somewhere in the Forum
 and the other was killed later outside the pomerium.
 This incident also had reference to the brothers.

Antoninus wished to murder his brother at the
 Saturnalia, but was unable to do so; for his evil
 purpose had already become too manifest to remain
 concealed, and so there now ensued many sharp
 encounters between the two, each of whom felt
 that the other was plotting against him, and many
 defensive measures were taken on both sides. A.D. 212
 Since many soldiers and athletes, therefore, were guarding
 Geta, both abroad and at home; day and night alike,
 Antoninus induced his mother to summon them both,
 unattended, to her apartment, with a view to re-
 conciling them. Thus Geta was persuaded, and
 went in with him; but when they were inside, some
 centurions, previously instructed by Antoninus, rushed

² ὡς καὶ συναλλάξουσιν Kuiper, φ καὶ συναλλάξουσι VO, ἐπὶ ..
 καταλλαγῆ-ζον.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρὸς τε τὴν μητέρα, ὡς εἶδέ σφας, προκαταφυ-
 γόντα καὶ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἀνχένος αὐτῆς ἐξαρτηθέντα
 καὶ τοῖς στήθεσι τοῖς τε μαστοῖς προσφύντᾶ
 κατέκοψαν ὀλοφυρόμενον καὶ βοῶντᾶ· “μῆτερ
 μῆτερ, τεκοῦσα τεκοῦσα, βοήθει, σφάζομαι.”
 4 καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἀπατηθεῖσα τὸν τε υἱὸν ἐν
 τοῖς ἑαυτῆς κόλποις ἀνοσιώτατᾶ ἀπολλύμενον
 ἐπέϊδε, καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ
 σπλάγχνα τρόπον τινά, ἐξ ὧν ἐγεγέννητο, ἐσεδέ-
 ξατο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ αἵματος πᾶσα ἐπλήσθη, ὡς
 ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ τῆς χειρὸς τραῦμα ὃ ἐτρώθη
 5 ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε δὲ πενθῆσαι οὔτε θρηνῆσαι
 τὸν υἱόν, καίπερ πρόωρον οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπολω-
 λότα, ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῇ (δύο γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ
 μῆνας ἐννέα ἐβίω), ἀλλ’ ἠναγκάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐν
 μεγάλη τινὶ εὐτυχίᾳ οὔσα χαίρειν καὶ γελαῖν·
 6 οὕτῳ που πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῆς
 καὶ τὰ νεύματα τὰ τε χρώματα ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ μόνῃ
 ἐκείνῃ, τῇ Αὐγούστῃ, τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
 γυναικί, τῇ τῶν αὐτοκράτορων μητρί, οὐδ’ ἰδίᾳ
 που ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ παθήματι δακρῦσαι ἐξῆν.—
 Χιρῆ. 326, 9—328, 1 R. St.

3 Ὁ δ’ Ἀντωνῖνος καίπερ ἐσπέρας οὔσης τὰ
 στρατόπεδα κατέλαβε, διὰ πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ κεκρα-
 γῶς ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευμένος καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἐσελθὼν
 δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· “χαίρετε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνδρες
 ἰσυστρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἔξεστί μοι εὐεργετεῖν
 ὑμᾶς.” καὶ πρὶν πάντα ἀκοῦσαι, ἐνέφραξέ σφων
 τὰ στόματα τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις ὑποσχέ-
 σεσιν ὥστε μήτ’ ἐννοῆσαι μήτε φθέγξασθαί τι
 2 αὐτοὺς εὐσεβές δυνηθῆναι· “εἰς” γὰρ ἔφησεν
 “ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰμί, καὶ δι’ ὑμᾶς μόνους ζῆνι ἐθέλω,

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἴν' ὑμῖν πολλὰ χαρίζωμαι· ὑμέτεροι γὰρ οἱ
 θησαυροὶ πάντες εἰσί." καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο¹ εἶπεν
 ὅτι "μάλιστα μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν ζῆν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ
 μεθ' ὑμῶν γε ἀποθανεῖν εὐχόμαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως
 δέδια² τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτῆσαι
 βούλομαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποθνή-
 3 σκειν³ ἢ μηδαμοῦ." πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον τῇ
 ὑστεραία ἄλλα τέ τινα διελέχθη,⁴ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐκ
 τοῦ βάθρου ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ γένε-
 σθαι "ἀκούσατέ μου" εἶπε "μέγα πρᾶγμα· ἵνα
 πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη χαρῇ, πάντες οἱ φυγάδες οἱ καὶ
 ἐφ' ὄτῳ οὖν ἐγκλήματι⁵ καὶ ὅπως οὖν καταδικασ-
 μένοι κατελθέτωσαν." τὰς μὲν οὖν νήσους οὔτω
 τῶν φυγάδων κενώσας, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν
 καταδικασμένων ἄδειαν δεδωκώς, εἶτ' οὐ πολλῶ
 4 ὕστερον ἀνεπλήρωσε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Καισαρείων τῶν
 τε στρατιωτῶν τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Γέτα γενομένων καὶ
 ἐς δύο μυριάδας παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἄνδρας
 ἀπλῶς καὶ γυναῖκας, ὥς πού τις καὶ ἔτυχεν ἐν
 τῷ βασιλείῳ ὄν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἄλλους ἑτε καὶ τὸν Παπινιανόν.⁶—*Xiph.* 328,
 1—23 *R. St.*, *Exc. Vat.* 354, 355.

1^a "Ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος Παπινιανόν⁷ καὶ Πατροβινόν,⁸
 τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπί τισι κατηγορησάντων αὐτῶν,⁹

¹ τοῦτο *R. Steph.*, τοῦτο καὶ *VC*.

² δέδια *Sylb.*, δὴ διὰ *VC*.

³ ἀποθνήσκειν *R. Steph.*, ἀποθνήσκειν *VC*.

⁴ *Cf. Petr. Patr.*: καὶ πρῶτ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσελθὼν
 παρεκάλει συγγνώμην, οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέσφαξεν ἀλλ' ὅτι
 βραγχῆ καὶ οὐ (ὁ *cod.*) βούλεται δημηγορῆσαι.—*Exc. Vat.* 136
 (p. 228 *Mai.* = p. 212, 8–14 *Dind.*)

⁵ *Petr. Patr.* adds: πλὴν εἰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὲν θείου ὑμετέρου
 δὲ πατρὸς πεφυγαδευμένοι εἴεν.—*Exc. Vat.* 137.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

in order that I may confer upon you many favours; A.D. 212
 for all the treasuries are yours.” And he further
 said: “I pray to live with you, if possible, but if
 not, at any rate to die with you. For I do not fear
 death in any form, and it is my desire to end my
 days in warfare. There should a man die, or no-
 where.” To the senate on the following day he
 addressed various remarks,¹ and then, after rising
 from his seat, he said as he reached the door:
 “Listen to an important announcement from me:
 that the whole world may rejoice, let all the exiles
 who have been condemned, on whatever charge² or
 in whatever manner, be restored.” Thus did he
 empty the islands of exiles and grant pardon to
 the basest of criminals; but before long he had the
 islands full again. Of the imperial freedmen and
 soldiers who had been with Geta he immediately
 put to death some twenty thousand, men and women
 alike, wherever in the palace any of them happened
 to be; and he slew various distinguished men also,
 including Papinianus.

When the Pretorians accused Papinian and
 Patruinus of certain things, Antoninus permitted

¹ Cf. Patric.: “And entering the senate early in the
 morning, he craved their indulgence, not because he had
 slain his brother, but because he had a sore throat and felt
 indisposed to address them.”

² Patricius adds, “except those who have been banished
 by my uncle, your father.”

⁶ Πάπινιανδν R. Steph., παπιανδν VC (so below).

⁷ Παπιανδν cod. for Παπινιανδν.

⁸ Πατροινδν Bs., πατρωινον cod.

⁹ αὐτῶν Μαί, αὐτδν cod.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτούς, εἰπὼν κακείνο ὅτι
 “ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἑμαυτῷ¹ ἄρχω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ πείθομαι ὑμῖν καὶ ὡς κατηγοροῖς καὶ ὡς
 δικασταῖς.”—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat.* 138 (p. 228
Mai. = p. 212, 22—26 *Dind.*)

2 Καὶ τῷ γε τὸν Παπινιανὸν φονεύσαντι ἐπέτι-
 μησεν ὅτι ἀξίνη αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ ξίφει διεχρήσατο.—
Xiph. 328, 23—24 *R. St.*

Τὸν δὲ δὴ Κίλωνα τὸν τροφέα τὸν εὐεργέτην,
 τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπολιαρχηκότα, ὃν
 καὶ πατέρα πολλάκις ἐκεκλήκει, ἡβουλήθη μὲν
 3 ἀποστερῆσαι τοῦ ζῆν· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ
 πεμφθέντες ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ἀργυρώματα καὶ τὰ
 ἱμάτια τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ
 ἐκείνου διήρπασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνήγαγον διὰ τῆς
 ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον κομιούντες,
 βλαύτας² τε ὑποδεδεμένον (ἐν βαλανείῳ γὰρ ὧν
 ἔτυχε) καὶ χιτωνίσκον ἐνδεδυμένον, ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ
 4 πού καταχρησόμενοι. καὶ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ
 περιέρρηξαν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἠκίσαντο, ὥστε
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀστικούς
 ὑποθορυβῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον
 καὶ αἰδεσθέντα αὐτοὺς καὶ φοβηθέντα ἀπαντῆσαί
 σφισι, καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι (τὴν γὰρ στρατιωτικὴν
 ἐσθῆτα εἶχε) περιβαλόντα αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· “ μήτε
 τὸν πατέρα ὑβρίζετε μήτε τὸν τροφέα παίετε.”
 5 ὁ δὲ δὴ χιλίαρχος ὁ κελευσθεὶς αὐτὸν φονεῦσαι
 καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτῷ ἀνῆρέ-
 θησαν, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ, τὸ
 δ’ ἀληθὲς ὅτι μὴ κατέσφαξαν αὐτόν.—*Xiph.* 328,
 24—329, 8 *R. St.*

5 Ὅτι τὸν Κίλωνα τοσοῦτον δῆθέν³ ἤγάπα ὁ

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- Ἄντωνῖνος ὥστε εἰπεῖν ὅτι “οἱ τούτῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκότες ἐμοὶ ἐπιβεβουλεύκασιν.” ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ἐπαινούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προσεστηκότων ἔφη· “ἐμὲ μήθ’ Ἡρακλέα μήτ’ ἄλλον θεὸν τινα ἐπικαλεῖτε,” οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο θεὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον θεοῦ πράττειν ἤθελεν. ἔμπληκτος γὰρ φύσει πρὸς πάντα τὰ πράγματα ὧν καὶ ἐτίμα τινὰς μεγάλως καὶ ἠτίμαζεν ἐξαίφνης τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀλογώτατα, ἔσωζέ τε οὖς ἠκιστα ἐχρῆν, καὶ ἐκόλαζεν οὖς οὐκ ἂν τις προσεδόκησεν.—Exc. Val. 356 (p. 742).
- 3 “Ὅτι τὸν Ἄσπρον τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν οὐδ’ ἄλλως εὐκαταφρόνητον καὶ διὰ παιδείαν καὶ διὰ φρόνημα ὄντα ἐξάρας ὁμοίως¹ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τοσαύταις ῥάβδοις ὁμοῦ ἐμπομπεύσαντα, προεπηλάκισε παραχρῆμα δεινῶς καὶ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μεθ’ ὕβρεως καὶ μετὰ δέους ἰσχυροῦ ἀπέπεμψε.—Exc. Val. 357 (p. 742).
- 4 “Ὅτι καὶ τὸν Λαῖνον ἠτιμάκει ἂν ἢ καὶ ἀπεκτόνει, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἐνόσει· καὶ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν αὐτοῦ ἀσεβῆ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠνόμασεν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνον ἀσεβῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεψεν.—Exc. Val. 358 (p. 742).
- 5 “Ὅτι καὶ Θρασέαν² Πρίσκον, ἄνδρα οὐδενὸς οὔτε γένει οὔτε φρονήσει δεύτερον, κατεχρήσατο.—Exc. Val. 359 (p. 742).

¹ ὁμοίως Val., ὁμοίους cod. Peir.

² Θρασέαν Val., θρασέα cod. Peir.

¹ C. Julius Asper was consul in the year 212; Boissevain argues that the full name may have been C. Julius Julianus Asper.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

that he declared, "Those who have plotted against him have plotted against me," and when commended for this by the bystanders, he continued: "Call me neither Hercules nor any other god"—not that he did not wish to be termed a god, but because he did not want to do anything worthy of a god. He was naturally capricious in all things; for instance, he would bestow great honours upon people and then suddenly disgrace them quite without cause, and again he would spare the lives of those who least deserved it and punish those whom one would never have looked to see punished. A.D. 212

Julianus Asper,¹ a man by no means to be despised either on account of his education or of his intelligence, was first exalted, together with his sons, by Antoninus, so that he paraded about surrounded by ever so many fasces at once,² and then was suddenly insulted by him outrageously and sent back to his native town³ with abuse and in terrible fear.

Laenus⁴ was another whom he would have disgraced or even killed, had not the man been extremely ill. Antoninus before the soldiers called his illness wicked, because it did not permit him to display his own wickedness in the case of Laenus also.

He also made away with Thrasea Priscus, a man second to none either in birth or intelligence.

² He was probably consul and prefect of the city at the same time and employed the lictors belonging to both offices; but the text is probably corrupt.

³ Tusculum.

⁴ Valesius regarded this as an error for Laetus (cf. *Vit. Caracall.* 3, 4). Boissevain suggests that Laelius may be the true reading.

“Οτι καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ φίλους τὸ πρό-
τερον ὄντας ἀπέκτεινεν.—Exc. Val. 360 (p. 742).

6 πάντα δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ¹ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνο-
μήνω,

ὅσους τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οὐδεμιᾶ δίκη ἀπέκτεινεν.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δίων, ἅτε γνωριμωτάτων κατ' ἐκείνους
τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν πεφονευμένων ὄντων, καὶ ἐξ
ὀνόματος αὐτῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον· ἐμοὶ δ'
εἰπεῖν ἐξαρκεῖ ὅτι πάντα ὁμοίως οὓς ἤθελε
κατεχειρίζετο,

ὅστ' αἴτιος ὅστε καὶ οὐκί,

καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην ἠκρωτηρίασεν, ἀγαθῶν
ἀνδρῶν στερήσας αὐτήν.—Xiph. 329, 8–14 R. St.

1^a “Οτι τρισὶν ἔθνεσιν ὁ Ἄντωνῖνος προσήκων
ἦν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν
τὰ δὲ δὴ κακὰ πάντα συλλαβὼν ἐκτήσατο, τῆς
μὲν Γαλατίας τὸ κοῦφον καὶ τὸ δειλὸν καὶ τὸ
θρασύ, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ἄγριον, τῆς
Συρίας, ὅθεν πρὸς μητρὸς ἦν, τὸ πανούργον.—
Exc. Val. 361 (p. 742).

2 Ἐκ δὲ τῶν φόνων ἐς τὰς παιδίας ἀποκλίνων
οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ ἐν ταύταις ἐφόνα· ἐλέφαντα
μὲν γὰρ καὶ ῥινοκέρωτα καὶ τίγριν καὶ ἰππό-
τιγριν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θείη ἂν τις φονευομένους
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· ὁ δὲ καὶ μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ὅτι
πλείστων² ἔχαιρεν αἵμασι, καὶ ἓνα γε αὐτῶν
Βάτωνα τρισὶν ἐφεξῆς ἀνδράσιν ὀπλομαχῆσαι
τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναγκάσας, ἔπειτα ἀποθανόντα
ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου περιφανεῖ ταφῇ ἐτίμησε.—
Xiph. 329, 14–20 R. St.

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7. Περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτω τι ἐπτόητο ὥστε καὶ ὄπλοις τισὶ καὶ ποτηρίοις ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου γεγυνοῦσι, χρῆσθαι, καὶ προσέτι, καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πολλὰς καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ στήσαι, φάλαγγά τε τινα ἐκ μόνων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους συντάξαι, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τε ἐπονομάσαι καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις οἷς ποτὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνου
 2 ἐκέχρητο ὀπλίσαι· ταῦτα δ' ἦν κράνος ὠμόβοιον, θώραξ λινοῦς τρίμιτος,¹ ἀσπίς χαλκῆ, δόρυ μακρόν, αἰχμὴ βραχεῖα, κρηπίδες, ξίφος. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἑῶν Αὐγουστον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καί ποτε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἔγραψεν, ὅτι ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐθις τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσῆλθεν, ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγον τότε χρόνον ἐβίω, πλείονα αὐθις δι'
 3 ἐκείνου ζήση. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους τοὺς Ἀριστοτελείους ὠνομασμένους τὰ τε ἄλλα δεινῶς ἐμίσει, ὥστε καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτῶν κατακαῦσαι ἐβελήσαι, καὶ τὰ συσσίτια ἃ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εἶχον, τὰς τε λοιπὰς ὠφελείας ὅσας ἐκαρποῦντο, ἀφείλετο, ἐγκαλέσας σφίσιν ὅτι συναίτιος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ θανάτου Ἀριστοτέλης γεγονέναι.
 4 ἔδοξε. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐλέφαντας πολλοὺς συμπεριήγετο, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον, μιμῆσθαι δόξη.
8. Οὕτω δ' οὖν διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐφίλει, ὥστε ποτὲ χιλίαρχον Μακεδόνα ἐπαινέσας ὅτι κούφως ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησεν, ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον “πόθεν

¹ τρίμιτος H. Steph., τρίμητος VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

He was so enthusiastic about Alexander that he A.D. 212 used certain weapons and cups which he believed had once been his, and he also set up many likenesses of him both in the camps and in Rome itself. He organized a phalanx, composed entirely of Macedonians, sixteen thousand strong, named it "Alexander's phalanx," and equipped it with the arms that warriors had used in his day; these consisted of a helmet of raw ox-hide, a three-ply linen breastplate, a bronze shield, long pike, short spear, high boots, and sword. Not even this, however, satisfied him, but he must call his hero "the Augustus of the East"; and once he actually wrote to the senate that Alexander had come to life again in the person of the Augustus,¹ that he might live on once more in him, having had such a short life before. Toward the philosophers who were called Aristotelians he showed bitter hatred in every way, even going so far as to desire to burn their books, and in particular he abolished their common messes in Alexandria and all the other privileges that they had enjoyed; his grievance against them was that Aristotle was supposed to have been concerned in the death of Alexander.² Such was his behaviour in these matters; nay more, he even took about with him numerous elephants, that in this respect, also, he might seem to be imitating Alexander, or rather, perhaps, Dionysus.

On Alexander's account, then, he was very fond of the Macedonians. Once, after commending a Macedonian tribune for the agility with which he had leaped upon his horse, he asked him first: "From

¹ *i.e.* Antoninus himself.

² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 27, 1; Plutarch, *Alex.* 77.

- εἶ ;” ἔπειτα μαθὼν ὅτι Μακεδῶν εἶη, ἐπανήρετο
 2 “ τίς δὲ ὀνομάζει ;” καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ἴδι
 Ἄντιγονος, προσεπανήρετο “ τίς δέ σου ὁ πατήρ
 ἐκαλεῖτο ;” ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτος Φίλιππος ὦν εὐρέθη,
 “ πάντ’ ἔχω,” φησίν, “ ὅσα ἤθελον,” καὶ εὐθύς
 τε αὐτὸν ταῖς λοιπαῖς στρατείαις ἐσέμνυνε, καὶ
 3 μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἐς τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐστρατη-
 γηκότας κατέταξεν. ἕτερον δὲ τίνα τῇ μὲν
 Μακεδονίᾳ μηδὲν προσήκοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
 δεινὰ δεδρακότα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξ
 ἐκκλήτου¹ δίκης κρινόμενον, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρός
 τε ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ ῥήτωρ
 συνεχῶς ἔλεγεν “ ὁ μαιφόνος Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ
 θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος,” ὠργίσθη τε ὡς καὶ
 αὐτὸς κακῶς ἀκούων, καὶ ἔφη “ εἰ μὴ ἀρκέσει
 σοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολέλυσαι.”—Xiph. 329,
 20—330, 20 R. St., Exc. Val. 362, 363, 364
 (p. 743 sq.).
- 9 Οὗτος² οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρότατος Ἀντωνῖνος
 ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιῶτας, οὓς πάνυ πολλοὺς ἀμφ’
 αὐτὸν εἶχε, πρόφάσεις ἐκ’ προφάσεων καὶ πολέ-
 μους ἐκ’ πολέμων σκηπτόμενος, φιλαναλωτῆς ἦν,
 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔργον εἶχε
 περιδύειν ἀποσυλᾶν ἐκτρύχειν, οὐχ ἠκιστα τοὺς
 2 συγκλητικούς. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν
 χρυσῶν οὓς ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς αἰνικῶν πολ-
 λάκις ἤτει (λέγω δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν στε-
 φάνων ποίημα· πόσον γὰρ τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν ; ἀλλὰ
 τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ’ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

¹ ἐκκλήτου Leuncl., ἐγκλήτου VC.

² The text of the first sentence of this section is that of Bekker; obtained by combining Exc. Val. 365 and the

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· διδομένων, οἷς¹ στεφανοῦν αἱ πόλεις τοὺς αὐτο-
 3 κράτορας εἰώθασιν), τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἃ πολλὰ
 καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν προῖκα τὰ δὲ καὶ πρό-
 σαναλίσκοντες ἐσεπρασσόμεθα, ἃ² πάντα ἐκεῖνος
 τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίζετο ἢ καὶ ἐκαπήλευεν,
 καὶ τῶν δώρων ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν
 πλουσίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων προσήτει,
 4 τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἃ καινὰ προσ-
 κατέδειξεν, καὶ τοῦ τῆς δεκάτης ἦν ἀντὶ
 τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ἀπελευθερουμένων,
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν καταλειπομένων τισὶ κλήρων, καὶ
 δωρεᾶς ἐποίησε πάσης,³ τὰς τε διαδοχὰς καὶ τὰς
 5 ἀτελείας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς δεδομένας τοῖς πάνυ
 προσήκουσι τῶν τελευτώντων καταλύσας (οὐ
 ἔνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ
 αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω
 αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου προσίη⁴ διὰ τὸ τοὺς
 ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν)
 6 —ἔξω δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων καὶ οἰκίας αὐτῷ παν-
 τοδαπὰς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξώρμησε, καὶ κατα-
 λύσεις πολυτελεῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ταῖς
 βραχυτάταις οἰκείοις δαπανήμασι κατασκευάζειν
 ἠναγκαζόμεθα, ἐν αἷς οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐνώκησέ ποτε,
 7 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὄψεσθαι αὐτῶν τινὰ ἔμελλε. προσέτι
 καὶ θέατρα κυνηγετικά, καὶ ἵπποδρόμους παντα-
 χοῦ, ὅπουπερ καὶ ἐχείμασεν ἢ καὶ χειμάσειν
 ἤλπισε, κατεσκευάσαμεν, μηδὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ
 λαβόντες. καὶ αὐτίκα πάντα κατεσκάφη· οὕτω

¹ οἷς supplied by Val.

² ἃ supplied by Val.

³ δωρεᾶς ἐποίησε πάσης Salmasius, δωρεὰς ἐποίησε πάσας
 cod. Peir.

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under that name by the cities for the customary A.D. 212
“crowning,” as it is called, of the emperors. Then there were the provisions that we were required to furnish in great quantities on all occasions, and this without receiving any remuneration and sometimes actually at additional cost to ourselves—all of which supplies he either bestowed upon the soldiers or else peddled out; and there were the gifts which he demanded from the wealthy citizens and from the various communities; and the taxes, both the new ones which he promulgated and the ten per cent. tax that he instituted in place of the five per cent. tax applying to the emancipation of slaves, to bequests, and to all legacies; for he abolished the right of succession and exemption from taxes which had been granted in such cases to those who were closely related to the deceased. This was the reason why he made all the people in his empire Roman citizens; nominally he was honouring them, but his real purpose was to increase his revenues by this means, inasmuch as aliens did not have to pay most of these taxes. But apart from all these burdens, we were also compelled to build at our own expense all sorts of houses for him whenever he set out from Rome, and costly lodgings in the middle of even the very shortest journeys; yet he not only never lived in them, but in some cases was not destined even to see them. Moreover, we constructed amphitheatres and race-courses wherever he spent the winter or expected to spend it, all without receiving any contribution from him; and they were all promptly demolished, the sole reason

⁴ προσίη Rk., προσῆι cod. Peir.

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πως διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἐγένετο, ἵν' ἡμεῖς ἐπιτριβώμεν.—Exc. Vat. 365, 366 (p. 745), Xiph. 330, 2-32 R. St.

- 10 Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ χρήματα ἔς τε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς ἔφαμεν, καὶ ἔς θηρία ἵππους τε ἐδαπάνησεν. Πάμπολλα γάρ τοι καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτάνη, τὰ μὲν πλείστα παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνάγκη λαμβάνων, ἤδη δὲ τινα καὶ ὠνούμενος, ἀπεκτίννυε, καὶ ποτε ἑκατὸν ὕς ἅμα αὐτοχειρία ἔσφαξεν. ἤρματη-
 2 λάτει τε¹ τῇ οὐνετίῳ² στολῇ χρώμενος. ἦν γὰρ ἔς πάντα καὶ θερμότατος καὶ κουφότατος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἶχε καὶ τὸ πανούργον τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν Σύρων, ὅθεν ἐκείνη ἦν. ἀγωνοθέτην δὲ ἢ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὰ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πλουσίων ἐκάθιζεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλίσκηται προσεκύνει τε αὐτοὺς κάτωθεν τῇ μάστιγι, καὶ χρυσοῦς ὥσπερ τις τῶν ταπεινο-
 3 τάτων ἦται. καὶ ἔλεγε κατὰ τὸν Ἡλίον τῇ ἤρματηλασίᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐσεμνύετο ἐπ' αὐτῇ. οὕτω δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἢ ὑπακούουσα αὐτῷ ἐπορθήθη ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποτὲ ἐν ἵπποδρομία ἄλλα τε συμβοῆσαι καὶ ὅτι “τοὺς ζῶντας ἀπολοῦμεν,³
 4 ἵνα τοὺς τεθνεώτας θάψωμεν.” καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγε πολλάκις ὅτι “οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων πλὴν ἐμοῦ ἀργύριον ἔχειν δεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίζωμαι.” καὶ ποτε τῆς Ἰουλίας ἐπιτιμησάσης αὐτῷ ὅτι πολλὰ ἔς αὐτοὺς ἀνήλισκε, καὶ εἰπούσης

¹ τε R. Steph., τὰ ἐν VC.

² οὐνετίῳ R. Steph., βενετίῳ VC.

³ ἀπολοῦμεν VC, καλοῦμεν (?) exc. Vat., ἀπεμπολοῦμεν Planudes, ἀποδύομεν Bk.

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ὅτι “οὐκέθ’ ἡμῖν οὔτε δίκαιος οὔτ’ ἄδικος πόρος ὑπολείπεται,” ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ ξίφος δείξας, ὅτι “θάρσει, μήτερ· ἕως γὰρ ἂν τοῦτ’ ἔχωμεν,¹ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείψει χρήματα.”

11 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀπένεμεν.—*Xiph.* 330, 32–331, 21 R. St.

1^a “Ὅτι ὁ Ἰούλιος Παῦλος ὑπατικὸς ἀνὴρ ψιθυρὸς καὶ σκωπτικὸς καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπεχόμενος, ὃν καὶ ὁ Σευῆρος φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ παραδέδωκεν. ὡς δὲ ἐν φρουραῖς ὦν ἀπέσκωπτεν εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, μεταπεμφάμενος ὁ Σευῆρος ὤμνυ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκτεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· “ἐκτεμεῖν αὐτὴν δύνασαι,² ἐφ’ ὅσον δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχω, οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἐγὼ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν δύναμαι,” ὥστε γελάσαντα τὸν Σευῆρον ἀπολύσαι αὐτόν.—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat.* 142 (p. 229 Mai. = p. 213, 11–19 Dind.).

1² Ἰουνίῳ γοῦν Παυλίνῳ³ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι καὶ ἄκων διασιλλῶσαί⁴ τι αὐτὸν σκωπτόλης ὦν προήχθη· ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀργιζομένῳ τινὶ⁵ εἰκέναι, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ θυμοειδέστερόν πως ἑαυτὸν ἐσχημάτιζεν.⁶ οὐδὲν γὰρ

¹ ἔχωμεν H. Steph., ἔχομεν VC.

² δύνασαι Bk., δύνασθαι cod.

³ Παυλίνῳ (Παυλλίνῳ) H. Steph., παλλίνῳ VC.

⁴ διασιλλῶσαί Reim., διασιλῶσαί VC.

⁵ τινὶ VC, Πανί Meineke.

⁶ Cf. *Petr. Patr.*: ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀντωνῖνος μεταπεμφάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ γράψαι στίχους εἰς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ τεχνικῶς ἔσκωψεν· εἶπεν γὰρ αὐτόν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰκέναι θυμουμένῳ· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς σκώπτων εἶπεν, ἐκείνον δὲ σφόδρα ἐθεράπευσεν· ἤθελε γὰρ δεινὸς καὶ ἄγριος καὶ ἀπότομος αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ εἴκοσι μυριάδας. . . .—*Exc. Vat.* 143.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

them and said, "There is no longer any source of revenue, either just or unjust, left to us," he replied, exhibiting his sword, "Be of good cheer, mother: for as long as we have this, we shall not run short of money." A.D. 212

Moreover to those who flattered him he distributed both money and goods.

Julius Paulus,¹ a man of consular rank, was a gossip and jester, sparing not even the emperors themselves, and Severus caused him to be placed in free custody. When he still continued, even under guard, to jest at the expense of the sovereigns, Severus sent for him and swore that he would cut off his head. But Paulus replied: "Yes, you can cut it off, but as long as I have it, neither you nor I can restrain it." So Severus laughed and let him off.

He bestowed on Junius Paulinus a million sesterces because the man, who was a jester, had been led to crack a joke at the emperor's expense without meaning to do so.² For Paulinus had said that Antoninus looked as if he were angry, the fact being that the emperor was wont to assume a somewhat savage expression.³ Indeed, he had no regard whatever

¹ Probably an error for Junius Paulinus, the form given by Xiphilinus just below.

² Cf. Patric.: "Antoninus, sending for this same man, permitted him to write some verses against himself. Now this man was an artist in jesting, for he said that Antoninus looked all the time as if he were in a rage; he said this as a jest, but he thereby flattered the emperor greatly, since he always wished to appear terrible, fierce, and abrupt. And Antoninus accordingly [gave] him [five and] twenty myriads" [of denarii] (=one million sesterces).

³ The point seems to be that Paulinus had said in jest, "You seem to be angry," really thinking that his angry expression was his usual pose, when in fact Antoninus was angry.

τῶν καλῶν ἐλογίζετο· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμαθέ τι αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὠμολόγει, διόπερ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἡμᾶς τοὺς τι παιδείας ἐχόμενον εἰδότας ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σεουήρος καὶ πάνυ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐς ἀρετὴν τείνουσι καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡσκήσεν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἤδη ὄντα καὶ διδασκάλους συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐξηραλοῖφει τε, καὶ ἵππευε καὶ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους, καὶ προσέτι καὶ νήχεσθαι καὶ ἐν κλύδωνι ἡσκητο.¹ ὁ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τρόπον τινὰ ἐρρώσθη, τῆς δὲ δὴ παιδείσεως ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦνομα αὐτῆς πῶποτε ἀκήκοὺς ἐπελάθετο. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ κακορρήμων ἢ κακογνώμων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνίει τὰ πολλὰ ὀξύτατα καὶ ἔφραζεν ἐτοιμότατα· τῇ τε γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ προπετείᾳ, τῷ πάνθ' ὁμοίως τὰ ἐπελθόντα² οἱ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκλαλεῖν καὶ τῷ μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐκφαίνειν αἰσχύνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτυχία τινὶ πολλάκις περιέπιπτε.—Xiph. 331, 21—332, 5, Exc. Val. 367 (p. 745), Suid. s.v. Ἀντωνῖνος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων.

5 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς αὐτογνώμων³ πολλὰ ἐσφάλῃ· πάντα τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εἰδέναί ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος εἰδέναί ἤθελε, καὶ πάντα οὐχ ὅτι δύνασθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος δύνασθαι ἠβούλετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε τινὶ συμβούλῳ ἐχρῆτο καὶ τοῖς χρηστόν τι εἰδόσιν ἐφθόνηι· ἐφίλησε μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα πῶποτε, ἐμίσησε δὲ πάντας τοὺς προφέροντας

¹ ἡσκητο VC, ἡσκεῖτο cod. Peir. Suid.

² ἐπελθόντα VC, προσιστάμενα cod. Peir., προῖστάμενα Suid.

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ἐν τινί, μάλιστα δὲ οὐδὲ μάλιστα ἀγαπᾶν προσε-
 6 ποιεῖτο· καὶ αὐτῶν συχνούς καὶ διέφθειρεν
 τρόπον τινά. ἐφόνευε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 φανεροῦ πολλούς· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πέμπων τινὰς ἐς
 7 ἔθνη μὴ ἐπιτήδεια σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ἐναντίαν¹ τῇ
 τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν καταστάσει τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος
 ἀκрасίαν ἔχοντα, οὕτως αὐτούς ὡς καὶ πάνυ
 τιμῶν ὑπεξήρει, τοὺς μὲν καύμασι τοὺς δὲ
 ψύχεσιν ἀκράτοις, οἷς οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ἐκδιδούς. εἰ
 δ' οὖν καὶ ἐφείδετό τινων μὴ ἀποκτεῖναί σφας,
 ἀλλ' ἐπίεζε γε αὐτούς ὥστε καὶ † κηλιδοῦσθαι.†²
 —Exc. Val. 368 (p. 746).

12 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τοιοῦτος ἦν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 πολέμοις ὁποῖος, ἐροῦμεν.—Xiph. 332, 5, 6 R. St.

1^a . . . Ὅτι Ἀγβαρος³ ὁ τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλεὺς
 ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐν κράτει⁴ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐγένετο,
 οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων τοὺς προέχοντας
 αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐξειργάσατο. λόγῳ μὲν ἐς τὰ τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων ἠθῆ μεθίστασθαι ἠνάγκαζεν, ἔργῳ δὲ
 τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίας ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο.—
 Exc. Val. 369 (p. 746).

1² Ἡπατηκῶς γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν
 Αὔγαρον ὡς δὴ παρὰ φίλον αὐτὸν ἤκειν, ἔπειτα
 συλλαβὼν ἔδησε, καὶ τὴν Ὀσροηνὴν οὕτως
 ἀβασίλευτον οὔσαν λοιπὸν ἐχειρώσατο.

Τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα διαφερόμενον
 μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παίδων ἐκάλεσε μὲν φιλικοῖς
 γράμμασιν ὡς δὴ εἰρηνεύσων αὐτούς, ἔδρασε δὲ
 καὶ περὶ⁵ τούτους ἅ καὶ περὶ τὸν Αὔγαρον.

¹ ἐναντίαν Reim., ἐνανταί cod. Peir.

² κηλιδοῦσθαι corrupt? ἐκκενοῦσθαι Rk., κολοβοῦσθαι St.

³ For this spelling see note on 68. 21, 1.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

those whom he pretended to love most; and he A.D. 212
 destroyed many of them in one way or another. Many he murdered openly; but others he would send to uncongenial provinces whose climate was injurious to their state of health and thus, while pretending to honour them greatly, he quietly got rid of them by exposing those whom he did not like to excessive heat or cold. Hence, even if there were some whom he refrained from putting to death, yet he subjected them to such hardships that his hands were in fact stained with their blood.¹

Such was his character in general; I will now state what sort of person he was in war.

Abgarus, king of the Osroëni, when he had once A.D. 213(?)
 got control of the kindred tribes, visited upon their leaders all the worst forms of cruelty. Nominally he was compelling them to change to Roman customs, but in fact he was indulging his authority over them to the full.

[Antoninus] tricked the king of the Osroëni, Abgarus, inducing him to visit him as a friend, and then arresting and imprisoning him; and so, Osroëne being thus left without a king, he subdued it.

When the king of the Armenians was quarrelling with his own sons, Antoninus summoned him in a friendly letter, pretending that he would make peace between them; but he treated them as he had treated Abgarus. The Armenians, however,

¹ This seems to be about the meaning, if the text is not corrupt, as most editors assume it to be; but possibly Dio used a word referring to the victims, such as "perished."

⁴ ἐν κράτει Bs., ἐγκράτει cod. Peir.

⁵ περί Η. Steph., παρά VC.

2 οὐ μὴν καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ,
ἀλλ' ἐς ὄπλα ἐχώρησαν, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ¹
τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἐπίστευσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἔργῳ
αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν ὅσον αὐτοκράτορι ζημίωμά ἐστι
τό τι ἀπατηλὸν πρὸς φίλους πράξαι.—Xiph. 332,
7—16 R. St.

2^a "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέγιστον ἐμεγαλοφρόνει ὅτι τοῦ
Οὐολογαίου² τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως τε-
λευτήσαντος οἱ παῖδες περὶ τῆς βασιλείας
ἐμάχοντο, ὡς ἐξ ἰδίας παρασκευῆς τὸ κατὰ τύχην
συμβᾶν γεγονὸς προσποιούμενος. οὕτω που
σφόδρα αἰεὶ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ διχοστασίᾳ τῇ
τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀλληλοφονίᾳ
ἔχαιρεν.—Exc. Val. 370 (p. 746).

3 Οὐκ ᾔκνησε δὲ γράψαι πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἐν Πάρθοις βασιλευόντων, ἀδελφῶν τε
ὄντων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιαζόντων, ὅτι ἡ
τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰ μέγα τι κακὸν τὸ κοινὸν
τῶν Πάρθων ἐργάζεται,³ ὥσπερ που τῶν βαρβα-
ρικῶν πραγμάτων φθαρῆναι διὰ τοῦτο δυναμένων,
τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῶν σεσωσμένων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρδην
4 τρόπον τινὰ ἀνατετραμμένων, οὐ κατ' ἐκείνο
μόνον ὅτι ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακῷ
τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σφαγῆς
ὑποφόνια τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδεδώκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ
πάμπολλοι ἐσυκοφαντήθησαν, οὐχ ὅπως οἱ
ἐπιστείλαντές τι ἢ δωροφορήσαντες⁴ αὐτῷ ἢ
Καίσαρι ἔτι ὄντι ἢ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γενομένῳ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἷς μηδεπώποτε πράγμα
5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνει. καὶ εἴ γέ τις ἔγραψε τὸ

¹ αὐτῷ Reim., αὐτῶν VC.

² Οὐολογαίου Bk., βολογαίου cod. Peir.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Γέτα μόνον ἢ εἶπε μόνον, εὐθὺς ἀπόλετο.¹ ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις οἱ ποιηταὶ ἔτι αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι πάντων ὧν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον εὐρέθη ἐδημοσιώθησαν.—*Xiph.* 332, 16—30 R. St.

6 “Ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἀργυρολογίας ἔνεκα ἐποίει.

“Ὅτι καὶ μῖσος πρὸς τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἀδελφὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο καταλύσας τὴν τῶν γενεσίων αὐτοῦ τιμὴν, καὶ τοῖς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ βαστάσασι λίθοις ὠργίζετο, καὶ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ προφέρον αὐτὸν συνεχώνευσεν. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάλιστα ἀνοσιουργεῖν ἐπετήδευσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μαιφονεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἐναγισμὸν ἐτήσιον τῷ ἀδελφῷ ποιούμενος.—*Exc. Val.* 371 (p. 746).

13, 3 “Ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου φόνῳ φρονῶν καὶ πράττων χαίρειν² τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀδελφῶν διχοστασίᾳ ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐκ τούτου τῶν Πάρθων πεισομένων.

Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ ἔθνη οὐθ' ἠδονὴν οὐτε σοφίας ἢ ἀνδρείας προσποίησίν τινα ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ εὐήθη καὶ δειλότατον αὐτὸν ἐξήλεγξεν ὄντα.—*Exc. Val.* 372 (p. 749).

4 “Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐς τοὺς Ἀλαμαννοὺς³ στρατεύσας διέταπτεν, εἴ πού τι χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν εἶδεν, “ἐνταῦθα φρούριον τειχισθήτω, ἐνταῦθα πόλις οἰκοδομηθήτω.” καὶ

¹ ἀπόλετο H. Steph., ἀπόλυτο VC.

² χαίρειν], ἔχαιρε Bk., χαίρειν ἔφη Bs.

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one so much as wrote the name Geta or even uttered it, he was immediately put to death. Hence the poets no longer used it even in comedies;¹ and in fact the possessions of all those in whose wills the name appeared were confiscated. A.D. 213(?)

Much that he did was done for the purpose of raising money.

He exhibited his hatred for his dead brother by abolishing the observance of his birthday, and he vented his anger upon the stones that had supported his statues, and melted down the coinage that displayed his features. And not content with even this, he now more than ever practised unholy rites, and would force others to share his pollution, by making a kind of annual offering to his brother's Manes.

Though feeling and acting thus with regard to his brother's murder, he took delight in the dissension of the barbarian brothers, on the ground that the Parthians would suffer some great harm because of it.

The Germanic nations, however, afforded him A.D. 213 neither pleasure nor any specious claim to wisdom or courage, but proved him to be a downright cheat, a simpleton, and an arrant coward.

Antoninus made a campaign against the Alamanni and whenever he saw a spot suitable for habitation, he would order, "There let a fort be erected. There let a city be built." And he gave these

¹ Geta was a common name for slaves in Latin comedy, as it had been in the Greek originals; originally it was an ethnic name like Syrus.

³ Ἀλαμαννούς Bk., ἄλβανούς cod. Peir.

ἐπωνυμίας ἤγε τινὰς τοῖς τόποις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπωνόμαζε, τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μὴ ἀλλοιουμένων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠγνόουν, οἱ δὲ παίζειν αὐτὸν ἐδόκουν.
 5 ἔξ οὗ δὴ καταφρονήσας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' οἷς συμμάχησων ἀφίχθαι ἔλεγεν, τούτους¹ τὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων ἔδρασε· συνεκάλεσε γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μισθοφόρησους, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπὸ παραγγέλματος, αὐτὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνάδειξας, ἐνεκυκλώσατο καὶ κατέκοψε, καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, περιπέμψας ἰππέας, συνέλαβεν.—Exc. Val. 373 (p. 749).

6 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος Πανδίονα, ἄνδρα πρότερον μὲν ἠνιόχων ὑπηρέτην γενόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ἀλαμαννοὺς² ἄρματηλατοῦντα, αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἑταῖρον ὄντα καὶ σύστρατιώτην, ἐπήνεσεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ διὰ γραμμάτων ὡς καὶ ἐκ κινδύνου τινὸς ἐξαισίου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωθείς, οὐδ' ἠσχύνθη πλείονα ἐκείνῳ χάριν ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὓς καὶ ἡμῶν αἰεὶ κρείττους ἦγεν, ἐχων.³—Exc. Val. 374 (p. 749).

7 Ὅτι τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων οὓς ἔσφαξεν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀτάφους τινὰς ρίπτεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.⁴—Exc. Val. 375 (p. 749).

Ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου μνημεῖον ἀναζητήσας ἐπεσκεύασε,⁵ τῷ τε Μεσομήδει τῷ τοὺς κιθαρωδικοὺς νόμους συγγράψαντι κενοτάφιον ἔχωσε, τῷ μὲν ὅτι καὶ κιθαρωδεῖν ἐμάνθανεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ ἐζήλου.—Exc. Val. 376 (p. 749) = Suid. s. v. Μεσομήδης.

¹ τούτους Reim., τούτοις cod. Peir.

² Ἀλαμαννοὺς Bk., ἀλαμβαννοὺς cod. Peir.

³ ἦγεν ἐχων Bk., εἶχεν cod. Peir.

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13, 1 Ἐν μέντοι ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις¹ καὶ κατεπειγού-
 σαις στρατείαις λίτος ἦν καὶ ἀπέριττος, τὰ μὲν
 διακονικὰ ὑπηρετήματα καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἐξ
 ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις διαπονούμενος (καὶ γὰρ συνε-
 βάδιζε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνέτρεχε, μὴ
 λουτρῶ χρώμενος, μὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάσσειν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ἔργον συνεργαζόμενος καὶ πᾶσαν
 2 τροφήν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις αἰρούμενος· καὶ πολλά-
 κισ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προέχοντας τῶν πολεμίων
 πέμπων προεκαλεῖτο² αὐτοὺς ἐς μονομαχίαν), τὰ
 δὲ δὴ στρατηγικά, ὧν πέρ που καὶ μάλιστα
 διαπεφυκέναι αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ἤκιστα καλῶς μετα-
 χειριζόμενος, ὡς ἂν τῆς νίκης ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς
 ὑπηρετήμασιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ
 οὔσης.

14 Ἐπολέμησε καὶ πρὸς τινὰς Κέννους, Κελτικὸν
 ἔθνος· οὗς λέγεται μετὰ τοσοῦτου θυμοῦ προσ-
 πέσειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὥστε καὶ τὰ βέλη, οἷς
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀσρόηνων ἐτιτρώσκοντο, τοῖς στόμασιν
 ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀποσπᾶν, ἵνα μὴ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ
 2 τῶν σφαγῶν αὐτῶν ἀποδιατρίβωσιν. οὐ μέντοι
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ τῆς ἥττης ὄνομα πολλῶν
 χρήμάτων ἀποδόμενοι συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν
 Γερμανίαν ἀποσωθῆναι.³ τούτων γυναῖκες ἀλου-
 σαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ
 Ἀντωνίνου πότερον πραθῆναι ἢ φονευθῆναι
 βούλονται, τοῦθ' εἶλοντο.⁴ ἔπειτ' ἀπεμποληθεῖσαι

¹ ἀναγκαίαις Rk., ἀνάγκαις VC Zon.

² προεκαλεῖτο Zon., παρεκαλεῖτο VC.

³ Petr. Patr. begins his account: ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος κατὰ Ἀλαμαννῶν ἐξορμήσας χρήμασι τὴν δοκοῦσαν νίκην ἐπρίατο.

⁴ Cf. Exc. Val. 377: ὅτι τῶν Χάττων αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τῶν

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On necessary and urgent campaigns, however, he A.D. 213 was simple and frugal, taking his part scrupulously in the menial duties on terms of equality with the rest. Thus, he would march with the soldiers and run with them, neither bathing nor changing his clothing, but helping them in every task and choosing exactly the same food as they had; and he would often send to the enemy's leaders and challenge them to single combat. The duties of a commander, however, in which he ought to have been particularly well versed, he performed in a very unsatisfactory manner, as if he thought that victory lay in the performance of the humble duties mentioned rather than in good generalship.

He waged war also against the Cenni, a Germanic tribe. These warriors are said to have assailed the Romans with the utmost fierceness, even using their teeth to pull from their flesh the missiles with which the Osroëni wounded them, so that they might have their hands free for slaying their foes without interruption. Nevertheless, even they accepted a defeat in name in return for a large sum of money and allowed him to make his escape back into the province of Germany.¹ Some of their women who were captured by the Romans, upon being asked² by Antoninus whether they wished to be sold or slain, chose the latter fate; then, upon

¹ Cf. Patric. : "Antoninus, after setting out against the Alamanni, bought for money his alleged victory."

² Cf. Exc. Val. : "The women of the Chatti and Alamanni who had been captured would nevertheless not endure a servile fate, but upon being asked," etc.

Ἄλαμαννῶν (ἄλαμβαννῶν cod.) οὐ μὴν ὄσαι γε καὶ ἐάλωσαν δουλοπρεπές τι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ πυθομένου τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, κτέ.

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πᾶσαι μὲν ἑαυτάς, εἰσὶ δ' αἰ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀπέκτειναν.—Xiph. 332; 31—333, 18 R. St.

3 "Ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ὠκεανῷ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἄλβιδος ἐκβολὰς οἰκούντων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν αἰτοῦντες, ἵνα χρήματα λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὕτως ἐπεπράγει, συχνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο πολεμήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, οἷς πᾶσι συνέθετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐλέγετο, ἀλλ' ὀρώντες τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἐδουλοῦντο· ἀληθεῖς γὰρ τοὺς χρυσοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐδωρεῖτο. τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις¹ κίβδηλον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον παρείχεν·² τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ μολίβδου καταργυρούμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ χαλκοῦ καταχρυσούμενον ἐσκευάζετο.—Exc. Val. 378 (p. 750), Xiph. 333, 18—20 R. St.

15 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄντικρυς ὡς καὶ καλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνου ἄξια, καὶ τὰ αἴσχιστα, ἐφανέρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκων δι' αὐτῶν ὧν ἀντικατεσκευάζεν ἐξέφαινε, ὥσπερ πού καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων.—Exc. Val. 379 (p. 750).

2 "Ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπόρθησεν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἀκάκωτον κατέλιπεν.—Exc. Val. 380 (p. 750).

"Ὅτι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐκφρονα καὶ παραπλήγα αἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπώδαι ἐπεποιήκεσαν·³ ἀκούοντες γὰρ τινες τῶν Ἀλαμαννῶν⁴ ἔφασαν ὅτι μαγανείαις τισὶν ἐπ' ἐκπλήξει τῶν φρενῶν αὐτοῦ

¹ Ῥωμαίοις Val., ῥωμαίων cod. Peir.

² Xiphilinus begins: τῷ οὖν Ἀντωνίνῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νόμισμα κίβδηλον ἦν, τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον δὲ παρείχεν ἡμῖν.

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3 κέχρηται. ἐνόσει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι τὰ
 μὲν ἐμφανέσι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀρρήτοις ἀρρωστήμασιν,
 ἐνόσει δὲ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πικροῖς τισὶ φαντάσμασι,
 καὶ πολλάκις γε¹ καὶ ἐλαύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ
 4 πατρὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ξιφηρῶν ἐδόκει. καὶ
 διὰ ταῦτα ἐψυχαγώγησε μὲν, ὅπως τινὰ ἄκεσιν
 αὐτῶν λάβῃ, ἄλλας τέ τινας καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
 τοῦ τε Κομμόδου ψυχὴν, εἶπε δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ
 πλὴν τοῦ Κομμόδου· τῷ² γὰρ Σεουήρῳ καὶ ὁ
 Γέτας, ὡς φασι, καὶ ἄκλητος ἐφέσπετο. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ
 ἐκεῖνος ἐξέφηεν οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσαν³ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
 5 καὶ πᾶν τούναντίον, ὥστε καὶ προσεκφοβῆσαι.⁴
 ἔφη γὰρ ταῦτα,

“στεῖχε δίκης ἄσσον, θεοὶ ἦν σ’⁵ αἰτοῦσι
 Σεουήρῳ,”

εἶθ’ ἕτερόν τι, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς

“ἐν⁶ κρυφίοισι τόποισιν⁷ ἔχων δυσαλθέα
 νοῦσον.”

Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις δημοσιευθεῖσι πολλοὶ
 ἐπηρεάσθησαν· ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν
 οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐς τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε⁸ ἐς τὴν
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἴασιν φέρον, καίτοι πάντα τοὺς
 6 ἐπιφανεστάτους θεράπευσαντι, ἔχρησεν. ἀφ’
 οὐπερ ἐναργέστατα διεδείχθη ὅτι μήτε τοῖς
 ἀναθήμασι μήτε ταῖς θυσίαις ἀλλὰ τοῖς βουλή-

¹ γε Val., τε cod. Peir.

² τῷ γὰρ—προσεκφοβῆσαι om. VC.

³ οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσαν Capps, τὸ ὠφελῆσαν Bk., ὠφελῆσαι cod. Peir.

⁴ προσεκφοβῆσαι Reim., προεκφοβῆσαι cod. Peir.

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out of his mind. For he was sick not only in body, A.D. 213 partly from visible and partly from secret ailments, but in mind as well, suffering from certain distressing visions, and often he thought he was being pursued by his father and by his brother, armed with swords. Therefore he called up spirits to find some remedy against them, among others the spirit of his father and that of Commodus. But not one of them spoke a word to him except Commodus; as for Severus, they say that Geta accompanied him, though unsummoned. Yet not even Commodus said anything to help him, but, quite the contrary, so that he terrified him all the more; for this is what he said:

“Draw nearer judgment, which gods demand of thee for Severus,”

then something else, and finally:

“Having in secret placed a malady hard to be cured.”

For publishing these facts many were treated with gross indignities. But to Antoninus no one even of the gods gave any response that conduced to healing either his body or his mind, although he paid homage to all the more prominent ones. This showed most clearly that they regarded, not his votive offerings or his sacrifices, but only his purposes

⁵ θεοί ην σ' Rk., θεοί ην Fabr., τήν θεοί σ' v. Herw., θεοῦ δίκης cod. Peir.

⁶ ἐν supplied by Bk.

⁷ τόποισιν cod. Peir., τόποις VC.

⁸ οὔτε . . . οὔτε Val., οὔδέ . . . οὐδέ cod. Peir.

μάσι· καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ προσεῖχον· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἄπόλλων ὁ Γράννος οὔθ' ὁ Ἄσκληπιὸς οὔθ' ὁ Σάραπις· καίπερ πολλὰ ἰκετεύσαντι αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσκαρτερήσαντι ὠφέλησεν· ἔπεμψε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποδημῶν καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ἀναθήματα, καὶ πολλοὶ καθ' ἑκάστην
 7 οἱ¹ τοιοῦτό τι φέροντες διέθρον· ἦλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς καὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τι ἰσχύσων, καὶ ἔπραξεν πάνθ' ὅσα οἱ θρησκειούντες τι ποιούσιν, ἔτυχε δ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐς ὑγίαιαν² τεινόντων.
 —Exc. Val. 381 (p. 750), Xiph. 333, 21–28 R. St.

16 · “Ὅτι λέγων εὐσεβέστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι περιττότητι μαιφονιῶν³ κατεχρήσατο, τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τέσσαρας ἀποκτείνας, ὧν μίαν αὐτός, ὅτε γε καὶ ἐδύνατο, ἠσχύγκει· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐξησθένησεν πᾶσα αὐτῷ ἢ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια² ἰσχύς· ἀφ' οὔπερ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον αἰσχρουργεῖν ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, οἳ οὐχ ὅτι ὠμολόγουν τοιοῦτό τι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας δὴ τῆς ἐκείνου πράττειν ταῦτα ἔφασκον.—Exc. Val. 382 (p. 753), Xiph. 333, 28–31 R. St.

5 “Ὅτι νεανίσκος τις ἰππεὺς νόμισμα τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ † ἐς πορνείον ἐσήνεγκεν, ἔδειξαν· †⁴ ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ τότε μὲν ὡς καὶ θανάτωθησόμενος ἐδέθη, ὕστερον² δὲ τελευτῆσαι φθάσαντος, αὐτοῦ ἀπελύθη· ἢ δὲ δὴ κόρη αὕτη, περὶ ἧς λέγω, Κλωδία Λαῖτα

¹ οἱ Reim., ὅτι cod. Peir.

² ὑγίαιαν Bk., ὑγείαν cod. Peir.

³ μαιφονιῶν Bs., μαιφονίαν cod. Peir.

⁴ ἐς πορνείον ἐσήνεγκεν ἔδειξαν corrupt; ἔχον ἐς πορνείον ἐσενήνεγκεν (sic) ὃ ἰδόντες τινὲς ἐνέδειξαν Bk., προφέρον ἐς πορνείον ἐσήνεγκεν, ἐνέδειξαν Bk.

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- 3 ὠνομάζετο ἦτις καὶ μέγα βοῶσα, “οἶδεν αὐτὸς Ἄντωνῖνος ὅτι παρθένος εἰμί, οἶδεν αὐτὸς ὅτι καθαρεύω,” ζῶσα κατωρύγη. καὶ συνεκοινώνησαν αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτεραι τρεῖς τῆς καταδίκης, ὧν¹ αἱ μὲν δύο, Αὐρηλία τε Σεουῆρα καὶ Πομπωνία Ῥουφίνα, ὁμοίως ἀπέθανον, Καννουτία² δὲ Κρησκευτῖνα ἑαυτὴν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔρριψεν.—*Exc. Val. 383* (p. 753), *Xiph. 333*, 31—334, *I R. St.*
- 4 “Ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν μοιχευόντων τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίει· μοιχικώτατος γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, ἐς ὅσον γε καὶ ἠδυνήθη, γενόμενος, τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἔχοντας καὶ ἠχθαιρε καὶ ἐφόνευε παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα. καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀχθόμενος τιμᾶν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας ἐπλάττετο.—*Exc. Val. 384* (p. 754).
- 6 “Ὅτι Ἄντωνῖνος πᾶσιν ἐπετίμα καὶ ἐνεκάλει ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἤτουν· καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς πάντας· “δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι οὐ θαρρεῖτέ μοι ἐξ ὧν μὴ αἰτεῖτέ με. εἰ δὲ μὴ θαρρεῖτε, ὑποπτεύετε με, εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύετε, φοβεῖσθε, εἰ δὲ φοβεῖσθε, μισεῖτε.” ταῦτα δὲ πρόφασιν ἐπιβουλήs ἐποιεῖτο.—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 145* (p. 230 *Mai.* = p. 214, 1—6 *Dind.*)
- 6^a “Ὅτι Ἄντωνῖνος Κορνηφικίαν μέλλων ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς δῆθεν τιμῶν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἐλέσθαι θάνατον ὃν βούλεται ἀποθανεῖν. ἡ δὲ κλαύσασα πολλά, καὶ μνησθεῖσα τοῦ πατρὸς Μάρκου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Ἄντωνίνου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κομμόδου, τέλος ἐπήγαγεν ταῦτα· “ὦ δυστυχὲς ψυχίδιον ἐν πονηρῷ σώματι καθειργμένον, ἔξελθε, ἐλευθερώθητι, δεῖξον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μάρκου θυγάτηρ εἶ, κὰν μὴ θέλωσιν.” καὶ ἀποθεμένη πάντα τὸν κόσμον

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was buried alive, though protesting in a loud voice, A.D. 213
“Antoninus himself knows that I am a virgin; he himself knows that I am pure.” Three others shared her sentence; two of them, Aurelia Severa and Pomponia Rufina, were put to death in the same manner, but Cannutia Crescentina hurled herself down from the top of the house.

In the case of adulterers, also, he acted in the same way; for, though he had shown himself the most adulterous of men,—so long, that is, as he had the power,—he not only detested others who were charged with the same thing, but even slew them in violation of all law. And though he hated all good men, he affected to honour some of them after their death.

Antoninus censured and rebuked them all because they asked nothing of him; and he said to them all: “It is evident from the fact that you ask nothing of me that you do not have confidence in me; and if you do not have confidence, you are suspicious of me; and if you are suspicious, you fear me; and if you fear me, you hate me.” And he made this an excuse for plotting their destruction.

Antoninus, when about to kill Cornificia, bade her choose the manner of her death, as if he were thereby showing her especial honour. She first uttered many laments, and then, inspired by the memory of her father, Marcus, her grandfather, Antoninus, and her brother, Commodus, she ended by saying: “Poor, unhappy soul of mine, imprisoned in a vile body, fare forth, be freed, show them that you are Marcus’ daughter, whether they will or no.” Then she laid

¹ ὧν supplied by Val.

² Καννουτία Bs., κανουντία cod. Peir.

ὄν περιεβέβλητο, καὶ εὐθετήσασα ἑαυτὴν τὰς φλέβας ἐπέτεμε καὶ ἀπέθανεν.—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 146* (p. 230 Mai. = p. 214, 7—17 Dind.)

7 “Ὅτι ἐς τὴν Θράκην ἀφίκετο ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μηδὲν ἔτι τῆς Δακίας φροντίσας, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον οὐκ ἀκινδύνως διαβαλὼν τὸν τε Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ἐναγίσμασι καὶ περιδρομαῖς ἐνοπλίοις καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐτίμησε, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκείνοις τε, ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κατωρθώκοσι καὶ τὸ Ἰλιον ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἤρηκόσι, χρήματα ἔδωκε, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν.—*Exc. Val. 385* (p. 754).

8 “Ὅτι εἰς Πέργαμον ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος παραγενόμενος καὶ τινῶν ἀμφισβητούντων ἔδοξεν ἔκ τινος μαντείου ἔπος τοιοῦτον προφέρειν,¹

“Τηλεφίης γαίης ἐπιβήσεται Αὐσόνιος θῆρ.”

καὶ ὅτι μὲν θῆρ ἐπεκλήθη, ἔχαιρε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ πολλοὺς πάνυ ἀθρόως ἀνεῖλεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἔπος ποιήσας ἐγέλα καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι παρὰ πεπρωμένην οὐκ ἂν τις ἀποθάνοι, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀληθὲς τὸ δημῶδες ὅτι ψεῦσται καὶ ἀπατεῶνες οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς εἴπωσί ποτε πιστεύονται.—*Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 147* (p. 230 sq. Mai. = p. 214, 18—28 Dind.)

17 Ἐδίκαζε μὲν οὖν ἢ τι ἢ οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ φιλοπραγμοσύνῃ ἐσχόλαζε. πάντα γὰρ δὴ οἱ πανταχόθεν καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα ἀνηγγέλλετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας

¹ προφέρειν Carpps, περιφέρειν cod.

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τοὺς ὠτακουστοῦντάς τε καὶ διοπτεύοντας αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πλήν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κολάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν χρηστόν, ἀλλ' ἐτυράννησαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι. καὶ ὁ γε μάλιστα καὶ ἀσχημονέστατον καὶ ἀναξιώτατον καὶ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, καὶ εὐνοῦχος ἡμῶν, τὸ γένος Ἰβηρ, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα Σεμπρώνιος Ῥοῦφος, τὸν δὲ δὴ τρόπον φαρμακεὺς καὶ γόης, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Σεουήρου

3 ἐς νῆσον κατεκέκλειτο,¹ κατεκράτησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλέ που δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ δώσειν ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐνδείξαντές τινας· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπήγγελλε μὲν ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔω αὐτίκα δικάσων ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξων, παρέτεινε δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεσημβρίαν καὶ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, μηδὲ ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα ἐσδεχόμενος ἀλλ' ἔξω που ἐστῶτας· ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μηκέτι μηδ' ἀσπάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὡς πλήθει.

4 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοπραγμόνει ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἄρματα ἤλαυνε θηρία τε ἔσφαζε καὶ ἐμονομάχει καὶ ἔπινε καὶ ἐκραιπάλα, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς τὴν ἔνδον αὐτοῦ φρουρὰν ἔχουσι καὶ κρατῆρας πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ ἐκεράννυε καὶ κύλικας καὶ παρόντων² ἡμῶν καὶ ὀρώντων διέπεμπε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκαζε.

18 Ταῦτά τε ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ χειμάσας ἔπραξε, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἐξήσκησε, μηχανήματά τε δύο μέγιστα πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀρμενικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον κατεσκεύασεν, ἵνα διαλύσας αὐτὰ ἐπὶ πλοίων ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀποκο-

¹ κατεκέκλειτο Dind., κατεκέκλειστο VQ.

² καὶ παρόντων Sylb., παρόντων καὶ VQ.

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who kept their ears and eyes open for these details A.D. 214
should not be punished by anyone but himself. Nothing good came of this order, but rather another set of tyrants to terrorize us,—even these soldiers. And—what was in the last degree disgraceful and unworthy of both the senate and of the Roman people—we had a eunuch to domineer over us. He was a native of Spain, Sempronius Rufus by name, and his occupation was that of sorcerer and juggler, for which he had been confined on an island by Severus; and he was destined to pay the penalty later for his conduct, as were also the rest of the informers. As for Antoninus himself, he would send us word that he was going to hold court or transact some other public business directly after dawn, but he would keep us waiting until noon and often until evening, and would not even admit us to the vestibule, so that we had to stand round outside somewhere; and usually at some late hour he decided that he would not even exchange greetings with us that day. Meanwhile he was engaged in gratifying his curiosity in various ways, as I have said, or was driving chariots, slaying wild beasts, fighting as a gladiator, drinking, nursing the resultant headaches, mixing great bowls of wine—in addition to all their other food—for the soldiers that guarded him inside the palace, and passing it round in cups, in our presence and before our eyes; and after this he would now and then hold court.

Such was his behaviour while in winter-quarters A.D.
214-15
at Nicomedeia. He also drilled the Macedonian phalanx, and built two very large engines for the Armenian and Parthian wars, so constructed that he could take them apart and carry them in ships to

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μίση. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐμιαιφώνει καὶ παρηνόμει καὶ
 2 τὰ χρήματα κατανήλισκεν. οὐδὲ ἐπέιθετο οὔτε
 περὶ τούτων οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῇ μητρὶ πολλὰ
 καὶ χρηστὰ παραινούση, καίτοι καὶ τὴν τῶν
 βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἑκατέρων, πλὴν τῶν
 πάνυ ἀναγκαίων, διοίκησιν αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέψας, καὶ
 τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστο-
 λαῖς ὁμοίως τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν στρατευμάτων,
 3 ὅτι σώζεται, μετ' ἐπαίνων πολλῶν ἐγγράφων. τί
 γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ἡσπάζετο δημοσίᾳ πάντα
 τοὺς πρώτους καθάπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος; ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν
 καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφιλοσόφει, ὁ δὲ
 ἔλεγε μὲν μηδενὸς ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσδεῖσθαι,
 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὡς ὅτι εὐτελεστάτῃ
 τῇ διαίτῃ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, ἣν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐκ
 ἐπίγειον, οὐ θαλάττιον, οὐκ ἀέριον, ὃ μὴ οὐ καὶ
 4 ἰδία καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτῷ παρείχομεν. καὶ ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν ἐλάχιστα μὲν τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς συνοῦσίν
 οἱ ἀνήλισκεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ συσσιτεῖν ἔθ' ἡμῖν ἤθελεν),
 τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω μετὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἔδαπάνα.
 τοῖς δὲ μάγοις καὶ γόησιν οὕτως ἔχαιρεν ὡς καὶ
 Ἄπολλώνιον τὸν Καππαδόκην τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 Δομιτιανοῦ ἀνθήσαντα ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, ὅστις
 καὶ γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἠρῶον
 αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι.—Xiph. 334, 1—335, 9 R.
 St., Exc. Val. 386 (p. 754).

19 Ἐκστρατεύσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων
 πρόφασις τοῦ πολέμου ἦν ὅτι Οὐολόγαισος τὸν
 τε Τιριδάτην¹ καὶ Ἀντίοχόν τινα μετ' αὐτοῦ
 ἐξαιτήσαντι² αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος

¹ Τιριδάτην Dind., τηριδάτην VC.

² ἐξαιτήσαντι H. Steph., ἐξαιτήσαντα VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY.

Κίλιξ μὲν ἦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν κυνηδὸν τὰ πρῶτά· ἐπλάττετο, καὶ πλείστα γέ ἐκ τούτου τοὺς
 2 στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὠφέλησεν· ἀπαλ-
 γοῦντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ ῥίγους
 ἐπερρώννυεν, ἕς τε τὴν χιόνα ῥίπτων ἑαυτὸν καὶ
 ἐν αὐτῇ καλινδούμενος, ὅθεν περ καὶ χρημάτων
 καὶ τιμῶν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ παρὰ
 τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἔτυχεν· ἐπαρθεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις
 τῷ Τιριδάτῃ¹ συνεξητάσθη, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς
 τὸν Πάρθον ἠὺτομόλησε.—Xiph. 335, 9—18
 R. St., Exc. Val. 387 (p. 754), Suid. s.v. Ἀντίοχος
 ὁ αὐτόμολος, ἀπαλγοῦντες.

20, 2² "Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ἑαυτὸν διέβαλε, φάσκων ὅτι
 τῶν Κελτῶν τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν
 τὴν τε ἀπιστίαν, ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν βία, ἀπατήσας
 εἰλήφει.—Exc. Val. 388 (p. 754).

3 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὸν μὲν² Λουσκῖνον³ τὸν Φαβρί-
 κιον ἐπήνει ὅτι μὴ ἠθέλησε τὸν Πύρρον διὰ τοῦ
 φίλου αὐτοῦ⁴ δολοφονῆσαι, ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο δὲ
 ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς Οὐανδύλους⁵ καὶ τοὺς Μάρκομάνοὺς⁶
 φίλους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις συγκεκρουκέναι, καὶ ὅτι
 καὶ τὸν τῶν Κουάδων βασιλέα Γαῖοβόμαρον,
 4 κατηγορηθέντα ἀπεκτόνει. καὶ ὅτι τῶν συνόντων
 τις καὶ συγκατηγορουμένων αὐτῷ προαπήγξατο,
 ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κατα-
 τρῶσαι, ἵν' ὡς καὶ καταδεδικασμένος ἐσφάχθαι,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκουσίως, ὅπερ εὐδοξον παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἐνομίζετο, τετελευτηκέναι νομισθείη.—Exc. Val.
 389 (p. 754).

¹ Τιριδάτῃ cod. Peir., τηριδάτῃ VC Suid.

² μὲν supplied by Bk.

³ Λουσκῖνον Val. (in vers.), λούκιον cod. Peir.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

was a Cilician who at first had pretended to be a philosopher of the Cynic school, and in this way had proved of the greatest help to the soldiers in the war; for when they were dispirited by reason of the excessive cold, he would encourage them by throwing himself into the snow and rolling in it. Hence he had obtained both money and honours from Severus himself as well as from Antoninus, but becoming conceited at this, he had attached himself to Tiridates and deserted with him to the Parthian king. A.D. 215

Antoninus maligned himself when he claimed that he had overcome the recklessness, greed, and treachery of the Germans by deceit, since these qualities could not be conquered by force.

He likewise commended Fabricius Luscinus because he had been unwilling to secure the death of Pyrrhus through the treachery of a friend; and yet he took pride in having stirred up enmity between the Vandili and the Marcomani, who had been friends, and in having executed Gaïobomarus, the king of the Quadi, against whom accusation had been laid. And when one of the king's associates, under accusation with him, hanged himself before he could be punished, Antoninus delivered his body to the barbarians to be wounded, in order that the man might be thought to have been sentenced to death and executed rather than to have died by his own hand, which was deemed an honourable act among them.

⁴ αὐτοῦ Reim., ἐαυτοῦ cod. Peir.

⁵ Οὐανδίλους Bk., βανδίλους cod. Peir.

⁶ Μαρκομάνους Reim., μαρκομμάνους cod. Peir.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

“Ὅτι Καικίλιον Αἰμιλιανὸν τῆς Βαιτικῆς ἄρξαντα ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν τοῖς Γαδεύροις χρησάμενον ἀπέκτεινεν.—Exc. Val. 390 (p. 757).

19 Πρὶν δὲ ἀπᾶραι ἀπὸ Νικομηδείας, ἀγῶνα μονομαχίας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γενεθλίοις ἐποίησεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν φόνων ἀπείχετο. ἔνθα λέγεται, ἠττηθέντος τινὸς καὶ ἰκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ὅπως σωθῆ, τὸν Ἄντωνῖνον
4 εἰπεῖν “ἄπελθε καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου δεήθητι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστί σου φείσασθαι.” καὶ οὕτως ὁ ἄθλιος, τάχ’ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ σωθεῖς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο εἶρητο, διεφθάρη· οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὸν ἀφείναι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπότερος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἶναι δόξῃ.

20 Καὶ μέντοι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τρυφῶν ὥστε καὶ τὸ γένειον πάνυ ψιλίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς τε ὠδύρετο ὡς ἐν¹ μεγάλοις δήτισι καὶ πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ὢν, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπετίμα, τά τε ἄλλα ῥαστωνεύειν σφᾶς λέγων καὶ² μήτε συνιέναι προθύμως μήτε κατ’ ἄνδρα τὴν γνώμην
2 διδόναι. καὶ τέλος ἔγραψεν ὅτι “οἶδα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἀρέσκει³ τὰ ἐμὰ ὑμῖν· διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ ὄπλα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔχω, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν λογοποιουμένων ἐπιστρέφωμαι.”

21 Τοῦ δὲ Πάρθου φοβηθέντος καὶ τὸν Τιριδάτην⁴ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐκδόντος, ἀφῆκε τὴν στρατείαν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα. ἐς δὲ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους στείλας, τὸν Θεόκριτον μετὰ στρατιᾶς, ἰσχυρῶς ἔπταισε, παρ’ αὐτῶν ἠττηθείς.—Xiph. 335, 18—336, 3 R. St.

¹ ἐν Zon., om. VC.

² καὶ supplied by Bk.

³ ἀρέσκει Camerarius (so Exc. Vat.), ἀρκέσει VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 “Ὅτι Θεόκριτος ὁ Καισάρειος, δι’ οὗ ὀρχεῖσθαι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μεμάθηκεν, καὶ παιδικὰ τοῦ Σαωτέρου¹ ἐγεγόνει καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θέατρον ἐσῆκτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐφέρετο; ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέπεσεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ Αὐγδουνον ἐλθὼν ἐκείνους ἄτε καὶ ἀγροικότερους ἔτερπε, καὶ ἐκ δούλου καὶ ἐξ ὀρχηστοῦ καὶ στρατιάρχης καὶ ἑπαρχος ἐγένετο.—EHC. Val. 391 (p. 757).

Ἦν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος ἐκ δούλου γεγονὼς καὶ τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ἐμπαιδοτριβηθείς, ἐς τοσαύτην μέντοι ἤλασε δυναστείαν παρ’ Ἀντωνίνῳ ὡς μηδὲν εἶναι ἄμφω πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐπάρχους. τὰ δ’ ἴσα² αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐπάγαθος, Καισάρειος καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, καὶ ἠδύνατο καὶ παρηνόμει. ὁ γοῦν Θεόκριτος (διεφοίτα γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ καπηλείας ἕνεκεν) συχνοὺς διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλως ἀπέκτεινε· μεθ’ ὧν καὶ 3 Τιτιανὸς Φλάουιος³ ἐφονεύθη. ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ προσέπταισέ τι αὐτῷ, καὶ κείνος ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ βᾶθρου τὸ ξίφος ἐσπάσατο· ἐφ’ ᾧ ὁ Τιτιανὸς “καὶ τοῦτο” εἶπεν “ὡς ὀρχηστῆς ἐποίησας.” ὅθεν ἐκείνος ὑπεράγανακτήσας ἀποσφαγῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν.

22 Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, καίτοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεραγαπᾶν φάσκων, τοὺς ἐκείνου πολίτας μικροῦ δεῖν πάντα ἄρδην ἀπώλεσεν. ἀκούων γὰρ ὅτι διαβάλλοιτο⁴ καὶ σκώπτοιτο παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τῇ ἀδελφοκτονίᾳ,

¹ Σαωτέρου Val., σαζωτέρου cod. Peir.

² δ’ ἴσα H. Steph., ἴσα δ’ VC.

³ Φλάουιος Bk., φλάβιος VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

Theocritus was an imperial freedman who had A.D. 215 taught Antoninus to dance and had been a favourite of Saoterus, thanks to which he had been introduced to the theatre at Rome. But, as he was unsuccessful there, he was driven out of Rome and went to Lugdunum, where he delighted the people, since they were rather countrified. Thus, from a slave and a dancer, he rose to be commander of an army and prefect.

Theocritus was the son of a slave, and had been brought up in the theatre, but he advanced to such power under Antoninus that both the prefects were as nothing compared to him. Then there was Epagathus, his equal in power and lawlessness, who was likewise an imperial freedman. As for Theocritus, he kept travelling to and fro for the purpose of securing provisions and then hawking them at retail, and he put many people to death in connexion with this business as well as for other reasons. One of his victims was Flavius Titianus. This man, while procurator at Alexandria, offended him in some manner, whereupon Theocritus, leaping from his seat, drew his sword; and at that Titianus remarked: "That, too, you did like a dancer." This angered Theocritus extremely, and he ordered Flavius to be slain.

Now Antoninus, in spite of the immense affection which he professed to cherish for Alexander, all but utterly destroyed the whole population of Alexander's city. For, hearing that he was ill-spoken of and ridiculed by them for various reasons, not the least of which was the murder of his brother, he set out

⁴ διαβάλλοιτο R. Steph., διαβάλοιτο VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐπικρυπτόμενος
 2 τὴν ὄργην καὶ ποθεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιούμενος. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ εἰς τὸ προάστειον ἦλθε, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους αὐτῶν
 μεθ' ἱερῶν τινῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐλθόντας δεξιωσά-
 μενος ὡς καὶ συνεστίους ποιῆσαι ἀπέκτεινε, μετὰ
 δὲ τοῦτο πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐξοπλίσας εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν ἐνέβαλε, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις προ-
 παραγγείλας οἴκοι μένειν, πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ
 3 προσέτι καὶ τὰ τέγη προκατασχών. καὶ ἵνα τὰς
 κατὰ μέρος συμφορὰς τὰς τότε κατασχούσας τὴν
 ἀθλίαν πόλιν παρῶ, τοσοῦτους κατέσφαξεν ὥστε
 μηδὲ εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τολμῆσαι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ γράψαι ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει
 πόσοι σφῶν ἢ τίνες ἐτελεύτησαν· πάντες γὰρ
 τοῦτο παθεῖν ἄξιοι ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ
 23 μὲν διηρπάσθη τὰ δὲ διεφθάρη. συναπώλοντο δ'
 οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ξένων πολλοί, καὶ συχνοί γε
 τῶν μετὰ τοῦ¹ Ἀντωνίνου ἐλθόντων ἀγνοία
 συνδιεφθάρησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ πόλεως μεγάλης
 οὔσης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πάσῃ ἅμα αὐτῇ καὶ
 νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν φονευομένων, οὐδένα, οὐδέ
 εἰ πάνυ τις ἐβούλετο, διακρίναι ἠδύνατο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἔθνησκον ὡς που ἔτυχον, καὶ τὰ σώματά
 σφῶν αὐτίκα εἰς τάφρους βαθείας ἐνεβάλλετο,²
 ὅπως ἀφανὲς ἦ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
 2 συμφορᾶς. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔπαθον, οἱ δὲ
 δὴ ξένοι πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν· πλὴν τῶν ἐμπόρων,
 καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα διηρπάσθη·
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἱερά τινα ἐσυλήθη· καὶ τούτων
 τὰ μὲν πλείω αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος παρῶν καὶ

¹ τοῦ supplied by Bk.

² ἐνεβάλλετο Bk., ἐνεβάλλοντο VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὄρων ἐποίει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Σεραπίου προσ-
έταπτε τισιν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ τεμένει διητᾶτο κὰν
ταῖς τῶν μαιφονιῶν αὐτῶν νυξὶ καὶ ἡμέραις.—
Xiph. 336, 3—337, 9 R. St.

2 “Ὅτι τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἀποσφάττων ὁ
Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει διαιτώμενος
ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅτι ἤγνευσεν ἐν αὐταῖς
ἐν αἷς τὰ τε βοσκήματα ἅμα τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους ἐαυτῷ¹ ἔθυεν.—Exc. Val. 392 (p.
757).

3 Καὶ τί τοῦτο εἶπον, ὅποτε καὶ τὸ ξίφος δι’ οὗ
τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπεκτόνει ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ ἐτόλ-
μησεν; ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς τε θέας καὶ τὰ
συσσίτια τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καταλύσας τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διατειχισθῆναί τε καὶ φρουρίοις
διαληφθῆναι² ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως μηκέτ’ ἀδεῶς παρ’

4 ἀλλήλους φοιτῶεν. τοιαῦτα περὶ τὴν ταλαίπωρον
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἔδρασεν ὁ Αὐσόνιος θήρ, ὡς τὸ
ἀκροτελεύτιον τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦτον
ὠνόμασεν, ᾧ καὶ χαίρειν ἔφασαν αὐτόν, τῇ τοῦ
θηρὸς κλήσει καλλωπιζόμενον, εἰ καὶ πολλοὺς
προφάσει τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐφόνευσεν ὡς προενεγκα-
μένους αὐτόν.—Xiph. 337, 9–17 R. St., Exc. Val.
393 (p. 757).

24 “Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄθλα τῆς
στρατείας, τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ τεταγμένοις
ἑξακισχιλίας³ διακοσίας πεντήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ
πεντακισχιλίας λαμβάνειν . . .—Exc. Val. 394
(p. 757).

2 “Ὅτι ὁ σῶφρων ἐκεῖνος, ὡς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὁ τῆς

¹ ἐαυτῷ Bk., ἐν αὐτῷ cod. Peir.

² διαληφθῆναι Sylb., διατειχισθῆναι VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

orders to others from the temple of Serapis; for he lived in this god's precinct even during the very nights and days of bloodshed. A.D. 215

Antoninus, while slaughtering the Alexandrians and living in the sacred precincts, sent word to the senate that he was performing rites of purification on those very [days] when he was in reality sacrificing human beings to himself at the same time that he sacrificed animals to the god.

Yet why do I mention this, when he actually dared to dedicate to the god the sword with which he had slain his brother? Next he abolished the spectacles and the public messes of the Alexandrians and ordered that Alexandria should be divided by a cross-wall and occupied by guards at frequent intervals, in order that the inhabitants might no longer visit one another freely. Such was the treatment accorded unhappy Alexandria by the "Ausonian beast," as the tag-end of the oracular utterance concerning him called him.¹ He was said to be pleased with this utterance and to take pride in the appellation of "beast," and this in spite of the fact that he slew many persons on the ground that they had divulged the oracle.

He likewise gave prizes to the soldiers for their campaign, to those assigned to the pretorian guard twenty-five thousand sesterces,² and to the rest twenty thousand

That temperate man, as he was wont to call him-

¹ See ch. 16, 8 sup.

² Literally, 6250 [denarii], a plausible emendation of Lange for the 1250 given by the MS. (cf. critical note); the Pretorians naturally would receive more than the other troops.

³ ἑξακισχιλίας Lange, ἐς χιλίας cod. Peir.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τῶν ἄλλων ἀσελγείας ἐπιτιμητῆς, αἰσχίστου τε ἅμα καὶ δεινοτάτου τολμήματος γενομένου ἔδοξε μὲν ὄργην πεποιῆσθαι, τῷ δὲ δὴ μήτ' ¹ ἐκείνη κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις προσεπιτρέψαι ποιεῖν ἃ μηδεὶς μέχρι τότε ἐτετολμήκει, ² πολὺ σφισιν ἐλυμήνατο μιμησαμένοις ³ τὰ τῶν ἑταιρῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν γελοιοποιῶν.—Exc. Val. 395 (p. 757).

3 “Ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ τῇ Κουλήνῃ ἐπήγορία πολλὴ οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ποιούσιν ἐκεῖ τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὀρώσιν ἐγίγνετο.—Exc. Val. 396 (p. 757).

¹ μήτ' Bk., μὴ cod. Peir.

² ἐτετολμήκει Dind., τετολμήκει cod. Peir.

³ μιμησαμένοις Reim., μιμησαμένων cod. Peir.

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ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ ΟΥ ΒΟΥΚ ΛΧΧΙΧ

ΛΧΧVIII Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσας
1, 1 πρόφασιν ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρτάβανος
τὴν θυγατέρα μνηστευσασμένῳ συνοικίσει (καὶ
γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν ἐκείνην γῆμαι,
ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν τῶν Πάρθων βασιλείαν παρα-
σπάσασθαι ἐπεθύμει), πολλὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας τῆς
2 περὶ τὴν Μηδίαν, ἅτε καὶ ἑξαπιναίως ἐμπεσὼν
ἐς αὐτήν, ἐκάκωσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τείχη ἐπόρθησε,
τά τε Ἀρβηλα παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ
βασιλικὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἀνορύξας τὰ ὅστᾳ ἔρριψεν·
οἱ γὰρ Πάρθοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦλθον.
3 οὐκ οὐδὲ ἔσχον τι ἑξαίρετον περὶ τῶν τότε
πραχθέντων συγγράψαι, πλὴν ὅτι δύο στρατιῶ-
ται ἀσκὸν οἴνου ἀρπάσαντες προσῆλθον αὐτῷ,
ἰδιούμενος ὅλον ἐκάτερος τὸ λάφυρον, καὶ κελευσ-
θέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νείμασθαι τὸν οἶνον τά τε
ξίφη ἐσπάσαντο καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν διέτεμον ὡς καὶ
ἐξ ἡμισείας αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ οἴνου ληψόμενοι.
4 οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων ἠδοῦντο
ὥστ' αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνοχλεῖν, καὶ
φρονήσει ἐχρῶντο ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον
ἀπολέσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ
ὑπὲρ τὸν Τίγριν ἀπέφυγον, ἵνα παρασκευάσωνται·
ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντωνῖνος τοῦτο μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο, ὡς

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

AFTER this Antoninus made a campaign against A.D. 216 the Parthians, on the pretext that Artabanus had refused to give him his daughter in marriage when he sued for her hand; for the Parthian king had realized clearly enough that the emperor, while pretending to want to marry her, was in reality eager to get the Parthian kingdom incidentally for himself. So Antoninus now ravaged a large section of the country around Media by making a sudden incursion, sacked many fortresses, won over Arbela, dug open the royal tombs of the Parthians, and scattered the bones about. This was the easier for him to accomplish inasmuch as the Parthians did not even join battle with him; and accordingly I have found nothing of especial interest to record concerning the incidents of that campaign except the following anecdote. Two soldiers who had seized a skin of wine came to him, each claiming the booty as his alone; and upon being ordered by him to divide the wine equally, they drew their swords and cut the wine skin in half, apparently expecting each to get a half with the wine in it. Thus they had so little reverence for their emperor that they troubled him with such matters as this, and exercised so little intelligence that they lost both the skin and the wine. The barbarians took refuge in the mountains beyond the Tigris in order to complete their preparations, but Antoninus suppressed this fact and took to himself as much credit

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5 δὲ δὴ καὶ παντελῶς αὐτῶν, οὓς μηδὲ ἐωράκει,
 κεκρατηκῶς ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι λέων
 τις ἐξαίφνης ἐξ ὄρους καταδραμὼν συνεμάχησεν
 2 αὐτῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ
 ἄλλα ἐκδιητᾶτο καὶ παρηνόμει καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς
 στρατείαις (ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰ ἰδίαν κ. τ. λ. c. 3. 3).
 Xiph. 337, 17—338, 6 R. St.

. . . ἀλλ' ¹ ἀλήθεια· καὶ γὰρ τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ
 περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντι οἱ ἐνέτυχον. οὕτω γάρ πού
 πρὸς πάντας τοὺς βουλευτὰς διακειμένῳ συνήδει
 ἑαυτῷ ² ὥστε μηδ' ἐγκαλουμένων τι πολλῶν τοὺς
 τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τε φίλους
 αὐτῶν τοὺς πάνυ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 καὶ διὰ βασάνων ἐρωτᾶσθαι “εἰ ἄρα ὁ δεῖνά με
 φιλεῖ” ἢ “ὁ δεῖνά με μισεῖ;” καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ
 πρὸς ³ τὰ τῶν ἀστέρων διαγράμματα, καθ' ἃ
 ἐγεγέννητό τις τῶν πρώτων τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ, ⁴
 ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὡς ἔλεγεν, τὸν τε οἰκείως οἱ καὶ
 τὸν ἄλλοτρίως ἔχοντα, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκ
 τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τοὺς δ' ἀπώλλυεν.

3· Τῶν δ' οὖν Πάρθων τῶν τε Μήδων δεινῶς ἐφ'
 οἷς ἐπεπόνθησαν ἀγανακτησάντων καὶ χεῖρα
 πολλὴν παρασκευαζομένων ἐν παντὶ δέους ἐγένε-
 νετο· θρασύτατος μὲν γὰρ ἀπειλῆσαί τι ⁵ καὶ
 προπετέστατος τολμῆσαι, δειλότατος δὲ δια-
 κινδυνεῦσαί πη καὶ ἀσθενέστατος πονῆσαι ἦν.

¹ Here begins Cod. Vat. 1288 (V); see Vol. I. Pref. p. xxvi. This MS. has become illegible in many places and has suffered considerably from the trimming of the edges. In the present critical apparatus only such readings of V are recorded as clearly depart from the text of Boissevain here reproduced; this text includes some fairly certain additions

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- 2 οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε τὸ καῦμα οὔθ' ὄπλα φέρειν ἔτι ἐδύνατο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς χειριδωτοὺς χιτῶνας ἐς θώρακος τρόπον τινὰ εἶδος πεποιημένους ἐνδύνειν, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ ὄπλου¹ δόξαν χωρὶς τοῦ βάρους αὐτοῦ ἔχων μήτε ἐπιβουλεύηται καὶ θαυμάζηται. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄνευ μάχης πολλάκις ἐχρήτο.
- 3 χλαμύδα τε τοτὲ μὲν ὀλοπόρφυρον τοτὲ δὲ μεσόλευκον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ μεσοπόρφυρον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ εἶδον, ἐφόρει. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Συρίᾳ τῇ τε Μεσοποταμίᾳ Κελτικοῖς καὶ ἐσθήμασιν καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τινὰ ἰδίαν ἐνδυσιν βαρβαρικῶς πως κατακόπτων καὶ συρράπτων ἐς μανδύης τρόπον προσεπεξεῦρεν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε συνεχέστατα αὐτὴν ἐνέδυνεν, ὥστε καὶ Καρακάλλος διὰ τοῦτο ἐπικληθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας μάλιστα ἀμφιέννυσθαι ἐκέλευεν.
- 4 Αὐτόν τε οὖν τοιοῦτον οἱ βάρβαροι ὀρώντες ὄντα, καὶ ἐκείνους πολλοὺς μὲν ἀκούοντες εἶναι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς προτέρας τρυφῆς (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν οἰκίαις² ἐχείμαζον, πάντα τὰ τῶν ξενοδοκούντων σφᾶς ὡς καὶ ἴδια ἀναλίσκοντες) καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῆς τε ταλαιπωρίας τῆς τότε αὐτοῖς παρούσης οὕτω καὶ τὰ σώματα τετραυχωμένους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταπεινωμένους³
- 5 ὥστε μὴδὲν τῶν λημμάτων ἔτι, ἅ πολλὰ αἰεὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον, προτιμᾶν, αἰσθόμενοι, ἐπήρθησαν ὡς καὶ συναγωνιστὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλλ'

¹ τοῦ ὄπλου Bk., ΤΟΥΤΑΠΛΟΥ V, τοῦ ἄπλου cod. Peir.

² ἐν οἰκίαις cod. Peir., ΕΝ|ΚΙΑΙ V, ἐνοικία Xiph.

³ τεταπεινωμένους Bk., ΤΕΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ V cod. Peir.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

ships. He could no longer bear great heat or the A.D. 217
weight of armour, and therefore wore sleeved tunics
fashioned more or less like a breastplate,¹ so that,
by creating the impression of armour without its
weight, he could be safe from plots and at the same
time rouse admiration. Indeed, he often wore this
dress even when not in battle. His mantle was
either of pure purple or of purple with a white
stripe down the centre; though occasionally the
stripe only was of purple, as I myself have seen.
In Syria, however, and in Mesopotamia he used
German clothing and shoes. He also invented a
costume of his own, which was made in a rather
foreign fashion out of small pieces of cloth sewed
together into a kind of cloak²; and he not only
wore this most of the time himself (in consequence
of which he was given the nickname Caracallus),
but he also prescribed it as the regular dress for the
soldiers.

The barbarians, now, saw what sort of person he
was and also heard that his troops, though numerous,
had, in consequence of their previous luxury (among
other things they had been passing the winter in
houses and using up everything belonging to their
hosts as if it were their own) and of their toils
and present hardships, become so exhausted in body
and so dejected in mind that they no longer cared
at all about the largesses which they were con-
stantly receiving in large amounts from Antoninus.
Elated, therefore, to think that they were going to

¹ Perhaps the reference is to a linen breastplate, such as
is mentioned in lxxvii (lxxviii). 7, 2.

² *Caracalla* was a Celtic or German word for a short,
close-fitting cloak provided with a hood; but as modified
by Antoninus it reached to the feet.

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οὐ πολέμιους ἔξοντες, κ μά-
4 ζοντος Ἀντωνῖνος ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο·
οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολεμήσαι αὐτῷ ἐξεγένετο, ἀλλ'
ἐν μέσοις τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα
καὶ οἷς ἰσχυρῶς ἐθάρρει, κατεσφάγη. ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ μάντις τις ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ εἶπεν, ὥστε
καὶ δημοσιευθῆναι, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Μακρίνον τὸν
ἑπαρχον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Διαδουμενιανόν¹
2 αὐταρχῆσαι δεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνός τε ἐς τὴν
Ῥώμην ἀναπεμφθεὶς Φλαουίῳ Ματερνιανῷ τῷ
τότε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντι
ἐξέφηνε, καὶ ὅς τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ παραχρῆμα ἐπέ-
στειλεν, καὶ συνέβη ταῦτα μὲν τὰ γράμματα ἐς
τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἰουλίαν
3 παραπεμφθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεκέλευστο αὐτῇ πάντα
τὰ ἀφικνούμενα διαλέγειν ἵνα μὴ μάτην οἱ ὄχλος
γράμμάτων ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντι πέμπηται, ἕτερα
δὲ ὑπὸ Οὐλπίου Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ τότε τὰς τιμήσεις
ἐγκέχειρισμένου δι' ἄλλων γραμματοφόρων ὀρθῆναι
πρὸς τὸν Μακρίνον, δηλοῦντα τὰ γιγνόμενα,
ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τὸν
4 αὐτοκράτορα γραφεῖσι διατριβὴν γενέσθαι, τὰ δὲ
ἐκείνῳ ἐπισταλέντα φθῆναι ἀναγνωσθέντα αὐτῷ,
ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Μακρίνος μὴ καὶ διαφθαρῆ ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ, διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι Σεραπίων τις Αἰγύπ-
τιος ἄντικρυς τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν
εἶρήκει ὅτι τε ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἔσοιτο καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος
5 αὐτὸν διαδέξοιτο, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
Σεραπίων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λέοντι παρε-
βλήθη, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ ἤψατο αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα
μόνον, ὥς φασι, προτείναντος, ἐφονεύθη, δυνηθεὶς

¹ Διαδουμενιανὸν Falc., Δουμενιανὸν Xiph. (and V?)

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ἄν, ὡς γε ἔφη, μηδὲ τοῦτο παθεῖν δαιμόνων τινῶν ἐπικλήσει, εἰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπεβεβιώκει.

5 Ὅ δὲ δὴ Μακρίνος ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, ἔσπευσε δ' ὑποπτεύσας ἀπολεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ τοὺς συνόντας ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐξαίφνης,¹ τῶν γενεθλίων αὐτοῦ, ἄλλον κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ὡς καὶ τιμῶν, ἀπέωστο.

2 ταλα | τησ
| ιτησ |
. ου | πε-

πρωμένον αὐτῷ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τὸ παρωνύμιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐπεποιήτο. κακ τούτου δύο τε χιλιάρχους τῶν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ τεταγμένων, Νεμεσιανόν τε καὶ Ἀπολλινάριον

3 ἀδελφοὺς Αὐρηλίους, καὶ Ἰούλιον Μαρτιάλιον ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνακλήτοις στρατευόμενον καὶ ὄργην οἰκείαν τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἔχοντα ὅτι οἱ ἑκατονταρχίαν αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἔδεδώκει, παρασκευάσας ἐπε-

4 βούλευσεν αὐτῷ. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐξορμήσαντά τε αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἐδέσσης ἐς Κάρρας, καὶ κατελθόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὅπως ἀποπατήσει, προσελθὼν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος ὡς γε εἰπεῖν τι δεόμενος ἐπάταξε ξιφιδίῳ μικρῷ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπέφυγε, καὶ διέλαθεν ἂν εἰ

5 τὸ ξίφος ἀπερρίφει· νῦν δὲ γνωρισθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπό τινος τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν σὺν Ἀντωνίνῳ ὄντων κατηκουτίσθη· ἐκεῖνον δὲ . . οἱ χιλίαρχοι ὡς

¹ πρὸ μιᾶς suggested by Bk. to fill lacuna.

¹ Probably an explanation of the name Diadumenus, later changed to Diadumenianus; compare *diadema*.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

this fate,—or so he declared,—by invoking certain spirits, if he had lived one day longer. A.D. 217

Macrinus came to no harm, but hastened his preparations, having a presentiment that otherwise he should perish, especially as Antoninus had suddenly, [on the day before] his birthday, removed those of Macrinus' companions that were with him, alleging various reasons in different cases, but with the general pretext of showing them honour, . . .
.
.
.
believing that it was fated for him to secure [the throne?], he had also chosen a name suggestive of this.¹ Accordingly, he secured the services of two tribunes assigned to the pretorian guard, Nemesianus and Apollinaris,² brothers belonging to the Aurelian gens, and of Julius Martialis,² who was enrolled among the *evocati* and had a private grudge against Antoninus for not having given him the post of centurion when he asked for it, and so formed his plot against Antoninus. It was carried out thus. On the eighth of April, when the emperor had set out from Edessa for Carrhae and had dismounted from his horse to ease himself, Martialis approached as though desiring to say something to him and struck him with a small dagger. Martialis immediately fled and would have escaped detection, had he thrown away his sword; but, as it was, the weapon led to his being recognized by one of the Scythians in attendance upon Antoninus, and he was struck down with a javelin. As for Antoninus, the

² Apollinarius and Martialis in the Greek.

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καὶ βοηθοῦντες κατέσφαξαν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκύθης οὗτος οὐχ ὡς καὶ συμμαχῶν αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ ἔχων συνῆν. 6 καὶ γὰρ Σκύθας καὶ Κελτούς, οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφελόμενος, ὠπλίκει καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ὡς καὶ μάλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς¹ στρατιώταις θαρσῶν· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἑκατονταρχίαις σφᾶς ἐτίμα,² λέοντάς τε ἐκάλει. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς οἱ² ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν αὐτῶν πεμπομένοις καὶ διελέγετο³ πολλάκις μηδενὸς ἄλλου πλὴν τῶν ἐρμηνέων παρόντος, καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὅπως, ἂν τι πάθῃ, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνωσιν ὡς καὶ εὐαλωτοτάτην οὐσ' αὖ· καὶ ἵνα δὴ⁴ μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐκφοιτήσῃ, 3 τοὺς ἐρμηνέας εὐθὺς ἐφόνευσεν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῦτό τε⁵ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ὕστερον ἐμάθομεν, καὶ τὸ τῶν φαρμάκων παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ποικίλα παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄνω Ἀσίᾳ ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν μετεπέμψατο τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπρίατο, ὥστε ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐς αὐτὰ⁶ ἀριθμηθῆναι, ἵνα καὶ παμπόλλους, ὅσους ἂν ἐθελήσῃ,⁷ καὶ διαφόρως 4 δολοφονήσῃ. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ μετὰ τὰυθ' εὐρεθέντα κατεκαύθη· τότε δὲ⁸ οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις

¹ τοῖς supplied by Bk.

³ διελέγετο Urs., ΕΛΕΓΕΤΟ V.

⁵ τε Bk., MEN V.

² ἄ Bk., ΩΝ V.

⁴ Bk., ΤΕ V.

⁶ αὐτὰ Xiph., ΑΤΤΗΝ V.

⁷ ἐθελήσῃ Xiph., ΘΕΛΗΣΗ V.

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τῷ τοὺς βαρβάρους σφῶν προτιμᾶσθαι δυσχεραίνοντες, οὐτ' ἄλλως ἔτι ὁμοίως ἔχαιρον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιβουλευθέντι οὐκ ἐβοήθησαν.

5 Τοιούτῳ¹ μὲν τέλει ἐχρήσατο βιούς τε ἔτη ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας (τῇ γὰρ τετράδι τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐγεγέννητο) καὶ αὐταρχή-
 7 σας ἔτη² ἕξ καὶ μῆνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας δύο. καί μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου θαυμάσαι πάμπολλα ἐπέρχεται. ὃ τε γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μέλλοντί οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὴν τελευταίαν ἔξοδον ποιήσασθαι ξιφῆρης ὄναρ ἐπέστη, λέγων ὅτι “ὡς σὺ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινας, καὶ ἐγὼ σὲ ἀποσφάξω.”
 2 καὶ οἱ μάντις εἶπον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαι, τούτῳ τῷ ῥήματι ἄντικρυς χρησάμενοι, ὅτι “αἱ τοῦ ἡπάτος τοῦ ἱερείου πύλαι κέκλεινται.” ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ διὰ θύρας τινὸς ἐξῆλθε, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῦ λέοντος, ὃν καὶ Ἀκινάκην ὠνόμαζε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον ὁμόκλινόν τε ἐποιεῖτο, φροντίσας, ὅτι καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα καὶ
 3 τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ προσκατέρρηξεν· ἔτρεφε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους λέοντας πολλούς, καὶ αἰεί τινὰς περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἐκείνον δὲ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις κατεφίλει. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔσχε, καὶ ὀλίγον πρὸ³ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐν τε τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πῦρ ἐξαίφνης πολὺ, ὡς γε καὶ ἤκουσα, πάντα τὸν τοῦ Σαράπιδος ναὸν ἐνδοθεν κατασχόν
 4 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν⁴ ἐλυμήνατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ ξίφος ἐκείνο ᾧ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπεσφάκει μόνον ἔφθειρεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παυσαμένου αὐτοῦ ἀστέρες πολλοὶ ἐφάνησαν· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δαίμων τις ἀνθρώπου σχῆμα ἔχων ὄνον ἔς τε τὸ

¹ τοιούτῳ Urs., ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ V.

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vexed at seeing the barbarians preferred to themselves, were not in any case so delighted with their emperor as formerly, and did not aid him when he became the victim of a plot. A.D. 217

Such was the end to which Antoninus came, after living twenty-nine years and four days (for he had been born on the fourth of April), and after ruling six years, two months, and two days. At this point also in my narrative many things come to mind to arouse my astonishment. For instance, when he was about to set out from Antioch on his last journey, his father appeared to him in a dream, wearing a sword and saying, "As you killed your brother, so will I slay you"; and the soothsayers warned him to beware of that day, bluntly telling him in so many words that the gates of the victim's liver were shut. After this he went out through a certain door, paying no heed to the fact that the lion which he was wont to call "Rapier" and had for a table-companion and bedfellow seized him as he went out and even tore his clothing. For he used to keep many lions and always had some of them around him, but this one he would often caress even in public. Besides these prodigies, a little while before his death a great fire, as I have heard, suddenly filled the entire interior of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, but did no damage beyond destroying the sword with which Antoninus had slain his brother; and later, when the fire had stopped, many stars became visible. In Rome, moreover, a spirit having the appearance of a man

² ζτη Xiph., ΕΤΗΤΕ V.

³ πρό Xiph., ΠΡΟΣ V.

⁴ τὸ παράπαν Urs., ΤΟΠΑΡΑ V, om. Xiph.

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Καπιτώλιον καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐς¹ τὸ πάλαιον
 ἀνήγαγεν, ζητῶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ, ὡς γε καὶ
 ἔφασκεν, καὶ λέγων ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν
 5 δὲ Δία ἄρχειν. συλληφθεῖς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ματερνιανοῦ
 πεμφθεῖς “ἀπέρχομαι μὲν” ἔφη “ὡς κελεύεις,²
 ἀφίξομαι δὲ οὐ πρὸς τούτον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕτερον,” καὶ μετὰ τούτ’ ἐς τὴν Καπύην
 8 ἔλθων ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν ζῶντος ἔτι
 αὐτοῦ συνηνέχθη, τῇ δὲ ἵπποδρομία τῇ τῆς τοῦ³
 Σεουήρου ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα ποιουμένη κατέπεσε μὲν
 καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἄγαλμα⁴ πομπεῦον, ἀλλὰ
 2 τοῦτο μὲν ἦττον ἂν τις θαυμάσειε· τὸ δὲ δὴ
 μέγιστον, ἠττημένοι οἱ πράσινοι στασιῶται,⁵
 ἔπειτα κολοῖον ἐπ’ ἀκροῦ τοῦ ὀβελίσκου πάνυ
 σφόδρα κρώζοντα ἰδόντες πάντες τε πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἀπέβλεψαν, καὶ πάντες ἐξαίφνης ὡς καὶ ἐκ
 συγκειμένου τινὸς ἀνεβόησαν “Μαρτιάλιε, χαῖρε·
 Μαρτιάλιε, διὰ χρόνου σέ ἐοράκαμεν,” οὐχ ὅτι
 καὶ ὁ κολοῖός ποτε οὕτως ὠνομάσθη, ἀλλ’ ὅτι δι’
 ἐκείνου τὸν Μαρτιάλιον τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνῖνου φονέα
 3 ὡς καὶ ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς θείας ἠσπάσαντο. ἤδη
 δέ τισι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν τελευ-
 τὴν προδηλῶσαι ἔδοξεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ
 ἣν τελευταίαν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἔπεμψεν ἔφη ὅτι
 “παύσασθε εὐχόμενοί με ἑκατὸν ἔτεσι μοναρ-
 χῆσαι.” τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβόημα τοῦτο αἰεὶ καὶ ἀπ’
 ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε πρῶτον καὶ
 μόνον ἠτιάσατο αὐτό, λόγῳ μὲν ἐγκαλῶν σφίσι

¹ ἐς Rk., ΕΣΤΕ V.

² κελεύεις Urs., ΚΕΛΕΥΣΘΕΙΣ V.

³ τῇ τῆς τοῦ Bk., ΤΗΙΤΟΥ V, ΤΗΣΤΟΥ V², τῇ τῆς Rk.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὡς καὶ ἀδύνατα εὐχομένοις, ἔργῳ δὲ προδηλῶν
 4 ὅτι οὐκέτ' οὐδένα χρόνον ἄρξει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε
 ἅπαξ τοῦτό τινες ἐπешημήναντο, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐνθύ-
 μιον ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ τοῖς Κρονίοις
 ἐστιῶν ἡμᾶς καὶ πολλὰ ἄττα, οἷα ἐν συμποσίῳ
 εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰπὼν, ἔπειτ' ἐξανισταμένων ἡμῶν
 προσκαλεσάμενος ἐμὲ¹ ἔφη· “ κάλλιστα, ὦ Δίῳν,
 καὶ ἀληθέστατα ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἶρηκεν² ὅτι

πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
 πολλὰ δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί,
 καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
 τῶν δ' ἀδοκῆτων πόρον εὖρε θεός.
 τοιόνδ' ἀπέβη τόδε³ πρᾶγμα.”

5 παραχρῆμα μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως ἀπολεληρηκένοι τοῦτο
 τὸ ἔπος ἔδοξεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλετο.
 καὶ τελευταίαν ταύτην φωνὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔρρηξε,
 καὶ πάνυ κεχρησμωδηκένοι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ συμ-
 βησόμενα αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ
 Βῆλος ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀπαμείᾳ τῆς
 6 Συρίας τιμώμενος· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῷ Σεουήρῳ
 πρότερον ἰδιωτεύοντί τε⁴ ἔτι τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα
 εἶρήκει,

“ ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἵκελος⁵ Διὶ τερπικε-
 ραύνῳ,

” Ἀρεῖ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον⁶ δὲ Ποσειδάωνι,”

¹ ἐμὲ supplied by Reim.

² εἶρηκεν Dind., εἶρήκει VC.

³ τόδε Leuncl., τό VC.

⁴ τε supplied by Bekker.

⁵ ἵκελος R. Steph., εἵκελος VC.

⁶ στέρνον R. Steph., στέρνα VC.

¹ Lines that occur at the end of several of Euripides' dramas.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

to rebuke them for offering a prayer impossible of fulfilment, he was really predicting that he should not rule any longer at all. . And when certain persons had once called attention to this fact, I also recalled that when he was giving us a banquet in Nicomedeia at the Saturnalia and had talked a good deal, as was natural at a symposium, he had called to me, as we rose to depart, and remarked :
“ Well and truly, Dio, has Euripides said :

‘ O the works of the gods—in manifold wise they reveal them :

Manifold things un hoped for the gods to accomplishment bring.

And the things that we looked for, the gods deign not to fulfil them ;

And the paths undiscerned of our eyes, the gods unseal them,

So fell this marvellous thing.’ ”¹

At the time these verses seemed to have been quoted with no particular meaning, but when he perished not long afterward and these words proved to be the last he ever uttered to me, it was felt that he had foretold in a truly oracular manner what was to befall him. Similar importance was attached to the utterance of Zeus called Belus, a god worshipped at Apamea in Syria ; for this god, years before, while Severus was still a private citizen, had spoken these words to him :

“ Eyes and head like those of Zeus, who delights in the thunder,

Slender his waist like Ares, his chest like that of Poseidon.’ ”²

² Hom., *Il.* ii. 478-9.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορι γενομένῳ ταῦτ' εἶπεν χρωμένῳ, ὅτι

“ σὸς δ' οἶκος πᾶς βήσεται δι' αἵματος.”

- 9 Τοῦ δ' οὖν Ἀντωνίνου τό τε σῶμα ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὰ ὀστέα ἐν τῷ Ἀντωνινείῳ,¹ κρύφα νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθέντα, ἐτέθη· πάνυ γὰρ πάντες οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται, καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, ἰσχυρότατα αὐτὸν ἐμίσησαν, ὥστε καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ πολέμιωτάτῳ.
- 2 δόγματι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἠτιμώθη διὰ τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης, ἧς ἀντήλπισαν παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχεῖν, τῶν δὲ δὴ κερδῶν, ὧν παρ' ἐκείνου ἐλάμβανον, στερομένους πάλιν αὐτὸν ποθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκνικησάντων αὐτῶν ἐσεγράφη, καὶ
- 3 τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δῆλον ὅτι ἐψηφίσθη. ἄλλως δὲ² πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπὸ πάντων ἤκουεν αἰεὶ· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀντωνῖνον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν,³ ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Βασιανὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα, οἱ δὲ Καρακάλλον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οἱ δὲ καὶ Ταραύταν ἐκ μονομάχου τινὸς προσηγορίας⁴ τό τ' εἶδος καὶ σμικροτάτου καὶ κακοειδεστάτου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ θρασυτάτου καὶ μαιφονωτάτου.
- 10 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν καὶ ὀνομάσῃ τις αὐτόν, οὕτως ἔσχεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ δὴ, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν μοναρχίαν καταστήναι, προεδηλώθη τρόπον τινὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα

¹ Ἀντωνινείῳ Urs., ANTONINΩ V.

² δέ Bk., TE V.

³ ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν Xiph., ΕΑΥΤΟΝΕΠΕΚΑΛΟῦ V (first E deleted by V²).

⁴ προσηγορίας Urs., ΠΡΟΣΗΓΟΡΙΑΙΣ V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γράφοιμι. ἐν γὰρ πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ τινὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἐξοπλισμένην ὁρᾶν τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἔδοξα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Σεουήρον ἐπὶ τε γηλόφου καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ καθήμενον διαλέγεσθαι τι αὐτοῖς. καί με προστάντα¹ ἰδὼν ὅπως τῶν λεγομένων ἀκούσω, “δεῦρο,” ἔφη, “Δίων, ἐνταῦθα πλησίον πρόσελθε, ἵνα πάντα καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ μάθης ἀκριβῶς καὶ συγγράψῃς.” τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ Ταραύτου καὶ βίος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπαπώλοντο μὲν καὶ οἱ τῆς κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχόντες, οἱ μὲν εὐθύς οἱ δ’ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, προσδιεφθάρησαν δὲ οἱ πάνυ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι· οὕτω που φονικῶ δαίμονι καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους συνεκεκλήρωτο.

11 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μακρίνος τὸ μὲν γένος Μαῦρος, ἀπὸ Καισαρείας, γονέων ἀδοξοτάτων ἦν, ὥστε καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότως αὐτὸν τῷ ὄνῳ τῷ² ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐσαχθέντι εἰκασθῆναι· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ οὖς τὸ ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Μαύρων ἐπιχώριον διετέτρητο· τῇ δὲ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίαζεν, τὰ τε νόμιμα οὐχ οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἠπίστατο ὡς πιστῶς μετεχειρίζετο. κακ τούτου καὶ³ τῷ Πλαυτιανῷ διὰ φίλου τινὸς συνηγόρημα γνωρισθεὶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐκείνου χρημάτων ἐπετρόπευσεν, ἔπειτα συναπολέσθαι οἱ κινδυνεύσας, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κίλωνος ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτὸν σωθεὶς, πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Σεουήρου τοῖς ὀχήμασι τοῖς

T

¹ προστάντα Falc., ΠΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΑ V (T by V²), προστάντα Xiph.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

just after his death methought I saw in a great plain A.D. 217
the whole power of the Romans arrayed in arms, and it seemed that Severus was seated on a knoll there, on a lofty tribunal, and conversing with them; and seeing me standing near to hear what was spoken, he said: "Come here, Dio; draw near, that you may both learn accurately and write an account of all that is said and done." Such was the life and the end of Tarantas. His death was followed by that of those who had taken part in the plot against him, some of whom perished at once and others a little later; and his intimate friends and freedmen also perished. Thus it would appear that it was his doom to bring a bloody fate upon his enemies and his friends alike.

Macrinus was a Moor by birth, from Caesarea, and the son of most obscure parents, so that he was very appropriately likened to the ass that was led up to the palace by the spirit;¹ in particular, one of his ears had been bored in accordance with the custom followed by most of the Moors. But his integrity threw even this drawback into the shade. As for his attitude toward law and precedent, his knowledge of them was not so accurate as his observance of them was faithful. It was thanks to this latter quality, as displayed in his advocacy of a friend's cause, that he had become known to Plautianus, whose steward he then became for a time. Later he came near perishing with his patron, but was unexpectedly saved by the intercession of Cilo, and was appointed

¹ Cf. ch. 7.

² τῶ supplied by Sauppe.

³ καί Rk., ΤΕΚΑΙ V.

- κατὰ τὴν Φλαμινίαν ὁδὸν διαθέουσιν ἐπετάχθη, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ὀνόματά τινα ἐπιτροπείας ὀλιγοχρονίου λαβὼν ἔπαρχος ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ διώκησε τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ταύτης ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα, ὅσα γε¹ καὶ αὐτογνωμονήσας ἔπραξεν.
- 4 Τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ὢν καὶ οὕτως αὐξηθεὶς ἔς τε τὸν νοῦν τὴν τῆς αὐταρχίας ἐλπίδα ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Ταραύτου, δι' ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐνεβάλετο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ φανερώς μὲν οὔτε ἐκείνη τῆ ἡμέρα οὔτε ταῖς ἔπειτα ταῖς δύο ἐπεβάτευσεν αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονέται δόξη, ἀλλὰ ἄναρκτα παντελῶς τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀπ' αὐτοτελοῦς ἄρχοντος τὰ των Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, οὐδ'² εἰδόντων αὐτῶν τοῦτο, διεγένετο.
- 5 πέμψας δὲ ὡς ἕκασταχόσε πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν μὲν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ μέντοι καθ' ἐν ὄντας ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἄλλη διεσπασμένους, προσηταιρίσατο αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπαγγειλάμενος καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐβαρύνοντο, ἀπαλλάξειν
- 6 ἐπελπίσας. καὶ οὕτω τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ τὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου γενέθλια ἦν, αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὑπ'
- 12 αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ καταβιασθεὶς ἠρέθη, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ χρηστὰ ἐκείνοις ἐδημηγόρησε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπετείνατο, τοὺς τε ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ τινί, οἷα γε ἡ ἀσέβεια αὕτη ἢ ἐς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας λέγεται γίγνεσθαι, τιμωρίαν

¹ γε Val., TE V cod. Peir.

² οὐδ' Falc., OTT V.

¹ *Curator viae Flaminiae.*

² *Praefectus praetorio.*

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τινὰ ἔμβιον ὠφληκότας ἀπαλλάξας τῆς κατα-
 δίκης, καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους τι τοιοῦτον ἀπο-
 2 λύσας, τὰ τε περὶ τοὺς κλήρους καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς
 ἐλευθερίας καταδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρακάλλου
 παύσας, καὶ τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἐξαιτηθέντα ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν οἷα ἀπεχθέστατον σφίσιν ἐν πολλαῖς
 στρατείαις¹ ταῖς πρόσθε γεγονότα παραιτη-
 σάμενος ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὄν βουλευτὴν τινα ἀπο-
 3 κτεῖναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ
 ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι | τε Αὐρηλιαν . . .
 | νησαντα | σαι τι ἐπιχ
 | στρατιώτα |
 αμα τοῦτο | ὑπ' αὐτοῦ το . . .
 | καὶ ἀναλοι | δε βου-
 λευσ | αὔταρχόν γ
 | ὀργῇ τε ο | σι καὶ
 4 διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς |
 πλεῖόν τι δοῦναι κατεδέδεικτο τ |
 φοβηθεῖς | τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν τὸν
 καὶ μόνον οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῶν ὅλως βουλευόντων τότε παρόντα ἀπ
 | ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἐς | αὐτὸν
 τηνι | αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ
 Καρακάλλου | τρέψας τὸ δ . . .
 | καὶ περὶ το | τας τι
 επο | σας πυρα
 5 | τονως | σφῶν . . .
 | τα ὦ
 | του | προ . . .
 || πάμ-

¹ στρατείας Bk., ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΙΣ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

emperor¹) had their sentences remitted, and com- A.D. 217
 plaints of that nature which were pending were
 dismissed; he also rescinded the measures that had
 been enacted by Caracallus relating to inheritances
 and emancipations.² Furthermore, by insisting that
 it was impious to put a senator to death, he suc-
 ceeded in begging off Aurelianus, whose surrender
 was demanded by the soldiers because he had become
 most obnoxious to them in the course of many
 previous campaigns. Not for long, however, was it
 in his power to play the part of a brave man . . .
 . . . and Aurelianus
 soldiers
 . . . this by him . . .
 and plan
 absolute
 and in wrath and
 one thousand sesterces
 to give more
 fearing Aurelianus, the
 only one then present not only of the ex-consuls but
 even of all who were then senators
 by money to him
 blame for Caracallus'
 death turning
 and about

 great

¹ *Maiestas*. See on lvii. 9, 2.
² Cf. lxxvii (lxxviii). 9, 4.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πολλά καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ κτήματα τῶν αὐτοκρα-
 τῶρων. ὡς δ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας,
 ἐξήρκει ταῖς ἐν | ιακων προσ | . . .
 ξατο καὶ μεν | ν βου-
 λευτῶν | ν ἀποκτει |
 . . . μηδένα ἀλλ' ἐς φυλακὴν τινὰς ἐμβαλὼν |
 6 φον τὸν ευ |
 αι, τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ τῶν
 Καισαρείων καὶ | ικῶν τῶν τε |
 τοὺς καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀμαρτάνοντας κολασ-
 θῆναι ποιήσας ὥστε πᾶσι |
 νον αὐτῶν | τὰς τε ἐπιτροπείας
 . . . τὰς περιττὰς τὰ πολλὰ
 τῶν τοῦ Ταραύτου
 7 αχθέντων | το τῶν ἀγώνων |
 ων πλῆθος ην | ς,
 τὰς τε δωρεὰς αὐτῶν ἄς μάτην τισὶν ἐδεδώρητο
 συλλέξας, καὶ μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ μήτε
 ἀργυρᾶν ὑπὲρ πέντε λίτρας μήτε χρυσῆν ὑπὲρ
 τρεῖς γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. τό τε μέγιστον, τὴν
 μισθοφορὰν τῶν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευο-
 μένων ἐς τὸ ταχθῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουή-
 ρου εθει
 13 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπό τινων οὐ μάτην
 ἐπαινούμενος ἰσοστάσιόν πως αὐτοῖς αἰτίαμα
 παρὰ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἔσχευ, ὅτι ἔς τε τοὺς ὑπα-
 τευκότας τινὰς ἐνέγραψε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρχαῖς ἐθνῶν
 προσέταξεν, καίτοι μὴ ἐβελήσας¹ δεύτερον δὴ τῷ
 ἐπιόντι ἔτει² ὑπατεύειν δόξαι ὅτι τὰς³ τῶν ὑπα-

¹ ἐβελήσας Bk., ΘΕΛΗΣΑΣ V.
² ἔτει Reim., ETI V.
³ τὰς supplied by Bk.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 2 τευκότων τιμὰς ἐσχήκοι, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου
 ἀρξάμενον καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπεποιήκει. τοῦτο
 γὰρ δὴ νομιμώτατα καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 Ἄδουέντου πράξας, ἀλογώτατα Μάρκιόν τε
 Ἀγρίππαν πρότερον μὲν ἐς Παννονίαν εἶτ' ἐς
 Δακίαν ἡγεμονεύσοντα ἔπεμψεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἄρχόν-
 τας αὐτῶν, τὸν τε Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν Καστῖνον,
 λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ τῆς συνουσίας σφῶν δεόμενος,
 ἔργῳ δὲ τό τε πάνυ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν φιλίαν
 αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καρακάλλον φοβηθείς, εὐθύς
 3 μετεπέμψατο. τὸν τε οὖν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν
 Δακίαν καὶ Δέκκιον Τρικκιανὸν ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν
 ἔστειλεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν δούλῳν τε κομμωτὴν γυναικός
 τινος γεγονότα, καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο κριθέντα ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Σεουήρου, καίτοι καὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ συνδεδικη-
 4 κότα, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ πράγματός τινος ἐς νῆσον
 ἐκπεσόντα,¹ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταραύτου
 σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καταχθέντα,² τὰς τε διαγνώσεις
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς διοικήσαντα,³ καὶ τὸ
 τελευταῖον ἐς τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐστρατηγη-
 κότας ἀπωσθέντα ὅτι μειράκια ἔξωρα ἐς τὴν
 στρατιὰν ἐπῆκτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τρικκιανὸν ἔν τε τῷ
 πλήθει τῷ Παννονικῷ ἐστρατευμένον⁴ καὶ θυρω-
 ρὸν ποτε τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς γεγονότα καὶ τότε
 τοῦ Ἀλβανίου στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντα.
- 14 Ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ ἠτιῶντο, καὶ ὅτι
 καὶ τὸν Ἄδουεντον ἐν τοῖς δίοπταις τε καὶ ἐρευνη-
 ταῖς μεμισθοφορηκότα, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξιν

¹ ἐκπεσόντα Bk., ΕΜΠΕΣΟΝΤΑ V.

² καταχθέντα Leuncl., ΚΑΤΑΛΕΧΘΕΝΤΑ V.

³ διοικήσαντα Reim., ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΟΝΤΑ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

the consular rank that he already had—a practice A.D. 217 that had been begun by Severus and continued by his son. But, though his course was most regular in this matter, which affected both himself and Adventus, yet he acted most unreasonably in sending out Marcius Agrippa as governor, first to Pannonia, and then to Dacia. For he had at once summoned the governors of those provinces, Sabinus and Castinus, pretending that he wanted their company, but really because he feared their proud spirit and their friendship for Caracallus; and thus he sent Agrippa to Dacia and Deccius Triccianus to Pannonia. The former had been a slave acting as tireman for some woman and had stood trial before Severus for that very reason, though he had been counsel for the imperial treasury;¹ banished later to an island for the betrayal of some cause, he had subsequently been recalled, along with the others, by Tarautas, had had charge of his judicial decisions and correspondence, and finally had been relegated to the position of senator with the rank of ex-praetor, because he had admitted immature lads into the army. Triccianus had served as a private soldier in the contingent from Pannonia, had once been door-keeper to the governor of that province, and was at this time commanding the Alban legion.

Another thing for which many criticized him was his elevation of Adventus. This man had first served in the mercenary force among the spies and scouts, and upon quitting that position had been made one

¹ *Advocatus fisci.*

⁴ ἐστρατευμένον Bk., ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝ V.

λελοιπότα ἔς τε τοὺς γραματοφόρους τελέσαντα
καὶ πρόκριτον¹ ἀποδειχθέντα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς²
ἐπιτρόπευσιν προαχθέντα, καὶ βουλευτὴν καὶ
συνύπατον καὶ πολίαρχον, μήθ' ὄραν ὑπὸ γήρως
μήτ' ἀναγιγνώσκειν ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας μήτε πρῶτ-
² τειν τι ὑπ' ἀπειρίας δυνάμενον, ἀπέφηνεν. ἔτε-
τολμήκει³ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀδουέντος τοῖς στρατιώταις
μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καρακάλλου θάνατον εἰπεῖν ὅτι
“ἐμοὶ μὲν ἢ μοναρχία ἄτε καὶ πρεσβεύοντι τοῦ
Μακρίνου προσήκει, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέργηρως εἰμι,
ἐκείνῳ αὐτῆς ἐξίσταμαι.” ληρεῖν δέ πως ἔδοξεν,
ὥσπερ πού καὶ ὁ Μακρίνος τὸ μέγιστον τῆς γε-
ρουσίας ἀξίωμα τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ δούς, ὅστις οὐδὲ
διαλεχθῆναί τι ἐν πῶ συνεδρίῳ καλῶς ὑπατεύων
ἠδυνήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν
³ ἡμέρα νοσεῖν προσεποιήσατο. ὅθεν οὐκ ἔς μακρὰν
τῷ Μαξίμῳ τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν τῆς πόλεως προστα-
σίαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προσέταξε, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο
μόνον πολίαρχον αὐτὸν ποιήσας ἵνα μίανη τὸ
βουλευτήριον, οὐ κατ' ἐκείνο μόνον ὅτι ἐν τῷ
μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο καὶ τὰ τῶν δημίων ἔργα
καὶ προσκόπων καὶ ἑκατόντάρχων ἐπεποιήκει,
⁴ ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴν πρὸ τοῦ τῆς
ὑπατείας ἔργου εἰλήφει, τοῦτ' ἔστιν πολίαρχος
πρότερον ἢ βουλευτὴς ἐγεγόνει. ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ
αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτο-
κράτορα ἀρχὴν ἱππεύων ἔτι ἠρπάκει, ἐπηλυγα-
σόμενος⁴ ἔπραξεν.

¹ πρόκριτον Hirschfeld, ΠΡΟΚΟΙΤΟΝ V.

² ἔς Urs., om. V, ΕΙΣ V².

³ ἔτετολμήκει Dind., ΤΕΤΟΛΜΗΣΕΙ V.

⁴ ἐπηλυγασόμενος Rk., ΕΠΗΛΥΓΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

15 Ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν τινὲς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐμέμφοντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐπάρχους τὸν τε Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Οὐλπιον καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν Νέστορα ἀπέδειξε, μήτ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντας μήτ' ἐν πολλαῖς πράξεσιν ἐξητασμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ περιβοήτους ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καρακάλλου ἀρχῇ γενομένους διὰ τὸ πολλὰ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων σφᾶς ἠγουμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀνοσίους πολυπραγ-
 2 μοσύνας ὑπηρετῆσαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγοι ἐλογίζοντο καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐ καθαρῶς ἐθάρσουν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πρὸς τε τὴν διὰ βραχέος παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ Ταραύτου ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου παραπλησίαν, ἐξ ὧν ὑπεδει-
 3 χει¹ σφίσιν, πρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδοκίαν οὐκ ἔσχον καιρὸν δι' ὀλίγου οὕτως αὐτοῦ καταγνῶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἰσχυρῶς ἀποθανόντα ἐπόθησαν ὅν πάντως ἄν, εἴπερ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐβεβιώ-
 4 οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπεξῆει. πάντα γὰρ που τὰναντία αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, εἰδότα ὅστις τε ἀρχὴν ἐπεφύκει καὶ ὅστις τότε ἦν, μήθ' ὑπερφρονεῖν . . . μετρίως

¹ ὑπεδειχίει Dind., ΥΠΟΔΕΔΕΙΧΕΙ V.

¹ Probably the position of *princeps peregrinorum*.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

But these were not the only acts for which he A.D. 217 met with well-deserved censure; he was also blamed for appointing as prefects Ulpianus Julianus and Julianus Nestor, men who possessed no excellence at all and had not been widely tested in affairs, but had become quite notorious for knavery in Caracallus' reign; for, being in command of his couriers,¹ they had been of great assistance to him in satisfying his unholy curiosity. Only a few people, however, paid heed to these matters, which did not tend wholly to reassure them; the majority of the ordinary citizens, in view of their having got rid of Tarautas so promptly, which was more than they could have hoped for, and in view of the promise the new ruler gave, in the few indications afforded, that his course in all other respects would be similar, did not really have time to condemn him in so short a period, and for this reason they mourned him exceedingly when he was dead, though they would certainly have held him in hatred had he lived longer. For he began to live rather more luxuriously and he took official notice of those who found any fault with him. His putting Maternianus and Datus to death was not justifiable, to be sure,—for what wrong had they done in being attentive to their emperor?—yet it was not inconsistent with human nature, since he had been in great peril; but he made a mistake when he vented his wrath upon the others, who were suspected of being displeased at his low birth and his unwarranted desire for the supreme power. He ought, of course, to have done precisely the opposite: realizing what he had been at the outset and what his position was now, he should not have been haughty, [but should have

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... | μονα τὸν ὁ ...
 ... | θεραπεύοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ τε εὐεργε-
 σία καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπι-
 δείξει παραμυθεῖσθαι.

16 Ταῦτα μὲν ... | κατ' αὐτὸν α
 ... εἴρηταί μοι ἐν ... | ὡς
 ἕκαστα ... | μης τινος ...
 ... | κεινωνας ... αὐτοκράτωρ
 μεν ... | ραις ὥσπερ ... |
 λόγῳ παρὰ ... | τὴν ἀρχὴν ...
 ... | παντὸς μα ... |
 νος αὐτῆς ... | των ὧν διελ ...
 ... | στρατιώταις ... | ἀπε-
 δείχθ ... | καὶ ἐπαίνους ἑαυτοῦ

2 οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀνειπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, ἔτι δὲ
 πλείους ἐπιστεῖλαι, λέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι
 “εὐ ἠπιστάμην καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῖς στρατεύμασι συνο-
 μολογήσαντας, συνειδῶς ἑμαυτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
 πεποιηκότι τὸ κοινόν.” ἐνέγραψεν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπι-
 στόλῃ Καίσαρά θ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ
 Σεουῆρον, προσθεὶς τῷ Μακρίνου ὀνόματι καὶ εὐ-
 σεβῆ καὶ εὐτυχῆ καὶ Αὔγουστον καὶ ἀνθύπατον,
 οὐκ ἀναμένων τι, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, παρ' ἡμῶν ψήφισμα.

3 ... λεν δὲ οὐκ ἦ | ... το-
 σαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ῥήματα αὐτὸς | ...
 ... μενος οὐ οὐδὲ | ... ης
 ὄνομα | ... ν δορυφόρων | ...
 ... ερόν τινες | ... οὐ
 μὴν ἀλ | ... τως ἔγρα | ...
 ... τὴν ἀρχὴν | ...
 ἔμον μάλι | ... ων βαρβάρων | ...

4 ... ρημον πρός | ... ν

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πλησίον | ηθει' παρον | . . .
 στον δρασω | η
 τῆ τε ἐπι | ἔγραψεν ἀπλῶς | . . .
 οἱ πρὸ τοῦ Καρακάλλου αὐτοκράτορες,
 ο καὶ διὰ παν | ς
 ἐποίησε | ὑπομνήματα | . . .
 στρατιώταις | οὔ-
 τως ἐκει | ἐπὶ κολα |
 των καὶ οὐ | είας λέγε-
 σθαι | ὑπώπτευσαν ὥστε καὶ δημοσιευθῆναι
 αὐτὰ ἀξιῶσαι, ἔπεμψεν ἡμῖν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ
 ταμίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἕτερα αὐθις τῶν ὁμοίων,
 ἀνέγνω. καὶ στρατηγὸς δέ τις τὰ αὐτοῦ ποτὲ
 5 τοῦ Μακρίνου γράμματα, τῷ σύγκλητόν τε τότε
 τὴν βουλὴν γενέσθαι καὶ μηδένα τῶν ταμιῶν πα-
 ρεῖναι, ἐπελέξατο.

17 Τῆς δ' οὖν πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς ἀναγνωσθείσης
 καὶ ἐκείνῳ, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ
 ἐψηφίσθη· εὐπατρίδης τε γὰρ καὶ πρόκριτος τῆς
 νεότητος Καῖσάρ τε ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν
 ἄλλα προσεδέξατο, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἵπποδρομίαν τὴν
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ψηφισθεῖσαν
 παρητήσατο, εἰπὼν αὐτάρκως αὐτὴν τῇ τῶν
 2 Σεουήρου γενεσίων θέᾳ τετιμῆσθαι. τοῦ μέντοι¹
 Ταραύτου οὐδεμίαν μνείαν οὔτ' ἔντιμον τότε γε
 οὔτ' ἄτιμον ἐποίησατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτο-
 κράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἦρωα οὔτε
 πολέμιον ἀποδείξαι ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ,
 ὅτι τὸ μὲν διὰ τε τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ
 τὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μῖσος, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοὺς
 3 στρατιώτας ὠκνησε πράξαι, ὡς δέ τινες ὑπώπ-
 τευσαν, ὅτι τῆς τε γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

near A.D. 217

.
 [in] the let[ter] he used simply [the same terms as] the emperors before Caracallus, [and in fact] he did [this] throughout the whole [year] . . notebooks [found among the] soldiers thus of [things accustomed] to be said with a view to flat[tery] and not [inspired by truthful]ness they became so suspicious as to ask that they be made public ; and he sent them to us, and the quaestor read these also, as he did other similar documents later. And on one occasion, when the senate met in special session and none of the quaestors was present, a praetor read the letters of Macrinus himself.

When, therefore, the first letter had been read, appropriate measures were passed with reference both to Macrinus and to his son, the latter being declared Patrician, *Princeps Juventutis*, and Caesar. Macrinus accepted everything except the horse-race that was voted in honour of the beginning of his reign ; but this he declined, claiming that the event had been sufficiently honoured by the games on the birthday of Severus. Of Tarautas he made no mention at this time, either complimentary or disparaging, save only that he referred to him as emperor, not venturing to declare him either a demigod or a public enemy. He hesitated, in my opinion, to take the former course because of the deeds of his predecessor and the consequent hatred felt for him by many, or to take the second on account of the soldiers ; but some suspected that it was because he wished the

ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῦ ἔργον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτοῦ,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὄντος,¹
 ἠθέλησε. τοῦ τε γὰρ πολέμου αἰτιώτατον αὐτὸν
 ἐξ ἀδικίας γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἰσχυρῶς
 τῇ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν² τῆς βαρβάροις διδο-
 μένων αὐξήσει βεβαρηκέναι ἔφη· ἰσάριθμα γὰρ
 αὐτὰ τῇ τῶν στρατευομένων μισθοφορᾷ³ εἶναι.
 4 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτόλμησέ τις δημοσία τι τοιοῦτο
 κατ' αὐτοῦ θρασύνασθαι ὥστε καὶ πολέμιον
 αὐτὸν ψηφίσασθαι, δεδιῶς μὴ καὶ παραυτίκα
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατευομένων φθαρῆ·
 ἀλλὰ ἄλλως μὲν καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν καὶ
 ὑβρίζον ὅσα ἐδύναντο, τὰς τε μαιφονίας αὐτοῦ
 ὀνομαστί⁴ καταλέγοντες, καὶ πρὸς πάντα αὐτὸν
 τοὺς πώποτε κακῶς τυράννησαντὰς σφῶν παρα-
 18 δεικνύντες, τὴν τε ἵπποδρομίαν τὴν τοῖς γενε-
 θλίοις αὐτοῦ τελουμένην καταλυθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς
 ἀνδριάντας τοὺς τε χρυσοῦς καὶ τοὺς ἀργυροῦς
 πάντα ἀπλῶς δι' ἐκεῖνον⁵ συγχωνευθῆναι, τοὺς
 τε μεμνηκότας τι αὐτῷ⁶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ
 2 φανερωθῆναι καὶ κολασθῆναι δεόμενοι· πολλοὶ
 γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι δούλοί τε καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ στρα-
 τιῶται καὶ Καισάρειοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππῆς βου-
 λευταί τε καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν⁷ ἐπιφανεστάτων
 συχναὶ καὶ ἐνδείξεις λαθρίους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ⁸ πε-
 ποιῆσθαι καὶ σεσυκοφαντηκέναι τινὰς ἐνομίζοντο.
 3 οὐ μὲν οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου ὄνομα

¹ ὄντος Falc., ENTOΣ V.

² τῶν supplied by Rk.

³ μισθοφορᾷ Dindl., ΜΙΣΘΟΦΟΡΙΑΙ V.

⁴ ὀνομαστί] ONOMĀΣΤΕΙ V.

⁵ δι' ἐκεῖνον is perhaps corrupt; Reiske proposed <τοὺς> δι' ἐκεῖνον <ἰδρυθέντας> (the statues "erected on his account").

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προσέθεσαν, καίτοι τὸν Μαρτιάλιον, ἐπὶ προσχήματι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἄρεα αὐτοῦ¹ ὁμωνυμίας, καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἀγάλμασι τιμηθῆναι δεῖν αἰέποτε ἐπιβοῶντες, οὔτε τῷ Μακρίνῳ ὡς καὶ
 4 ἀχθόμενοί τι τότε ἐνεδείξαντο. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι προκαταληφθέντες τῇ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταραύτου θάνατον χαρᾷ οὐδὲ ἐννοῆσαί τι περὶ τῆς ταπεινότητος αὐτοῦ ἐσχόλασαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξαντο, οὐχ οὔτως ᾧτινι² δουλεύουσιν ὡς οὐ ἐστέρηντο ἐνθυμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα τινά, καὶ τὸν τυχόντα, αἰρετώτερον αὐτοῦ
 5 νομίζοντες ἔσεσθαι. καὶ τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιταγῶν τῶν³ ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταδειχθέντων κατάλυσις (πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοθεν τισιν ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινῶν δήμων ἀνηλίσκετο, ἀνετάγη) καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα μηδὲν ὅμοιον αὐτοῖς προσταχθήσεσθαι⁴ ἐλπίς ἀνέπεισε στέρξαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

19 Ὡς μέντοι τὸν τε Αὐρηλιανὸν τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν Διαδουμενιανὸν⁵ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ⁶ Καίσαρα λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δι' ὧν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μεταπεμφθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διήει, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου, ἀποδεδειγμένον καὶ προσέτι τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ὄνομα προσειλη-
 2 φότα ἔμαθον (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν θεραπείᾳ, τὸ μὲν ἵνα μὴ δόξη τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος μνήμην παντάπασιν ἀτιμάζειν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῶν ἀνδριάντων τινὰς τῶν ἐν

¹ αὐτοῦ Leuncl., ΤΟΥ V.

² ᾧτινι Sylb., ΟΤΙΤΙΝΙ V Xiph.

³ ἐπιταγῶν τῶν Bs., ΕΠΙΤΕΤΩΝ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

enemy, they were forever shouting that *Martialis* A.D. 217
 ought to be honoured with encomiums and with
 statues—taking as their pretext the similarity of his
 name to that of Mars. Nor did they show any indica-
 tion of displeasure toward Macrinus for the moment,
 for the reason that they were so fully taken up
 with their joy at the death of Tarantas that they
 had no time to take any thought about Macrinus’
 humble origin and were content to accept him as
 emperor, since they were less concerned about whose
 slaves they should be next than they were about
 the man whose yoke they had shaken off, and
 thought that any chance comer, even, would be
 preferable to their former master. All the irregular
 expenditures were rehearsed that had been made at
 any time, not only from the public treasury of the
 Romans, but also privately by any communities at
 Tarantas’ direction; and thus the abolishing of his
 enactments and the hope that in the future nothing
 similar would be required of them inclined people to
 be satisfied with things as they were.

But presently they learned that Aurelianus was
 dead and that Diadumenianus, the son of Macrinus,
 had been appointed Caesar,—nominally by the
 soldiers, through whose ranks he passed when sum-
 moned from Antioch to meet his father, but really by
 Macrinus,—and had also taken the name of Antoninus.
 (Macrinus had done this in order to curry favour with
 the soldiers, partly so as not to seem to dishonour the
 dead emperor’s memory entirely, the more so as he
 had secretly thrown down some of the statues set up

⁴ προταχθήσεσθαι Bk., ΠΡΑΧΘΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ V.

⁵ Διαδουμενιανόν Urs., ΔΟΥΜΗΝΙΑΝΟΝ V.

⁶ αὐτοῦ Urs.; ΕΑΥΤΟΥ V.

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τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτῷ
 ἐκείνῳ σταθέντων¹ λάθρα καθηρήκει, τὸ δὲ ἵνα
 ἄλλας ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτοῖς δραχ-
 3 μὰς προσυπόσχηται, ἐποίησεν), οὐκέτι ὁμοίως
 φροεῖν ἤρξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι πρότερον
 ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐπεποίηντο, καὶ προσεκλογιζό-
 μενοι πάνθ' ὅ | ἄλλων αὐτοῦ
 τ | προσυποπτεύ |
 κάζοντο, ἠσχύνθησαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Καρακάλλου
 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐ | το, τὰ δὲ ἐς ἐκείνον
 φέροντα ἄλλως | στέλλοντο τι
 πα|ραιτήσῃ τῶν | τοῦ
 4 Σεουήρου Ἀν|τωνίνου κα
 . ξέφαινον κ | γε καὶ ἦρωα
 | κότα διὰ τὴν | νίαν
 οὐ δὴ | ἀποφανθη
 . . | καὶ παντάπασιν αἰ γνῶμαι πάντων ἀνθρώ-
 πων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ | μετέπεσον
 | γερουσίαν α |
 σα καὶ ἐπιφ | μονη ἐπι τ
 | κακουργησ | αὐτῷ ἐξαιτ
 | γην ἐμὲ δε καὶ μέντοι κατ'
 ἄνδρα πάντων ἐρωτηθέντων περὶ τῶν τιμῶν αὐτοῦ.
 5 ἄλλοι τε ἀμφιβόλως ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ ο
 . . . Σα|τουρνῖνος | τIAN τρό-
 πον τινὰ ἐπιφημιζομεν | στρα-
 τηγῶν μὴ ἐξεῖναί οἱ μηδεμίαν ψῆφον
 περὶ τοῦ προθεῖναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ
 νήσῃ σφίσιν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ καθεστη-
 κότος ἐγένετο (οὐ γὰρ ἦν νόμιμον ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς
 πράγματος σκέψιν τινὰ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μὴ
 κελεύοντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γενέσθαι).

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20 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ λαυθάνων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν μᾶλλον θρασυνόμενος, μέγα ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ Διαδουμενιανοῦ γενέθλιων ἵπποδρομίᾳ, ἣ τῇ¹ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου. ἡμέρα ἐγίγνετο, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων μόνους τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτοὺς δὴ ἀπροστάτους ἀβασιλεύτους
2 εἶναι· τὸν τε Δία ἀνεκάλουν ὡς δὴ καὶ μόνον σφῶν ἡγήσόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶπον ὅτι “ὡς κύριος ὠργίσθης, ὡς πατὴρ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.” οὐδὲ ἐφρόντισαν οὐδὲν τὴν πρώτην οὔτε τοῦ ἵππικοῦ οὔτε τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ τε τὸν τε αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπαινούντων, ὥστε καὶ αὐ ἐλληνιστὶ εἶπεῖν “ὦ καλῆς ἡμέρας τῆς τήμερον, ὦ καλῶν βασιλέων,” κακείνους καὶ ὁμοφροεῖν σφίσιν ἐθελόντων· ἀλλ’ ἔς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινον καὶ ἐβόων “οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ῥωμαίων Αὐγουστός· τοῦτον
3 ἔχοντες πάντα ἔχομεν.” οὕτως που πολὺ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ αἰδοῦς ἐς τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ καταφρόνηματος πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐμπέφυκει, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους μηδ’ ἀρχὴν ἔτι εἶναι τὸν τε Μακρίνου καὶ τὸν Διαδουμενιανὸν νομίζειν, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ
4 τεθνήκότας αὐτοὺς ἤδη καταπατεῖν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἠκίστα καὶ οἱ² στρατιῶται κατεφρόνησαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ σφῶν πραχθέντα· θέμενοι, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτι οἱ Περγαμηνοί, στερηθέντες ὦν παρὰ τοῦ³ Ταραύτου πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξύβρισαν, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἀτιμίαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὤφλον.

¹ ἣ τῇ Bk., ΙΣΤΗ V.

² οἱ Urs., ΤΟΙ V.

³ παρὰ τοῦ Urs., ΠΑΡΑΥΤΟΥ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

The populace, however, finding it easy to escape A.D. 217 detection at the races and feeling emboldened by their numbers, raised a great outcry at the horse-race on the birthday of Diadumenianus, which fell on the fourteenth of September, uttering many laments and asserting that they alone of all mankind were without a leader and without a king; and they called upon Jupiter, declaring that he alone should be their leader and adding these very words: "As a master thou wert angry, as a father take pity on us." Nor would they pay any heed at first to either the equestrian or the senatorial order who were . . . praising the emperor and the Caesar, to the extent of saying . . . in Greek: "Oh, what a glorious day is this! What noble rulers!" and desiring the others, too, to agree with them. But the crowd raised their hands toward heaven and exclaimed: "Yonder is the Romans' Augustus;¹ having him, we have everything." So truly, it would seem, is there innate in mankind a great respect for that which is superior and a great contempt for that which is inferior; and so the populace henceforth regarded both Macrinus and Diadumenianus as absolutely non-existent, and already trampled upon them as if they were dead. This was one important reason why the soldiers despised him and paid no heed to what he did to win their favour; another still more important reason was that the Pergamenians, finding themselves deprived of the privileges that they had formerly received from Tarantas, heaped many and extraordinary insults upon him—conduct for which they were publicly dishonoured by him.

¹ *i.e.* Jupiter.

21 Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα λελέξεται· τότε δὲ γράμμα μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ Μακρίνος τῶν μηνυτικῶν οὔτε ἐπέπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν, ὥσπερ ἠξίου, οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐξέφηνε, φήσας, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ ψευδῶς, ἵνα μὴ πολλὴ παραχῆ γένηται, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ τοιοῦτον εὐρέθη (ὁ γάρ τοι Ταράυτας ἦτοι διέφθειρε τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐνδειξίν τινα ἐχόντων, 2 ἢ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ ἀντέπεμπεν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἔλεγχος τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν ὑπολείπεται), τρεῖς δὲ δὴ τῶν βουλευτῶν, οὓς μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ὧν ἐπεφωράκει ἀξιόμισοις ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἐκδήλους ἐποίησε, τὸν τε Μανίλιον καὶ τὸν Ἰούλιον καὶ προσέτι Σουλπίκιον Ἀρρηνιανόν, ὃς ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τὸν Βάσσον τὸν τοῦ Πομπωνίου παῖδα, ᾧ τῆς Μυσίας 3 ἄρξαντι ὑπεστρατηγήκει, ἐσεσυκοφαντήκει. καὶ οὗτοί τε ἐς νήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν (ἀπέειπε γὰρ ἄντικρυς μηδένα αὐτῶν θανατωθῆναι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο γράψας “ἵνα μὴ, ἃ ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν, αὐτοὶ ποιοῦντες φανῶμεν”) καὶ Λούκιος Πρισκιλλιανὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βουλῆς προβληθείς, οὕτω περιβόητος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπηρείαις ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς 4 τῶν θηρίων σφαγαῖς ὢν. ἐν τε¹ γὰρ τῷ Τουσκούλῳ πολλοῖς ἀεὶ πολλάκις ἐμαχέσατο, ὥστε καὶ σημεῖα τῶν δηγμάτων² αὐτῶν φέρειν, καί ποτε καὶ ἄρκτῳ καὶ παρδάλει λεαίνῃ τε καὶ λέοντι ἅμα μόνος συνηνέχθη·³ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ἄνδρας, καὶ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐκ

E EN

¹ ὢν. ἐν τε Bs., HNTÉ V (corrections by V²).

² δηγμάτων Urs., ΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΩΝ V.

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5 τῶν διαβολῶν ἐξώλεσεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Καρακάλλου μεγάλως ἐτιμήθη καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐσεγράφη καὶ τῆς Ἀχαΐας καὶ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἤρξεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς¹ γερουσίας ἰσχυρῶς ἐμισήθη, καὶ ἐπικλήτῳ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς νῆσον κατεκλείσθη.

22 Οὗτοί τε οὖν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος τὴν τῶν τροφῶν διάδοσιν, ἣν ὁ Μανίλιος πρότερον † ἔσχε τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ σύκοφαντίας γέρας εἰλήφει, ἐπετράπη καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τό τε διαδίδοσθαί τινα ἐν ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν πάνυ θείαις, πλὴν τῶν τῆ Φλώρα τελουμένων
 δικαιονόμοι †² οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διοικοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο ὑπὲρ τὰ νομισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου
 2 δικάζοντες. Δομίτιός τε τις Φλώρος περιδρομῆ θεραπείας πρὸς σπουδαρχίαν, καίτοι πρότερόν ποτε τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπομνήματα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων καὶ ἀγορανόμος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀποδειχθῆναι ὀφείλων, εἶτα πρὶν ἄρξαι τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ Πλαυτιανὸν ἐκπεσών, κατεστήσατο καὶ δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη· ὃ τε Φαῦστος³ ὁ Ἀνίκιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀντὶ
 3 τοῦ Ἀσπρου ἄρξων ἐπέμφθη. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάνυ πολλῆς παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου τιμῆς, ὡς καὶ καταστήσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δυνησόμενος,⁴ ἔτυχεν· ἔπειτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντα αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ πλησιάζοντα τῷ ἔθνει (τὴν

- ¹ ἤρξεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Reim., ΗΡΞΕΚΑΤΠΟΤΗΣ V.

² The text is very uncertain here; various conjectures may be found in Boissevain's edition.

O

³ Φαῦστος Borghesi, ΦΗΣΤΗΣ V (O by V²), but ΦΑΥΣΤΩ in § 4.

⁴ δυνησόμενος Urs., ΔΤΝΗΣΟΜΕΝΗΣ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

senators, that he destroyed by his false charges. A.D.217
On both these accounts he had been highly honoured by Caracallus, had been enrolled among the ex-praetors, and had become governor of Achaia, in violation of precedent; but he incurred the violent hatred of the senate, was summoned for trial, and was confined upon an island. These men, then, were punished as described.

Flaccus was put in charge of the distribution of provisions,¹ an office which Manilius had formerly held after obtaining it as a reward for his false accusation of Flaccus. And this distribution was henceforward [discontinued?], together with the distribution of presents, which regularly took place at the games given by the major praetors, except those celebrated in honour of Flora; [also the] *iuridici*,² who administered justice in Italy, ceased rendering decisions beyond the limits established by Marcus. A certain Domitius Florus, who formerly had been keeper of the senate records and should by right have been appointed aedile next, but had, then, before he could enter on the office, been deprived of all hope of it because of Plautianus, now recovered his standing, thanks to the vigorous canvassing of his followers, and was appointed tribune. Anicius Faustus was sent to govern Asia in place of Asper. The latter had at first obtained very great honour from Macrinus, who thought that he could re-establish order in Asia; but later, when he was already on his way and was nearing his province (for Macrinus had not

¹ *Praefectus alimentorum*, an official in charge of the State funds devoted to the support of needy children.

² Circuit judges of Italy outside of Rome; under Aurelius they seem to have had only civil jurisdiction.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γὰρ παραίτησιν, ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Καρακάλλου παρή-
 τητο, ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν οὐκ ἔδέξατο) δεινῶς
 περιύβρισεν ἀπωσάμενος (καὶ γὰρ τινα καὶ
 διηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ λελαληκῶς οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια),
 4 καὶ δῆτα, ὡς καὶ αὐθις αὐτοῦ παρεμένου διὰ τε
 γῆρας καὶ νόσον, τῷ Φαύστῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καίπερ
 παροφθέντι τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουή-
 ρου, ἐνεχείρισεν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε βραχὺς ὁ χρόνος
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος
 ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἀντ' Αὐφιδίου Φρόντωνος ἐκέλευσε.
 5 τούτῳ γὰρ οὔτε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν κατακληρωσαμένῳ
 ἐπέτρεψεν τῶν Ἀφρων αὐτὸν παραιτησαμένων,
 οὔτε τὴν Ἀσίαν, καίτοι μεταθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε
 πρότερον. τὸ γε μὴν ἰκνούμενον γέρας καὶ οἴκοι
 μείναντι αὐτῷ, τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας,
 δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὰς
 ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἀλλ' ἡγεμονίας
 δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὕστερον παρὰ τοῦ Σαρ-
 δαναπάλλου τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέλαβεν.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, | ἐπ'
 ἐλπίδι β | φομένοις !
 ἐκ τῆς | μέχρι τῆς σ
 23 | ἡλικίας ἐκ ἢ δὲ
 Ἰουλία ἢ τοῦ Ταραύτου μήτηρ ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν τῇ
 Ἀντιοχείᾳ οὔσα, καὶ οὕτω παραχρῆμα, ἅμα τῇ
 πύστει τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, διετέθη ὥστε καὶ πλή-
 ξασθαι ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀποκαρτερῆσαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι.
 ὄν γὰρ ζῶντα καὶ ἐμίσει, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τότε
 τετελευτηκότα ἐπόθει, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον ζῆν ἤθελεν,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὴ ἰδιωτεύουσα ἤχθετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ τὸν Μακρίνον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐλοιδόρησεν.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 ἔπειθ' ὡς οὔτε τι τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἢ καὶ
 τῆς τῶν δορυφόρων περὶ αὐτῆ φρουρᾶς ἠλλοιώθη,
 καὶ ἐκεῖνος χρηστά τινα αὐτῆ, τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπ'
 αὐτῆς ἀκηκοώς, ἐπέστειλε, θαρσήσασα τήν τε
 3 τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιθυμίαν κατέθετο, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ
 ἀντιγράψασα ἔπραττέν τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς συνόντας
 οἱ στρατιώτας | ἄλλως τε |
 καὶ ἐκεῖν || καὶ
 τῷ τε Μακρίνω ομένους |
 υ νίεος αὐτῆς | ον μνημο-
 νεύοντας, ὅπως αὐταρχήσῃ τῆ τε Σεμιράμιδι καὶ
 τῆ Νιτώκριδι, ἅτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ
 χωρίων αὐταῖς οὔσα παρισουμένη. ὡς
 η συνήρε | αι γράμματα |
 ου Μακρίνου | ι
 4 τινα ἐφ' οἷς | οντα ελα | . . .
 υ γνώμης |
 εἶτο φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ τε ὀνόματος τοῦ τῆς
 Αὐγούστης στερηθῆ καὶ ἐς τα πατρίδα
 ἀπελθεῖν ἀναγκασθῆ καὶ παν |
 δεινοτε | ας γυναι |
 ωνών προσ | θενεστε |
 νατω τε |
 νω τις οφθη | ατο παν τοῦ | . . .
 5 ιέναι μη | μην
 ἀνελ | σθῆ καὶ ἐ |
 Μακρίνου | κοι κατα |
 ι τοῦ τάναντία πράττειν δοκεῖν
 ε | ξειν ὅπως | η
 κατα | οχωρήση |
 ἐκεῖνός τε ἐξελθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς
 6 Ἀντιοχείας αὐτήν, ὅποι βούλοιτό, ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ

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of Macrinus. Then, as no change was made in her A.D. 217
royal retinue or in the guard of Pretorians in attend-
ance upon her, and the new emperor sent her a
kindly message, although he had heard what she
had said, she took courage, put aside her desire for
death, and without writing him any reply, began
intriguing with the soldiers she had about her, who
[were mutinous] to begin with, [were very fond of]
her, and were [angry] with Macrinus, and [conse-
quently] held her son in [pleasant]er remembrance;
for she hoped to become sole ruler and make herself
the equal of Semiramis and Nitocris, inasmuch as
she came in a sense from the same parts as they.
But as letters
. of Macrinus
some for which
. opinion
. fearing she might be deprived of the title of
Augusta and be forced to return to [her] native
country and
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
. of Macrinus
. of seeming to do the opposite
. how
. might go
. [when] he ordered her to leave
Antioch as soon as possible and go whithersoever

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ περὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτῆς λεχθέντα ἤκουσεν, οὐκέτ' ἐφιλοψύχησεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ καρκίνου, ὃν ἐν τῷ μαστῷ ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἡσυχάζοντά πως ἔχουσα τότε ἠρέθισεν¹ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἣν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς θανάτῳ κοψαμένη κατὰ² τῶν στέρνων ἐπέπληκτο, συναιρουμένη προσδιέφθειρεν ἑαυτὴν ἀποκαρτερήσασα.

24 Καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτω τε ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθεῖσα, κὰν³ τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονίᾳ περιαλγῶς πάνυ διὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ζήσασα, τῶν τε υἱέων τὸν τε νεώτερον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῆς κόλποις κατασφαγέντα ἐπιδουῖσα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ζῶντά τε αἰεὶ διὰ τέλους διὰ⁴ φθόνου² ἔχουσα καὶ φονευθέντα οὕτω μαθοῖσα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ζῶσα ἐξέπεσεν καὶ ἑαυτὴν προσκατειργάσατο, ὥστε τινὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέψαντα μὴ πάνυ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις γενομένους μακαρίζειν, ἂν μὴ καὶ ἡδονὴ τις αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀκήρατος καὶ εὐτυχία³ καὶ ἀκραιφνῆς καὶ διαρκῆς ὑπάρχη. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἰουλίας οὕτως ἔσχε, τό τε σῶμα αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναχθὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦ τε Λουκίου μνήματι κατετέθη· ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Γέτα ὀστά, πρὸς τῆς Μαΐσης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τεμένισμα μετεκομίσθη.

25 Ἐμελλεν δ' οὐδ' ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπὶ πολὺ περιοίσειν, ὥς που καὶ προεδηλώθη αὐτῷ. ἡμίονός τε γὰρ ἡμίονον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ χοῖρος χοιρίδιον ὠτα τέσσαρα⁵ καὶ γλώσσας δύο πόδας τε ὀκτῶ

¹ ἠρέθισεν Xiph., om. V.

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ἔχον ἔτεκε, καὶ σεισμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο, αἵμα τε
 ἐκ σωλήνος ἐρρύη, καὶ μέλισσαι κηρία ἐν τῇ
 2 ἀγορᾷ τῇ βοαρίᾳ ἐνέπλασαν. τό τε θέατρον τὸ
 κυνηγετικὸν κεραυνοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν Ἑφαιστίων
 ἡμέρᾳ βληθὲν οὕτω κατεφλέχθη ὥστε τὴν τε ἄνω
 περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κύκλου
 ἐδάφει¹ πάντα κατακαυθῆναι, καὶ τούτου τὰ
 3 λοιπὰ πυρωθέντα θραυσθῆναι. οὐδὲ ἐπαρκέσαι²
 αὐτῷ οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνη ἐπικουρία, καίπερ παντὸς
 ὡς εἰπεῖν ὕδατος ῥέοντος, οὔθ' ἢ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 ἐπίρροια πλείστη τε καὶ σφοδροτάτη γενομένη
 ἠδυνήθη· οὕτω που καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκάτερον ὑπὸ
 τῆς τῶν σκηπτῶν δυνάμεως ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ ἐν
 μέρει καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσεσίνετο,³ ὅθεν ἢ θέα
 τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη
 4 ἐτελέσθη. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι
 προεσήμαιεν,—ἐνεπρήσθη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα
 τινά, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κτημάτων μάλιστα, ἐν
 τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις, ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸ
 ἐξαίσιον αἰεὶ ποτε νενόμισται· ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ
 ἄντικρυς ἐς αὐτὸν φέρειν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρο-
 5 μίαν τοῦ Ἑφαιστοῦ κατελελύκει,⁴ ἔδοξεν. ἔκ τε
 οὖν τούτου νέον τι γίγνεσθαι ἐτοπάσθη, καὶ ὅτι
 ὁ Τίβερις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ πληθύσας ἔς
 τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐς τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς τοσαύ-
 τη ῥύμη ἐσέβαλεν ὥστε καὶ ἀνθρώπους παρασυ-

¹ ἐδάφει Reim., ΕΔΑΦΗ V.

² ἐπαρκέσαι St., ἐπαρκεῖν Reim., ΕΠΗΡΚΕΣΕΝ V.

³ προσεσίνετο Bk., ΠΡΟΣΕΓΙΝΕΤΟ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

feet, a great earthquake occurred, blood flowed from A.D. 217
a pipe, and bees formed honeycomb in the Forum Boarium. The hunting theatre¹ was struck by thunderbolts on the very day of the Vulcanalia,² and such a blaze followed that its entire upper circuit and everything in the arena was consumed, and thereupon the rest of the structure was ravaged by the flames and reduced to ruins. Neither human aid could avail against the conflagration, though practically every aqueduct was emptied, nor could the downpour from the sky, which was most heavy and violent, accomplish anything—to such an extent was the water from both sources consumed by the power of the thunderbolts, and, in fact, actually contributed in a measure to the damage done. In consequence of this disaster the gladiatorial show was held in the stadium for many years. This, then, gave an indication beforehand of what was to be. There were numerous other fires, it is true, during Macrinus' reign, and in particular property belonging to the emperor was burned, a thing which in itself has always been regarded as of ill omen; but the conflagration described seemed to have a direct bearing upon the emperor, since it had also put an end to the horse-race in honour of Vulcan. This accordingly gave rise to the conjecture that something out of the ordinary was happening, as did also the behaviour on that same day of the Tiber, which rose until it invaded the Forum and the neighbouring streets with such violence as to

¹ The Amphitheatrum Flavium or Colosseum.

² The 23rd of August.

⁴ κατελεύκει Reim., ΚΑΤΑΛΕΥΚΕΝΑΙ V.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ρῆναι. γυνή τέ τις, ὡς γε ἤκουσα, βλοσυρὰ καὶ
 ὑπέρογκος ὀφθειῖσά τισιν ἔφη ὅτι ἐλάχιστα ταῦτα
 πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτοῖς συμβήσεσθαι ἔστιν.
 26 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει μόνῃ τὸ
 δεινὸν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτῆς,
 ὑφ' ἧς τὸ θέατρον αἰεὶ ποτε ἐπληροῦτο, ἐπέσχεν·
 τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον καὶ
 ἐλαττωθέντες κατέθεντο, τῇ δὲ ἐκ τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν πλεονεξία καὶ στάσει δεινῶς ἐκακώθησαν.
 ἐπράχθη δὲ ἐκάτερον ὧδε.¹
 2 Ὁ Μακρίνος ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀρτάβανον σφόδρα τε
 ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεπόνθει θυμούμενον καὶ δυνάμει πολλῇ
 ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐμβεβληκότα, τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῷ αὐτεπάγγελτος
 καὶ λόγους φιλίους ἔπεμψε, πρὸς τε τὴν εἰρήνην
 αὐτὸν προκαλούμενος καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γεγονό-
 3 των ἐς τὸν Ταραύταν τρέπων· ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὔτε
 τοῦτο προσεδέξατο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ φρούρια
 αὐτὸν τάς τε πόλεις τὰς² κατασκαφείσας ἀνα-
 στῆσαι τῆς τε Μεσοποταμίας παντελῶς ἐκστῆναι
 καὶ δίκας ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
 4 βασιλικῶν μνημάτων λύμῃ δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν (τῇ
 τε γὰρ δυνάμει, ἣν πολλὴν ἠθροίκει, θαρρῶν, καὶ
 τοῦ Μακρίνου³ ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐταρ-
 χοῦντος καταφρονῶν, τῇ τε ὀργῇ ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρῆτο,
 καὶ ἤλπιζε καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο
 κατεργάσεσθαι),⁴ οὐδὲ καιρὸν οὐδένα διαβουλεύ-
 5 σασθαι ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν
 Νίσιβιν ἤδη προσιόντι ἠττήθη, μάχης περὶ τοῦ

Ω

¹ ὧδε. ὁ Μακρίνος Bk., ΟΔΕΔΗΜΑΚΡΙΝΟΣ V (Ω by V³ .

² τάς Xiph., om. V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὕδατος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐν τῇ ἀντιστρατοπε-
 δεύσει γενομένης. καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τάφρευμα
 παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέβαλεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἷ τε ὑπα-
 σπισταὶ καὶ οἱ σκευοφόροι οἱ παρατυχόντες διε-
 6 σώσαντο· θρασυνόμενοι γὰρ προεξῆξαν ἐς τοὺς
 βαρβάρους ἐπεκδραμόντες· τό τε γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον
 τῆς ἀντιτάξεως ὠφέλησεν αὐτούς, καὶ δὴ στρα-
 τιῶταί τινες ὠπλισμένοι ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπηρέται
 ἔδοξαν εἶναι. ὁ δ' | τότε
 τε οὐ | καὶ μετα
 | ξεως παρ | της νυκ
 7 | τὰ στρατό
 . . . | οἷ τε Ῥωμαῖοι | το καὶ οἱ
 πολέμοι τὸν | θόρυβον | σφῶν
 α | πτευσαν
 . . | γην, ἀ | αὐτούς . ο
 | λυ ἀπαλ . η
 . . | σαν ἐπει | τες οἱ Ῥω-
 μαῖοι | βαρβάρων |
 ασπτοησ | αληθειν
 | το πέποιη | θον τε αυ
 | μια μὲν μ
 . . | ἀ . . . λαξ || . .
 ἦθει αὐτῶν βι|ασθέντες καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μα-
 8 κρίνου φυγῇ ἀθυμήσαντες ἐνίκηθησαν. κάκ τού-
 του τῆς Μεσοπο|ταμίας ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ἐκεῖ | τὴν Συρίαν κα |
 . . ιελθόντες | η. τότε μὲν δὴ
 ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ μετοπώρῳ τῷ τε
 χειμῶνι, ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Μακρίνος καὶ ὁ Ἄδουεντος
 ὑπάτευσαν, ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκέτ' ἀλλήλοις ἦλθον,
 διαπρεσβευόμενοι δὲ καὶ διακηρυκευόμενοι συνηλ-

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

the soldiers in a struggle over the water supply, A.D. 217
while they were encamped opposite each other.

And he came near losing his very camp; but the
armour-bearers and baggage-carriers who happened
to be there saved it. For in their confidence these
rushed out first and charged upon the barbarians,
and the very unexpectedness of their opposition
proved an advantage to them, causing them to
appear to be armed soldiers rather than mere

helpers. But both then
not

. the nig[ht]

. the leg[ions?]

. . . and the Romans and the
enemy the noise of them

. [sus]pected

. them

. the Ro-

mans of the barbarians

.

.

.

.

. overcome by their [num]bers and by the flight

of Macrinus, became dejected and were conquered.

And as a result Mesopotamia, especially

. Syria

. . . These were the events that took place at that
time; and in the autumn and winter, during which A.D. 216

Macrinus and Adventus became consuls, they no

longer came to blows with each other, but kept
sending envoys and heralds back and forth until

- 27 λάγησαν. ὁ γὰρ Μακρίνος ὑπό τε δειλίας ἐμφύτου (καὶ γὰρ Μαῦρος ὦν δεινῶς ἐδείμαιεν) καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀταξίας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διαπολεμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔνεκα καὶ δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρτάβανῳ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσιν οἱ ἔδαπάνησεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς πεντακισχίλιας μυριάδας τὸ σῦμπαν
- 2 ἀνάλωμα γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ τῇ τε τοῦ χρόνου τριβῇ, ὃν πολὺν ἀπ' οἴκου οὐκ εἰωθότες ἦσαν, καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς σπάνει, ἣν οὔτε ἐκ παρασκευῆς (οὐ γὰρ ἐτοιμάζονται) οὔτ' αὐτόθεν τῷ τὰ μὲν δεδηῶσθαι τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν εἶναι εὐπόρου, 3 δεινῶς ἤσχαλλον, οὐκ ἀκουσίως. κατηλλάγη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ὁ Μακρίνος τῇ¹ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ διὰ τούτου καὶ θυσίαι αὐτῷ ἐπινίκιοι ἐψηφίσθησαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Παρθικὸν ἐδόθη. οὐ μὲν ἐδέξατο, αἰσχυνθείς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ κλησιν πολεμίων λαβεῖν ὑφ' ὧν ἠττητο.
- 4 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολεμωθέντα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, κατέστη, τοῦ² Τιριδάτου πεμφθὲν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου λαβόντος, καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἣν ἔνδεκα μῆσιν ὁ Ταράυτας³ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτήριῳ κατεσχέκει, τὴν τε λείαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀλοῦσαν κομισαμένου, καὶ τὰ χωρία ὅσα ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκέκτητο, τὸ τε⁴ ἀργύριον ὃ κατ' ἔτος

¹ τῇ Rk., ΤΗΤΕ V.

² τοῦ Bk., ΤΟΥΤΕ V.

³ Ταράυτας Falc., ΤΑΡΑΥΤΟΣ V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐρίσκετο, ἐλπίσαντος
 5 λήψεσθαι. οἳ τε Δάκοι λυμηνάμενοί τινα τῆς
 Δακίας καὶ πολεμῶντες ἐπὶ πλείον ἄνέσχον,
 τοὺς ὁμήρους, οὓς ὁ Καρακάλλος ἐν συμμαχίας
 λόγῳ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰλήφει, κομισάμενοι.

28 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔσχευ, πόλεμος δὲ δὴ
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἕτερος οὐκέτ' ὀθνεῖός ἀλλ' ἐμφύλιος
 συνερράγη. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τὸ μὲν τί τοῖς
 πταίσμασιν ἀχθόμενοι, τὸ δὲ πλεόν οὔτε πόνον
 οὐδένα ἔθ' ἐκούσιον ὑπομένοντες, ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα
 δὴ πάντως ἐκδεδιητημένοι, οὔτ' αὐτοκράτορα
 οὐδένα ἐγκρατῶς σφῶν ἄρχοντα ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες,
 ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν μὲν ἄπλετά τινα ἀξιοῦντες ἔργον
 δ' οὐδὲν ἄξιον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν δικαιοῦντες, ἐταράσ-
 2 σοντο. καὶ σφας ἢ τε τῆς μισθοφορᾶς συντομὴ
 καὶ ἢ τῶν γερῶν τῶν τε ἀτελειῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 στρατιωτικοῖς ὑπηρετήμασιν, ἀ παρὰ τοῦ Ταραύ-
 του εὐρηνο, στέρησις, καίπερ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς μέλ-
 λοντάς σφῶν ἀπολαύσειν, ἐπιπαρώξυνεν, ἢ τε ἐν
 ταῦτῳ τρόπῳ τινὰ διατριβή, ἣν τοῦ πολέμου
 ἔνεκα χειμάζοντες ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπεποίηντο, προ-
 3 σεπισχύρισεν. ἔδοξεν μὲν γὰρ στρατηγικῶς πως
 καὶ νουνεχόντως ὁ Μακρίνος πεποιηκέναι, τῶν
 μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ὄντων μηδὲν παρελόμενος,
 ἀλλ' ἀκέραια αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνου
 νομισθέντα τηρήσας, τοῖς δ' αὐθις στρατευσο-
 μένοις προειπὼν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Σεουήρου καταδειχθείσιν καταλεχθήσονται· τού-
 4 τούς τε γάρ, ἅτε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν
 ἤξοντας, τὸ¹ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἀμάχου

¹ τό Bk., ΚΑΙΤΟ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

as the annual payment that had been made by the Romans. And the Dacians, after ravaging portions of Dacia and showing an eagerness for further war, now desisted, when they got back the hostages that Caracallus, under the name of an alliance, had taken from them. A.D. 218

In addition to these events, a new war burst upon the Romans, and this time not a foreign conflict but civil strife; for the soldiers were becoming turbulent. They were angered by their reverses, for one thing, but, more important still, they would no longer submit to any hardship if they could help it, but were thoroughly out of training in every respect and wanted to have no emperor who ruled them with a firm hand, but demanded that they should receive everything without limit while deigning to perform no task that was worthy of them. They were further angered by the reduction of their pay and by the withdrawal of the prizes and exemption from military duties which they had gained from Tarautas, even though they would not themselves derive any benefit from these privileges; and the long sojourn that they made in practically one and the same spot while wintering in Syria on account of the war strengthened them in their purpose. Macrinus, indeed, seemed to have shown good generalship and discretion in that he took away no privilege from the men already under arms but preserved to them intact all the privileges established by his predecessor, while at the same time he gave notice to those who intended to enlist in future that they would be enrolled on the old terms fixed by Severus. For 'be hoped that these new recruits, entering the army a few at a time, would refrain from rebellion, at

καὶ ὑπὸ δέους τὸ δὲ ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χρόνου
καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους οὐδὲν νεοχμώσειν, καὶ
ἑτέρους, ἅτε μηδὲν ἀπολλύντας αὐτούς, ἡσυχάσθαι
29 ἤλπισεν. τοῦτο δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀναχωρησάντων τε
αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα τείχη καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο δια-
σπαρέντων ἐγγένοι, ὀρθῶς, ἂν ἐπέπρακτο. ἴσως
μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἠγανάκτησαν τινες αὐτῶν, πιστεύ-
σαντες ὄντως μηδὲν αὐτοὶ ζημιωθήσεσθαι τῷ μὴ
2 παραχρήμα αὐτὸ πεπονθέναι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ
ἐχαλέπηναν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι πως ἕκαστοι ὄντες καὶ
τοῖς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄρχουσιν ὑποτεταγμένοι
οὐδὲν ἂν μέγα κακὸν δράσαι ἠδυνήθησαν. ἐν δὲ
δὴ τῇ Συρία συνεστραμμένοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν τι καὶ
περὶ αὐτούς, εἰ σκεδασθεῖεν, ὑποπτεύσαντες
καινοτόμηθήσεσθαι (τότε γὰρ διὰ τὴν τοῦ
πολέμου χρεῖαν κολακεύεσθαι ἐδόκουν), τὸ δὲ
καὶ τῷ¹
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τέ τινὰς ἀπέ-
κτειναν καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τινὰ ἐλυμήναντο,
οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλων συχνούς κατέκοψαν καὶ
τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων κατέλυσαν, καὶ ὃ τούτου
δεινότερόν ἐστιν, τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἐστήσαντο ὑφ'
οὐ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ² κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐγένετο.

30 Καί μοι δοκεῖ ἐναργέστατα καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι
ἄλλο τῶν πώποτε, προδειχθῆναι.³ ἡλίου τε γὰρ
ἔκλειψις περιφανεστάτη ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας
ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πλείον ὤφθη,
ἕτερόν τε τι ἄστρον ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς

¹ Lacuna recognized by Reim., ἠττηῆσθαι ἐρεθισθέντες μείζω ἢ αὐτοὶ οἱ Πάρθοι κακὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἰργάσαντο supplied by Bk.

² οὐ Falc., OI V.

³ προδειχθῆναι Urs., ΠΡΟΣΔΕΙΧΘΗΝΑΙ V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὸ ἀκροφύσιον ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας ἀνατεῖνον
δεινῶς ἡμᾶς ἐξετάραττεν, ὥστε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ
᾽Ομήρου διὰ στόματος αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι

ἀμφὶ δ' ἐσάλπιγγεν μέγας οὐρανός, αἶε δὲ Ζεὺς.

ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε.

- 2 Ἡ Μαῖσα ἢ τῆς Ἰουλίας τῆς Αὐγούστης ἀδελφῆ
δύο τε θυγατέρας, Σοαιμίδα καὶ Μαμαίαν, ἐξ
Ἰουλίου Ἀουίτου¹ ἀνδρὸς ὑπατευκότος, καὶ δύο,
ἐγγόνους ἄρσενας, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Σοαιμίδος Οὐαρίου
τε Μαρκέλλου, ἀνδρὸς ὁμοεθνοῦς (ἐξ Ἀπαμείας²
γὰρ ἦς ἐκεῖνος ἦν) καὶ ἕν τε ἐπιτροπαῖς ἐξετασ-
θέντος καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσγραφέντος καὶ μετὰ
3 τοῦτο τελευτήσαντος, Ἀουίτου,³ ἐκ δὲ τῆς
Μαμαίας Γεσσίου τε Μαρκιανοῦ, Σύρου τε
καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ Ἄρκης πόλεως ὄντος καὶ ἐπι-
τροπείας τινὰς προσταχθέντος, Βασιανὸν
ἔχουσα—αὕτη οὖν οἴκοι ἐν τῇ Ἐμέσῃ τὴν
δίαιταν ν, τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰουλίας ἢ
παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς χρόνον
4 συνεγεγόνει, διολομένης. ὁ γὰρ Ἀουίτος παρὰ
μὲν τοῦ Καρακάλλου ἐς Κύπρον ἐκ τῆς Μεσο-
ποταμίας μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴν πεμφθεὶς
κληρωτῶ τινὶ συνέδρος ὑπὸ τε γήρως καὶ ὑπ'
ἀρρωστίας ἔφθη⁴ συναιρούμενος· τὰ δὲ του . . . αυ
. | αὐτοῦ, ἐπ |
31 ἐτελεύτησεν, Εὐτυχιανός τις ἕν τε ἀθύρμασι
καὶ ἐν γυμνασίοις ἀρέσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
. . . . | θείς, ὃς αὐτο | τας ἐμ-

¹ Ἀουίτου Bs., τοῦ Ἀουίτου Sauppe, ΤΟΥ V.

² Ἀπαμείας Urs., ΑΠΑΜΙΑΣ V.

³ Ἀουίτου Bk., ΑΟΥΕΙΤΟΥ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

extended from the west to the east for several A.D. 218 nights, caused us terrible alarm, so that this verse of Homer's was ever on our lips :

“ Rang the vast welkin with clarion calls, and Zeus
heard the tumult.”¹

These things came about in the following manner.

Maesa, the sister of Julia Augusta, had two daughters, Soaemis² and Mamaca, by her husband Julius Avitus, an ex-consul. She had also two grandsons. One was Avitus, the son of Soaemis and Varius Marcellus, a man of the same race (for he was from Apamea, her own native city), who had held various procuratorships and had been enrolled in the senate, and later had died. The other was Bassianus, the son of Mamaea and Gessius Marcianus, who was also a Syrian from the city of Arca, and had been appointed to various procuratorships. Maesa was living at home in Emesa, now that her sister Julia, with whom she had lived during the entire period of the latter's reign, had perished. For Avitus, who after his governorship of Asia had been sent by Caracallus from Mesopotamia to Cyprus as adviser to a governor appointed by the senate, had died from old age and sickness. But . . . the
. of him died, a certain Eutygianus, who had given people pleasure in amusements and gymnastic exercises, and for that reason who

¹ Hom., *Il.* xxi. 388.

² This is the spelling of Dio and Herodian, in place of the more common form Soaemias.

⁴ εφθη Bs., ΩΦΘΗ V.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μελε | ας ἐπὶ του
 | νων αυτω | προσω-
 νομ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς
 τὸν Μακρίνον ἀπέχθειαν συνιδῶν (. | τε
 γὰρ οὐ πο | σεων πολ
 | καὶ οἱ τὸ τρ | κον
 τεῖχος | ποτε προ
) καὶ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ || Ἡλίου, ὃν Ἐλεγά-
 βαλον ἐπικαλοῦσι καὶ μεγάλως θρησκευούσιν,
 2 ἄλλων τέ τινων μαντειῶν ἀναπεισθεῖς, ἐπεχείρησε
 τὸν τε Μακρίνον καθελεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀουῖτον τὸν
 τῆς Μαΐσης ἔγγονον¹ αὐτοκράτορα, καίπερ παιδίον
 ἔτι ὄντα, ἀντικαταστήσαι, καὶ κατειργάσατο
 ἑκάτερον· καίτοι αὐτός τε οὐδέπω πάνυ ἐς ἄνδρας
 3 ἐτέλει, καὶ συνεργοὺς ὀλίγους εἶχεν ἐξελευθέρους
 καὶ στρατιώτας ἐξ τέλους βου-
 λευτάς τε Ἐμεσηνοὺς
 ροσ τοῦ τε γὰρ Ταραύτου υἱὸν
 αὐτὸν μοιχίδιον εἶναι πλασάμενος, καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ
 ἐκείνου, ἧ ποτὲ ἐν παισὶν ἐχρήτο, κοσμήσας.
 αιταραυτη τῶν βασιλι | . . .
 ατων τῶν | συναλ-
 λετο | ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτός,
 4 μήτε τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ μήτε τῆς τήθης ἐπιστα-
 μένης, ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅμα τῇ ἑφ
 τῆς τοῦ Μαΐτου ἐκκαϊδεκάτης, γλιχομένους τινὰ
 ἀφορμὴν ἐπαναστάσεως λαβεῖν, ἀνέπεισε νεοχ-
 μῶσαι. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος
 (ἔτυχεν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ἀπῶν) ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ
 θυγατέρα τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ γαμβρόν τε ἐφόνευσεν,
 34, 1¹ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀθροίσας τινὰς ὡς

¹ ἔγγονον Urs., EGONON V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δι' ὀλίγου προσέμειξεν ὡς καὶ πολεμιωτάτῳ
 32 τείχει. δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν αὐτὸ αὐθημερὸν λαβεῖν
 (οἱ γὰρ Μαῦροι οἱ τῷ Ταράύτῳ κατὰ τὸ συμμα-
 χικὸν πεμφθέντες προθυμότατα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μα-
 κρίνου, ἅτε καὶ ὁμοεθνοῦς σφίσιν ὄντος, ἠγωνί-
 σαντο, ὥστε καὶ πύλας τινὰς διαρρήξαι) οὐκ
 ἠθέλησεν, εἴτ' οὖν φοβηθεὶς ἐσδραμεῖν, εἴτε καὶ
 2 ἐλπίσας ἐκόντας τοὺς ἔνδον παραστήσεσθαι. ὡς
 δ' οὔτε τις αὐτῷ ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, καὶ προσέτι τὰς
 πύλας πάσας τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπωκοδόμησαν ὥστε ἐν
 ἀσφαλεστέρῳ εἶναι, προσέβαλεν μὲν αὐθις
 • αὐτοῖς, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν. τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀουίτον,
 ὃν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνίνου ἤδη προση-
 γόρευον, περιφέροντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ
 εἰκόνας τινὰς τοῦ Καρακάλλου παιδικὰς ὡς καὶ
 3 προσφερεῖς αὐτῷ ἀποδεικνύντες, παιῖδά τε ὄντως
 αὐτὸν ἐκείνου καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναγκαῖον
 εἶναι λέγοντες, καὶ “ τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται,
 ποιεῖτε¹ ; τί δὲ οὕτω τῷ τοῦ² εὐεργέτου ὑμῶν ὑεῖ
 μάχεσθε ;” ἐκβοῶντες, πάντας τοὺς σὺν τῷ
 Ἰουλιανῷ στρατιώτας, ἄλλως τε καὶ προθύμως
 πρὸς τὸ νεωτεροποιεῖν ἔχοντας, διέφθειραν, ὥστε
 τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν πλὴν τοῦ
 Ἰουλιανοῦ (διέδρα γάρ) ἀποκτεῖναι, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ³
 4 τὰ τε ὄπλα τῷ Ψευδαντωνίνῳ παραδοῦναι. κατε-
 χομένους γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπομειόνων, κακ τούτου διαμέλ-

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

he attacked the camp as if it had been the most hostile fortress. And though he might have captured it that very day (for the Moors who had been sent to Tarautas in fulfilment of the terms of the alliance fought most valiantly for Macrinus, as he was a fellow-countryman of theirs, and even broke through some of the gates), yet he refused the opportunity, either because he was afraid to rush in or because he expected to be able to induce the men inside to surrender voluntarily. When, however, no one made overtures to him and they furthermore built up all the gates during the night, so that they were now in a more secure position, he again attacked them, but accomplished nothing. For they carried Avitus, whom they were already styling Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, round about upon the ramparts, and exhibited some likenesses of Caracallus when a child as bearing some resemblance to the boy, at the same time declaring that the latter was truly Caracallus' son, and the only rightful heir to the throne. "Why do you do this, fellow-soldiers?" they exclaimed, "Why do you thus fight against your benefactor's son?" By this means they corrupted all the soldiers who were with Julianus, the more so as these were eager to revolt, so that the assailants slew their commanders, with the exception of Julianus, who escaped in flight, and surrendered themselves and their arms to the False Antoninus. For when an attempt to restrain them was made by their centurions and the other under-officers and

¹ ποιείτε Urs., ΠΟΙΕΙΤΑΙ V.

² τῷ τοῦ Bk., ΤΟΥΤΕ V.

³ δέ supplied by Bk.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λουντας, ὁ Εὐτυχιανὸς † τὸν Φῆστον,¹ κατὰ τὸν
 τοῦ Ταραύτου πρόκοιτον ἀντωνομάσθη, ἔπεισεν †
 ἀποσφάξαι πάντας ἐκείνους, ἄθλόν² σφισι τὴν
 τοῦ τεθνήξοντος ἐκάστῳ³ οὐσίαν τε καὶ χώραν
 ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ προθείς· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ
 παιδίον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐδημηγόρησεν ὑπόβλητα,
 τὸν τε πατέρα ἤδη ἐπαινῶν, καὶ τὸν Μακρίνον ὡς
 ||

[14 lines are completely lacking.]

33

. | . αρ
 | καιν | τομ
 | νατων | λιτι
 | μισθο | ἐπὶ μηδ
 | ματι το | δεδικα
 | εισχε | τIAN η κα
 | λειπότας ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν οὐσίαν τε καὶ
 ἐπιτιμίαν ἐπαναχθῆναι. ὧ μέντοι μάλιστα
 2 αὐτοὺς ἀνηρτήσατο, . . . ἕκαστον
 δώσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας
 κατάξειν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου γνήσιος ἔκγονος τοῦ
 Ταραύτου εἶναι δόξων. | τα γε
 κ | παρανο | ειγε
 εκ ||

[14 lines are lacking.]

.
 | νο |
 μη | ιτη |

¹ Φῆστον—ἔπεισεν corrupt; τὸν Φῆστον <προσπέμψας (οὕτω δὲ τῶν Καισαρέων τις> κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταραύτου πρόκοιτον ἀντωνομάσθη) ἔπεισεν suggested by Bs.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

34, 1² κίανω | τω |
 Μακρίνον | μενω . . | (ὁ γὰρ
 Μάρκελλος ἐτεθνήκει), τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν,
 αὐτὸς δὲ ἀτολμήσας περαιτέρω χωρὶς τοῦ
 2 Μακρίνου προχωρῆσαι μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν. καὶ
 ὃς ἔς τε τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἔς τοὺς Ἀλβανίους στρα-
 τιώτας διὰ ταχέων ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοκρά-
 τορα, καίπερ δέκατον ἔτος ἄγοντα, ἀπέδειξεν,
 ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ τοὺς στρατιώτας
 3 τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν
 ὑποσχέσει τιθασεύσῃ· καὶ παραυτίκα τε αὐτοῖς
 κατὰ χιλίας ἔνειμε, τὴν τε τροφήν καὶ τοῖς
 λοιποῖς ἐντελῆ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' ἃ ἀφήρητο αὐτούς,
 ἀποκατέστησεν, ἐλπίζων σφᾶς διὰ τούτων ἰλεώ-
 σεσθαι. κακὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας καὶ τῷ
 δήμῳ δεῖπνον κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχ-
 μὰς ἔνειμε πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν περὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως
 αὐτοῖς διαδηλῶσαι, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἐκείνην ἄλλ' ἔς
 τὴν τοῦ υἱέος τιμὴν ἐστιᾶν αὐτοὺς νομισθεῖν.
 4 καὶ αὐτῷ ταῦτα πράττοντι¹ στρατιώτης τις· τῶν
 ἀφεστηκότων προσῆλθεν, τὴν τοῦ² Ἰουλιανοῦ
 κεφαλὴν (εὐρέθη γὰρ κεκρυμμένος που καὶ ἐσφάγη)
 κομίζων ἐν ὀθονίοις πολλοῖς ἰσχυρῶς σφόδρα
 σχοινίοις καταδεδεμένην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου
 οὔσαν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ δακτυλίῳ
 5 ἐσεσήμαντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσας ἐξέδρα ἐν
 ᾧ ἐκείνη ἐξεκαλύπτετο· γνοὺς δ' ὁ Μακρίνος
 τὸ πεπραγμένον οὐκέτ' ἐτόλμησεν οὔτε κατὰ
 χώραν μεῖναι οὔτε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος προσελάσαι,
 ἀλλ' ἔς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ τάχος ἀνεκομίσθη.

¹ ποάττοντι Bk., ΠΡΩΤΟΝ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

[Mar]cianus A.D. 218

. Macrinus . . . (for Marcellus was dead), he put this man to death; but, lacking courage to proceed further on his own responsibility without Macrinus, he sent for the emperor. So Macrinus came speedily to the Alban troops at Apamea and appointed his son emperor, though the boy was only in his tenth year, in order that he might have this as an excuse for courting the favour of the soldiers in various ways, especially by the promise of twenty thousand sesterces apiece; and he distributed to them four thousand apiece on the spot, and also restored to the others their full rations and everything else of which he had previously deprived them, hoping to appease them by these measures. With this same end in view, he bestowed on the populace a dinner costing six hundred sesterces per man, before revealing to them anything about the uprising; for he wished it to be thought that he was banqueting them, not because of that situation, but to show honour to his son. While he was thus engaged, one of the revolted soldiers approached him carrying the head of Julianus (who had been found somewhere in hiding and slain) wrapped in many cloths and tied up very firmly with cords, pretending that it was the head of the False Antoninus,—in fact, it was sealed with the signet-ring of Julianus; then the soldier ran out while the head was being uncovered. Macrinus, on discovering the truth of the matter, no longer dared either to remain where he was or to make an assault upon the camp, but returned to Antioch with all

^a τοῦ supplied by Urs.

καὶ οὕτως οἷ τε Ἄλβάνιοι¹ οἷ τε ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ
 ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία χεῖμάζοντες προσαπέστησαν.
 6 καὶ οἱ μὲν τά τε ἄλλα ἀντιπαρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ
 ἀντέπεμπον ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἔς τὰ στρατόπεδα
 ἀγγέλους καὶ γράμματα, ἀφ' ὧν πολλαχόθι πρὸς
 τε τὴν πρώτην ἑκατέρου περὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου πέμψιν
 καὶ πρὸς τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ διαφόρους ἀλλήλαις
 7 ἀγγελίας ἐταράχθησαν· κακὸν τούτου· συχνοὶ μὲν
 καὶ τῶν γραματοφόρων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐφθάρησαν,
 συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν θανατωσάντων τοὺς Ἀντωνι-
 νείους ἢ καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα αὐτοῖς προσθεμένων αἰτίαν
 ἔσχον, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀπώλοντο διὰ τοῦτο, οἱ δ'
 8 ἄλλο τι ὤφλον. ὧν² ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα (ὁμοιο-
 τροπώτατά τε γάρ ἐστιν καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα λεπτο-
 λογηθέντα ἔχει) παρήσω, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
 γενόμενα κεφαλαιώσας ἐρῶ.
 35 Ἦρχεν μὲν αὐτῆς ὁ Βασιλιανός, δὴ καὶ ἔς τὴν
 τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ χώραν ἔπαρχον ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπε-
 ποιήκει, διῆγεν δὲ τινα καὶ Μάριος Σεκοῦνδος,
 καίπερ βουλευτῆς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου γεγονώς
 καὶ³ τῆς Φοινίκης προστατῶν· καὶ ἦσαν κατὰ
 ταῦτα ἀμφοτέροι αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι, καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου δρομοκῆρυκας
 2 ἀπέκτειναν. μέχρι μὲν δὴ οὖν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὰ
 πράγματα ἦν, μετέωροι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶ-
 ται οἷ τε ἰδιῶται ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ταῦτα
 οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα κατὰ τὸ⁴ στασιωτικὸν καὶ βουλό-
 μενοι καὶ εὐχόμενοι καὶ διαθρυλοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τῆς ἥττης τοῦ Μακρίνου ἀγγελία ἀφίκετο, στάσις
 ἰσχυρὰ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ τε δήμου πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν

¹ Ἄλβάνιοι Falc., ALBINIOI V.

² ὧν Rk., ΩΣ V.

³ καί Leuncl., O V.

⁴ τό supplied by Leuncl.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι διώλοντο, ὃ τε Σεκοῦνδος ἐν ἀμηχανία ἔπεσε, καὶ ὁ Βασιλιανὸς φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἀπόληται ἔκ τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξέδρα, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν περὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐλθὼν ἐφωράθη, προδοθεὶς ὑπὸ φίλου τινός, ᾧ¹ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντι κρύφα προσέπεμψεν τροφήν αἰτῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἀναχθεὶς, ἐσφάγη.

36 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μακρίνος ἔγραψε μὲν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἐκασταχόθι ἄρχουσι, παιδίον τέ τι ἀποκαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔμπληκτον εἶναι λέγων, ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τῷ Μαξίμῳ τῷ πολίτῳ τά τε ἄλλα οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ νεωστὶ κατειλεγμένοι πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πρὶν εἶχον λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦσιν, καὶ κοινὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐ δίδομένοις σφίσι ὀργὴν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς ἐστερημένοι ποιοῦνται. καὶ ἵνα γέ τις ἄλλα ὅσα παρά τε τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ πρὸς διαφθορὰν τῆς ἀκριβοῦς στρατείας χεῦρηντο παραλίπη, οὔτε δίδοσθαι σφίσι τὴν μισθοφορὰν τὴν ἐντελῆ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς, ἃς ἐλάμβανον, χοιῶν τε εἶναι ἔφη (ἐς γὰρ ἑπτακισχιλίας μυριάδας ἐτησίους τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταραύτου γενομένην κτείνειν) οὔτε μὴ δίδοσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι ο | ται ἐκεῖνο δ | δικαίων πο | ἀλλὰ τὰ νεν | ἀναλώματα α | . αὐτὸ μὲν σ 4 | τε δημοσιο | στρατιωτικ | μενον καὶ ο | ἀπολουμεν | δυνηθη αὐ

ϕ Urs., ΩΝ, V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

perished. Secundus was at his wits' end; and A.D. 218
 Basilianus, fearing that he should lose his life
 at once, fled from Egypt, but, after reaching
 the neighbourhood of Brundisium in Italy, he was
 discovered, having been betrayed by a friend in
 Rome to whom he had sent secretly asking for food.
 He was later taken back to Nicomedeia and slain.

Macrinus wrote also to the senate about the False
 Antoninus in the same strain as he did to the gover-
 nors everywhere, calling him a boy and claiming
 that he was mad. He wrote a letter also to
 Maximus, the prefect of the city, in which, after
 mentioning various matters of a routine nature, he
 stated that even the newly-enlisted soldiers insisted
 on receiving everything that the others had been
 getting, and that these others, who had not been de-
 prived of anything, made common cause with the new
 recruits in their anger at what was being withheld
 from them. And, to omit a recital, he said, of all
 the many means devised by Severus and his son for
 the undermining of military discipline, it was impos-
 sible, on the one hand, to give the troops their
 full pay in addition to the donatives that they were
 receiving (for the increase in their pay granted by
 Tarautas amounted to two hundred and eighty million
 sesterces annually), and impossible, on the other
 hand, not to give it, partly because
 that just
 but the cus[tomary] expenditures

 and the public military . .

 ruin could

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

. | παῖς ὡς αὐτ | τ' ἐφ'
 ἑαυτῶ | ἑαυτὸν ἐπ
 καὶ ὅτι καὶ υἱὸν εἶχε κατωδύρατο ἑαυτόν,
 παραμύθιον τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχειν ἔφη ὅτι τῷ
 ἀδελφοφόνῳ τῷ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπολέσαι
 ἐπιχειρήσαντι χέπεβίω. ἔπειτα¹ καὶ τοιόνδε τι
 προσενέγραψεν, ὅτι “πολλοὺς οἶδα μᾶλλον ἐπιθυ-
 μούντας αὐτοκράτορα² σφαγῆναι ἢ αὐτοὺς βιῶναι.
 τοῦτο δὲ οὐ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λέγω, ὅτι τις ἢ ἐπιθυμή-
 σειεν ἂν ἢ εὐξαιτό με ἀπολέσθαι.” ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ
 Φούλουιος Διογενιανὸς ἐξεβόησεν ὅτι “πάντες
 εὐξάμεθα.”

37 Οὗτος δ' ἦν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, σφόδρα
 δ' οὐ φρενήρης, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
 οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἤρεσκεν. οὗτος καὶ τ
 | τὸ ὑπόγραμμα | ἐπιστολή
 | σαντος ὅτ
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ ||
 διφθέριον ραπτο ἀναγνῶναι |
 σατο κάκεινα | θῆναι καὶ
 ἦν | ς ἄλλα τε καὶ |
 σπεμφθείη | ἀντικρυς ὡς |
 μοσιευθη |
 τα κατοκνῶν | ερ κελεύσας |
 2 ωθῆναι τῷ | καὶ
 ἄλλοις τε | πρώτων τοῖς |
 υσαν ἐπιστη | υ κοιού
 σω | ὄνοιάν τινα |
 οὺς τονδε | ων γράμμα |
 ων ἐπὶ πλει | ον

¹ ἔπειτα supplied by Bk., om. Xiph.

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ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνίνος εὐρών | . . ἐν τοῖς τοῦ
 Μακρίνου κιβωτίοις μηδέπω | α
 αὐτὸς ἐκὼν | ἐξέφηεν | . .
 α διαβολὴν | ἄπρὸς τοὺς
 3 στρατιώτας ποιούμενος. οὕτω δὲ ταχέως ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν χῆλασεν ὥστε χαλεπῶς τὸν Μακρίνον ἐν
 κώμῃ τινὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων, ἑκατὸν τε καὶ ὀγδοή-
 κοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ἀπεχούσῃ,
 4 συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ. ἔνθα δὴ τῇ μὲν προθυμίᾳ τῇ
 τῶν δορυφόρων ἐκράτησεν (τούς τε γὰρ θώρακας
 τοὺς κλεπιδωτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰς σωλη-
 νοειδεῖς ἀφελόμενος αὐτῶν κουφοτέρους σφᾶς ἐς
 τὰς μάχας ἐπεποιήκει), τῇ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ δειλία
 ἠττήθη, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ προεδή-
 5 λωσεν. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ἣ τὰ πρῶτα
 αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γράμματα ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη,
 ἄπεριστέρα τις ἐπὶ εἰκόνα Σεουήρου, οὐ τὸ ὄνομα
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐτέθειτο, ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀνακειμένην
 6 ἐπέπτατο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τοῦ υἱέος
 ἔπεμψεν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν συνήλθομεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον παρόντες)
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
 → 6 τρόπον τινὰ ἤδη κατελέλυτο. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ
 ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς προοιμίῳ,
 καίτοι καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν
 ὀνομάσας, καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ὡς καὶ παρ' ἀμφο-
 τέρων ἐπισταλέντα προδηλώσας, ἐνέγραψεν· ἐν
 τε τῇ ἑξηγήσει τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς μὲν τοῦ
 Διαδουμειανοῦ προσηγορίας ἐπεμνήσθη, τὴν δὲ
 τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, καίπερ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην,
 38 παρέλιπεν.¹ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχευ, καὶ νῆ Δία

¹ παρέλιπεν Bk., ΠΑΡΕΛΕΙΠΕΝ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

because the False Antoninus, having found . in the A.D. 218
chests of Macrinus not yet
he himself voluntarily published
. calumny making with reference
to the soldiers. And he marched so rapidly against
him that Macrinus could only with difficulty engage
him at a village of the Antiochians, twenty-four
miles distant from the city. There, so far as the
zeal of the Pretorians went, he conquered (he had
taken away their breastplates of scale-armour and
their grooved shields and had thus rendered them
lighter for battle); but he was defeated by his
own cowardice, as indeed Heaven had foreshown to
him. For on that day when his first letter about
the imperial office had been read to us a pigeon had
alighted on an image of Severus (whose name he had
applied to himself) that stood in the senate-chamber;
and later, when he sent the communication about
his son, we had convened, not at the bidding of the
consuls or the praetors (for they did not happen to
be present), but of the tribunes,—a practice which
in the course of time had fallen largely into
disuse. Furthermore, he had not even written his
son's name in the preface to the letter, though he
termed him both Caesar and emperor and made it
clear at the outset that the contents emanated from
them both; and in his recital of events he mentioned
the name Diadumenianus, but left out that of Anto-
ninus, though the boy had this title, too. So much for
these matters. And what was more, when he sent

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καὶ ὅτε περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἐπαναστά-
σεως ἐπέστειλεν, εἶπον μὲν τινα οἱ ὑπατοὶ κατ'
αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίνεσθαι,
εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις τῶν τε δημάρχων
ἕτερος· καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν τῷ τε¹ ἀνεψιῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ
ταῖς μητράσι τῇ τε τῆθῃ πόλεμος² ἐπηγγέλθη
καὶ ἐπεκηρύχθη, τοῖς δὲ συνεπαναστάσιν αὐτῷ
ἄδεια ἀγνοσιμαχήσωσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Μακρίνος
2 αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχητο, ἐδόθη. καὶ γὰρ ἅ διελέχθη
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεγνώσθη, ἐξ ὧν ἔτι καὶ
μᾶλλον τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ τὴν βωρίαν αὐτοῦ
πάντες κατέγνωμεν· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἑαυτὸν
μὲν, πατέρα τὸν δὲ Διαδουμενιανὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ³
συνεχέστατα ἀπεκάλει, καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ
Ψευδαντωνίνου διέβαλλε, πολὺ νεώτερον αὐτοῦ
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποφῆνας.

3 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ὁ μὲν Γάννυς καὶ τὰ στενὰ
τὰ πρὸ τῆς κώμης σπουδῇ προκατέλαβε καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας εὐπολέμως διέταξεν, καίτοι καὶ
ἀπειρότατος τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὧν καὶ ἐν τρυφῇ
βεβιωκώς· οὕτω που μέγα ἢ⁴ τύχη πρὸς πάντα
ἀπλῶς προφέρει, ὥστε καὶ ἐπιστήμας τοῖς
4 ἀγνοοῦσιν⁵ αὐτὴν χαρίζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ δὴ στρά-
τευμα αὐτοῦ ἀσθενέστατα ἠγωνίσαστο, καὶ εἴ γε
μὴ ἦ τε Μαῖσα καὶ ἡ Σοαιμῖς⁶ (συνῆσαν γὰρ
ἤδη τῷ παιδίῳ) ἀπὸ τε τῶν ὀχημάτων κατα-
πηδήσασαι καὶ εἰς τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐσπεσοῦσαι
ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς φυγῆς ὀδυρόμεναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο

¹ τε supplied by Bs.

² πόλεμος Bk., ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣΤΕ V.

³ αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ Xiph., ΑΤΤΩΙ V.

⁴ μέγα ἢ Bs., ΜΕΓΑΛΗ V.

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σπασάμενον τὸ ξιφίδιον, δὲ παρέζωατο, ὥφθη σφίσιν ἐπὶ ἵππου θεία τινὲ φορὰ ὡς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐλάσον,¹ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἔστησαν. καὶ ὡς δ' ἂν αὐθις² ἐτράποντο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μακρίνος ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀνθισταμένους ἔφυγεν.

- 39 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τῇ Ἰουνίου³ ὀγδόῃ ἠττηθεὶς τὸν μὲν υἱὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέα διὰ τε τοῦ Ἐπαγάθου καὶ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν
- 2 ὡς καὶ νενικηκῶς, ὅπως καταδεχθῆ, ἐσελθὼν, ἔπειτα διαγγελθείσης τῆς ἠττης αὐτοῦ, καὶ φόνων ἐκ τούτου⁴ πολλῶν κὰν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κὰν τῇ πόλει, ὡς πού καὶ εὐνοίας ἐκατέρω⁵ τις αὐτῶν εἶχε, γιγνομένων, ἀπέδρα καὶ ἐκεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ ἵππων, τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ γένειον πᾶν ξυράμενος, καὶ ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν κατὰ τῆς ἀλουργοῦς,
- 3 ἵν' ὅτι μάλιστα ἰδιώτη τινὲ εἰκόη, λαβὼν. καὶ οὕτω μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς⁶ Αἰγάς τῆς Κιλικίας ἐλθὼν, ὀχημάτων τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς καὶ στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων ὧν ἐπέβη, καὶ διεξήλασε διὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τε Βιθυνίας μέχρι Ἐριβώλου τοῦ ἐπινείου τοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῆς τῶν Νικομηδέων πόλεως ὄντος, γνῶμην ἔχων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναδραμεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ παρά τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρά τοῦ δήμου
- 4 βοηθείας τινὸς τευξόμενος. καὶ εἶπερ ἐπεφεύγει, πάντως ἂν τι κατείργαστο· ἢ γὰρ εὐνοιά σφω

¹ ἐλάσον Xiph., ΕΛΑΣΑΝ V.

² αὐθις Urs., ΑΥΤΗΣ V, πάλιν Xiph.

³ Ἰουνίου Reim., ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ V.

⁴ τούτου Xiph., ΤΟΥΤΩΝ V.

⁵ ἐκατέρω Xiph., ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΥ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

dashing along on horseback, with drawn sword,—that A.D. 218
same sword with which he had girded himself,—in
a headlong rush that seemed divinely inspired, as if
about to charge the enemy. Even so they would
again have turned their backs, had not Macrinus fled
when he saw them offering resistance.

Macrinus, after being thus defeated on the eighth
of June, sent his son in charge of Epagathus and
some other attendants to Artabanus, king of the
Parthians, while he himself entered Antioch, repre-
senting that he had conquered, so that he might
be received there. Then, when the news of his
defeat became noised abroad, and many were being
slain both along the roads and in the city on the
ground that they had favoured this side or that,
he fled from this place also. He left by night on
horseback, having first shaved his head and his whole
chin, and wearing a dark garment over his purple
robe, in order that he might, so far as possible,
resemble an ordinary citizen. In this manner he
reached Aegae in Cilicia with a few companions, and
there, by pretending to be one of the soldiers em-
ployed as couriers, he secured a carriage in which he
drove through Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia as
far as Eriolon, the harbour that lies over against the
city of Nicomedeia. It was his intention to make
his way back to Rome, in the expectation that there
he could gain some assistance from the senate and
from the people. And if he had escaped thither, he
would certainly have accomplished something; for
the disposition of the people there was becoming

⁶ ἐς Bk., ΕΙΣ V.

παρὰ πολὺ ἐς αὐτόν, πρὸς τε τὸ τῶν Σύρων
 τόλμημα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου
 ἡλικίαν· τό τε τοῦ Γάννου καὶ τοῦ Κωμάζοντος
 αὐτεπίτακτον σκοποῦντων, ἐποίει, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
 στρατιώτας ἂν ἢ ἐκόντας¹ μετανοῆσαι ἢ καὶ
 5 ἄκοντας καταδασθῆναι. νῦν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
 ἀνθρώπων δι' ὧν διήει, εἰ καὶ ἐγνώρισέν τις αὐτόν,
 ἀλλ' οὔτι καὶ ἐφάψασθαι ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ· ὡς
 δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐριβόλου διαπλέων ἐς τὴν Χαλκηδόνα
 (οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρσησεν ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐσελθεῖν,
 φοβηθεὶς τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας ἄρχοντα Καικίλιον
 Ἄριστωνα), ἔπεμψε πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων
 ἀργύριον αἰτῶν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐγνώσθη, κατε-
 λήφθη τε ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδόνι ἔτι ὧν, καὶ ἐπελθόντων
 6 καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου πεμφθέντων.²
 ἵνα νῦν εἰ πώποτε, συνε-
 λήφθη τε ὑπ' Αὐρηλίου Κέλσου ἑκατοντάρχου,
 καὶ μέχρι τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἤχθη ὥσπερ τις τῶν
 40 ἀτιμοτάτων. ἔνταῦθα δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς
 αὐτοῦ ἐαλώκει (διὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ζεύγματος αὐτόν, δι'
 οὐ πρότερον διῶν Καῖσαρ ἀπεδέδεικτο, διελαύ-
 νοντα Κλαύδιος Πολλίων ὁ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 ἑκατόνταρχος συνέλαβεν) ἔρριψέ τε αὐτόν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ ὀχήματος (οὐ γὰρ ἐδέδετο) καὶ τότε μὲν τὸν
 2 ὦμον συνέτριψε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον
 ἀποθανεῖν κελευσθεὶς πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν
 ἐσελθεῖν ἐσφάγη τε ὑπὸ Μαρκιανοῦ Ταύρου
 ἑκατοντάρχου, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἄταφον ἔμεινε
 μέχρις οὐ ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐκ
 τῆς Συρίας παρελθὼν, ἐφήσθη αὐτῶ.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μακρίνος οὕτω, καὶ γέρων ὧν

¹ ἂν ἢ ἐκόντας Rk., ΘΗΗΣΚΟΝΤΑΣ V.

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(πεντήκοντα γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρα ἦγεν ἔτη, τριῶν
 που μηνῶν¹ δέοντα ἢ πέντε) καὶ ἐμπειρία
 πραγμάτων προφέρων, ἀρετὴν τε ὑποδεικνύων
 καὶ τοσούτων στρατευμάτων ἄρχων, ὑπὸ τε
 παιδαρίου, οὐ μὴδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πρότερον ἠπίστατο,
 4 κατελύθη, ὥς που καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτῷ προε-
 μήνυσε, ου Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος χρωμένῳ
 οἱ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔφη·

“ ὦ γέρον, ἢ μάλα δὴ σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχη-
 ταί,
 σὴ δὲ βίη² λέλυται, χαλεπὸν δέ σε γῆρας
 ἰκάνει,”

φεύγων τε σης ἢ νενικη, δρα-
 πετεύσας διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν ἦρξε, συλληφθεῖς
 5 ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ὥσπερ τις ληστής, ἐπιδὼν
 ἑαυτὸν μετ' ἀτιμοτάτων κακούργων
 φρουρούμενον ᾧ πολλοὶ πολλάκις βουλευταὶ
 προσήχθησαν, ἀποθανεῖν τε ἐκελεύσθη τὴν τοῦ
 κολάσαι³ πάντα τινὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπολύσαι τε
 ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάρχων συνε-
 λήφθη τε καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπεστερήθη οὐς καὶ
 αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε χειρόνων καὶ τῶν
 κρειπτόνων ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξουσίαν εἶχεν. καὶ αὐτῷ
 καὶ ὁ υἱὸς προσαπώλετο.

41 Οὕτω που οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν σφόδρα δοκούντων
 ἐρρῶσθαι βεβαίαν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει; ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ
 πάνυ εὖ πράττοντες ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς λοιποῖς αἰω-
 2 ροῦνται. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαινεθεῖς ἂν ὑπὲρ πάντας
 ἀνθρώπους, εἴ γε μὴ αὐτὸς αὐταρχῆσαι ἐπετεθυ-

¹ μηνῶν supplied by Bs., who compares cod. Paris. 1712
 (ζήσας ἔτη ν̄γ μῆνας θ̄), ἡμερῶν Falc.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

four years of age lacking some three or five months) A.D. 218
and distinguished for his practical experience of affairs, a man who displayed signs of excellence and commanded so many legions, was overthrown by a mere boy of whose very name he had previously been ignorant,—as, indeed, the oracle had foretold to him; for upon his consulting the oracle of Zeus Belus the god had answered him:

“Truly indeed, old man, young warriors sorely beset thee,
Spent is thy force, and grievous old age is coming upon thee.”¹

And so fleeing . . . [rather] than conquer[ed] . . . he made off like a runaway slave through the provinces that he had ruled, and was arrested like some robber by the first comer; he beheld himself guarded [together] with the most despised malefactors, the very man before whom many senators had often been brought for trial; he was condemned to die, though possessing the authority to punish or to release any Roman whomsoever; and he was arrested and beheaded by centurions, though he had authority to put to death both them and others, whether of lower or higher station. And his son, too, perished after him.

Thus it is that no one, even of those who seem the strongest, is sure of his power, but the exceeding prosperous are, equally with the rest, unstable. This man, now, might have been praised above all men, if he had not set his heart upon becoming

¹ Hom., *Il.* viii. 102–3.

² βίη Falc., ΒΙΗΙ V.

³ κολάσαι Bk., ΚΕΛΕΥ . . . V.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μήκει, ἀλλ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινα τῶν ἕς γε τὴν
γερουσίαν τελούντων τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς
3 προστατῆσαι, αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ἀπεδεδείχει,
καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτως τὸ αἰτίαμα τὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν
Καράκαλλον ἐπιβουλῆς, ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ
σωτηρίαν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιθυμίαν
ποιησάμενος αὐτήν, ἐκφυγὼν, καὶ διέβαλεν ἅμα
ἑαυτὸν καὶ διέφθειρεν, ὥστε¹ καὶ ἐν ὄνειδει καὶ
4 ἐν παθήματι ἀξιοτάτῳ² αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. τῆς
γὰρ μοναρχίας, μηδ' ὄνομα βουλευτοῦ ἔχων,
ὀριγνηθεὶς καὶ τάχιστα καὶ βαρυσυμφωρότατα
αὐτὴν ἀπέβαλεν· ἐνιαυτῷ τε γὰρ καὶ δύο μηνσίν,
τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῆς μάχης λογιζο-
μένοις συμβῆναι, δέουσιν, ἦρξεν.

¹ ὥστε Bk., ΩΣΓΕ V.

² ἀξιοτάτῳ Leuncl., ΑΞΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ V.

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ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ. ΟΦ ΒΟΟΚ LXXX.

- α. Περὶ Ἀβίτου τοῦ καὶ Ψευδαντωνίνου καὶ τῶν φόνων ὧν εἰργάσατο.
 β. Περὶ ὧν παρενόμησεν καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀειπαρθένον ἔγημε.
 γ. Περὶ τοῦ Ἐλεογαβάλου καὶ ὡς τὴν Οὐρανίαν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταπεμψάμενος τῷ Ἐλεογαβάλῳ συνῴκισεν.
 δ. Περὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ.
 ε. Ὡς τὸν ἀνεψιδὸν ἐποίησατο, ὃν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μετωνόμασεν.
 [ζ.] Ὡς κατελύθη καὶ ἐσφάγη.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Μακρίνου καὶ Ἀδβέντου¹ ὑπατείας² καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη δ', ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο.

Ψευδαντωνῖνος τὸ β' καὶ
 Κ. Τινέιος³ Σακέρδωσ
 Ψευδαντωνῖνος τὸ γ' καὶ
 Μ. Οὐαλέριος⁴ Κωμάζων
 Γ. Βέττιος⁵ Γράτος⁶ Σαβινιανός⁷ καὶ
 Μ. Φλάβιος⁸ Βιτέλλιος⁹ Σέλευκος
 Ψευδαντωνῖνος τὸ δ' καὶ
 Μ. Αὐρήλιος Σευῆρος¹⁰ Ἀλέξανδρος.

LXXX Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀουῖτος εἴτε Ψευδαντωνῖνος εἴτε καὶ
 1, 1 Ἀσσύριος ἢ καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος Τιβερίνός τε
 (καὶ γὰρ καὶ¹¹ ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἐπειδὴ
 τὸ σῶμα σφαγέντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐνε-
 βλήθη, ἔλαβεν) τότε μὲν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἔς τε

¹ Ἀδβέντου Urs., ALBENTOT V.

² ὑπατείας Urs., ΥΠΑΤΙΑΣ V.

³ Κ. Τινέιος Bs., ΚΤΙΝΑ V.

⁴ Μ. Οὐαλέριος Bs., ΛΟΛΛΟΥΤΑΛΙ V.

⁵ Γ. Βέττιος Bs., ΓΒ. ΤΤ V.

⁶ Γράτος Leuncl. (Γράτος), ΤΡΑΤΟΣ V.

⁷ Σαβινιανός Leuncl., ΣΑΒΙΑΝ' V.

⁸ Φλάβιος Mommsen, ΦΑ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

About Avitus, called also the False Antoninus, and the murders that he committed (chaps. 1-7).

About his lawless deeds and how he married the Vestal (chaps. 9, 11).

About Eleogabalus and how he summoned Urania to Rome and united her in marriage with Eleogabalus (chaps. 11-12).

About his licentiousness (chaps. 13-16).

How he adopted his cousin and changed his name to Alexander (chaps. 17-18).

How he was overthrown and slain (chaps. 19-21).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Macrinus and Adventus, together with four additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

A. D.

219 The False Antoninus (II) and Q. Tineius Sacerdos.

220 The False Antoninus (III) and M. Valerius Comazon.

221 C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus and M. Flavius Vitellius Seleucus.

222 The False Antoninus (IV) and M. Aurelius Severus Alexander.

Now Avitus, otherwise known as the False A. D. 218 Antoninus, or the Assyrian, or Sardanapalus, or even Tiberinus (this last appellation he received after he had been slain and his body had been thrown into the Tiber), at the time of which we are speaking

⁹ Βιτέλλιος Bs., ΒΙΤΕΑΛ V.

¹⁰ Αὐρήλιος Σευήρος Urs., ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣΕΥΗΡ' V.

¹¹ καί supplied by Urs.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῇ ὑστεραία ἐσῆλθε, πεντακοσίας τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις δραχμάς, ὅπως μὴ διαρπάσωσιν αὐτήν, οὐπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν, προὔποσχόμενος.¹ ἄς που καὶ παρὰ τοῦ
 2 δήμου ἐσέπραξεν· καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλα τε οἶα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπέστειλε, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Μακρίνον ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς τὴν δυσγένειαν τήν τε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπιβουλήν διαβάλλων (πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτο ἔφη ὅτι “ ὦ· μηδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ χωρὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξεῖργον² ἐξῆν, οὗτος ἐτόλμησεν· τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὐ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπεπίστευτο, δολοφονήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ παρασπάσασθαι καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πρότερον ἢ βουλευτῆς γενέσθαι”), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῷ τε δήμῳ καθυπισχνούμενος (κατὰ τε γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ὦ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφωμοίου, καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Μάρκου ζῆλον ἅπαντα ἅπαξ πράξειν ἐπηγγεί-
 3 λατο), καὶ δῆτα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔγραψεν, αἰνιττόμενος πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου θρυληθείσας, ὅτι “ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμὴν διαβαλεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, αὐτὸς πενταετῆ υἱὸν ἀποδείξας.”

2 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις γεγόμενα τά τε γράμματα τοῦ Μακρίνου τὰ τῷ Μαξίμῳ γραφέντα ἐπεμψεν μὲν καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπεμψεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ἵν' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον τήν τε ἐκείνου μνήμην μισήσωσι καὶ

¹ προὔποσχόμενος Leuncl., ΠΡΟΣΥΠΟΣΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 *ἑαυτὸν*¹ ἀγαπήσωσιν. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν
 βουλὴν ἐπιστολῇ τῷ τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γράμματι
 καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Καίσαρα, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου
 υἱὸν καὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἑγγονον, εὐσεβῆ τε καὶ
 εὐτυχῆ καὶ Αὐγουστον, καὶ ἀνθύπατον τὴν τε
 3 ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντα ἑαυτὸν ἐνέγρα-
 ψεν, προλαμβάνων αὐτὰ πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι, τῷ
 | ματι οὐ τῷ τ | ἀλλὰ
 τῷ τοῦ π | ἐχρήσατο, ο
 . | ησεν καὶ αν | τὰ τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν ὑπομνήματα ο | γὰρ δὴ
 τοῦ Μακρίνου . . . | ματα καισαρ |
 δὲ δὴ δορυφόροις καὶ Ἀλβανίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ
 4 Ἰταλίᾳ οὔσι | καὶ ὅτι ὑπατο . . .
 . . . ρευσειηπρ | λε καὶ τὰ με
 | ριος Κηνσωρίνος . . . | προστα-
 σίαν | ἀνελέξατο |
 Μακρίνου c | αὐτὸς ὡς οὐχ . . .
 . . . | διὰ τῆς ἑαυτ | δημοσιωθ . .
 | ἀναγνῶναι | τὰ
 γράμματ Σαρδαναπαλλο
 . . | νος τοῦ κλ² | ἐς τοὺς ὑπα-
 τευκότας ἐγκατελέξατο, ἐνετείλατο
 ἵνα, εἴ τις ἀνθίσταίτο, τῇ χειρὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιω-
 5 τῶν χρήσεται· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ σια καὶ
 ἄκουσα πάντα ἐκείνοις δ . ἀνέγνω . τῇ γὰρ
 ἐπαρτηθείσῃ ἀνάγκῃ οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν δεόντων οὔτε
 τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσι πράξαι ἠδυνήθησαν, . .
 . . . , ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἐξεπλάγησαν . . .
 6 || καὶ τὸν τε Μα-
 κρίνον, ὃν πάμπολλα ἐπηνέκεσαν, ἐν πολεμίου

¹ *ἑαυτόν* Urs., ΕΞΑΥΤΟΝ V (ΕΞ deleted by V²).

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

and to feel greater affection for him. In both the A.D. 218
message to the senate and the letter to the people
he styled himself emperor and Caesar, the son of
Antoninus, the grandson of Severus, Pius, Felix,
Augustus, proconsul, and holder of the tribunician
power, assuming these titles before they had been
voted, and he used, not the [na]me [of Avitus,] but
that of his [pretended] f[ather],
. the notebooks of the sol-
diers for
Macrinus' Caesar
to the Pretorians and to the Alban legionaries who
were in Italy he <wro>te and that he was
consul and [high p]riest (?) and the
. . [Ma]rius Censorinus . . leadership . . read . . .
of Macrinus himself, as if not [suffi-
ciently] by his own [voice able] to make public . . .
. . the letters of Sardanapalus to be read . . . by (?)
Cl[audius Polli]o,¹ [whom] he had enrolled among
the ex-consuls, [and] commanded that if anyone re-
sisted him, he should call on the soldiers for
assistance; accordingly, [the sen]ate, though unwill-
ingly, read everything to those . . For, by reason of
the necessity hanging over them, they were unable
to do any of the things that were proper or
expedient . . but were panic-stricken by fear
and Macrinus, whom they had often commended,
they now reviled, together with his son, regarding

¹ Cf. Exc. Val.: "The False Antoninus sent letters to the senate through Pollio, the consul, and commanded him," etc.

² Cf. Exc. Val. 403 (p. 761): *ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος γράμματα πέμψας τῇ βουλῇ διὰ Πολλίωνος ὑπάτου ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ ἵνα, κτέ.*

μοίρα σύν τε τῷ υἱεὶ ἐλοιδόρησαν,¹ καὶ τὸν Ταράυταν, ὃν καὶ πολέμιον ἀποδείξαι πολλάκις ἠθελήκεσαν, τότε ἐσέμνυνον, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ ἠϋχούτο ὁμοιον γενέσθαι αὐτῷ.

3 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ Ἀουίτος τὸν Πολλίωνα . . . τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρξαι προσέταξεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Βιθυνίας
 . . . τα ἐκεῖνος περιεγεγόνει. αὐτὸς δὲ καταμείνας τινὰς μῆνας ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ μέχρι οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν πανταχόθεν ἐβεβαιώσατο, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθεν, παρέδρον οἱ πολλάκις ν, ὥσπερ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰώθει, ποιούμενος. ἔνθα δὲ ἐπιχειμάσας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ τῆς Θράκης καὶ τῆς Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας ἐκατέρας ἐπορεύθη, κακεῖ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς κατέμεινε, ἐν μὲν τι καὶ σφόδρα ἀγαθοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔργον ποιήσας (πολλῶν γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ δήμων, τῶν τε² ι αὐτοῦ τούτων
 . . . τῆς τε βουλῆς, καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ ἐς τε τὸν Καρακάλλον καὶ ἑαυτὸν, ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μακρίνου γραμμάτων, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ὑβρισάντων, οὐδενὶ³ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ἐπεξιέναι.⁴ ἔφη οὔτε
 3 ἐπεξῆλθεν), ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰλλα πάντα καὶ αἰσχρουργότατα καὶ παρανομώτατα καὶ μαιφονώτατα ἐξοκείλας, ὥστε τὰ μὲν τινὰ αὐτῶν μηδ' ἀρχὴν πώποτ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενα ὡς καὶ πάτρια ἀκμάσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τολμηθέντα ἄλλοτε⁵ ἄλλοις

¹ Cf. Exc. Val. 403: καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο τὸν Μακρίνον ἐν πολέμου μοίρα καὶ ἐλοιδόρησαν, κτέ.

² τῶν τε—τῆς τε βουλῆς V, καὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων Exc. Val. τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν, τῶν τε ἰππέων τῆς τε βουλῆς Bs.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὡς ἑκάστοις, ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ¹ μηνὶν ἑννέα
 ἡμέραις τε τέτταρσιν, ἐν αἷς² ἤρξεν, ὡς γ' ἂν τις
 ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν ἧ τὸ παντελὲς κράτος ἔσχεν
 4 ἀριθμήσειεν; ἀνθῆσαι. ἐφόνευσε μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ
 Συρία τὸν τε Νέστορα καὶ Φάβιον Ἀγριππῖνον
 τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, τῶν τε ἰππέων τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν
 Μακρίνον τοὺς πρώτους· ὅπερ πού καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
 Ῥώμῃ τοὺς μάλιστα οἰκειωθέντας αὐτῷ εἰργά-
 σατο· καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ³ Πείκαν Καιριανὸν τὸν
 ἐπιτετραμμένον αὐτῷ, ὅτ μὴ παραχρῆμα αὐτῷ
 5 προσέθετο, ἐν τε τῇ Κύπρῳ Κλαύδιον Ἀτταλον
 τὸν τῆς Θράκης ποτὲ ἄρξαντα, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ
 Σεουήρου ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐν τῷ τοῦ Νίγρου⁴
 πολέμῳ ἐκπεσόντα, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ταραύτου ἐς αὐτὸ
 ἐπαναχθέντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου τῇ Κύπρῳ
 προσταχθέντα, ὅτ τῷ Κωμάζοντι προσεκεκρού-
 κει· στρατεύόμενον γὰρ ἴποτε αὐτὸν ἐν Θράκῃ
 καὶ κακουργήσαντά τι ἐς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἀπέώ-
 4 σατο· τοιοῦτος γάρ τις ὁ Κωμάζων ὢν καὶ τοῦτο
 τοῦνομα ἔκ τε μίμων καὶ γελωτοποιίας ἔχων τῶν
 τε δορυφόρων ἤρξεν, ἐν μηδεμιᾷ τὸ παράπαν
 ἐπιτροπείᾳ ἢ καὶ προστασίᾳ⁵ τινὶ πλήν τῆς τοῦ
 2 στρατοπέδου ἐξετασθείς, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς
 ὑπάτικὰς ἔλαβεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπάτευσεν
 καὶ ἐπολιάρχησεν, οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
 δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, ὃ μηδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλῳ
 ὑπῆρξεν· ὅθεν πού καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς παρανομω-
 τάτοις ἐξαριθμῆσεται.

¹ καὶ Leuncl., KAIEN V.

² τε τέτταρσιν ἐν αἷς Leuncl., ΤΕΤΡΑΣΙΝΕΝΑΠΙ V.

³ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ Urs., ΤΗΣΑΡΑΒΙΑΣ V.

⁴ τοῦ Νίγρου Leuncl., ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΥ V.

⁵ προστασία Xiph., ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΙΑ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

various men at different times, flourished merely for A.D. 218
the three years, nine months and four days during which he ruled,—reckoning from the battle in which he gained the supreme power. For example, while still in Syria, he slew Nestor and Fabius Agrippinus, the governor of the province, as well as the foremost knights among Macrinus' followers; and he visited the same punishment upon the men in Rome who had been most intimate with Macrinus. In Arabia he put to death Pica Caerianus,¹ who was in charge of that province, because he had not immediately declared his allegiance to the new ruler; and in Cyprus, Claudius Attalus, because he had offended Comazon. Attalus had once been governor of Thrace, had been expelled from the senate by Severus during the war with Niger, but had been restored to it by Tarautas, and had at this time been assigned by the lot to Cyprus. He had incurred Comazon's ill will by having once sent him to the galleys for some wrongdoing of which he was guilty while serving in Thrace. Yet this Comazon, in spite of having such a character and a name derived from mimes and buffoonery, now commanded the Pretorians, though he had been tried in no position of responsibility or command whatever, except that over the camp; and he obtained the rank of consul and later actually became consul, and also city prefect; and that not once only, but even a second and a third time—a thing that had never before happened in the case of anybody else; hence this will be counted as one of the greatest violations of precedent.

¹ The name is probably erroneous; Hirschfeld would read Caecilianus, Klein suggests Caesianus.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀτταλος δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ
 δὴ Τρικκιανὸς διὰ τοὺς Ἀλβανίους¹ ὧν ἐγκρα-
 τῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Μακρίνου ἠγεῖτο, Καστῖνός² θ' ὅτι
 δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ πολλοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔκ-
 τε τῶν ἀρχῶν ὧν ἦρξε καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀντωνῖνον συνουσίας, ἔγνωστο διόπερ καὶ ὑπὸ
 4 τοῦ Μακρίνου τὴν ἄλλως προπεμφθεὶς ἐν
 Βιθυνία τὴν δίαίταν ἐποιεῖτο. τοῦτόν τε οὖν
 ἀπέκτεινεν, καίτοι τῇ γερουσίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ
 γράψας ὅτι αὐτὸν εἰρχθέντα τῆς Ῥώμης, ὥσπερ
 καὶ τὸν Ἀσπρον τὸν Ἰούλιον, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου
 5 ἀποκατέστησεν, καὶ Σύλλαν τὸν τῆς Καππα-
 δοκίας ἄρξαντα, καίπερ ἀπηλλαγμένον ἐξ αὐτῆς,
 ὅτι τ' ἐπολυπραγμόνει τινά, καὶ ὅτι³ μεταπέμφ-
 θεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήντησε τοῖς
 στρατιώταις τοῖς Κελτικοῖς οἵκαδε μετὰ τὴν ἐν
 1 τῇ Βιθυνία χειμασίᾳ, ἐν ἣ τινὰ ὑπετάραξαν,
 6 ἀπιούσιν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ⁴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο,
 καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπεστάλη τι περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ γερουσίᾳ,
 Σείος δὲ δὴ Κᾶρος ὁ Φουσκιανοῦ τοῦ πολιαρχή-
 σαντος ἑκγόνος ὅτι τε ἐπλούτει καὶ ὅτι μέγας
 καὶ νοῦν ἔχων ἦν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ συνιστάς
 τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ στρατευομένων (καὶ
 μόνου γε⁵ ἐκεῖνου ἀποδεικνύντος τινὰ ἤκουσεν
 7 ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐσφάγη), Οὐαλεριανός
 τε Παῖτος ἰδοὶ εἰκόνας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιχρύσους

¹ Ἀλβανίους Falc.; ALBINIOTΣ V.

² Καστῖνός θ' ὅτι Bs., ΚΑΙΤΙΝΟΣΘ V (TI added by V² and first I corr. to Σ).

³ ὅτι Leuncl.; ΟΤΙΤΕ V.

⁴ δὴ Urs., ΔΕ V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρὸς παλλακίδων κοσμήματα ἐξετύπωσεν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ αἰτίαν ἔσχευ ὡς καὶ ἐς¹ Καππαδοκίαν ὁμορον τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ οὖσαν (Γαλάτης γὰρ ἦν) ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ διανοούμενος, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο χρυσοῦς γλύμμα ἑαυτοῦ φέροντας ποιούμενος.

5 Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐθανατώθη ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ Σίλιος ὃ τε Βάσσοσ ὁ Πομπώνιος, ἐγκλήματα λαβόντες ὅτι² τοῖς
 2 πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠρέσκοντο. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ τῇ βουλῇ γράψαι περὶ αὐτῶν ὤκνησεν, ἐξεταστάς τε αὐτοῦσ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ ἐπιτιμητὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ δρωμένων εἰπὼν εἶναι·
 “τὰς γὰρ τοι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς δῆθεν αὐτῶν ἀποδείξεις οὐκ ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν,” ἔφη, “ὅτι μάτην ἀναγνωσθήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἤδη σφῶν τεθνηκότων.”
 3 ὑπῆν δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον αἰτίαμα πρὸς Μεσσάλαν, ὅτι πολλὰ ἐρρωμένως ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀπεφαίνετο· διόπερ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, ὡς καὶ πάνυ τι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος, μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως μὴ καὶ καθηγεμὼν αὐτῇ ἀλλοδοξίας γένηται.
 4 τῷ δὲ δὴ Βάσσῳ, ὅτι γυναῖκα καὶ εὐπρεπῆ καὶ εὐγενῆ εἶχεν· τοῦ τε γὰρ Σεουήρου τοῦ³ Κλαυδίου καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Μάρκου ἀπόγονοσ ἦν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἔγημεν αὐτήν, μηδὲ ἐκθρηνησαι
 5 τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν γάμων αὐτοῦ, ὧν τε ἐγάμει ὧν τε ἐγήματο, αὐτίκα λελέξεται· καὶ γὰρ ἠνδρίζετο καὶ ἐθηλύνετο καὶ

¹ ἐς supplied by Leuncl.

² ὅτι Bs., ΟΤΙΕΦΗ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

ments for his mistresses. This led to the charge A.D. 218 that he was intending to go off to Cappadocia, which bordered on his native land (he was a Galatian), for the purpose of starting a rebellion, and that this was the reason why he was making gold pieces bearing his own likeness.

Following these murders, Silius Messalla and Pomponius Bassus were condemned to death by the senate, on the charge of being displeased at what the emperor was doing. For he did not hesitate to write this charge against them even to the senate, calling them investigators of his life and censors of what went on in the palace. "The proofs of their plots I have not sent you," he wrote, "because it would be useless to read them, as the men are already dead." There was a further ground of complaint against Messalla, the fact, namely, that he resolutely laid bare many facts before the senate. This was what led the emperor in the first place to send for him to come to Syria, pretending to have great need of him, whereas he really feared that Messalla might take the lead in bringing about a change of mind on the part of the senators. In the case of Bassus, the real motive lay in the fact that he had a wife both fair to look upon and of noble rank; for she was a descendant of Claudius Severus and of Marcus Antoninus. At all events, the emperor married her, not allowing her even to mourn her loss. An account will be given presently of his marriages, in which he both married and was bestowed in marriage; for he appeared both as

³ τὸν supplied by Bk.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἔπραττεν καὶ ἔπασχεν· ἐκάτερα ἀσελγέστατα
 | δὲ δὴ δυσ | περὶ
 αὐτ | σία ἔφο
 | σαντων | νος καὶ
 6 μ | λιωνα δε α
 . . . | ὑφ' ὧν πε | τευομεν
 | τω τειχε
 . . | κτο ἰδίαν ἀμυνομε
 | Σέργιος α |
 τὸν Καρο | τινὰ καὶ μ
 | προσδιει | ουν
 ἐκ τι | δρωνων
 7 | τινὰ διατ | ποιήσας
 | ὑπ' αὐτ
 . . | διωλομ | δενος η
 | τ' ἐκείνου
 | αἰτίαν ἐπι | φόνω τὰ μ
 | τε ἰππέων | Και-
 σαρείων | ἐφθάρησαν
 . . . | οὐδὲν δεο ||
 6 . . . ν δὲ δὴ τὸν τὴν ἐπανάστασιν κατασκευά-
 σαντα, τὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντα,
 τὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας προσαποστήσαντα, τὸν τὴν
 νίκην αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου παρασχόντα,
 τὸν τροφέα, τὸν προστάτην, ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθύς τῆς
 ἡγεμονίας ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖα ἀποκτείνας ἀνοσιώ-
 2 τατος ἀνδρῶν ἐνομίσθη. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ
 τρυφερώτερον διητᾶτο καὶ ἠδέως ἐδωροδόκει, οὐ
 μὲν οὔτε¹ αἰτιός τινος κακοῦ οὐδενὶ ἐγένετο καὶ
 πολλοὺς πολλὰ εὐηργέτησε.² τὸ δὲ μέγιστον,

¹ οὔτε Bk., οὐδέ cod. Peir., cut off in V.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν περιεῖπε, καὶ τῇ Μαίση τῇ τε
 Σοαιμίδι σφόδρα ἤρεσκε, τῇ μὲν ὅτι ἐτέθραπτο
 ὑπ' αὐτῆς, τῇ δὲ ὅτι συνῶκει τρόπον τινὰ αὐτῇ.
 3 ἀλλ' οὐτι γε διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν κατεχρήσατο, ὅποτε
 καὶ συμβόλαιον αὐτῷ γαμικὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ
 Καίσαρα αὐτὸν ἀποδειῖξαι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 σωφρόνως τε καὶ ἐμφρόνως¹ ζῆν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 ἠναγκάζετο. καὶ αὐτός γε² αὐτοχειρία πρῶτος
 αὐτὸν κατέτρωσε διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 ἄρξαι τοῦ φόνου τολμῆσαι.
 7 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, ς δὲ Οὐῆρος
 ἐπιτολμήσας καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ μοναρχίᾳ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ
 στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Γαλλικῷ, οὐ ἦρχε, καὶ Γέλλιος
 Μάξιμος ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, καίπερ ὑποστρα-
 τηγῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ τετάρτου τοῦ
 2 Σκυθικοῦ τείχους, ἐδικαιώθησαν. οὕτω γάρ
 που πάντα ἄνω κάτω συνεχύθη ὥστε ἐκείνους
 τὴν ἔφεσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν μὲν ἐξ ἑκατον-
 τάοχων ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντα, τὸν δὲ
 ἰατροῦ υἱὸν ὄντα ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι.
 τούτους δὲ δὴ μόνους ὠνόμασα οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
 μόνοι ἐξεφρόνησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι βουλῆς ἦσαν,
 3 ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἕτερός τις ἑκατοντάρχου υἱὸς
 ἐπεχείρησε τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκείνο στρατόπεδον τὸ Γαλ-
 λικὸν³ συνταράξαι, καὶ μάλα ἄλλος τις ἐριουργὸς
 τὸ τέταρτον, ἕτερός τε ἰδιώτης τὸν στόλον τὸν ἐν
 τῇ Κυζίκῳ ναυλοχοῦντα, ὅτε καὶ ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος
 ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ ἐχείμαζεν, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ

¹ ἐμφρόνως Rk., εὐφρόνως cod. Peir., cut off in V.

² γε Bk., τε cod. Peir., cut off in V.

³ Γαλλικόν Urs., ΓΑΜΙΚΟΝ V, ΓΑΛΑΤΙΚΟΝ V².

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

the emperor and was thoroughly satisfactory to A.D. 218
Maesa and Soaemis, to the former because he had been reared by her, and to the latter because he was virtually her husband. But it was not at all because of this that the emperor put him out of the way, inasmuch as he had wished to give him a marriage contract and appoint him Caesar; it was rather because he was forced by Gannys to live temperately and prudently. And he himself was the first to give Gannys a mortal blow with his own hand, since no one of the soldiers had the hardihood to take the lead in murdering him.

Such, then, was the fate of these men. Others to be executed were . . . Verus, who had also ventured to seek the throne while in the midst of the third legion (Gallica) which he was commanding, and Gellius Maximus, on the same charge, though he was but a lieutenant of the fourth legion (Scythica) in Syria proper.¹ To such an extent, indeed, had everything got turned topsy-turvy that these men, one of whom had been enrolled in the senate from the ranks of the centurions and the other of whom was the son of a physician, took it into their heads to aim at the supreme power. I have mentioned these men alone by name, not because they were the only ones that took leave of their senses, but because they belonged to the senate; for other attempts were made. For example, the son of a centurion undertook to stir up that same Gallic legion; another, a worker in wool, tampered with the fourth legion, and a third, a private citizen, with the fleet stationed at Cyzicus, when the False Antoninus was wintering at Nico-

¹ Cf. lv. 23.

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† ἄλλοθι καὶ ἀλλαχόθι,¹ † ὥστε καὶ ἐτοιμότατον
 ὄν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἄρξαι, τῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ
 παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν πολλοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιβεβα-
 4 τευκένας, νεωτερίσαι τολμῆσαι. καὶ μηδεὶς
 ἀπιστήσῃ τῷ λεχθέντι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ λοιπὰ² τὰ
 τῶν ἰδιωτῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἀξιοπίστων πυθόμενος,
 τὸ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὸν στόλον· αὐτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῆς
 Περγᾶμου ἀκριβώσας ἔγραψα, ἧς, ὥσπερ καὶ
 τῆς Σμύρνης ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου ἐπεστά-
 τησα· ἀφ' οὐπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀπιστόν
 μοι κατεφάνη.

8 Φόνων μὲν οὖν ἐχόμενα ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐπράχθη,
 ἔξω δὲ δὴ τῶν πατρίων ἀπλᾶ μὲν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα
 κακὸν ἡμῖν φέροντα, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον³ παρὰ τὸ
 καθεστηκὸς ἐκαινοτομήθη, ὅτι τε τῶν ὀνομάτων
 τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ τεινόντων, πρὶν
 ψηφισθῆναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔθετο,
 2 καὶ ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Μακρίνου ὑπατεία, μήτε χειρο-
 τονηθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὴν⁴ μήτε ὅλως ἐφαψάμενος
 αὐτῆς (προδιήνυστο γάρ), αὐτὸν ἀντενέγραψε,⁵
 καίτοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδουέντου ὡς⁶ καὶ
 μόνου ὑπατευκότος τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τρισὶ γράμ-
 μασι διαδηλώσας, ὅτι τε⁷ δεύτερον δὴ ὑπατεύειν
 3 ἐπεχείρησεν, μηδεμίαν πρόσθεν μήτε ἀρχὴν
 λαβὼν μήτε τιμὴν ἀρχῆς, καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἐπινικίῳ

¹ Reim. proposed πολλαχόθι instead of καὶ ἀλλαχόθι, but the corruption may lie deeper.

² τὰ μὲν γὰρ λοιπὰ supplied by Bk., line missing in V.

³ καθ' Leuncl., ΠΑΡ V.

⁴ ἐπ' Leuncl., ΕΦ V.

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στολή ὑπατεύων ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ, ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐχῶν ἡμέρα, οὐκ ἐχρήσατο.¹

11 Τῶν δὲ δὴ παρανόμημάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλεγάβαλον² ἔχεται, οὐχ ὅτι θεόν τινα ξενικὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήγαγεν, οὐδ' ὅτι καινοπρεπέστατα αὐτὸν ἐμεγάλυνεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἱερέα αὐτοῦ ἑαυτὸν ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ὅτι τὸ αἰδοῖον περιέτεμε, καὶ ὅτι χοιρείων κρεῶν, ὡς καὶ καθαρώτερον ἐκ τούτων θρησκευσῶν, ἀπείχετο (ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ παντάπασιν αὐτὸ ἀποκόψαι· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν τῆς μαλακίας ἕνεκα ποιῆσαι ἐπεθύμησε, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἐλεγαβάλου³ ἱερατεία προσῆκον ἔπραξεν· ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ ἑτέροις τῶν συνόντων συχνοῖς ὁμοίως ἐλυμήνατο)· καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βαρβαρικὴν, ἣ οἱ τῶν Σύρων ἱερεῖς χρῶνται, καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις ἐωρᾶτο ἐνδεδυμένος· ἀφ' οὗπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν.—Xiph.: 348, 13–21 R. St., Exc. Val. 408 (p. 762).

12, 2² Ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος χρυσοῦς⁴ ἔστη πολλῶ καὶ ποικίλῳ κόσμῳ διαπρέπων.—Exc. Val. 409 (p. 762).

Ὅτι χρήματα πολλὰ ὁ Μακρίνος ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὐρῶν διεσπάθησεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρκουν αἱ πρόσοδοι πρὸς ἀναλώματα.—Exc. Val. 410 (p. 762).

9 Ἐγήμε δὲ Κορνηλίαν Παῦλαν, ἵνα δὴ θᾶσον, ὥσπερ ἔφη, πατήρ γένηται ὁ μηδ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι δυνάμενος. ἐν δ' οὖν τοῖς γάμοις οὐχ ὅπως

¹ οὐκ ἐχρήσατο supplied by Reim., V ends with ΗΜΕΡΑΙ.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

ing as consul in Nicomedeia, he did not wear the A.D. 218
triumphal dress on the Day of Vows.

Closely related to these irregularities was his conduct in the matter of Elagabalus. The offence consisted, not in his introducing a foreign god into Rome or in his exalting him in very strange ways, but in his placing him even before Jupiter himself and causing himself to be voted his priest, also in his circumcising himself and abstaining from swine's flesh, on the ground that his devotion would thereby be purer. He had planned, indeed, to cut off his genitals altogether, but that desire was prompted solely by his effeminacy; the circumcision which he actually carried out was a part of the priestly requirements of Elagabalus; and he accordingly mutilated many of his companions in like manner. Furthermore, he was frequently seen even in public clad in the barbaric dress which the Syrian priests use, and this had as much to do as anything with his receiving the nickname of "The Assyrian."

A gold statue of the False Antoninus was erected, distinguished by its great and varied adornment. A.D.
219-20?

Macrinus, though he found a large amount of money in the imperial treasury, squandered it all, and the revenues did not suffice for expenditures.

The False Antoninus married Cornelia Paula, in order, as he said, that he might sooner become a father—he who could not even be a man! On the occasion of his marriage not only the senate and the

² Ἐλεγάβαλον Reim., ἐλεαγάβαλον VC (and similarly below).

³ Ἐλεγαβάλου Reim., ἐλιογαβάλου cod. Peir.

⁴ χρυσοῦς Val., χρυσοῦ cod. Peir.

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- ἡ γερουσία ἢ τε ἵππας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν
 2 βουλευτῶν διανομὴν τινα ἔλαβον, ὃ τε δῆμος πεν-
 τήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμαῖς καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται
 ἑκατὸν πλείοσιν εἰστιάθησαν, μονομάχων τε
 ἀγῶνες ἐγένοντο, ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ περιπόρφυρον
 ἐνδύντος, ὃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχολιμαίαις¹ θεαῖς
 ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ θηρία ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ
 ἑλέφας τίγριδες τε μία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐσφάγησαν.
 3 ὃ μηδεπώποτε ἀθρόον ἐγεγόνει. εἶτα τὴν Παῦλαν
 ὡς καὶ κηλῖδά τινα περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσαν
 ἀποπέμψας Ἀκυλία Σεουήρα συνώκησεν, ἐκφα-
 νέστατα παρανομήσας. ἱερωμένην γὰρ αὐτὴν τῇ
 Ἑστία ἀσεβέστατα ἤσχυνεν. ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ἵνα δὴ καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς παῖδες ἕκ τε
 ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἕκ τε ταύτης τῆς ἀρχιερείας
 4 γεννῶνται, τοῦτ' ἐποίησα.” καὶ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἐν
 τῇ ἀγορᾷ αἰκισθέντα εἶτα ἐς τὸ δεσμοτήριον
 ἐμβληθῆναι κἀνταῦθα θανατωθῆναι ἔδει, ἐπὶ
 τούτοις ἐκαλλώπιζέτο. καὶ οὐδ' ἐκείνην μέντοι
 ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέσχευ, ἀλλὰ ἑτέραν, εἶθ' ἑτέραν καὶ
 μάλα ἄλλην ἔγημε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν
 Σεουήραν ἐπανῆλθεν.
- 10 Ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἄλλα τε
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῆς Ἰσιδος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τὸ
 ἀέτωμα² τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ κυνὸς ὀχεῖται. τὸ
 2 γὰρ πρόσωπον ἐς τὸ εἶσω μετέστρεψεν. ὃ δὲ
 Σαρδανάπαλλος καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐποίει καὶ θεὰς
 συχνάς, ἐν αἷς Αὐρήλιος Ἐλιξ³ ὁ ἀθλητῆς εὐδο-
 κίμησεν, ὃς τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὑπερῆρεν
 ὥστε πάλην τε ἅμα καὶ παγκράτιον ἐν τῇ

¹ εὐχολιμαίαις H. Steph., εὐχολιμαίαις VC.

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- 3 Ὀλυμπία ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐθελῆσαι, κὰν τοῖς Κάπι-
 τωλίοις καὶ ἄμφω νικῆσαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἡλεῖοι
 φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ, μή (τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο)
 ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ὄγδοος γένηται, οὐδὲ ἐκάλεσαν ἐς
 τὸ στάδιον παλαιστήν οὐδένα, καίπερ ἐν τῷ λευκώ-
 ματι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄθλημα προγράψαντες.¹ ἐν δὲ
 δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἐκάτερον, ὃ μηδεὶς
 ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει.
- 11 Ἴνα δὲ παρῷ τὰς τε βαρβαρικὰς ὤδας ἃς ὁ
 Σαρδανάπαλλος τῷ Ἐλεγαβάλῳ ἤδε τῇ μητρὶ
 ἅμα καὶ τῇ τήθῃ, τὰς τε ἀπορρήτους θυσίας ἃς
 αὐτῷ ἔθυε, παῖδας σφαγιαζόμενος καὶ μαγγανεύ-
 μασι χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ
 λέοντα καὶ πίθηκον καὶ ὄφιν τινὰ ζῶντα ἐγκα-
 τακλείσας, αἰδοῖά τε ἀνθρώπου ἐμβαλῶν, καὶ
 ἄλλ' ἄττα ἀνοσιουργῶν, περιάπτοις τέ τισι
- 12 μυρίοις αἰεὶ ποτε χρώμενος, — Ἴνα ταῦτα
 παραδράμω, καὶ γυναῖκα, τὸ γελοιότατον, Ἐλε-
 γαβάλῳ ἐμνήστευσεν καθάπερ καὶ γάμου παίδων
 τε δεομένω. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ μήτε πενιχρὰν μήτε
 δυσγένῃ τινὰ εἶναι αὐτήν, τὴν Οὐρανίαν τὴν τῶν
 Καρχηδονίων ἐπελέξατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τε αὐτὴν
 μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον καθίδρυσεν,
 ἔδνα τε αὐτῇ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὥσπερ
- 2¹ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικῶν, ἤθροισεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ
 οὖν ἔδνα, ὅσα ἐδόθη² ζῶντος αὐτοῦ,³ μετὰ ταῦτα
 εἰσεπράχθη· τὴν δὲ δὴ προῖκα οὐκ' ἔφη κομίσα-
 σθαι, πλὴν δύο λεόντων χρυσῶν, οἳ καὶ συνεχωνεύ-
 θησαν.—Xiph. 348, 21—349, 31 R. St.
- 13 Ἄλλ' οὗτος ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὃ καὶ τοὺς

¹ προγράψαντες Sylb., προσγράψαντες VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

in both wrestling and the pancratium at Olympia, and actually did win in both events at the Ludi Capitolini. But the Eleans were jealous of him, fearing that he might prove to be "the eighth from Hercules," as the saying has it, and so would not call any wrestler into the stadium, even though they had announced this contest on the bulletin-board; in Rome, however, he won both events, a feat that no one else had accomplished. A.D.
219-20?

I will not describe the barbaric chants which Sardanapalus, together with his mother and grandmother, chanted to Elagabalus, or the secret sacrifices that he offered to him, slaying boys and using charms, in fact actually shutting up alive in the god's temple a lion, a monkey, and a snake, and throwing in among them human genitals, and practising other unholy rites, while he invariably wore innumerable amulets. But; to pass over these matters, he went to the extreme absurdity of courting a wife for Elagabalus—as if the god had any need of marriage and children! And, as such a wife might be neither poor nor low-born, he chose the Carthaginian Urania, summoned her thence, and established her in the palace; and he collected wedding-gifts for her from all his subjects, as he had done in the case of his own wives. Now all these presents that were given during his lifetime were reclaimed later; as for the dowry, he declared that he had received none from her, except two gold lions which were accordingly melted down.

But this Sardanapalus, who saw fit to make even

² ἐδόθη Bk.; ἐδόθησαν VC.

³ αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῶ VC.

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θεοὺς γάμου νόμῳ συνοικίζειν ἀξιῶν, ἀσέλγιστα αὐτὸς διεβίω. ἔγημε μὲν γὰρ πολλὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ ἔτι πλείοσιν ἄνευ τινὸς νομίμου¹ προσρήσεως συνείργνυτο, οὐ μὲντοι ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τι αὐτῶν δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἵνα τῇ σύγκοιμήσει τῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μιμῆται καὶ² κοινωνοὺς τῆς ὕβρεως, φύρδην ἀναφερόμενος² αὐταῖς, λαμβάνη. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄτοπα, ἃ μῆτε λέγων μῆτε ἀκούων ἄν³ τις καρτερήσειεν, καὶ⁴ ἔδρασε τῷ σώματι καὶ ἔπαθε τὰ δὲ δὴ περιφανέστατα, καὶ ἃ μὴδ' ἂν ἀποκρύψαιτό τις, τάδε ἐστίν. ἐς καπήλειᾶ ἐσήει νύκτωρ περιθεταῖς κόμαις χρώμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν καπήλιδων εἰργάζετο. ἐς τὰ πορνεία τὰ περιβόητα ἐσέφοίτα,³ καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἐξελαύνων ἐπορνεύετο. καὶ τέλος ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οἴκημά τι ἀποδείξας ἐνταῦθα ἠσέλγαινε, γυμνός τ' αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐστῶς ὡσπερ αἱ πόρναι, καὶ τὸ σινδόνιον χρυσοῖς κρίκοις ἐξηρτημένον διασειῶν, τοὺς τε παρίοντας ἄβρα τε καὶ κεκλασμένη τῇ φωνῇ προσεταιριζόμενος. ἦσαν γὰρ οἷς ἐξεπίτηδες τοῦτο ποιεῖν⁴ προσετέτακτο. ὡσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο διερευνητὰς συχνοὺς εἶχε, δι' ὧν ἐπολυπραγμόνει τοὺς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀρέσαι τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ δυναμένους. χρήματά τε, ἵπαρ' αὐτῶν συνέλεγε, καὶ ἐγαυροῦτο ταῖς ἐμπολαῖς· πρὸς τε τοὺς συνασχημονοῦντάς οἱ διεφέρετο, ἰπλείους τε ἐραστὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ πλείον ἀργυρίζεσθαι¹⁴ λέγων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς

¹ νομίμου Val., νόμου cod. Peir.

² καὶ supplied by Val.

³ ἄν supplied here by Dind., after first μῆτε by Bk.

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χρωμένους αὐτῷ ἔδρα, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐξαίρετόν τινα ἄνδρα ἔσχευ, ὃν Καίσαρα διὰ τοῦτ' ἀποδειῖξαι ἠθέλησεν.

2 Ἡλαυνε· μὲν γὰρ ἄρμα τῇ πρασίῳ στολῇ χρώμενος, ἰδία τε καὶ οἴκοι, εἶγε οἶκον ἐνὶ φάναϊ τοῦτ' εἶναι ἐνθα ἠγωνοθέτουν οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτοι, καὶ ἰππῆς καὶ² Καισάρειοι, καὶ οἱ ἔπαρχοι αὐτοὶ ἢ τε τήθη καὶ ἢ μήτηρ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Λέων ὁ πολίαρχος, καὶ ἐθεῶντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἄρματηλατοῦντα καὶ χρυσοῦς ὥσπερ τινὰ τῶν τυχόντων αἰτοῦντα, τοὺς τε ἀγωνοθέτας καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας προσκυνοῦντα.—*Xiph. 349, 31—350, 26 R. St., Exc. Val. 411 (p. 762).*

3 Ὅτι ἐν τῷ δικάζειν τινὰ ἀνὴρ πως εἶναι ἐδόκει, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῆς φωνῆς ὠραΐζετο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὠρχεῖτο, οὔτι³ γε ἐν ὀρχήστρᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαδίζων τρόπον τινὰ καὶ θύων ἀσπαζόμενός τε
4 καὶ δημηγορῶν. καὶ τέλος, ἴν' ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον ἐπανεέλθω, καὶ ἐγήματο, γυνή τε καὶ δέσποινα βασιλὶς τε ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ἠριούργει,⁴ κεκρύφαλόν τε ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφόρει, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐνηλείφετο, ψιμυθίῳ τε καὶ ἐγχούσῃ ἐχρίετο. ἅπαξ μὲν γὰρ ποτε ἀπεκείρατο τὸ γένειον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐορτὴν ἠγάγε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐψιλίζετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου γυναικίζειν. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ κατακείμενος τοὺς βουλευτὰς
15 ἠσπάζετο. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰεροκλῆς ἦν, Καρικὸν ἀνδράποδον, Γορδίου ποτὲ παιδικὰ γενό-

¹ ἰππῆς Bs., ἰππεῖς cod. Peir.

² καὶ supplied by Reim.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

relations with him ; but he had, besides, one favourite “husband,” whom he wished to appoint Caesar for that very reason. A.D.
219-20?

He also used to drive a chariot, wearing the Green uniform, privately and at home,—if one can call that place home where the judges were the foremost men of his suite, both knights and imperial freedmen, and the very prefects, together with his grandmother, his mother and the women, and likewise various members of the senate, including Leo, the city prefect,—and where they watched him playing charioteer and begging gold coins like any ordinary contestant and saluting the presidents of the games and the members of his faction. A.D.
220?

When trying someone in court he really had more or less the appearance of a man, but everywhere else he showed affectation in his actions and in the quality of his voice. For instance, he used to dance, not only in the orchestra, but also, in a way, even while walking, performing sacrifices, receiving salutations, or delivering a speech. And finally,—to go back now to the story which I began,—he was bestowed in marriage and was termed wife, mistress, and queen. He worked with wool, sometimes wore a hair-net, and painted his eyes, daubing them with white lead and alkanet. Once, indeed, he shaved his chin and held a festival to mark the event ; but after that he had the hairs plucked out, so as to look more like a woman. And he often reclined while receiving the salutations of the senators. The husband of this “woman” was Hierocles, a Carian slave, once the favourite of Gordius, from whom he had learned to

³ οὔτι Dind., οὔτε VC cod. Peir.

⁴ ἠριούργει Bk., ἐριούργει MSS.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μένον, παρ' οὐ καὶ ἄρματήλατεῖν ἔμαθεν. κακ
 τούτου καὶ παραδοξότατα αὐτῷ ἠρέσθη. ἐν γάρ
 τοι ἵπποδρομία τινὶ ἐκπесῶν τοῦ ἄρματος κατ'
 αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου ἔδραν τό τε
 κράνος ἐν τῇ πτώσει ἀπέρριψε, καὶ ἐκφάνεις
 2 αὐτῷ (λειογένειος δ' ἔτι ἦν καὶ κόμη ξανθῇ
 ἐκεκόσμητο) ἀνῆρπάσθη τε εὐθύς ἐς τὸ παλάτιον,
 κὰν τοῖς νυκτερινοῖς ἔργοις ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἔλων
 αὐτὸν ὑπερηυξήθη, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον
 ἰσχῦσαι, καὶ βραχὺ τι νομισθῆναι τὸ τὴν μητέρα
 αὐτοῦ ἔτι δούλην οὔσαν ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ
 στρατιωτῶν ἀχθῆναι κὰν ταῖς τῶν ὑπατευκότων
 3 γυναιξὶ συναριθμηθῆναι. πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ καὶ
 ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐτιμήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠδυνήθη-
 σαν¹ οἱ μὲν ὅτι συνεπανέστησαν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐμοίχευον
 αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ μοιχεύεσθαι δοκεῖν, ἵνα κὰν τούτῳ
 τὰς ἀσελγεστάτας γυναικῆς μιμῆται, ἤθελε, καὶ
 πολλάκις ἐκὼν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἠλίσκετο, καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο ἀσελγῶς πρὸς τοῦ
 ἀνδρός, καὶ ὥστε καὶ ὑπώπια σχεῖν πληγὰς
 4 ἐλάμβανεν. ἐκεῖνον δ' οὖν οὕτως οὐ κούφη τινὶ
 φορᾷ ἀλλὰ συντόνῳ² καὶ δευσοποιῷ ἔρωτι ἠγάπα,
 ὥστε μὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἀγανακτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον αὐτὸν
 φιλῆσαι, καὶ Καίσαρα ὄντως ἀποφῆναι ἐθελῆσαι,³
 καὶ τῇ τε τήθῃ διὰ τοῦτο ἐμποδῶν γενομένη
 ἀπειλῆσαι, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐκ ἠκιστα δι'
 16 αὐτὸν προσκροῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐμέλλε ποῦ καὶ
 διὰ ταῦτα ἀπολεῖσθαι.—Xiph. 350, 26—351, 22
 R. St.; Exc. Val. 412 (p. 765 sq.)

¹ ἠδυνήθησαν Bk., ἐδυνήθησαν MSS.

² συντόνῳ Sylb., πόνῳ VC.

³ ἐθελῆσαι Bk., θελῆσαι VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Αὐρήλιος δὲ δὴ Ζωτικός, ἀνὴρ Σμυρναῖος, ὃν
 καὶ Μάγειρον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνης ἀπεκά-
 λουν, καὶ ἐφιλήθη πάνυ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμισήθη,
 2 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐσώθη. οὗτος γὰρ δὴ καλὸν
 μὲν καὶ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἀθλήσει ἔχων,
 πολὺ δὲ δὴ πάντα τῷ τῶν αἰδοίων μεγέθει
 ὑπεραίρων, ἐμηνύθη τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα
 ἐξεταζόντων, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων
 ἀναρπασθεὶς ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ
 πομπῆς ἀπλέτου καὶ ὄσσην οὔτε Αὔγαρος¹ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ Σεουήρου οὔτε Τιριδάτης ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος
 3 ἔσχε, πρόκοιτός τε καὶ πρὶν ὀφθῆναί οἱ ἀπο-
 δειχθεὶς, καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀουίτου τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ
 ὀνόματι τιμηθεὶς, καὶ στεφανώμασιν ὥσπερ ἐν
 πανηγύρει ἡσκημένος, ἐς τὸ παλάτιον λυχνοκαΐα
 πολλῇ λαμπόμενος ἐσῆλθε. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν
 4 ἀνέθορέ τε ἐρρυθμισμένως,² καὶ προσειπόντα, οἷα
 εἰκὸς ἦν, “ κύριε αὐτοκράτορ χαῖρε,” θαυμαστῶς
 τὸν τε αὐχένα γυναικίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 ἐπέγκλάσας ἡμείψατο, καὶ ἔφη οὐδὲν διστάσας
 5 “ μή με λέγε κύριον· ἐγὼ γὰρ κυρία εἰμί.” καὶ ὁ
 μὲν συλλουσάμενός τε αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα, καὶ ἐπὶ
 πλείον ἐκ τῆς γυμνώσεως, ἅτε καὶ ἰσόρροπον τῇ
 φήμῃ εὐρῶν αὐτὸν ὄντα, πασχητιάσας ἐν τε τοῖς
 στέρνοις αὐτοῦ κατεκλίθη, κὰν τοῖς κόλποις
 6 ὥσπερ τις ἐρωμένη δεῖπνον εἴλετο· ὁ δὲ Ἰεροκλῆς
 φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ· δου-
 λώσηται, καί τι δι' αὐτοῦ δεινόν, οἷα ἐν ἀντε-
 ρασταῖς εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, πάθη, φαρμάκῳ τινὶ

¹ Αὔγαρος VC, ἄγβαρος cod. Peir.

² ἐρρυθμισμένως cod. Peir., ἐρρυθριασμένως V, ἐρυθριασ-
 μένως C.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

Aurelius Zoticus, a native of Smyrna, whom they also called "Cook," after his father's trade, incurred the emperor's thorough love and thorough hatred, and for the latter reason his life was saved. This Aurelius not only had a body that was beautiful all over, seeing that he was an athlete, but in particular he greatly surpassed all others in the size of his private parts. This fact was reported to the emperor by those who were on the look-out for such things, and the man was suddenly whisked away from the games and brought to Rome, accompanied by an immense escort, larger than Abgarus had had in the reign of Severus or Tiridates in that of Nero. He was appointed cubicularius before he had even been seen by the emperor, was honoured by the name of the latter's grandfather, Avitus, was adorned with garlands as at a festival, and entered the palace lighted by the glare of many torches. Sardanapalus, on seeing him, sprang up with rhythmic movements, and then, when Aurelius addressed him with the usual salutation, "My Lord Emperor, Hail!" he bent his neck so as to assume a ravishing feminine pose, and turning his eyes upon him with a melting gaze, answered without any hesitation: "Call me not Lord, for I am a Lady." Then Sardanapalus immediately joined him in the bath, and finding him when stripped to be equal to his reputation, burned with even greater lust, reclined on his breast, and took dinner, like some loved mistress, in his bosom. But Hierocles fearing that Zoticus would captivate the emperor more completely than he himself could, and that he might therefore suffer some terrible fate at his hands, as often happens in the case of rival lovers, caused the cup-bearers, who were well dis-

A.D.
220?

αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν οἰνοχόων, προσφιλῶν· που· ἐαυτῷ ὄντων, ἐξεθήλυνε. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἀστυσία¹ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα συσχεθεὶς ἀφηρέθη τὸ πάντων ὧν ἐτετυχήκει,² καὶ ἐξηλάθη ἐκ τε τοῦ παλατίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἰταλίας· ὃ καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτόν.—Xiph. 351, 22—352, 14 R. St., Exc. Val. 413 (p. 766).

7 Ἐς τοσαύτην δὲ σὺνηλάθη ἀσέλγειαν ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἀξιούν αἰδῶ γυναικείαν δι' ἀνατομῆς αὐτῷ μηχανήσασθαι, μεγάλους ὑπὲρ τούτου μισθοὺς αὐτοῖς προῖσχύμενος.—Zon. 12, 14, p. 118, 30—119, 3 D.

17 Ἐμελλε δέ που καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος ἀξιώτατον τῆς μιαρίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ μισθὸν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κομιεῖσθαι. ἅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχων ἐμισήθη ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς μάλιστα προσέκειτο, καὶ τελευταίου καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσφάγη.—Xiph. 352, 14—18 R. St.

¹ Ἀβιτος, ὡς φησι Δίων, τὸν ἰατρὸν ἠντιβόλει διφυῆ αὐτὸν διὰ τομῆς ἐμπροσθίου τῆ τέχνης ποιεῖσθαι.—Leo p. 287, 18—19 Cram., Cedr. 1 p. 449, 22—450, 1. B., cod. Paris. 1712 f. 80^v.

² Ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονήθη καὶ ἀνηρέθη· ὅταν γὰρ ἐθισθῶσί τινες καὶ ταῦτα ὀπλισμένοι καταφρονεῖν τῶν κρατούντων, οὐδένα ὄρον τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ἀβούλονται ποιοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόντος ταύτην ὀπλίζονται.—Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 152 (p. 232 Mai. = p. 217, 8—13 Dind.).

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2 Ἔσχε δὲ οὕτως· τὸν Βασιανὸν τὸν ἀνέψιον αὐτοῦ¹ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσαγαγών, καὶ τὴν Μαῖσαν καὶ τὴν Σοαιμίδα ἐκατέρωθεν παραστησάμενος, παῖδα ἔθετο, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὡς καὶ πατέρα ἐξαίφνης τηλικούτου παιδίου, καίπερ οὐ² πολὺ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτοῦ προέχοντα, ἐμακάρισε, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλου τέκνου δεῖσθαι ἔφησεν, ἵν' ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ
 3 ἀνευ ἀθυμιῶν διαγένηται· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεγάβαλον τοῦτό τε οἱ ποιῆσαι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσονομάσαι κεκελευκέναι. καὶ ἔγωγε πείθομαι ἐκ θείας τινὸς παρασκευῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ γεγονέναι, τεκμαιρόμενος οὐχ οἷς ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τοῦ λεχθέντος αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τινος, ὅτι ἄρα τις³ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ἐμέσης ἔλθων αὐτὸν διαδέξεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἔν τε τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω
 18 καὶ τῇ Θράκῃ. ὀλίγον γὰρ τούτων⁴ πρότερον δαίμων τις Ἀλέξανδρός, τε ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκεῖνος εἶναι λέγων καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε σκευὴν ἅπασαν φέρων, ὠρμήθη τε ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν χωρίων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκείνη ἐκφανείς, καὶ διὰ τε τῆς Μυσίας⁵ καὶ τῆς Θράκης διεξῆλθε βακχεύων μετ' ἀνδρῶν τετρακοσίων, θύρσους τε καὶ νέβριδας⁶ ἐνεσκευασμένων, κακὸν οὐδὲν
 2 δρώντων. ὠμολόγητό δὲ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τότε γενομένων ὅτι καὶ καταγωγαὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτῷ πάντα δημοσίᾳ παρεσκευάσθη· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν οὔτ' ἀντειπεῖν οἱ οὔτ' ἀντάραι, οὐκ ἄρχων, οὐ στρατιώτης, οὐκ ἐπίτροπος, οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλ'

¹ αὐτοῦ H. Steph., αὐτοῦ VC.

² καίπερ οὐ Bs., ὅς καί VC.

³ τις Sylb., ὡς VC, ὁ Leuncl.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

This is how it came about. He brought his A.D. 221
cousin Bassianus before the senate, and having
caused Maesa and Soaemis to take their places on
either side of him, formally adopted him as his son ;
and he congratulated himself on becoming suddenly
the father of so large a boy,—though he himself was
not much older than the other,—and declared that
he had no need of any other child to keep his house
free from despondency. He said that Elagabalus
had ordered him to do this and further to call his
son's name Alexander. And I, for my part, am
persuaded that all this did come about in very truth
by some divine arrangement ; though I infer this,
not from what he said, but from the statement made
to him by someone else, to the effect that an
Alexander should come from Emesa to succeed him,
and again from what happened in Upper Moesia and
in Thrace. For shortly before this time a spirit,
claiming to be the famous Alexander of Macedon,
and resembling him in looks and general appearance,
set out from the regions along the Ister, after first
appearing there in some manner or other, and pro-
ceeded through Moesia and Thrace, revelling in
company with four hundred male attendants, who
were equipped with thyrsi and fawn skins and did
no harm. It was admitted by all those who were in
Thrace at the time that lodgings and all provisions
for the spirit were donated at public expense, and
none—whether magistrate, soldier, procurator, or the
governors of the provinces—dared to oppose the spirit
either by word or by deed, but it proceeded in broad

⁴ τ^{ον}τ^{ον} R Steph., τοῦτον VC.

⁵ Μυσίας Bk., Ἀσίας VC.

⁶ νεβρίδας Reim., νευρίδας VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ τινὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ προρρήσεως
 3 ἐκομίσθη μέχρι τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ
 ἔξαναχθεὶς προσέσχε μὲν τῇ Χαλκηδονίᾳ¹ γῆ,
 ἐκεῖ δὲ δὴ νυκτὸς ἱερά τινα ποιήσας καὶ ἵππον
 ξύλινον καταχώσας ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν
 ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι, ὡς εἶπον, ὦν, πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν
 περὶ τὸν Βασιανὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γένεσθαι,
 ἔμαθον.—*Xiph.* 352, 18—353, 11 R. St.

4 "Ὅτι ποτὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν· "οὐδὲν δέομαι
 ὀνομάτων ἐκ πολέμου καὶ αἵματος· ἀρκεῖ γάρ
 μοι καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ εὐτυχῆ παρ' ὑμῶν καλεῖσθαι."
 —*Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat.* 153 (p. 232 Mai. = p.
 217, 14–16 Dind.).

"Ὅτι Ψευδαντωνῖνος ἐπαινούμενός ποτε παρὰ
 τῆς βουλῆς εἶπεν ὅτι "ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀγαπᾶτέ με
 καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὰ ἔξω στρατόπεδα.²
 τοῖς δὲ δορυφόροις οἷς τοσαῦτα³ δίδωμι οὐκ
 ἀρέσκω."—*Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat.* 154 (p. 232 sq.
 Mai. = p. 217, 17–20 Dind.).

19, 1¹ "Ἔως μὲν οὖν ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος τὸν ἀνεψιὸν
 ἐφίλει, ἐσώζετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ὑπώπτευε καὶ
 ἐμάνθανε πρὸς ἐκείνον ῥέποντας ὀλοσχερῶς ταῖς
 εὐνοίαις, ἐτόλμησε μεταγνώναι καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ
 καθαιρέσει αὐτοῦ ἔπραττεν.—*Xiph.* 353, 11–15
 R. St.

1^a "Ὅτι τινῶν συνηγορούντων τῷ Ψευδαντωνίῳ
 καὶ εἰπόντων ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἶη τῷ υἱῷ συνυπα-
 τεύων, ἔφη· "εὐτυχέστερος ἔσομαι κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς.
 ἑνιαυτὸν μετὰ γνησίου υἱοῦ μέλλων ὑπατεύειν."—
Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 155 (p. 233 Mai. = p. 127,
 21–24 Dind.).

1² Ὡς δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρησεν,

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπο-
 2 θανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσεν· ὃ τε γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπό
 τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς τήθης ὑπό τε τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι
 αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου
 δεινῶς ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ πρὶν τε ἐπαύσαντο στα-
 3 σιάζοντες ἢ τὸν Σαρδανάπαλλον τὸ στρατόπεδον
 σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καταλαβόντα, πολλά τε
 ἰκετεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐξαιτηθέντας παρ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν συνασελγαινόντων αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι ἀναγκασ-
 θέντα, ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Ἱεροκλέους οἰκτρὰ λαλή-
 σαντα καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσαντα, τὴν τε σφαγὴν
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προδείξαντα, καὶ ἐπειπόντα “ἕνα
 μοι τοῦτον χαρίσασθε, ὃ τι βούλεσθε περὶ αὐτοῦ
 ὑποτοπήσαντες, ἢ ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνατε,” μόλις αὐ-
 4 τοὺς ἐκμειλίξασθαι. τότε μὲν οὖν μόλις ἐσώθη·
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τήθη αὐτοῦ ἐμίσει τε αὐτὸν ἐφ'
 οἷς ἔπραπτεν, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου υἱὸν ὄντα,
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς καὶ ὄντως¹ ἐξ
 20 αὐτοῦ γεγονότα ἀπέκλινε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπι-
 βεβουλευκῶς πάλιν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ θορυ-
 βησάντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν δορυφόρων σὺν αὐτῷ
 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσελθόν, ὡς ἤσθετο φυλατ-
 τόμενον ἑαυτὸν² ἐπὶ ἀναιρέσει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ
 μητέρες αὐτῶν ἐκφανέστερον ἢ πρὶν ἀλλήλαις
 μαχόμεναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠρέθιζον, φεύγειν
 2 πῶς ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐς τύλλον ἐμβλη-
 θεῖς ἐκδρᾶναί ποι, φωραθεῖς δὲ ἀπесφάγη, ὀκτω-
 καίδεκα ἔτη γεγονώς. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ
 (περιπλακεῖσα γὰρ ἀπρίξ εἶχετο) συναπώλετο.

¹ καὶ ὄντως Sylb., ὄντως καὶ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

Alexander, he not only accomplished nothing but A.D. 222 came near being killed himself. For Alexander was sedulously guarded by his mother and his grandmother and by the soldiers, and the Pretorians, also, on becoming aware of the attempt of Sardanapalus, raised a terrible tumult; and they did not stop rioting until Sardanapalus, accompanied by Alexander, came to the camp and poured out his supplications and under compulsion surrendered such of his companions in lewdness as the soldiers demanded. In behalf of Hierocles he offered piteous pleas and bewailed him with tears; then, pointing to his own throat, he cried: "Grant me this one man, whatever you may have been pleased to suspect about him, or else slay me." Thus with difficulty he succeeded in appeasing them; and for the time being he was saved himself, though with difficulty. Even his grandmother hated him because of his deeds, which seemed to show that he was not the son of Antoninus at all, and was coming to favour Alexander, as being really sprung from him. Later he again formed a plot against Alexander, and when the Pretorians raised an outcry at this, he went with him to the camp. But he then became aware that he was under guard and awaiting execution, as the mothers of the two youths, being more openly at variance with each other than before, were inflaming the spirits of the soldiers; so he made an attempt to flee, and would have got away somewhere by being placed in a chest, had he not been discovered and slain, at the age of eighteen. His mother, who embraced him and clung tightly to him, perished

² *ἑαυτόν* H. Steph., *ἑαυτῶ* VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ αἶ τε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεκόπησαν, καὶ τὰ σώματα γυμνωθέντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐσύρη, ἔπειτα τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς ἄλλως πως ἐρρίφη, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβλήθη.—Xiph. 353, 15–354, 8 R. St.

21 Καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Ἱεροκλῆς οἱ τε ἑπαρχοὶ συναπώλοντο καὶ Αὐρήλιος Εὐβουλος, ὃς Ἐμεσηνὸς μὲν τὸ γένος ἦν, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀσελγείας καὶ μιαρίας ἐχώρησεν ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἐξαιτηθῆναι. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ καθόλου λόγους ἐπιτετραμμένος οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐδήμευσε. τότε δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεσπάσθη, καὶ Φούλουιος σὺν 2 αὐτῷ ὁ πολίαρχος. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωμάζων, ὡς καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, διεδέξατο. ὥσπερ γὰρ προσωπεῖόν τι ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τῆς τῶν κωμῶδων ὑποκρίσεως ἐσεφέρετο, οὕτω¹ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῇ τῶν πολιαρχησάντων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ² κενῇ χώρᾳ προσετάττετο. ὃ τε Ἐλεγάβαλος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης παντάπασιν ἐξέπεσε.

3 Τὰ μὲν τοῦ Τιβερίνου οὕτως ἔσχε, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν συγκατασκευασάντων αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν καὶ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυνηθέντων, πλὴν ἐνός που, ἐσώθη.—Xiph. 354, 8–19 R. St., Exc. Val. 414 (p. 769).

XXX Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον εὐθὺς αὐταρχήσας 1, 1 Δομιτίῳ τινὶ Οὐλπιανῷ τὴν τε τῶν δορυφόρων προστασίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπέτρεψε πράγματα.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀκριβώσας, ὡς ἕκαστα ἠδυνήθην,

¹ οὕτω Leuncl., καὶ οὕτω VC.

² αὐτοῦ Rk., αὐτῇ VC.

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συνέγραψα· τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξελεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατριῖψαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἔλθων ἠρρώστησα, κακεῖθεν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονίαν ἠπείχθην, 3 ἐπανελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθέως ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔς τε τὴν Δελματίαν¹ κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν τὴν ἄνω ἄρξων ἐπέμφθην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀφικόμενος 2 παραχρῆμα οἴκαδε ἐξωρμήθην. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνθεῖναι, κεφαλαιώσας μέντοι ταῦτα, ὅσα γε καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας μου ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη, διηγῆσομαι.

2 Ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου πραχθέντων ἐπηνώρθωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαουιανὸν τὸν τε Χρῆστον ἀποκτείνας, ἵνα αὐτοὺς διαδέξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπιθεμένων οἱ νυκτὸς κατεσφάγη, καίτοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ἀναδραμὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ καταφυγών. 3 ζῶντος δ' οὖν ἔτι αὐτοῦ στάσις μεγάλη τοῦ δήμου² πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκ βραχείας τινὸς αἰτίας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μάχεσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολέσθαι. ἠττώμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς ἔμπρησιν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐτράποντο· κακ τοῦτου δείσας ὁ δῆμος μὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἢ πόλις 4 φθαρῇ, καὶ ἄκων σφίσι συνηλλάγη. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Ἐπάγαθος, ὡς καὶ αἴτιος τῶ

¹ Δελματίαν Reim., δαλματίαν VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

accuracy as I could in every case, but for subsequent events I have not found it possible to give an accurate account, for the reason that I did not spend much time in Rome. For, after going from Asia into Bithynia, I fell sick, and from there I hastened to my province of Africa; then, on returning to Italy I was almost immediately sent as governor first to Dalmatia and then to Upper Pannonia, and though after that I returned to Rome and to Campania, I at once set out for home.¹ For these reasons, then, I have not been able to compile the same kind of account of subsequent events as of the earlier ones. I will narrate briefly, however, all that occurred up to the time of my second consulship.

A.D.
222-229

Ulpian corrected many of the irregularities introduced by Sardanapalus; but after putting to death Flavianus and Chrestus, that he might succeed them, he was himself slain ere long by the Pretorians, who attacked him in the night; and it availed him naught that he ran to the palace and took refuge with the emperor himself and the emperor's mother. Even during his lifetime a great quarrel had arisen between the populace and the Pretorians, from some small cause, with the result that they fought together for three days and many lost their lives on both sides. The soldiers, on getting the worst of it, directed their efforts to setting fire to buildings; and so the populace, fearing the whole city would be destroyed, reluctantly came to terms with them. Besides these occurrences, Epagathus, who was believed to have been chiefly

¹ Nicaea.

² τοῦ δήμου Zon., om. VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Οὐλπιανῶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὸ¹ πλέον γενόμενος, ἔς τε Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἄρξων αὐτῆς ἐπέμφθη, ἵνα μή τις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ ταραχὴ γένηται, καὶ κεῖθεν ἐς Κρήτην ἀπαχθεὶς ἐδικαιώθη.

3 Πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐπαναστάσεις γενόμεναι, καὶ τινες καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκφοβήσασαι, κατεπαύθησαν.

Τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ φοβερώτερα, καὶ ἀληθέστερον δέος σύμπασιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, παρέσχευ.

2 Ἀρταξέρξης γάρ τις Πέρσης τοὺς τε Πάρθους τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄτρα ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐπιβασίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιούμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τείχος διέρρηξεν, συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀποβαλὼν ἐπὶ

3 τὴν Μηδίαν μετέστη, καὶ ἐκείνης τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῆς Παρθίας, τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ, παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἤλασε, κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ πρὸς Μήδων τινῶν τῶν τε τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου παίδων πταίσας, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ἔφυγεν, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι, ἀνεχώρησε

4 πρὸς παρασκευὴν δυνάμεως μείζονος. οὗτος² οὖν φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, στρατεύματί τε πολλῶ οὐ μόνον τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσας, καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτῆσεσθαι πάντα, ὡς καὶ προσήκοντά οἱ ἐκ προγόνων, ὅσα ποτὲ οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἔσχον, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος

¹ τὸ supplied by Reim.

² οὗτος Bk., οὗτός τε VC.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δοκεῖ,¹ ἀλλ' ὅτι οὕτω τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἡμῖν
 διάκειται ὥστε τοὺς μὲν καὶ προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ,
 2 τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἀμύνεσθαι. τοσαύτη γὰρ
 ἄμα τρυφῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀνεπιπληξία τε χρῶνται
 ὥστε² τολμῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τὸν
 ἄρχοντα σφῶν Φλάουιον Ἡρακλέωνα ἀποκτεῖναι,
 καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους πρὸς τῷ Οὐλπιανῷ καὶ ἐμὲ
 αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ στρατιωτῶν
 ἐγκρατῶς ἤρξα, καὶ ἐξαιτῆσαι, φοβηθέντας μὴ
 καὶ ἐκείνους τις ὁμοίως τοῖς Παννονικοῖς ἄρχε-
 σθαι καταναγκάσει.

5 Οὐ μέντοι προετίμησέ τι αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἄλλως τε ἐσέμνυνέ με καὶ
 δεύτερον ὑπατεύσοντα σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπέδειξε, τό τε
 ἀνάλωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς ἀναλώσειν ὑπε-
 δέξατο. ἀχθεσθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις
 ἐφοβήθη⁴ μὴ καὶ ἀποκτείνωσί με ἐν τῷ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς σχήματι ἰδόντες, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω τῆς
 Ῥώμης ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πού διατρίψαι τὸν τῆς
 2 ὑπατείας χρόνον. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα ἔς τε
 τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἔς τὴν Καμπανίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἦλθον, καὶ συνδιατρίψας τινὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ,
 τοῖς τε στρατιώταις μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ὀφθείς,
 ἀπῆρα οἴκαδε παρέμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν
 ἀρρωστία, ὥστε πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου
 3 χρόνον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ζῆσαι, ὥσπερ πού καὶ τὸ
 δαιμόνιον ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ἤδη μοι ὄντι σαφέστατα

¹ οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος δοκεῖ Bs., οὐχ ὅτι αὐτός τις ἄμαχος εἶναι δοκεῖ VC, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος cod. Peir.

² ὥστε—ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς Bs., ὥστε τολμῆσαι φλάβιον Ἡρακλέωνα τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεσοποταμίᾳ τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς VC, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι cod. Peir.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

armies are in such a state that some of the troops are actually joining him and others are refusing to defend themselves. They indulge in such wantonness, licence, and lack of discipline, that those in Mesopotamia even dared to kill their commander; Flavius Heracleo, and the Pretorians complained of me to Ulpianus, because I ruled the soldiers in Pannonia with a strong hand; and they demanded my surrender, through fear that someone might compel them to submit to a régime similar to that of the Pannonian troops. A.D.
227?

Alexander, however, paid no heed to them, but, on the contrary, honoured me in various ways, especially by appointing me to be consul for the second time, as his colleague, and taking upon himself personally the responsibility of meeting the expenditures of my office. But as the malcontents evinced displeasure at this, he became afraid that they might kill me if they saw me in the insignia of my office, and so he bade me spend the period of my consulship in Italy, somewhere outside of Rome. And thus later I came both to Rome and to Campania to visit him, and spent a few days in his company, during which the soldiers saw me without offering to do me any harm; then, having asked to be excused because of the ailment of my feet, I set out for home, with the intention of spending all the rest of my life in my native land, as, indeed, the Heavenly Power revealed to me most clearly when I was already in Bithynia. A.D.
229?

³ αὐτὸς Bk., αὐτῷ αὐτὸς VC.

⁴ ἐφοβήθη Sylb., ἐφοβήθην VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐδήλωσεν. ὄναρ γάρ ποτε ἔδοξα προτάσσεσθαι
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσγράψασθαι τῷ ἀκροτελευτίῳ τὰ
ἔπη τάδε,

“Εκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἐκ τε
 κονίης
ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ' αἵματος ἐκ τε κυ-
 δοιμοῦ.

—Xiph. 356, 6–357, 9 R. St., Exc. Val. 415
(p. 769).

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FRAGMENT

Τοῦ δὲ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίᾶς, ὁ ἐκείνου ἀνεψιός (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους ὠνόμαζον), τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἀπεκληρώσατο. ὅς αὐτίκα τὴν οἰκίαν μητέρα Μαμαίαν Αὐγουσταν ἀνεῖπεν, ἢ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίαν μετακεχείριστο, καὶ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν σοφοὺς ἄνδρας συνήγαγεν, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ τὰ ἥθη ῥυθμίζοιτο, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ἀμείνονας συμβούλους προσείλετο, ἅπαν πρακτέον κοινουμένη αὐτοῖς.—Zon. 12, 15, p. 119, 31–120, 9 D.

FRAGMENT

When the False Antoninus had been put out of the way, Alexander, the son of Mamaea, and his cousin, inherited the supreme power. He immediately proclaimed his mother Augusta, and she took over the direction of affairs and gathered wise men about her son, in order that his habits might be correctly formed by them; she also chose the best men in the senate as advisers, informing them of all that had to be done.

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