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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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

IN NINE VOLUMES

VII



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
BOOK LVI	2
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK LVI	108
BOOK LVII	110
BOOK LVIII	184
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK LVIII	258
BOOK LIX	260
BOOK LX	366
INDEX	443

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LVI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς τοῖς τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀτέκνοις καὶ ἀγάμοις ὁ Αὐγουστος διελέχθη, καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὤρισεν.
- β. Ὡς Κυϊντίλιος Οὐᾶρος ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀπέθανεν.
- γ. Ὡς τὸ Ὀμονόειον καθιερώθη.
- δ. Ὡς ἡ Λιουίας στοὰ καθιερώθη.
- ε. Ὡς Αὐγουστος μετήλλαξεν.

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

Κ. Σουλπίκιος Κ. υἱ. Καμερίνος ὑπ.
Γ. Ποππαῖος Κ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος
Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Δολοβέλλας ὑπ.
Γ. Ἰούνιος Γ. υἱ.¹ Σιλανός
Μ. Αἰμίλιος Κ. υἱ. Λέπιδος ὑπ.
Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. Ταῦρος
Γερμανικὸς Τι. Καῖσαρος υἱ. Καῖσαρ ὑπ.
Γ. Φοντέιος² Γ. υἱ. Καπίτων
Λ. Μουγάτιος Λ. υἱ. Πλάγκος
Γ. Σίλιος Γ. υἱ. Καικίνα Λάργος³ ὑπ.
Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σέξτου υἱ.
Σέξτος Ἀπουλείος⁴ Σέξτων υἱ. ὑπ.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλοι καθήρουν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα (ἐν ᾧ Κύιντος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, ἀνεκομίσθη· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς

¹ Γ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.

² Φοντέιος Bs., φοντοῖος M.

³ Καικίνα Λάργος Bs., καικιναλαριος M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LVI

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

How Augustus addressed those who were fathers and afterwards the childless and unmarried, and the recompenses that he established for them (chaps. 1–10).

How Quintilius Varus was defeated by the Germans and perished (chaps. 18–24).

How the temple of Concord was dedicated (chap. 25).

How the Portico of Livia¹ was dedicated (chap. 27).

How Augustus passed away (chaps. 29–47).

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

A. D.

9 Q. Sulpicius Q. f. Camerinus, C. Poppaeus Q. f. Sabinus.

10 P. Cornelius P. f. Dolabella, C. Iunius C. f. Silanus.

11 M. Aemilius Q. f. Lepidus, T. Statilius T. f. Taurus.

12 Germanicus Ti. Caesaris f. Caesar, C. Fonteius C. f. Capito.

13 L. Munatius L. f. Plancus, C. Silius C. f. Caecina Largus.

14 Sextus Pompeius Sexti f., Sextus Apuleius Sexti f.

WHILE others were reducing these places, Tiberius A.D. 9 returned to Rome after the winter in which Quintus Sulpicius and Gaius Sabinus became consuls. Even Augustus himself went out into the suburbs to meet

¹ The compiler of this synopsis had before him a faulty reading in chap. 27 (see critical note on that passage); the Porticus Iulia is meant.

* Ἀπουλίου Βσ., ἀπούλιος Μ.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὸ προάστειον ἀπαντήσας ἦλθέ τε μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ Σέπτα, κἀνταῦθα ἀπὸ βήματος τὸν δῆμον ἠσπάσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐποίησε καὶ θεὰς

2 ἐπινικίους διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ ἱππῆς πολλῇ ἐν αὐταῖς σπουδῇ τὸν νόμον τὸν (περὶ τῶν μήτε¹ γαμούντων μήτε τεκνούτων καταλυθῆναι ἤξιουν, ἠθροισεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν χωρὶς μὲν τοὺς ἀγυναίους σφῶν χωρὶς δὲ τοὺς γεγαμηκότας ἢ καὶ τέκνα ἔχοντας, καὶ ἰδὼν πολὺ τούτους ἐκείνων ἐλάττους ἠλγησέ τε καὶ διελέξατο αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·

2 “ Εἰ καὶ ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν, ὥς γε πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον πόλεως εἰπεῖν, καὶ πολλῶ καταδεέστεροι τῶν ἐτέρων τῶν μὴδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν ἐθελόντων ἐστέ, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ἔχω, ὅτι καὶ ἐπείσθητε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα συμπληθύετε.

2 ἐκ γὰρ τῶν οὕτω βιούντων παμπληθεῖς οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι γενήσονται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ πάνυ βραχεῖς ὄντες, ἔπειτα γάμων ἐπιμεληθέντες καὶ τέκνα ποιησάμενοι πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκ εὐανδρία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πο-

3 λυανθρωπία ὑπερέφουμεν. ὧν χρὴ μεμνημένους τὸ θνητὸν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν αἰδίῳ διαδοχῇ γενῶν ὥσπερ τινῶν λαμπαδίων παραμυθεῖσθαι, ἵν' ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας ἠττώμεθα, τοῦτ'

4 ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀθάνατον καθιστώμεθα. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἐκείνος θεός, ὁ τεκτηνόμενος ἡμᾶς, διχῇ τε διεῖλε τὸ θνητὸν γένος, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν αὐτοῦ τὸ δὲ

¹ μήτε Bk., μὴ M.

BOOK LVI

him, accompanied him to the Saepta, and there from a tribunal greeted the people. Following this he performed all the ceremonies proper to such occasions, and caused the consuls to give triumphal games. And when the knights were very urgent, during the games, in seeking the repeal of the law regarding the unmarried and the childless, he assembled in one part of the Forum the unmarried men of their number, and in another those who were married, including those who also had children. Then, perceiving that the latter were much fewer in number than the former, he was filled with grief and addressed them somewhat as follows:

“Though you are but few altogether, in comparison with the vast throng that inhabits this city, and are far less numerous than the others, who are unwilling to perform any of their duties, yet for this very reason I for my part praise you the more, and am heartily grateful to you because you have shown yourselves obedient and are helping to replenish the fatherland. For it is by lives so conducted that the Romans of later days will become a mighty multitude. We were at first a mere handful, you know, but when we had recourse to marriage and begot us children, we came to surpass all mankind not only in the manliness of our citizens but in the size of our population as well. Bearing this in mind, we must console the mortal side of our nature with an endless succession of generations that shall be like the torch-bearers in a race, so that through one another we may render immortal the one side of our nature in which we fall short of divine bliss. It was for this cause most of all that that first and greatest god, who fashioned us, divided the race of mortals in

θῆλυ ἀποδείξας ἔρωτα καὶ ἀνάγκην σφίσι τῆς
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ γόνιμον
 τὴν ὀμιλίαν αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν αἰ
 γεννωμένων αἰδίου τρόπου τινὰ καὶ τὸ θνητὸν
 5 ἀπεργάσῃται. καίτοι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν οἱ
 μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ δὲ θήλειαι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν
 γεγεννηκέναι τινὰς οἱ δ' ἐκ τινῶν γεγεννησθαι
 παραδέδονται· οὕτω καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς μηδὲν
 τούτων δεομένοις καλὸν εἶναι δέδοκται καὶ γάμος
 καὶ τέκνωσις.

3 “Ὡστε ὀρθῶς μὲν ἐποιήσατε τοὺς θεοὺς μιμη-
 σάμενοι, ὀρθῶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ζηλώσαντες,
 ἵν' ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι ἐγέννησαν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς
 ἄλλους τεκνώσῃτε, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκείνους ὑμεῖς
 προγόνους καὶ ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὀνομάζετε, οὕτω καὶ
 2 ὑμᾶς ἕτεροι καὶ νομίσωσι καὶ προσείπωσι, τὰ τε
 ἔργα ὅσα ἐκεῖνοι καλῶς πράξαντες ὑμῖν μετ'
 εὐκλείας παρέδοσαν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄλλοις παραδῶτε,
 καὶ τὰ κτήματα ὅσα αὐτοὶ κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον
 ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἑτέροις ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γεγονόσι
 3 καταλίπητε. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄριστον γυνῆ
 σώφρων οἰκουρὸς οἰκονόμος παιδοτρόφος ὑγιαί-
 νοντά τε εὐφρᾶναι καὶ ἀσθενοῦντα θεραπεῦσαι,
 εὐτυχοῦντί τε συγγενέσθαι καὶ δυστυχοῦντα
 παραμυθήσασθαι, τοῦ τε νέου τὴν ἐμμανῆ φύσιν
 καθεῖρξαι καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τὴν ἔξωρον
 4 αὐστηρότητα κεράσαι; πῶς δ' οὐχ ἡδὺ ἀνελέσθαι
 τέκνον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συμπεφυκὸς καὶ θρέψαι καὶ
 παιδεῦσαι, εἰκόνα μὲν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ
 τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε ἐν ἐκείνῳ αὐξηθέντι ἕτερον αὐτὸν
 5 γενέσθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ μακαριστόν, ἀπαλλαττόμενον
 ἐκ τοῦ βίου, διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον οἰκείον ἐξ
 6

BOOK LVI

twain, making one half of it male and the other half female, and implanted in them love and compulsion to mutual intercourse, making their association fruitful, that by the young continually born we might in a way render even mortality eternal. Indeed, even of the gods themselves some are accounted male and others female; and the tradition prevails that some have begotten others and some have been begotten of others. So even among those beings, who need no such device, marriage and the begetting of children have been approved as a noble thing. A.D. 9

“You have done right, therefore, to imitate the gods and right to emulate your fathers, so that, just as they begot you, you also may bring others into the world; that, just as you consider them and name them ancestors, others also may regard you and address you in similar fashion; that the works which they nobly achieved and handed down to you with glory, you also may hand on to others; and that the possessions which they acquired and left to you, you also may leave to others sprung from your own loins. For is there anything better than a wife who is chaste, domestic, a good house-keeper, a rearer of children; one to gladden you in wealth, to tend you in sickness; to be your partner in good fortune, to console you in misfortune; to restrain the mad passion of youth and to temper the unseasonable harshness of old age? And is it not a delight to acknowledge a child who shows the endowments of both parents, to nurture and educate it, at once the physical and the spiritual image of yourself, so that in its growth another self lives again? Is it not blessed, on departing from life, to leave behind as

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς οὐσίας
 καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ δια-
 λυθῆναι τῇ δὲ ἐκείνου διαδοχῇ ζῆσαι, καὶ μήτ' ἐπ'
 ἀλλοτρίοις ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γενέσθαι μήτε ἄρδην
 6 ὥστε ἐν πολέμῳ γε¹ ἀπολέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 τὰ κέρδη ἰδιά που τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ τεκνοποιούσιν
 ὑπάρχει· τῷ δὲ δὴ κοινῷ, οὐπερ ἔνεκα καὶ παρὰ
 γνώμην πολλὰ ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, πῶς μὲν οὐ
 καλὸν πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, εἴπερ αἴ τε πόλεις
 7 καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἔσονται, καὶ ὑμεῖς τε ἐτέρων ἄρξετε
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑμῖν ὑπακούσουσι, πολυπληθία²
 ἐν τε εἰρήνῃ γῆν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ναυτιλίας³
 ναυτίλασθαι τέχνας τε ἀσκῆσαι καὶ δημιουργίας
 ἐπιτηδεῦσαι, καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ τά τε ὄντα προ-
 θυμότερον διὰ τὰ γένη σῶσαι καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν
 8 ἀπολλυμένων ἐτέρους ἀντικαταστήσαι; ὑμᾶς
 μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες (μόνοι γὰρ ἂν⁴ ἄνδρες δικαίως
 ὀνομάζοισθε), καὶ ὦ πατέρες (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην
 ἀξιοὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ἔχειν ἐστέ) καὶ
 φιλῶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τούτοις τε οἷς
 ἔθηκα ἀθλοῖς ἀγάλλω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλαις
 καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἐπιγαυρώσω, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς
 τε μεγάλα καρπώσασθαι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μὴ
 9 ἐλάττω καταλιπεῖν. μεταβήσομαι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς οὔτε τι τῶν ὁμοίων ὑμῖν πε-
 ποιηκότας καὶ πάντων διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐναντίων
 τευξομένους, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον καταμάθητε
 ὅσον αὐτῶν διαφέρετε."

¹ ἐν πολέμῳ γε corrupt. Dindorf rejected it altogether
 as a mere repetition from the line above; Capps suggests ἐν
 λοιμῷ.

BOOK LVI

successor and heir to your blood and substance one A.D. 9
that is your own, sprung from your own loins, and to
have only the human part of you waste away, while
you live in the child as your successor, so that you
need not fall into the hands of aliens, as in war, nor
perish utterly, as in a pestilence? These, now, are
the private advantages that accrue to those who
marry and beget children; but for the State, for
whose sake we ought to do many things that are
even distasteful to us, how excellent and how
necessary it is, if cities and peoples are to exist, and
if you are to rule others and all the world is to obey
you, that there should be a multitude of men, to
till the earth in time of peace, to make voyages,
practise arts, and follow handicrafts, and, in time of
war, to protect what we already have with all the
greater zeal because of family ties and to replace
those that fall by others. Therefore, men,—for you
alone may properly be called men,—and fathers,—for
you are as worthy to hold this title as I myself,—I
love you and praise you for this; and I not only bestow
the prizes I have already offered but will distinguish
you still further by other honours and offices, so that
you may not only reap great benefits yourselves but
may also leave them to your children undiminished.
I will now go over to the other group, whose actions
will bear no comparison with yours and whose reward,
therefore, will be directly the opposite. You will
thus learn not alone from my words, but even more
from my deeds, how far you excel them.”

² πολυπληθία Bk., πολυπληθίαι M.

³ ναυτιλίας Rk., ναυτιλίαι M.

⁴ ἀν supplied by Dind.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καὶ τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα δούς τισιν αὐτῶν τὰ δ' ὑποσχόμενος, μετῆλθέ τε πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ ἔλεξε καὶ ἐκείνοις τάδε·

2 “Θαυμαστὸν μὲν τι πέπονθα, ὦ τί ἂν ὀνομάσαιμι ὑμᾶς ; ἄνδρας ; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον παρέχεσθε. πολίτας ; ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ἢ πόλις ἀπόλλυται. Ῥωμαίους ; ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο καταλῦσαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὔτινές ποτέ ἐστε καὶ ὅτιδήποτε χαίρετε ὀνομαζό-

3 μενοι, παράδοξον μὲν τι πάθος πέπονθα· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς πολυανθρωπίας ὑμῶν αἰεί τε πάντα ποιῶν καὶ νῦν ἐπιτιμήσειν ὑμῖν μέλλων, ἀηδῶς ὑμᾶς ὄρῶ πολλοὺς ὄντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ἠβουλόμην τοσούτους μὲν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐκείνους, οἷς προδιείλεγμα,¹ εἶναι, ὅσοι² ὑμεῖς ὄρασθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα μὲν σὺν ἐκείνοις τετάχθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, μηδὲ εἶναι·

4 οὔτινες οὔτε τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας οὔτε τῆς τῶν προπατόρων ἐπιμελείας ἐνθυμηθέντες ἐπιθυμεῖτε πᾶν μὲν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἀφανίσει καὶ θνητὸν ὄντως ποιῆσαι, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνος φθεῖραι καὶ παῦσαι. τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑπολειφθείη σπέρμα ἀνθρώπινον, ἂν τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πράξωσιν ; ὧν ἀρχηγοὶ γεγονότες εὐλόγως ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πανωλεθρίας ἔχοιτε.³ πῶς δ' οὐ, κἂν⁴ μηδένες ἄλλοι ζηλώσωσιν ὑμᾶς, εἰκότως ἂν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μισοῖσθε, ὅτι παρορᾶτέ τε ἂ μηδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος παρίδοι καὶ ἀμελεῖτε ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν⁵ ἄλλος ἀμελήσειε, καὶ νόμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύ-

¹ προδιείλεγμα R. Steph., προδιείλεγμα M.

² ὅσοι Rk, ἢ ὅσοι M. ³ ἔχοιτε Bk., ἔχητε M.

⁴ πῶς δ' οὐ, κἂν Cohet, πῶς δ' οὐκ, ἂν M.

⁵ ἂν supplied by R. Steph.

BOOK LVI

After this speech he made presents to some of them at once and promised to make others; he then went over to the other crowd and spoke to them as follows :

“ A strange experience has been mine, O—what shall I call you? Men? But you are not performing any of the offices of men. Citizens? But for all that you are doing, the city is perishing. Romans? But you are undertaking to blot out this name altogether. Well, at any rate, whatever you are and by whatever name you delight to be called, mine has been an astonishing experience; for though I am always doing everything to promote an increase of population among you and am now about to rebuke you, I grieve to see that there are a great many of you. I could rather have wished that those others to whom I have just spoken were as numerous as you prove to be, and that preferably you were ranged with them, or otherwise did not exist at all. For you, heedless alike of the providence of the gods and of the watchful care of your forefathers, are bent upon annihilating our entire race and making it in truth mortal, are bent upon destroying and bringing to an end the entire Roman nation. For what seed of human beings would be left, if all the rest of mankind should do what you are doing? For you have become their leaders, and so would rightly bear the responsibility for the universal destruction. And even if no others emulate you, would you not be justly rated for the very reason that you overlook what no one else would overlook, and neglect what no one else would neglect, introducing customs and practices which, if imitated,

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ματα τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρετε ἃ ζηλώσαντες μὲν πάντες
 ἂν ἀπόλοιτο, μισήσαντες δ' ὑμᾶς ἂν δικαιώσειαν.
 6 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν φονέων φειδόμεθα ὅτι μὴ
 πάντες φονεύουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους ἀφίεμεν
 ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἱεροσυλοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅστις¹ ἂν τῶν
 ἀπειρημένων τι πράττων ἄλῳ, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 5 τούτου κολάζεται, ὅτι μόνος ἢ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων
 5 ποιεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὃ μηδεὶς ἕτερος. καίτοι καὶ τὰ
 μέγιστα τις ἀδικήματα ὀνομάσῃ, οὐδέν ἐστι τᾶλλα
 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γιγνόμενον, οὐχ ὅτι
 ἓν πρὸς ἓν ἐξεταζόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ πάντα
 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἓν παραβαλλόμενα. καὶ γὰρ
 μισοφονεῖτε, μηδὲ τεκνοῦντες ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἐξ
 2 ὑμῶν γεννηθῆναι ὀφείλοντας, καὶ ἀνοσιουργεῖτε,
 τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν προγόνων
 παύοντες, καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε, τά τε γένη ὑμῶν τὰ
 καταδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀφανίζοντες, καὶ τὸ
 μέγιστον τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
 φύσιν, ἀπολλύντες, τά τε ἱερά διὰ τούτου καὶ
 3 τοὺς ναοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνατρέποντες. καὶ μέντοι καὶ
 τὴν πολιτείαν καταλύετε, μὴ πειθόμενοι τοῖς
 νόμοις, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδίδετε, στερίφην τε
 αὐτὴν καὶ ἄγονον ἀπεργαζόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρδην
 κατασκάπτετε, ἔρημον τῶν οἰκησόντων ποιοῦντες.
 ἄνθρωποι γὰρ που πόλις ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκία
 οὐδὲ στοαὶ οὐδ' ἀγοραὶ ἀνδρῶν κεναί.
 4 “Ἐνθυμήθητε οὖν, τίνα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὀργὴν ὁ
 Ῥωμύλος ἐκείνος ὁ ἀρχηγέτης ἡμῶν δικαίως

¹ ἀλλ' ὅστις Rk., ἴν' ἄλλος ὅστις M.

¹ Compare the words of Nicias (in Thuc. vii. 77): ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί (it is men that

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λάβοι, λογισάμενος τά τε καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὅθεν
 ἐγεννήθη, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκ νομίμων
 5 γάμων παιδοποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλετε· τίνα δ' οὐκ ἂν
 οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ¹ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐννοήσαντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ
 μὲν καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κόρας ἤρπασαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ
 οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας ἀγαπᾶτε, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 πολεμίων ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ
 τῶν πολιτίδων τεκνοῦτε· τίνα ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ καὶ
 ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομείνας, ἵνα μὴ στερηθῶσι τῶν
 γυναικῶν οἱ γεγαμηκότες· τίνα Ἐρσιλία ἢ καὶ
 τῇ θυγατρὶ ἀκολουθήσασα καὶ τὰ γαμικὰ πάνθ'
 6 ἡμῖν καταδείξασα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πατέρες ἡμῶν
 καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Σαβίνους ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων,
 καὶ κατελύσαντο τῶν τε γυναικῶν αὐτῶν καὶ
 τῶν τέκνων συναλλαξάντων σφᾶς, ὄρκους τε ἐπὶ
 τούτοις ἐπήγαγον καὶ συνθήκας τινὰς ἐποιήσαντο·
 7 ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα πάντα συγχεῖτε· διὰ τί;
 ἢ ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ ἄγυνοι ᾗτε, ὥσπερ αἱ ἱέρειαι
 αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι ἀνανδροί εἰσιν; οὐκοῦν καὶ κο-
 λάζεσθε, ἂν ἀσελγαίνητέ τι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖναι.
 6 “ Πικρῶς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τραχέως δοκῶ ὑμῖν
 διαλέγεσθαι· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν λογίσασθε ὅτι
 καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ συχνοὺς καὶ καίοντες καὶ τέμνοντες,
 ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται ἄλλως πως ὑγιεῖς γενέσθαι,
 2 θεραπεύουσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι οὔτε ἐκῶν οὔθ'
 ἠδέως αὐτὰ λέγω, ὥστε ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦθ'
 ὑμῖν ἐγκαλῶ ὅτι με εἰς τούτους τοὺς λόγους
 προηγάγετε, ὑμεῖς δ' εἴπερ ἀχθεσθε τοῖς εἰρη-
 μένοις, μὴ ποιεῖτε ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἀναγκαίως κακῶς
 ἀκούετε· εἰ γὰρ δὴ δάκνει τινὰς ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπ'
 ἐμοῦ λεγόμενα, πῶς οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμὲ

¹ αὐτοῦ Leuncl., αὐτὸν M.

BOOK LVI

ye could reflect on the circumstances of his own birth and then upon your conduct in refusing to beget children even by lawful marriages! How wrathful would the Romans who were his followers be, if they could realize that after they themselves had even seized foreign girls, you are not satisfied even with those of your own race, and after they had got children even by enemy wives, you will not beget them even of women who are citizens! How angry would Curtius be, who was willing to die that the married men might not be bereft of their wives! How indignant Hersilia, who attended her daughter at her wedding and instituted for us all the rites of marriage! Nay, our fathers even fought the Sabines to obtain brides and made peace through the intercession of their wives and children; they administered oaths and made sundry treaties for this very purpose; but you are bringing all their efforts to naught. And why? Do you desire to live apart from women always, even as the Vestal Virgins live apart from men? Then you should also be punished as they are if you are guilty of any lewdness.

“I know that I seem to you to speak bitterly and harshly. But reflect, in the first place, that physicians, too, treat many patients by cautery and surgery, when they cannot be cured in any other way; and, in the second place, that it is not my wish or my pleasure to speak thus. Hence I have this further reproach to bring against you, that you have provoked me to this discourse. As for yourselves, if you do not like what I say, do not continue this conduct for which you are being and must ever be reproached. If my words do wound some of you, how much more do your actions wound both me and

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους πάντα τὰ ὑφ' ὑμῶν
 3 ποιούμενα ; οὐκοῦν εἶπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀσχάλλετε,
 μεταβάλεσθε,¹ ἵνα καὶ ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς καὶ δια-
 μείψωμαι. ὅτι γὰρ οὔτε τῇ φύσει χαλεπός εἰμι,
 πάντα τε ὅσα προσῆκον ἦν τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην
 πρᾶξαι ἀνθρωπίνως προκατεστησάμην, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ
 ἀγνοεῖτε.

4 “Ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐξὸν ἀμελεῖν τισι
 παιδοποιίας καὶ γάμων· καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐθύς
 ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς πολιτείας καταστάσει ἀκριβῶς
 περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνομοθετήθη· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ
 καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔδοξεν· ἃ περιττὸν
 5 ἂν εἶη καταλέγειν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπηύξησα μὲν τὰ
 ἐπιτίμια τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν, ἵνα φόβῳ τοῦ περι-
 πεσεῖν αὐτοῖς σωφρονίζοισθε, ἔθηκα δὲ καὶ ἄθλα
 τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσι τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἡλίκα
 καὶ ὅσα² ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ ἀνδραγαθία δίδοται,
 ἵν' εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, διὰ γε ταῦτα καὶ
 6 γαμῖν καὶ παιδοποιεῖν ἀναπείθοισθε. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς
 οὔτε ἐκείνων τινὸς ὀριγνηθέντες οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτι-
 μίων τι φοβηθέντες πάντα τε αὐτὰ κατεφρονήσατε
 καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐν πόλει τινὶ οἰκοῦντες
 κατεπατήσατε. καὶ φατὲ μὲν τὸν εὖζωνον δὴ
 τοῦτον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βίον τὸν ἀγυνον καὶ ἄτεκνον
 ἐπάνηρῆσθαι, ληστῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ θηρίων τῶν
 7 ἀγριωτάτων οὐδὲν διαφέρετε· οὐ γὰρ δήπου³
 μοναυλία χαίρετε, ἵν' ἄνευ γυναικῶν διάγητε, οὐδὲ
 ἔστιν ὅστις ὑμῶν ἢ σιτεῖται μόνος ἢ καθεύδει
 μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν

¹ μεταβάλεσθε Bk., μεταβάλλεσθε M.

² ὅσα Dind., οἷα M.

³ δήπου Rk., δὴ δήπου M.

BOOK LVI

all the rest of the Romans! Accordingly, if you are vexed in very truth, change your course, so that I may praise and recompense you; for that I am not Mars by nature and that I have accomplished, subject to human limitations, everything it was proper for a good law-giver to do, even you cannot fail to realize. A.D. 9

“Indeed, it was never permitted to any man, even in olden times, to neglect marriage and the begetting of children; but from the very outset, when the government was first established, strict laws were made regarding these matters, and subsequently many decrees were passed by both the senate and the people, which it would be superfluous to enumerate here. I, now, have increased the penalties for the disobedient, in order that through fear of becoming liable to them you might be brought to your senses; and to the obedient I have offered more numerous and greater prizes than are given for any other display of excellence, in order that for this reason, if for no other, you might be persuaded to marry and beget children. Yet you have not striven for any of the recompenses nor feared any of the penalties, but have shown contempt for all these measures and have trodden them all underfoot, as if you were not living in a civilized community. You talk, forsooth, about this ‘free’ and ‘untrammelled’ life that you have adopted, without wives and without children; but you are not a whit better than brigands or the most savage of beasts. For surely it is not your delight in a solitary existence that leads you to live without wives, nor is there one of you who either eats alone or sleeps alone; no, what you want is to have full liberty for wantonness and

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 ἔχειν ἐθέλετε. καίτοι καὶ μνηστεύειν ὑμῖν ἀπαλὰς
 ἔτι κόρας καὶ μηδέπω γάμων ὠραίας¹ ἐπέτρεψα,
 ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα τῶν μελλονυμφίων ἔχοντες οἰκ-
 ωφελῶς βιώητε, καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς γε ἔξω
 τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ οὖσιν ἄγεσθαι συνεχώρησα, ἵν'
 εἰ καὶ τις ἐξ ἔρωτος ἢ καὶ συνηθείας τινὸς ἐς
 3 τοῦθ' ὑπαχθείη, ἐννόμως αὐτὸ ποιοίη. καὶ οὐδὲ
 ἐς ταῦτα μέντοι κατήπειξα ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον τρία ἔτη ὅλα πρὸς παρασκευὴν ὑμῖν
 ἔδωκα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον δύο. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὐδ'
 οὕτως οὐτ' ἀπειλῶν οὐτε προτρέπων οὐτ' ἀνα-
 4 βαλλόμενος οὐτε δεόμενός τι πεποίηκα. ὁρᾶτε
 γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅσῳ πλείους τῶν γεγαμηκότων
 ἐστέ· οὐς ἐχρῆν ἤδη τοσοῦτους ἑτέρους, μᾶλλον
 δὲ πολλαπλασίους παῖδας ἡμῖν παρεσχέκεναι.
 πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως τὰ γένη διαμείνειε, πῶς
 δ' ἂν τὸ κοινὸν διασωθείη μήτε γαμούντων ἡμῶν
 5 μήτε παιδοποιουμένων; οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐκ τῆς
 γῆς προσδοκᾶτέ τινας ἀναφύσεσθαι² τοὺς δια-
 δεξομένους τὰ τε ὑμέτερα καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὥσπερ
 οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσιν. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ὄσιον ἢ καὶ
 καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον γένος παύσασθαι
 καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποσβῆναι,
 ἄλλοις δὲ τισιν ἀνθρώποις Ἑλλησιν ἢ καὶ βαρ-
 6 βάροις τὴν πόλιν ἐκδοθῆναι. ἢ τοὺς μὲν δούλους
 δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦμεν, ὅπως ὡς
 πλείστους ἐξ αὐτῶν πολίτας ποιώμεθα, τοῖς τε
 συμμάχοις τῆς πολιτείας μεταδίδομεν ὅπως πλη-
 θύωμεν· αὐτοὶ δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαῖοι,
 οἱ³ τοὺς προγόνους ἐκείνους τοὺς Μαρκίους⁴ τοὺς

¹ ὠραίας R. Steph., ὤρας M.

² ἀναφύσεσθαι Bk., ἀναφύεσθαι M.

BOOK LVI

licentiousness. Yet I allowed you to pay your court A.D. 9
to girls still of tender years and not yet ripe for
marriage, in order that, classed as prospective bride-
grooms, you might live as family men should; and
I permitted those not in the senatorial order to
wed freedwomen, so that, if anyone through love or
intimacy of any sort should be disposed to such a
course, he might go about it lawfully. And I did
not limit you rigidly even to this, but at first gave
you three whole years in which to make your prepara-
tions, and later two. Yet not even so, by threaten-
ing, or urging, or postponing, or entreating, have I
accomplished anything. For you see for yourselves
how much more numerous you are than the married
men, when you ought by this time to have provided
us with as many children besides, or rather with
several times your number. How otherwise can
families continue? How can the State be preserved,
if we neither marry nor have children? For surely
you are not expecting men to spring up from the
ground to succeed to your goods and to the public
interests, as the myths describe! And yet it is
neither right nor creditable that our race should
cease, and the name of Romans be blotted out with
us, and the city be given over to foreigners—Greeks
or even barbarians. Do we not free our slaves chiefly
for the express purpose of making out of them as
many citizens as possible? And do we not give our
allies a share in the government in order that our
numbers may increase? And do you, then, who are
Romans from the beginning and claim as your

³ *oi* supplied by Bk.

⁴ *Μαρκίου* Reim., *μάρκου* M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Φαβίους τοὺς Κύντιους¹ τοὺς Οὐαλερίους τοὺς Ἰουλίους² καταλέγοντες, ἐπιθυμεῖτε μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γένη ἅμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπο-
8 λέσαι; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε αἰσχύνομαι καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν προήχθην. παύσασθε οὖν μαινόμενοι, καὶ λογίσασθε ἤδη ποτὲ ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκάστοτε τελευτώντων, σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἂν μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ ἐπιγιγνομένων ἀναπληρῶται.

2 “Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν οἰέσθω με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ἔστι τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τεκνοποιίᾳ καὶ δυσχερῆ καὶ λυπηρά· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχομεν ὧ μὴ καὶ ἀνιάρῳ τι παραμέμικται, καὶ τοῖς γε πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα συμπέφυκεν.
3 ἔστ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἐκκλίνετε, μηδὲ ἐκείνων ἐπορέγεσθε. πᾶσι γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἡδονὴν τινὰ εἰλικρινῆ ἔχουσι καὶ προπονεῖν καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ ἐπιπονεῖν χρή· τί γὰρ δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπεξιόντα μακρηγορεῖν; οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆμαι καὶ ἐν τῷ τεκνῶσαι ἀνιάρᾳ τινὰ ἔνεστιν, ἀντιλογίζεσθε καὶ τὰ ἀμείνονα, καὶ πλείω τε καὶ
4 ἀναγκαιότερα αὐτὰ εὐρήσετε. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς φύσει προσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἄθλα, ὧν πολλοστὸν μέρος καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν συχνοὺς ἀναπείθει, πάντα ἂν τινὰ πειθαρχῆσαί μοι ὑπαγάγοιτο. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕτεροι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προΐενται,

¹ Κύντιους Reim., κύντους M.

² Ἰουλίους R. Steph. ἰούλλους M.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑμᾶς μήτε γυναῖκας ἄγεσθαι μήτε τέκνα τρέφειν βούλεσθαι;

9 “ Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται (νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν γε πεπεικέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀνόματι ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τε πατέρων προσηγορίαν προσλαβεῖν), ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπετίμησα ἀηδῶς μὲν ἀναγκαίως δέ, οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρὸς οὐδ' ὡς μισῶν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ φιλῶν, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἐτέρους ὁμοίους ὑμῖν πολλοὺς κτήσασθαι, ἵν' ἐστίας ἐννόμους οἰκοῦντες καὶ οἰκίας πλήρεις γενῶν ἔχοντες τοῖς τε θεοῖς μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν παίδων προσερχώμεθα, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ὀμιλῶμεν πάντα τε ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου παραβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου καρπούμενοι. ἢ πῶς μὲν ἂν καλῶς ἄρχοιμι ὑμῶν, ἂν ἐλάττους ὑμᾶς αἰεὶ γιγνομένους ὄρων ἀνέχωμαι; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔτι πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὀρθῶς ὀνομαζοίμην, ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας τρέφητε; ὥστ' εἶπερ ὄντως τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαπᾶτέ με, καὶ ταύτην μοι τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐχ ὡς κολακεύοντες ἀλλ' ὡς τιμῶντες ἐδώκατε ἐπιθυμήσατε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πατέρες γενέσθαι ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης μεταλάβητε καὶ ἐμὲ φερώνυμον αὐτῆς ποιήσητε.”

10 Τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτοι τοῖς μὲν τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσι τὰ γέρα προσεπηύξησε, τοὺς δὲ γεγαμηκότας (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων) τῷ τῶν ἐπιτιμίων διαφόρῳ διεχώρισε, καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκατέροις¹ ἐς τὸ τοὺς πειθαρχήσαντάς οἱ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀναιτίους γενέσθαι προσεπέδωκε. τῶν τε γυναικῶν τισι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Οὐοκῶνειον νόμον, καθ' ὃν οὐδεμιᾶ αὐτῶν

¹ ἑκατέροις R. Steph., ἑκατέρους M.

BOOK LVI

sacrifice even their lives you should be unwilling either to marry wives or to rear children? A.D. 9

“Therefore, fellow-citizens,—for I believe that I have now persuaded you both to hold fast to the name of citizens and to secure the title of men and fathers as well,—I have administered this rebuke to you not for my own pleasure but from necessity, and not as your enemy nor as one who rates you but rather loving you and wishing to obtain many others like you, in order that we may have lawful homes to dwell in and houses full of descendants, so that we may approach the gods together with our wives and our children, and in partnership with one another may risk our all in equal measure and reap in like degree the hopes we cherish in them. How, indeed, could I be a good ruler over you, if I could endure to see you growing constantly fewer in number? How could I any longer be rightfully called father by you, if you rear no children? Therefore, if you really hold me in affection, and particularly if you have given me this title not out of flattery but as an honour, be eager now to become both men and fathers, in order that you may not only share this title yourselves but may also justify it as applied to me.”

Such were his words to the two groups at that time. Afterwards he increased the rewards to those who had children and in the case of the others made a distinction between the married men and the unmarried by imposing different penalties; furthermore, he granted a year's time to those who were remiss in either respect, in which to obey him and thus escape the penalties. Contrary to the Lex Voconia, according to which no woman could inherit property

- οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ δύο ἡμισυ μυριάδας οὐσίας κληρονομεῖν ἐξῆν, συνεχώρησε τοῦτο ποιεῖν· καὶ ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις πάνθ' ὅσαπερ αἱ τεκοῦσαι¹ εἶχον·
- 3 ἐχαρίσατο. κακὸν τούτου ὅτε Πάπιος καὶ ὁ Ποππαῖος νόμοι ὑπὸ τε Μάρκου Παπίου Μουτίλου καὶ ὑπὸ Κυίντου Ποππαίου Σεκούνδου,² τῶν τότε ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατευόντων, ἐτέθησαν. καὶ συνέβη γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς μὴ ὅτι παῖδας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γυναῖκας ἔχειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ νόμου κατεφωράθη.
- 11 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ, ἄλλα τε χωρία Δελματικὰ εἶλε καὶ Σπλαῦνον, καίπερ τῇ τε φύσει ἰσχυρὸν ὄν· καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν εὖ πεφραγμένον τοὺς τε ἀμυνομένους παμπληθεῖς ἔχον. οὐκ οὐτε μηχαναῖς οὐτε προσβολαῖς ἠδυνήθητι ἐξεργᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ
- 2 τοιαῦσδε αὐτὸ συντυχίας ἔλαβε· Πουσίῳ ἰππεὺς Κελτὸς λίθον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀφείσας οὕτω τὴν ἐπαλξιν διέσεισεν ὥστε αὐτὴν τε αὐτίκα πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐπικεκλιμένον οἱ συγκατασπάσαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ φοβηθέντες τὸ τε τεῖχος ἐκείνο ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταύτην καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν.
- 3 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥαίτινον ἐλθόντες οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀπήλλαξαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐναντῖοι βιαζόμενοι τῷ πλήθει σφῶν, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀντέχειν, πῦρ ἐθελούσιοι ἐς τε τὸν κύκλον πέριξ καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκοδομήματα πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαλον· μηχανησάμενοι ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα μὴ παραχρῆμα

¹ τεκοῦσαι R. Steph., τεκνοῦσαι M.

BOOK LVI

to the value of more than one hundred thousand sesterces, he permitted some women to inherit larger amounts; and he granted the Vestal Virgins all the privileges enjoyed by women who had borne children. Later the Lex Papia Poppaea was framed by Marcus Papilius Mutilus and by Quintus Poppaeus Secundus, who were consuls at the time for a part of the year. Now it chanced that both of them were not only childless but were not even married, and from this very circumstance the need of the law was apparent. These were the events in Rome. A.D. 9

Germanicus in the meantime captured Splonum among other places in Dalmatia, in spite of the fact that it occupied a site well fortified by nature, was well protected by walls, and had a vast number of defenders. Consequently he had been unable to make any headway either with engines or by assaults; but he took it as the result of the following incident. Pusio, a German horseman, hurled a stone against the wall and so struck the parapet that it immediately fell and dragged down with it a man who was leaning against it. At this the rest became alarmed and in their fear abandoned that part of the wall and ran up to the citadel; and later they surrendered both the citadel and themselves.

From there the troops of Germanicus came to Raetinum, but did not fare so well here. For the enemy, overwhelmed by their numbers and unable to withstand them, set fire of their own accord to the encircling wall and to the houses adjoining it, contriving, however, to keep it so far as possible from blazing up at once and to make it go unnoticed

² Σεκούνδου R. Steph., σεκούδου M.

- 4 ἐκλάμψη ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ διαλάθη. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνεχώρησαν· ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεσέπεσον ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ¹ πάντα διαρπάσοντες, καὶ εἴσω τε τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς περιβολῆς ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον εἶδον αὐτό, πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες, πρὶν πανταχόθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περι-
- 5 ληφθῆναι. τότε δὲ ἐν παντὶ κινδύνου ἐγένοντο, ἄνωθεν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βαλλόμενοι, ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς κακούμενοι, καὶ μήτε κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς μέναι μήτε πῆ διαπεσεῖν ἀκινδύνως δυνάμενοι. εἴτε γὰρ ἔξω βέλους ἀφίσταντο, πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλοῦντο, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τῆς φλογὸς ἀπεπήδων, πρὸς τῶν βαλλόντων ἐφθεί-
- 6 ροντο· καὶ τινες ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἀπώλοντο, τῇ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι τῇ δὲ καιόμενοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους τῶν ἐσελθόντων οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν· ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες νεκροὺς ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα ἐμβαλόντες, καὶ δίοδόν σφισι δι' αὐτῶν καθάπερ ἐπὶ γεφύρας ποιήσαντες, διέφυγον.
- 7 οὕτω γὰρ που τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτησεν ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὄντας κατὰ χώραν μέναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὴν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς οἰκήματα κατώρυχα κατακρυφθῆναι.
- 12 Ἐκεῖ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, Σερέτιον δέ, ὅπερ ποτὲ ὁ Τιβέριος πολιορκήσας οὐχ ἤρήκει, ἐχειρώθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ῥᾶον προσεκτήθη. τῶν δ' οὖν λοιπῶν καὶ ὡς ἀνταιρόντων, καὶ τοῦ τε πολέμου μηκυνομένου καὶ λιμοῦ δι' αὐτὸν οὐχ ἤκιστα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενομένου, τὸν Τιβέριον ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν αὐθις

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BOOK LVI

for some time; after doing this they retired to the citadel. The Romans, ignorant of what they had done, rushed in after them, expecting to sack the whole place without striking a blow; thus they got inside the circle of fire, and, with their minds intent upon the enemy, saw nothing of it until they were surrounded by it on all sides. Then they found themselves in the direst peril, being pelted by the men from above and injured by the fire from without. They could neither remain where they were safely nor force their way out anywhere without danger. For if they stood out of range of the missiles, they were scorched by the fire, or, if they leaped back from the flames, they were destroyed by the missiles; and some who got caught in a tight place perished from both causes at once, being wounded on one side and burned on the other. The majority of those who had rushed into the town met this fate; but some few escaped by casting corpses into the flames and making a passage for themselves by using the bodies as a bridge. The fire gained such headway that even those on the citadel could not remain there, but abandoned it in the night and hid themselves in subterranean chambers. These were the operations at that point.

Seretium, which Tiberius had once besieged but had not captured, was reduced, and after this some other places were more easily won. But since in spite of these reverses the remainder of the Dalmatians rose and the war kept dragging on and famine occurred in Italy, largely because of the war, Augustus sent Tiberius once more into Dalmatia.

¹ αὐτοβοεῖ R. Steph., αὐτοβολὶ M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 2 ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας μηκέτι τὴν τριβὴν φέροντας ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου διαπολεμῆσαί πως ἐπιθυμοῦντας, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ καθ' ἓν ὄντες στασιάσωσι, τριχῆ διεΐλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῷ Σιλουανῷ¹ τοὺς δὲ Μάρκῳ Λεπίδῳ προστάξας ἐπὶ τὸν Βάτωνα μετὰ
- 3 τῶν λοιπῶν σὺν τῷ Γερμανικῷ ὄρμησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἀντιταχθέντας σφίσι μάχαις κατεστρέψαντο, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ πάσης τε ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς χώρας ἐπλανήθη, τοῦ Βάτωνος ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη περιφοιτῶντος, καὶ τέλος καταφυγόντι² αὐτῷ ἐς Ἄνδητριον³ τεῖχος ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ Σαλώνῃ ἐπωκισ-
- 4 μένον προσεδρεύσας δεινῶς ἐπόνησε. τό τε γὰρ φρούριον ἐπ' εὐερκοῦς πάνυ καὶ δυσπροσβάτου πέτρας ἐτετείχιστο, φάραγξι βαθείαις ποταμοὺς χειμάρρους ἐχούσαις ἐγκεκλειμένον,⁴ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ μὲν προεσηνήνοχεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρώων ὧν
- 5 ἐκράτουν ἐπήγοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐκώλυον, ὥστε τὸν Τιβέριον, πολιορκεῖν σφας δοκοῦντα, αὐτὸν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν.
- 13 Ἄποροῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκοντος ὅτι πράξι (ἣ τε γὰρ προσεδρεία καὶ ματαία καὶ ἐπικίνδυνος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἡ ἀποχώρησις ἐπαισχῆς ἐφαίνετο) ἐθορύβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοσαύτη γε καὶ τηλικαύτη βοῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀυλιζομένους ἐκ-
- 2 πλαγῆναί τε καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι. ἔξ οὖν τούτων τοῦ

¹ Σιλουανῷ Reim., σιλανῶι M.

² καταφυγόντι R. Steph., καταφυγόντα M.

³ Ἄνδητριον Bs., ἀνδήριον M.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μὲν ὀργισθεῖς τοῦ δὲ ἡσθεῖς συνεκάλεσέ τε αὐτούς,
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραι-
 νέσας οὔτε ἐθρασύνατο οὔτ' ἀπανέστη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
 χώραν ἡσυχάζων ἔμεινε, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Βάτων
 ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πλὴν
 ὀλίγων ἐκεχείρωτο, καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἦν εἶχε τῆς
 τότε ἀντικαθεστῆκυίας οἱ ἤλαττοῦτο) διέκηρυ-
 3 κεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔπεισε καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους σπείσασθαι, ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτούς.
 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτ' οὐδ' ἄλλω τινί, καίπερ πολλῶν
 αὐτὸν ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐβοήθησεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τι-
 βέριος καταφρονήσας ἐκ τούτου τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν
 ἐν τῷ τείχει ὄντων, καὶ νομίσας ἀναιμωτί σφῶν
 κρατήσειν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ χωρίου προείδετο, ἀλλὰ
 4 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐρυμνὸν ἐχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μήτε
 ὀμαλὸν τι ἦν μήτε ἐπικατέβαινόν οἱ πολέμιοι,
αὐτὸς¹ μὲν (ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν περιφανεῖ ἰδρύθη, ὅπως
 τά τε ἐπιγιγνόμενα καθορώη, πρὸς τὸ προθυμότερον
 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ ἐν καιρῷ
 σφισιν, ἂν που δεήσῃ, προσαμύνη (καὶ γὰρ
 μέρος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, πολὺ γὰρ τῷ
 5 πλήθει περιῆν, κατέσχευ), οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ἐν πλαισίῳ πυκνῷ) συντεταγμένοι βάδην
 ἀνεπορεύοντο, ἔπειτα δ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὀρθίου καὶ
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας τοῦ ὄρους (χαραδρῶδές τε
 γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐς φάραγγας πολλαχῆ κατετέτμητο)
διεσπάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν θᾶσσον οἱ δὲ βραδύ-
 τερον προσηήσαν.

14 Ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Δελμάται (ἔξω τε τοῦ
 τείχους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρημνώδους παρετά-
 ξαντο, καὶ λίθους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν σφενδόνας

¹ αὐτὸς Leuncl., καὶ αὐτὸς M.

BOOK LVI

calling the troops together, he administered some rebukes and some admonitions. He displayed no rashness nor did he withdraw, but remained quietly on the spot until Bato, despairing of victory, sent a herald to him to ask for terms. Bato was reduced to this necessity, because all but a few of his possessions had been captured, and because the force that he had was inferior to the one then opposing it; but he could not persuade the rest to ask for a truce, and so abandoned them, nor did he again go to the aid of anyone else, though he received many requests for aid. Tiberius, accordingly, conceived a contempt for those still left in the fortress; and thinking that he could conquer them without serious loss, paid no further heed to the terrain, but advanced straight against the stronghold. And since there was no level ground and the enemy would not come down against them, he himself took his seat on a platform in full view of all, in order not only to watch the struggle,—since this would cause his men to fight more zealously,—but also to be able to render opportune assistance, should there be any need of it. In fact, he was holding a part of the army in reserve for this very purpose, inasmuch as he was vastly superior to the foe in point of numbers. The rest, drawn up in a dense square, at first proceeded at a walk; but later they were separated by the steepness and unevenness of the mountain, which was full of gullies and at many points was cut up into ravines, so that some ascended more rapidly and others more slowly.

The Dalmatians, when they observed this, arrayed themselves outside their wall, at the top of the steep, and hurled down quantities of stones upon them,

ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλον τοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεκυλίνδουν.
 ἄλλοι τροχοὺς, ἄλλοι ἀμάξας ὅλας πλήρεις πε-
 τρῶν, ἄλλοι κιβωτοὺς περιφερεῖς, ἐπιχωρίως πως
 2 πεπονημένας καὶ λίθων γεμούσας, ἠφίεσαν. καὶ
 ταῦτά τε¹ πάντα ἅμα πολλῇ ῥύμῃ κατὰφέρόμενα
 διεσφενδονᾶτο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέσπα τε ἔτι
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συνηλόα² καὶ
 ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν βέλη οἱ δὲ δοράτια ἀφιέντες,³ συ-
 3 χνοὺς αὐτῶν κατέβαλλον. κἂν τούτῳ πολλῇ
 μὲν τῶν μαχομένων φιλοτιμία ἐγίγνετο, τῶν μὲν
 ἀναβῆναί τε καὶ ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν⁴ ἄκρων, ἰτῶν δὲ
 ἀποκρούσασθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπαράξαι⁵, πειρω-
 μένων, πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τείχους ἰορῶντων τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 4 Τιβέριον ὄντων. τοῖς τε γὰρ σφετέροις ἑκάτεροι
 παρεκελεύοντο, τοὺς μὲν προθύμουμένους σφῶν
 ἐπιρρωννύντες, τοῖς δ' ὑπέικουσί πη ἐπιτιμῶντες,
 καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους· καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὲρ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγεγώνισκον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅμα
 ἀνεκάλουν, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς αὐτίκα τῶν μαχομένων
 ἀμφοτέροι σωτηρίας· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὸ
 ἔπειτ' αὖ οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιβοώ-
 5 μενοι. κἂν παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μάτην ἐκινδύ-
 νευσαν, ἅτε πρὸς δύο ἅμα, τὴν τε τῶν τόπων
 φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀντίταξιν, τὸν
 ἀγῶνα ποιούμενοι, εἰ μὴ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκείνους τε
 ἀκραιφνέσι βοηθείαις φυγεῖν ἐκώλυσε καὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους ἑτέρων, ἠωῆι ἀνίτητον ἐς τὸ χωρίον

¹ τε Pflugk, γε M.

² συνηλόα Rk., συνήλου M.

³ ἀφιέντες R. Steph., ἐφιέντες M.

⁴ τῶν R. Steph., τῆς τῶν M.

BOOK LVI

A.D. 9

throwing some from slings and rolling down others. Some let loose wheels, others whole waggons full of rocks, and still others circular crests constructed in a fashion peculiar to that country and packed full of stones. All these objects rushing down at once with great impetus kept striking here and there, as if discharged from a sling, separating the Romans from one another even more than before and crushing them. Others of the enemy were striking many of them down with the missiles and spears that they hurled. Meanwhile there was great rivalry on the part of the combatants, as the one side endeavoured to ascend and conquer the heights, the other to repulse them and hurl them back; and there was great rivalry also on the part of the others, both those who were watching the action from the walls and those with Tiberius. Each side, both individually and collectively, was encouraging its own men, trying to hearten those who showed zeal and aiding those who gave way at any point. Those whose voices could be heard above the rest were also invoking the gods at the same time, both sides praying for the safety of their warriors at the moment, and one side begging for its freedom, the other for peace, in the future. The Romans would certainly have risked their lives all to no purpose, being obliged, as they were, to contend against two difficulties at once,—the nature of the country and the lines of their opponents,—had not Tiberius by repeated reinforcements prevented them from taking to flight, and at the same time thrown the enemy into confusion by sending a detachment of soldiers around

⁶ ἀπαράξαι B. s., ἀποράξαι M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐκ πλείονος περιελθοῦσιν ἦν περιπέμψει ἐτάραξε.¹
 6 καὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν τραπέντες οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
 ἐσελθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, προ-
 απορρίψαντες τὰ ὄπλα ὥστε κουφίζειν, ἐσκεδά-
 σθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐπιδιώκοντές σφας (πάνυ τε γὰρ
 διαπολεμῆσαι ἐγλίχοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο συ-
 στραφέντας αὐθις αὐτοὺς χαλεπούς σφισι γενέ-
 7 σθαι) ἐπίπαν ἐπεξῆλθον, καὶ ἐκείνων τε τοὺς
 πλείους ἐν ταῖς ὑλαῖς κρυπτομένους ἀνευρόντες
 ὥσπερ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ προσχωρήσαντας ἔλα-
 βον.

Καὶ τούτοις μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ
 15 καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα σφίσι καθίστατο, Γερ-
 μανικὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας ἔτ' ἐτράπετο.²
 αὐτόμολοι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς συχνοὶ ὄντες οὐκ εἴων
 σφᾶς συμβῆναι. καὶ ἐδουλώσατο μὲν χωρίον τι
 Ἄρδουβαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει, καίτοι
 πολὺ πλείονι τῶν ἐναντίων οὔσῃ, ἠδυνήθη τοῦτο
 ποιῆσαι· αὐτό τε γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς ὠχύρωτο, καὶ
 ποταμὸς ῥοώδης τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ
 2 πλὴν βραχέος περιρρεῖ· ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτόμολοι στα-
 σιάσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐπειδὴ τῶν
 σπονδῶν ὠρέγοντο, ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἦλθον, καὶ
 συλλαβομένων σφίσι τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ
 τείχει οὔσων (τῆς τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρὰ
 τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμην ἐφίεντο, καὶ πᾶν ὀτιοῦν
 πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι παθεῖν ἤροῦντο) μάχη τε

¹ ἐτέρων . . . ἐτάραξε a corrupt passage in M. L' has ἐτέ-
 ρωθεν ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἐς τὸ ἄναντες τοῦ χωρίου ἐκ πλείονος
 περιελθοῦσι ἐτάραξε, an obvious paraphrase. Polak proposes
 ἐτέρων, ὅπη ἀνίτητον ἐς τὸ χωρίον ἐκ πλείονος περιελθοῦσιν ἦν,

to a point where by a wide circuit the place could be ascended. As a result, the enemy were routed and could not even get into the fortress, but were scattered up and down the mountain sides, first having cast aside their armour, so as to be unencumbered by its weight. Their pursuers followed them at every point, for they were very eager to end the war once for all, and did not want the foe to unite again and cause them further trouble. They discovered most of them hiding in the forests and slew them as they would so many wild beasts, after which they took over the men in the fort, who had capitulated. A.D. 9

Tiberius was now engaged in arranging the affairs of the enemies who had surrendered, and in carrying out the terms of their capitulation; but Germanicus turned his attention to those who still offered resistance, for many deserters who were with them prevented them from making terms. He succeeded in subjugating a place called Arduua, but could not accomplish it with his own force, though this was far greater than his opponents' army. For the place itself had been strongly fortified and a river with a swift current flows all around its base except for a short distance. But the deserters fell into a dispute with the inhabitants, because the latter were anxious for peace, and came to blows with them. They were assisted by the women in the fort, for these, contrary to the decision of the men, craved liberty and were ready to suffer any fate whatever rather than servitude. Accordingly a fierce struggle ensued, and the

ἐπιπέμψει ἐτάραξε, which with two slight changes (omitting ἐς and reading περιπέμψει) seems very plausible.

² ἔτ' ἐτράπετο B., ἐτετράπετο M.

ἰσχυρὰ ἐγένετο, καὶ κρατηθέντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνέ-
 3 δοσαν, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον, αἱ δὲ δὴ
 γυναῖκες τὰ παιδιά ἀρπάσασαι αἱ μὲν ἐς πῦρ
 ἑαυτὰς ἐνέβαλον, αἱ δὲ ἐς ποταμὸν κατεκρήμνισαν.
 καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ φρουρίου ἄλόντος, καὶ
 τὰλλα τὰ πλησία αὐτῷ ἐθέλοντι τῷ Γερμανικῷ
 ὠμολόγησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας πρὸς τὸν
 Τιβέριον ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ποστούμιος τὰ
 16 λοιπὰ προσκατειργάσατο. κὰν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ
 Βάτων, Σκευᾶν τὸν υἱὸν πρὸς Τιβέριον πέμψας,
 παραδώσειν οἱ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
 2 πάντας ὑπέσχετο, ἂν τῆς ἀδείας τύχη. καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο πίστιν λαβὼν νυκτός τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
 αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ βήματος αὐτῷ
 καθημένῳ προσαχθεὶς ὑπὲρ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲν
 ἐδεήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν προέτεινεν ὥστ'
 ἀποκοπῆναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰ ἀπελογή-
 3 σατο. καὶ τέλος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου "τί
 ὑμῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἀποστήναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν
 χρόνον ἀντιπολεμῆσαι;" ἔφη ὅτι "ὑμεῖς τούτων
 αἴτιοί ἐστε· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀγέλας ὑμῶν φύλακας
 οὐ κύνας οὐδὲ νομέας ἀλλὰ λύκους πέμπετε."
 4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔσχε,
 πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πλείστων δὲ δὴ καὶ
 χρημάτων ἀπολομένων· πάμπολλά τε γὰρ ἐς
 αὐτὸν στρατόπεδα ἐτράφη καὶ λεία ἐλαχίστη
 17 ἑάλω. ἀνήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τότε τὴν νίκην ὁ Γερ-
 μανικός, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ μὲν Αὐγούστῳ καὶ
 τῷ Τιβερίῳ τό τε τὸ¹ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα
 προσθέσθαι καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψαι, ἄλλαι

¹ τὸ supplied by Bk.

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τὲ τινες τιμαὶ καὶ ἀψίδες¹ ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τρο-
 2 παιοφόροι δύο ἐδόθησαν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ πολλῶν
 τῶν ψηφισθέντων σφίσιν ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐδέξατο),
 τῷ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικῷ αἴ τε νικητήριοι τιμαί, ὅπερ
 που καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιάρχοις ὑπήρξε, καὶ
 αἱ στρατηγικαί, τό τε τὴν γνώμην πρῶτῳ μετὰ
 τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀποφαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὴν
 ὑπατείαν θᾶσσον παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον λαβεῖν.
 3 καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου υἱεῖ, καίτοι
 μὴ μετασχόντι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον
 συμφοιτᾶν πρὶν βουλευῆσαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ταμιεῦσθαι
 γνώμην πρὸ² τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ποιεῖσθαι,
 ἐψηφίσθη.

18 Ἄρτι τε ταῦτα ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ ἀγγελία δεινὴ
 ἐκ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐλθοῦσα ἐκώλυσέ σφας διεορ-
 τάσαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ
 Κελτικῇ τάδε συνηνέχθη. εἶχόν τινα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
 αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀθρόα ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχε χειρω-
 2 θέντα, διὸ οὐδὲ ἐς ἱστορίας μνήμην ἀφίκετο· καὶ
 στρατιῶταί τε αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἐχείμαζον καὶ πόλεις
 συνωκίζοντο, ἔς τε τὸν κόσμον σφῶν οἱ βάρβαροι
 μετερρυθμίζοντο καὶ ἀγορὰς ἐνόμιζον συνόδους τε
 εἰρηρικὰς ἐποιοῦντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν πατρίων
 ἠθῶν τῶν τε συμφύτων τρόπων καὶ τῆς αὐτονόμου
 διαίτης τῆς τε ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίας ἐκλελησ-
 3 μένοι ἦσαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, τέως μὲν κατὰ βραχὺ
 καὶ ὁδῷ τινι μετὰ φυλακῆς μετεμάνθανον αὐτά,

¹ ἀψίδες early correction in margin of M, ἀσπίδες M.

² πρὸ R. Steph., παρὰ M (corr. to προς in marg.).

notably two triumphal arches in Pannonia; for these were the only distinctions of the many voted to them that Augustus would accept. Germanicus received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, a distinction which fell likewise to the other commanders, and also the rank of a praetor, as well as the privilege of giving his vote immediately after the ex-consuls and of holding the consulship earlier than custom allowed. To Drusus, also, the son of Tiberius, even though he had taken no part in the war, was granted the privilege of attending the sittings of the senate before becoming a member of that body and of voting ahead of the ex-praetors as soon as he should become quaestor. A.D. 9

Scarcely had these decrees been passed, when terrible news that arrived from the province of Germany¹ prevented them from holding the festival. I shall now relate the events which had taken place in Germany during this period. The Romans were holding portions of it—not entire regions, but merely such districts as happened to have been subdued, so that no record has been made of the fact—and soldiers of theirs were wintering there and cities were being founded. The barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, were becoming accustomed to hold markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblages. They had not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits, their native manners, their old life of independence, or the power derived from arms. Hence, so long as they were unlearning these customs gradually and by the way, as one may say, under careful watching, they were not disturbed by

¹ Γερμανία is Dio's word for the Roman province (or provinces) of Germany, Κελτική for Germany proper.

οὔτε ἐβαρύνοντο τῇ τοῦ βίου μεταβολῇ καὶ ἐλάνθανόν σφας ἀλλοιούμενοι· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Οὐᾶρος ὁ Κυντίλιος τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Γερμανίας λαβὼν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικῶν ἔσπευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀθροώτερον μεταστῆσαι, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ δουλεύουσί σφισιν ἐπέταττε καὶ
 4 χρήματα ὡς καὶ παρ' ὑπηκόων ἐσέπρασεν, οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ τε πρῶτοι τῆς πρόσθεν δυναστείας ἐφιέμενοι, καὶ τὰ πλήθη τὴν συνήθη κατάστασιν πρὸ τῆς ἀλλοφύλου δεσποτείας προτιμῶντες, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, πολλοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν
 5 τῇ σφετέρᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄρωντες ὄντας, δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν Οὐᾶρον ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ προστασσόμενά σφισι ποιήσοντες προήγαγον αὐτὸν πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου ἔς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Οὐίσουργον,¹ κἄνταῦθα εἰρηνικώτατά τε καὶ φιλικώτατα διαγαγόντες πίστιν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ὡς καὶ ἄνευ στρατιωτῶν δουλεύειν δυνάμενοι.

19 Οὗτ' οὖν τὰ στρατεύματα, ὥσπερ εἶκος ἦν ἐν πολεμίᾳ, συνέϊχε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν συχνοὺς αἰτοῦσι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ χωρίων τινῶν ἢ καὶ ληστῶν συλλήψεσι παραπομπαῖς τέ τισι
 2 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διέδωκεν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μάλιστα συνομόσαντες καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρμήνιος καὶ Σηγίμερος, συνόντες τε αὐτῷ αἰεὶ καὶ συνε-
 3 στιώμενοι πολλάκις. θαρσοῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μήτε τι δεινὸν προσδεχομένου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τότε² γιγνόμενον ὑποτοποῦσι καὶ φυλάττεσθαί οἱ

¹ Οὐίσουργον Xyl., οὐεισουργον M.

² τότε Xyl., τὸ τότε M.

BOOK LVI

the change in their manner of life, and were becoming different without knowing it. But when Quintilius Varus became governor of the province of Germany,¹ and in the discharge of his official duties was administering the affairs of these peoples also, he strove to change them more rapidly. Besides issuing orders to them as if they were actually slaves of the Romans, he exacted money as he would from subject nations. To this they were in no mood to submit, for the leaders longed for their former ascendancy and the masses preferred their accustomed condition to foreign domination. Now they did not openly revolt, since they saw that there were many Roman troops near the Rhine and many within their own borders; instead, they received Varus, pretending that they would do all he demanded of them, and thus they drew him far away from the Rhine into the land of the Cherusci, toward the Visurgis,² and there by behaving in a most peaceful and friendly manner led him to believe that they would live submissively without the presence of soldiers.

Consequently he did not keep his legions together, as was proper in a hostile country, but distributed many of the soldiers to helpless communities, which asked for them for the alleged purpose of guarding various points, arresting robbers, or escorting provision trains. Among those deepest in the conspiracy and leaders of the plot and of the war were Armenius and Segimerus, who were his constant companions and often shared his mess. He accordingly became confident, and expecting no harm, not only refused to believe all those who suspected what was going on and advised him to be on his guard,

¹ See note on p. 39.

² The Weser.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παραινούσιν οὐχ ὅπως ἀπιστοῦντος ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐπιτιμῶντος ὡς μάτην αὐτοῖς τε ταραττομένοις
 καὶ ἐκείνους διαβάλλουσιν, ἐπανίστανταί τινες
 πρῶτοι τῶν ἄπωθεν αὐτοῦ οἰκούντων ἐκ παρα-
 4 σκευῆς, ὅπως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Οὐᾶρος ὀρμήσας εὐα-
 λωτότερός σφισιν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς καὶ διὰ φιλίας
 διῶν, γένηται, μηδὲ ἐξαίφνης πάντων ἅμα
 πολεμωθέντων αὐτῷ φυλακὴν τινα ἑαυτοῦ ποιή-
 σηται. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· προέπεμψάν τε γὰρ
 αὐτὸν ἐξορμῶντα, καὶ παρέμενοι ὡς καὶ τὰ
 συμμαχικὰ παρασκευάσοντες καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἱ
 5 προσβοηθήσοντες τὰς τε δυνάμεις ἐν ἐτοίμῳ που
 οὔσας παρέλαβον, καὶ ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς παρὰ
 σφίσιν ἕκαστοι στρατιώτας, οὓς πρότερον ἠτή-
 κεσαν, ἐπῆλθον αὐτῷ ἐν ὕλαις ἤδη δυσεκβάτοις
 ὄντι. κἀνταῦθα ἅμα τε ἀνεφάνησαν πολέμιοι
 ἀνθ' ὑπηκόων ὄντες, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργά-
 σαντο.

20 Τὰ τε γὰρ ὄρη καὶ φαραγγώδη καὶ ἀνώμαλα
 καὶ τὰ δένδρα καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ ὑπερμήκη ἦν, ὥστε
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσι
 προσπεσεῖν, ἐκεῖνά τε τέμνοντας καὶ ὁδοποιούντας
 γεφυροῦντάς τε τὰ τούτου δεόμενα πονηθῆναι.
 2 ἦγον δὲ καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς καὶ νωτοφόρα πολλὰ
 ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ· παῖδες τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ γυναῖκες
 ἢ τε ἄλλη θεραπεία συχνὴ αὐτοῖς συνέιπετο,
 ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐσκεδασμένη τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ
 3 χρῆσθαι. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὑετὸς καὶ ἄνεμος πολὺς
 ἐπιγενόμενοι ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σφας διέσπειραν·
 τό τε ἔδαφος ὀλισθηρὸν περί τε ταῖς ρίζαις καὶ
 περὶ τοῖς στελέχεσι γεγόμενον σφαλερώτατα

BOOK LVI

but actually rebuked them for being needlessly excited and slandering his friends. Then there came an uprising, first on the part of those who lived at a distance from him, deliberately so arranged, in order that Varus should march against them and so be more easily overpowered while proceeding through what was supposed to be friendly country, instead of putting himself on his guard as he would do in case all became hostile to him at once. And so it came to pass. They escorted him as he set out, and then begged to be excused from further attendance, in order, as they claimed, to assemble their allied forces, after which they would quickly come to his aid. Then they took charge of their troops, which were already in waiting somewhere, and after the men in each community had put to death the detachments of soldiers for which they had previously asked, they came upon Varus in the midst of forests by this time almost impenetrable. And there, at the very moment of revealing themselves as enemies instead of subjects, they wrought great and dire havoc.

The mountains had an uneven surface broken by ravines, and the trees grew close together and very high. Hence the Romans, even before the enemy assailed them, were having a hard time of it felling trees, building roads, and bridging places that required it. They had with them many waggons and many beasts of burden as in time of peace; moreover, not a few women and children and a large retinue of servants were following them—one more reason for their advancing in scattered groups. Meanwhile a violent rain and wind came up that separated them still further, while the ground, that had become slippery around the roots and logs, made

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων καταθραυόμενα καὶ καταπίπτοντα διετάρασσεν.
 4 ἐν τοιαύτῃ οὖν δὴ τινι ἀμηχανία τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντων, οἱ βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν ἅμα αὐτοὺς ἐξαπιναίως δι' αὐτῶν τῶν λοχμωδεστάτων, ἅτε καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν τριμμῶν ὄντες, περιεστοιχίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πόρρωθεν ἔβαλλον, ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἠμύνετο μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐπιτρέσκοντο
 5 δὲ πολλοί, ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν· οἷα γὰρ οὔτε ἐν τάξει τινὶ ἀλλὰ ἀναμίξ ταῖς τε ἀμάξαις καὶ τοῖς ἀόπλοις πορευόμενοι, οὔτε συστραφῆναί πη ῥαδίως δυνάμενοι, ἐλάττους τε καθ' ἐκάστους τῶν αἰὲ προσμιγνύντων σφίσιν ὄντες, ἔπασχον μὲν πολλά, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδέν.

21 Ἀὐτοῦ τε οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου, ὡς γε ἐν ὄρει ὑλώδει ἐνεδέχετο, λαβόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς τε πλείους ἀμάξας καὶ τὰλλα τὰ μὴ πάνυ σφίσιν ἀναγκαῖα τὰ μὲν κατακαύσαντες τὰ δὲ καὶ καταλιπόντες, συντεταγμένοι μὲν πη μᾶλλον τῇ ὑστεραία ἐπορεύθησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ψιλόν τι χωρίον προχωρῆσαι,
 2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ ἀπήλλαξαν· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἄραντες ἔς τε ὕλας αὐθις ἐσέπεσον, καὶ ἠμύνοντο μὲν πρὸς τοὺς προσπίπτοντάς σφίσιν, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔπταιον· συστρεφόμενοι γὰρ ἐν στενοχωρία, ὅπως ἀθρόοι ἰππῆς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ὀπλίται ἐπιτρέχωσιν αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ἀλλήλοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῖς δέν-
 3 δροις ἐσφάλλοντο. τετάρτη τε ἡμέρα¹ πορευο-

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- μένοις σφίσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑετός τε αὖθις
 λάβρος καὶ ἄνεμος μέγας προσπесὼν οὔτε ποι
 προῖέναι οὔθ' ἴστασθαι παγίως ἐπέτρεπεν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὴν χρῆσίν σφας τῶν ὄπλων ἀφείλετο· οὔτε
 γὰρ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἀκοντίοις, ἢ ταῖς
 γε ἀσπίσιν ἄτε καὶ διαβρόχοις οὔσαις, καλῶς
 4 χρῆσθαι ἐδύναντο. τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις, ψιλοῖς
 τε τὸ πλεῖστον οὔσι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τῆς
 ἐφόδου καὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἀδεᾶ ἔχουσιν, ἡττόν
 που ταῦτα συνέβαινε. πρὸς δ' ἔτι αὐτοί τε πολὺ
 πλείους γεγονότες (καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρό-
 τερον περισκοπούντων συχνοὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῇ λείᾳ συνῆλθον) καὶ ἐκείνους ἐλάττους ἤδη ὄντας
 (πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις ἀπωλώλεσαν)
 5 καὶ ἐκυκλοῦντο ῥᾶον καὶ κατεφόνευον, ὥστε καὶ
 τὸν Οὐᾶρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς λογιμωτάτους,
 φοβηθέντας μὴ ἦτοι ζωγρηθῶσιν ἢ καὶ πρὸς τῶν
 ἐχθίστων ἀποθάνωσι (καὶ γὰρ τετρωμένοι ἦσαν),
 ἔργον δεινὸν μὲν ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τολμῆσαι· αὐτοὶ
 γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.
- 22 Ὡς δὲ τοῦτο διηγγέλθη, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς
 ἔτι, εἰ καὶ ἔρρωτό τις, ἠμύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὸν
 ἄρχοντά σφων ἐμιμήσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
 παρέντες ἐπέτρεπόν σφας τῷ βουλομένῳ φονεύειν·
 φυγεῖν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστά τις ἤθελεν ἐδύνατο.
- 2 ἐκόπτετό τε οὖν ἀδεῶς πᾶς καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἵππος,
 καὶ τά τε¹ . . .
- 2^a Καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα πάντα κατέσχον οἱ βάρβαροι
 ἄτερ ἑνός, περὶ δ' ἀσχοληθέντες οὔτε τὸν Ῥῆνον

¹ After τε a folium is lost from M, which resumes with τὸ μὲν πρῶτον. The missing portion is in part supplied by Zonaras.

BOOK LVI

advancing when the fourth day dawned, and again a heavy downpour and violent wind assailed them, preventing them from going forward and even from standing securely, and moreover depriving them of the use of their weapons. For they could not handle their bows or their javelins with any success, nor, for that matter, their shields, which were thoroughly soaked. Their opponents, on the other hand, being for the most part lightly equipped, and able to approach and retire freely, suffered less from the storm. Furthermore, the enemy's forces had greatly increased, as many of those who had at first wavered now joined them, largely in the hope of plunder, and thus they could more easily encircle and strike down the Romans, whose ranks were now thinned, many having perished in the earlier fighting. Varus, therefore, and all the more prominent officers, fearing that they should either be captured alive or be killed by their bitterest foes (for they had already been wounded), made bold to do a thing that was terrible yet unavoidable: they took their own lives.

When news of this had spread, none of the rest, even if he had any strength left, defended himself any longer. Some imitated their leader, and others, casting aside their arms, allowed anybody who pleased to slay them; for to flee was impossible, however much one might desire to do so. Every man, therefore, and every horse was cut down without any fear of resistance, and the . . .

And the barbarians occupied all the strongholds save one, their delay at which prevented them

διέβησαν οὐτ' ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν εἰσέβαλον. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο χειρώσασθαι ἠδυνήθησαν, ἐπεὶ μήτε πολιορκεῖν ἠπίσταντο καὶ τοξόταις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συχνοῖς ἐχρῶντο, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀνεκόπτοντο καὶ πλείστοι ἀπόλλυντο.—Zon. 10, 37 (p. 452, 12—17 Dind.).

2^b Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πυθόμενοι φυλακὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον σὺν βαρεῖ προσελαύνειν στρατεύματι, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπανεστήσαν τοῦ ἐρύματος, οἱ δ' ὑπολειφθέντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μὴ αἰφνιδίως ἐπεξελεύσεσι τῶν ἐντὸς κακοῦσθαι, τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐτήρουν, σπάνει σιτίων αἰρήσειν ἠλπικότες αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐντὸς ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἕως μὲν εὐπόρουν τροφῆς, κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον βοήθειαν προσδεχόμενοι· ὡς δ' οὔτε τις ἐπεκούρει αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμῶ συνέιχοντο, ἐξῆλθον νύκτα τηρήσαντες χειμέριον (ἦσαν δὲ στρατιῶται μὲν ὀλίγοι, ἄοπλοι δὲ πολλοί), καὶ
2 [Zon. 10, 37, p. 452, 18—29 D.] τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τότε δευτέρον σφῶν φυλακτῆριον παρῆλθον, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τρίτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐφωράθησαν, τῶν τε γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν παίδων συνεχῶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ διὰ τε τὸν κάματον καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον τότε
3 τε σκότος καὶ τὸ ψῦχος ἀνακαλούντων. κὰν πάντες ἀπόλλοντο ἢ καὶ ἐάλωσαν, εἰ μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ τὴν τῆς λείας ἀρπαγὴν ἄσχολοι ἐγένοντο. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τε ἐρρωμενέστατοι πολὺ ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ¹ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱς ὄντες τροχαῖόν τι συμβοήσαντες δόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσπρήνου πεπεμμένοι παρέ-

¹ σαλπικταὶ Dind., σαλπικταὶ M.

BOOK LVI

from either crossing the Rhine or invading Gaul. A.D. 9
Yet they found themselves unable to reduce this fort, because they did not understand the conduct of sieges, and because the Romans employed numerous archers, who repeatedly repulsed them and destroyed large numbers of them.

Later they learned that the Romans had posted a guard at the Rhine, and that Tiberius was approaching with an imposing army. Therefore most of the barbarians retired from the fort, and even the detachment still left there withdrew to a considerable distance, so as not to be injured by sudden sallies on the part of the garrison, and then kept watch of the roads, hoping to capture the garrison through the failure of their provisions. The Romans inside, so long as they had plenty of food, remained where they were, awaiting relief; but when no one came to their assistance and they were also hard pressed by hunger, they waited merely for a stormy night and then stole forth. Now the soldiers were but few, the unarmed many. They succeeded in getting past the foe's first and second outposts, but when they reached the third, they were discovered, for the women and children, by reason of their fatigue and fear as well as on account of the darkness and cold, kept calling to the warriors to come back. And they would all have perished or been captured, had the barbarians not been occupied in seizing the plunder. This afforded an opportunity for the most hardy to get some distance away, and the trumpeters with them by sounding the signal for a double-quick march caused the enemy to think that they had been sent by Asprenas. Therefore the foe ceased

- 4 σχον. κακ τούτου ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπέσχον τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ὁ Ἀσπρήνας μαθὼν τὸ γιγνόμενον ὄντως σφίσι ἐπέκούρησε. καὶ τινες μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἀνεκομίσθησαν, λυτρωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων· ἐπετράπη γάρ· σφισι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοὺς εἶναι.
- 23 · Τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ μαθὼν ὁ Αὔγουστος τὰ τῷ Οὐάρῳ συμβεβηκότα τήν τε ἐσθήτα, ὡς τινὲς φασι, περιερρήξατο, καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ περί τε τῶν Γερμανιῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατιῶν δέει ἐποιήσατο, τό τε μέγιστον ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τήν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν, ὀρμήσειν σφᾶς προσεδόκησε, καὶ οὔτε πολιτικῆ οἱ ἡλικία ἀξιόλογος ὑπελέλειπτο, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικά, ὧν τι καὶ 2 ὄφελος ἦν, ἐκεκάκωτο. ὅμως δ' οὖν τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων καταλεχθῆναι ἠθέλησεν, ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτούς, καὶ τῶν μὲν μηδέπω πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων τὸν πέμπτον, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τὸν δέκατον αἰεὶ λαχόντα τήν τε οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο καὶ 3 ἠτίμωσε. καὶ τέλος, ὡς καὶ πάνυ πολλοὶ οὐδ' οὔτω τι αὐτοῦ προετίμων, ἀπέκτεινέ τινας. ἀποκληρώσας δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ὅσους ἠδυνήθη, κατέλεξε, καὶ εὐθὺς σπουδῆ μετὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν 4 ἔπεμψεν. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοί, οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευόμενοι, ἦσαν, ἐφοβήθη μή τι νεοχμώσωσι, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐς

BOOK LVI

his pursuit, and Asprenas, upon learning what was taking place, actually did render them assistance. Some of the prisoners were afterwards ransomed by their relatives and returned from captivity; for this was permitted on condition that the men ransomed should remain outside of Italy. This, however, occurred later. A.D. 9

Augustus, when he learned of the disaster to Varus, rent his garments, as some report, and mourned greatly, not only because of the soldiers who had been lost, but also because of his fear for the German and Gallic provinces, and particularly because he expected that the enemy would march against Italy and against Rome itself. For there were no citizens of military age left worth mentioning, and the allied forces that were of any value had suffered severely. Nevertheless, he made preparations as best he could in view of the circumstances; and when no men of military age showed a willingness to be enrolled, he made them draw lots, depriving of his property and disfranchising every fifth man of those still under thirty-five and every tenth man among those who had passed that age. Finally, as a great many paid no heed to him even then, he put some to death. He chose by lot as many as he could of those who had already completed their term of service and of the freedmen, and after enrolling them sent them in haste with Tiberius into the province of Germany. And as there were in Rome a large number of Gauls and Germans, some of them serving in the pretorian guard and others sojourning there for various reasons, he feared they might begin a rebellion; hence he sent away such as were in his

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

νήσους τινὰς ἀπέστειλε, τοῖς δ' ἀόπλοις ἐκχωρήσαι τῆς πόλεως προσέταξε.

24 Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν νομιζομένων ἐγένετο οὐθ' αἱ πανηγύρεις ἐωρτάσθησαν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὅτι τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐσώθησαν καὶ αἱ Γερμανίαι ἐφρουρήθησαν, τό τε πολέμιον οὐδέ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐλθεῖν ἐτόλμησε, τῆς τε ταραχῆς ἀπηλλάγη καὶ διαγνώμῃν ἐποιήσατο. τό τε γὰρ πάθος οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίου τινὸς ὀργῆς καὶ μέγα οὕτω καὶ ἀθρόον ἐδόκει οἱ γεγονέναι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τεράτων τῶν πρό τε τῆς ἥττης, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων δεινὴν ὑποψίαν ἐς τὸ

3 θείον ἔσχεν. ὃ τε γὰρ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐκεραυνώθη, καὶ ἀττέλεβοι πολλοὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστυ πετόμενοι ὑπὸ χελιδόνων ἀνηλώθησαν, αἳ τε κορυφαὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων συμπεπτωκέναι τε ἐς ἀλλήλας καὶ κίονας τρεῖς πυροειδεῖς ἀνεικέναι ἔδοξαν, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς φλεγόμενος

4 πολλαχῇ ἐώκει, ἀστέρες τε κομῆται συχνοὶ ἅμα κατεφαίνοντο, καὶ δόρατα ἀπ' ἄρκτου φερόμενα πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα ἠπροσπίπτειν ἐδόκει, μέλισσαί τε περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κηρία ἀνέπλασσον, καὶ Νίκης τι ἄγαλμα ἐν τε τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ὄν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν βλέπον

5 πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετεστράφη· καί ποτε καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς ἰτούς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ὡς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσπεπτωκότων, μάχη καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ κενῆς ἐγένετο.

Τούτων τε οὖν ἔνεκα καὶ ὅτι καὶ . . .¹

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- 6 Ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος διαβῆναι τὸν Ῥῆνον οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ' ἠτρέμιζεν ἐπιτηρῶν μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκείνοι διαβῆναι ἐτόλμησαν γνόντες αὐτὸν παρόντα.—Zon. 10, 37 (p. 453, 7-10 D.).
- 7 Ὅτι ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ πολλῶν ὠκειοῦτο τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ὅτι ὑπερεδίκηι¹ τινῶν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αὐγούστου. διὸ καὶ ταμίαι τινὲ φόνου αἰτίαν ἔχοντι τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ συναγορεύειν μέλλοντος,² ἔδεισεν ὁ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐλαττωθῆ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐφ' οἷσπερ εἰώθει τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δικασθῆναι μάτην ἠθέλησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκράτησεν.—EHC. V. 182 (p. 665).
- 25 . . . μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχων. τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ προειρημένα ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ Ὀμονόειον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθιερώθη, καὶ αὐτῷ τό τε ἐκείνου ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπεγράφη.
- 2 Μάρκου δὲ Αἰμιλίου μετὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου ὑπατεύσαντος, Τιβέριος μὲν καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρχων ἔς τε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον καὶ κατέδραμόν τινα αὐτῆς, οὐ μόντοι οὔτε μάχη τινὲ ἐνίκησαν (ἔς γὰρ χεῖρας οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἦει) οὔτε
- 3 ἔθνος τι ὑπηγάγοντο· δεδιότες γὰρ μὴ καὶ συμφορᾶ αὐθις περιπέσωσιν, οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τοῦ Ῥῆνου προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ που μέχρι τοῦ μετοπώρου μείναντες καὶ τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενέθλια ἐορτάσαντες καὶ τινα ἵπποδρομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων ποιήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον.

BOOK LVI

Tiberius did not see fit to cross the Rhine, but kept quiet, watching to see that the barbarians did not cross. And they, knowing him to be there, did not venture to cross in their turn. A.D. 10

Germanicus was becoming endeared to the populace for many reasons, but particularly because he acted as advocate for various persons, and this quite as much before Augustus himself as before the other judges. Accordingly, on one occasion when he was going to lend assistance in this way to a quaestor who was charged with murder, his accuser became alarmed lest he should in consequence of this lose his suit before the judges who regularly heard such cases, and wished to have it tried before Augustus. But his efforts were all in vain, for he did not win the suit.

. . . holding [it] after his praetorship. But the next year, in addition to the events already described, the temple of Concord was dedicated by Tiberius, and both his name and that of Drusus, his dead brother, were inscribed upon it. In the consulship A.D. 11 of Marcus Aemilius and Statilius Taurus, Tiberius and Germanicus, the latter acting as proconsul, invaded Germany and overran portions of it. They did not win any battle, however, since no one came to close quarters with them, nor did they reduce any tribe; for in their fear of falling victims to a fresh disaster they did not advance very far beyond the Rhine, but after remaining in that region until late autumn and celebrating the birthday of Augustus, 4 on which they held a horse-race under the direction of the centurions, they returned.

¹ ὑπερεδίκηει Val., ὑπερδίκησσι.

² ἔχοντι . . . μέλλοντος Βκ., ἔχοντι ἐδίκησε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ συναγορεύειν οἱ μέλλοντος σοῦ.

4 Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ Δρούσος τε Καῖσαρ ὁ
 τοῦ Τιβερίου παῖς ἐταμίευσε, καὶ στρατηγοὶ
 ἑκκαίδεκα ἦρξαν, ἐπειδὴ τοσοῦτοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἀντεποιήσαντο καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λυπῆσαι ὁ
 Αὐγουστος, οἷα ἐν τοιούτοις ὦν, ἠθέλησεν· οὐ
 μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι ταῦτον
 ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ δώδεκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν.
 5 τότε δ' οὖν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ τοῖς
 μάντεσιν ἀπηγορεύθη μήτε κατὰ μόνας τινὶ μήτε
 περὶ θανάτου, μηδ' ἂν ἄλλοι συμπάρῳσιν οἱ,
 χρᾶν· καίτοι οὕτως οὐδὲν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τῶν καθ'
 ἑαυτὸν ἔμελεν ὥστε ἐκ προγραφῆς πᾶσι τὴν τῶν
 ἀστέρων διάταξιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐγεγέννητο, φανερώσαι.
 6 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό τε ἀπέειπε, καὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ
 προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων
 αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ
 μήτε ἐντὸς ἑξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναί
 σφας τιμὴν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας
 παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προπαρασκευαζόμενοι
 7 πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν. ταῖς τε πρεσ-
 βείαις τρεῖς καὶ τότε βουλευταὶ ἐχρημάτισαν,
 καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν, ὃ καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις,
 μονομαχεῖν ἐπετράπη. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ
 τινὲς τὴν ἀτιμίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένην ἐποι-
 οῦντο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ μήτ' ὄφελός τι τῆς ἀπορρήσεως
 ἐγένετο καὶ τιμωρίας μείζονος ἄξιοι εἶναι ἐδόκουν,
 ἢ καὶ ἀποτραπήσασθαι ἐνομίσθησαν, συνεχωρήθη
 8 σφίσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας
 θάνατον ὠφλίσκανον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦττον ἐμονομά-

BOOK LVI

A.D. 11

At Rome Drusus Caesar, the son of Tiberius, became quaestor, and sixteen praetors held office because that number were candidates for the position and Augustus, in view of the difficulties in which he found himself, was unwilling to offend any of them. The same did not hold true, however, of the years immediately following, but the number remained at twelve for a considerable period. Besides these events at that time, the seers were forbidden to prophesy to any person alone or to prophesy regarding death even if others should be present. Yet so far was Augustus from caring about such matters in his own case that he set forth to all in an edict the aspect of the stars at the time of his own birth. Nevertheless, he forbade this practice. He also issued a proclamation to the subject nations forbidding them to bestow any honours upon a person assigned to govern them either during his term of office or within sixty days after his departure; this was because some governors by arranging beforehand for testimonials and eulogies from their subjects were causing much mischief. Three senators, as before, transacted business with embassies, and the knights—a fact which may cause surprise—were allowed to fight as gladiators. The reason for this was that some were making light of the disfranchisement imposed as the penalty for such conduct. For inasmuch as there proved to be no use in forbidding it, and the guilty seemed to require a greater punishment, or else because it seemed possible that they might even be turned aside from this course, they were granted permission to take part in such contests. In this way they incurred death instead of disfranchisement; for they fought just as much as ever, especially since their

χουν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι δεινῶς οἱ ἀγῶνες αὐτῶν ἐσπουδάζοντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Αὐγούστου τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσί σφας συνθεᾶσθαι.¹

26 Γερμανικὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν μηδὲ στρατηγῆσας ἐδέξατο, καὶ δι' ὅλου αὐτὴν² τοῦ ἔτους, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔτι καὶ τότε ἦρχον, ἔσχε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἀξιον μνήμης ἔπραξε, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ τότε ὑπερεδίκησεν, ἐπεὶ γε ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Γάιος Καπίτων καὶ πάνυ τὴν ἄλλως ἠριθμεῖτο. 2 ὁ δὲ δὴ Αὐγούστος ἐκεῖνόν τε ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ γήρως ὦν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ταύτην τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρακατέθετο. ἀνέγνω δὲ τὸ βιβλίον οὐκ αὐτὸς (οὐ γὰρ οἶός τε ἦν γεγωνίσκειν) ἀλλ' ὁ Γερμανικός, ὥσπερ εἰώθει. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἠτήσατο παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου προφάσει, μήτ' οἴκοι αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι μήτ' ἀγανακτεῖν εἰ μηκέτι 3 συσσιτοίη σφίσι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλείστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁσάκις ἔδρα αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε ἔστιν ὅτε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἐσιόντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπιόντα αὐθις ἠσπάζοντο, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ καθήμενόν γε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κατακείμενον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡ γερουσία ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἰππῆς τοῦ τε δήμου πολλοί.

27 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰλλα ἠττόν τι παρὰ τοῦτο διώκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσι δημαρχίαν αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι βιβλία ἅττα ἐφ' ὕβρει τινῶν συγγράφοιτο, ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὔρεθέντα πρὸς

¹ συνθεᾶσθαι Pflugk, συνθέσθαι M.

² ἐς αὐτὴν M (but corrected in marg. ?).

BOOK LVI

contests were eagerly witnessed, so that even Augustus used to watch them in company with the praetors who superintended the contests. A.D. 11

Germanicus soon afterwards received the office of consul, though he had not even been praetor, and he held it throughout the whole year, not because of his rank, but in the same way that certain others still held the office at this time for the whole period. Germanicus himself did nothing memorable, except that at this time, too, he acted as advocate in law-suits, since his colleague, Gaius Capito, counted as a mere figurehead. But Augustus, since he was growing old, wrote a letter commending Germanicus to the senate and the latter to Tiberius; the letter was not read by Augustus himself, for he was unable to make himself heard, but by Germanicus, as usual. After this the emperor, making the German war his excuse, asked the senators not to greet him at his home or to feel hurt if he did not continue to join with them in their public banquets. For it was their general practice, especially whenever they were to have a meeting, to greet him not only in the Forum but sometimes also in the senate-house itself, both when he entered and again when he left; and it actually happened that when he was sitting or sometimes even lying down in the palace not only the senate but the knights and many of the populace as well came to greet him. A.D. 12

In spite of all this, however, he continued to attend to his other duties as before. He now allowed the knights to become candidates for the tribuneship. And learning that some vituperative pamphlets were being written concerning certain people, he ordered search to be made for them; those that were found

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τῶν ἀγορανόμων τὰ δὲ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἑκαστα-
 χόθι ἀρχόντων, κατέφλεξε, καὶ τῶν συνθέντων
 2 αὐτὰ ἐκόλασέ τινας. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ φυγάδες
 οἱ μὲν ἔξω τῶν τόπων ἐς οὓς ἐξωρίσθησαν τὰς
 διατρίβας ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις
 ἀβρότερον διῆγον, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πυρὸς καὶ
 ὕδατος εἰρχθέντα¹ μήτε ἐν ἠπείρῳ διατρίβειν
 μήτε ἐν νήσῳ τῶν ὅσαι ἔλαττον τετρακοσίων ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἠπείρου σταδίων ἀπέχουσι, πλὴν Κῶ τε καὶ
 Ῥόδου Σάμου² τε καὶ Λέσβου· ταύτας γὰρ οὐκ
 3 οἶδ' ὅπως μόνας ὑπεξείλετο. ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν
 αὐτοῖς προσέταξε, καὶ τὸ μήτε περαιούσθαι ποι
 ἄλλοσε, μήτε πλοῖα πλείω φορτικοῦ τε ἐνὸς
 χιλιοφόρου καὶ κωπήρων δύο κεκτῆσθαι, μήτε
 δούλοις ἢ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι χρῆσθαι,
 μήτ' οὐσίαν ὑπὲρ δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίσειαν μυριάδα
 ἔχειν, τιμωρηθήσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τι παρὰ ταῦτα συμπράξαντάς
 σφισιν ἐπαπειλήσας.

4 Ταῦτά τε οὕτως, ὅσα γε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίαν ἀναγ-
 καῖά ἐστι, διενομοθετήθη, καὶ πανήγυρις ἔξω
 τῶν νενομισμένων ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἵπποτρόφων ἐποιήθη. τά τε Ἄρεια τότε
 μὲν ἐπειδὴ ὁ Τίβερις³ τὸν ἵππόδρομον προκατέ-
 σχεν, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἵππων
 δρόμῳ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ θηρίων σφαγῇ ἐτιμήθη,
 5 αὐθις δὲ ὥσπερ εἴθιστο ἐγένετο· καὶ λέοντάς γε
 ἐς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ διακοσίους ὁ⁴ Γερμα-

¹ εἰρχθέντα R. Steph., εἰρχθέντα M.

² Σάμου Bs., σαρδοῦς M.

³ Τίβερις R. Steph., τιβέριος M.

⁴ ὁ Rk., ὁ τε M.

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νικὸς ἀπέκτεινεν· ἢ τε στοὰ ἢ Ἰουλία¹ καλουμένη ὠκοδομήθη τε ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ τε Γαΐου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καισάρων, καὶ τότε καθιερώθη.

28 Λουκίου δὲ δὴ Μουνατίου καὶ Γαΐου Σιλίου ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐσγραφέντων, τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκέτιν² τὴν πέμπτην ἄκων δὴ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν αὐθις ἔδωκε, τῷ τε Δρούσῳ τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν ἐς ἔτος τρίτον,
 2 καὶ πρὶν στρατηγήσαι, αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ συμβούλους ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως, ὑφ' οὐπὲρ οὐδ' ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔτι πλὴν σπανιώτατα συνεφοίτα, εἴκοσιν ἐτησίους ἠτήσατο· πρότερον γὰρ καθ' ἕκμηνον πεντεκαίδεκα προσετίθετο. καὶ προσεψηφίσθη, πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ μετὰ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων τῶν τε αἰεὶ ὑπατευόντων
 3 καὶ τῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδεδειγμένων, τῶν τε ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τῶν ποιητῶν δῆλον ὅτι, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσους ἂν ἐκάστοτε προσπαραλάβῃ, βουλευομένῳ δόξῃ, κύρια ὡς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀρέσαντα εἶναι. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐκ τοῦ δόγματος, ὅπερ πού καὶ ἄλλως τῷ γε ἔργῳ εἶχε, προσθέμενος, οὕτω τὰ πλείω καὶ κατακείμενος ἔστιν ὅτε ἐχρημάτιζεν.
 4 ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ τῇ εἴκοστῇ πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβαρύνοντο καὶ ἐδόκει τι νεώτερον ἔσεσθαι, ἐπέμψε βιβλίον ἐς τὴν βουλήν, κελεύων ἄλλους τινὰς αὐτὴν πόρους ἐπιζητῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τέλος καταλύσων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μηδενὸς ἄλλου αἰρετωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος καὶ ἄκουτες αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαβολῆς βεβαιώ-

¹ Ἰουλία Merkel, λιοῦλα M.

² δεκέτιν R. Steph., δεκέτην M (ν due to corr.).

BOOK LVI

The Porticus Iulia, as it was called, was built in honour of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and was now dedicated. A.D. 12

When Lucius Munatius and Gaius Silius had been installed as consuls, Augustus with seeming reluctance accepted a fifth ten-year term as head of the State. He again gave Tiberius the tribunician power, and permitted Drusus, the latter's son, to stand for the consulship two years later without ever having held the praetorship. He also asked for twenty annual counsellors because of his age, which did not permit him to go to the senate-house any longer except on rare occasions; previously, it seems, he had associated with himself fifteen advisers for six months at a time. It was also voted that any measure should be valid, as being satisfactory to the whole senate, which should be resolved upon by him in deliberation with Tiberius and with these counsellors, as well as the consuls of the year and the consuls designate, together with his grandchildren (the adopted ones, I mean) and such others as he might at any time call on for advice. Having gained by this decree these privileges, which in reality he had possessed in any case, he continued to transact most of the public business, though he sometimes reclined while doing so. When, now, nearly all felt burdened by the five per cent. tax¹ and an uprising seemed likely, he sent a communication to the senate bidding its members to seek some other sources of revenue. He did this, not with the intention of abolishing the tax, but in order that when no other method should seem to them better, they should ratify the measure, reluctantly though it might be, without bringing any censure upon him. He also

¹ Cf. lv. 25, 5.

- 5 σωσι. καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ τε Δρούσου γνώμην τινὰ εἰπόντων ὑποτοπήσασί τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐντολῆς τοῦτο γεγονέναι καὶ ἀνεξέταστον αὐτὴν ἔλονται; προσέταξε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν μηδὲν εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐλέχθη μὲν πολλά, καί τινα καὶ διὰ βιβλίων τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐδηλώθη.
- 6 καταμαθῶν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνο εἰσὶν σφᾶς ὑπομείναι ὄντας ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὴν συντέλειαν ἤγαγε, καὶ παραχρῆμα μηδὲν εἰπὼν, μήθ' ὅσον μήθ' ὅπως αὐτὸ δώσουσιν, ἐπεμψέν ἄλλους ἄλλη τά τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ¹ τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραφομένους, ἵν' ὡς καὶ μειζόνως ζημιωθῶσόμενοι δείσωσι καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τελεῖν ἀνθ' ἔλονται. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 118, 3-6.
- 29 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη τῷ Αὐγούστῳ διωκεῖτο ἰπποδρομίας δὲ τελουμένης ἐν τῇ τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων θεᾷ, ἣτις ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ γενεθλίοις ἐγίγνετο, ἀνὴρ τις ἐμμανῆς ἔς τε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τῷ Καῖσᾶρι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ κείμενον² ἐνιδρύθη³ καὶ τὸν στέφανον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν περιέθετο. ὃ πάντα ἐτάραξεν, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἔς τὸν Αὐγουστόν τι σημαίνεσθαι.
- 2 ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν. τῷ γὰρ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ἐν ᾧ Σέξτος τε Ἀπουλείος⁴ καὶ Σέξτος Πομπήιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐξωρμήθη τε ἔς τὴν Καμπανίαν ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέα πόλει⁵ διαθεὶς ἔπειτα ἐν Νώλῃ μετήλλαξε. τέρατα δὲ

¹ A folium of M is missing after καί. The lacuna is supplied from Xiph. and Zon.

² κείμενον Xiph., ἀνακείμενον Zon.

³ ἐνιδρύθη Bk., ἐνιδρύθη Xiph.

⁴ Ἀπουλείος Bs., ἀπούλιος Xiph.

BOOK LVI

ordered both Germanicus and Drusus not to make any statement about it, for fear that if they expressed an opinion it should be suspected that this had been done at his command, and the senate would therefore choose that plan without further investigation. There was much discussion and some proposals were submitted to Augustus in writing. When he learned from these that the senators were ready to submit to any form of tax rather than to the one in force, he changed it to a levy upon fields and houses; and immediately, without stating how great it would be or in what way imposed, he sent men out everywhere to make a list of the property both of private individuals and of cities. His object was that they should fear even greater losses and so be content to pay the five per cent. tax; and this is what actually happened. Thus Augustus handled these matters. A.D. 13

During a horse-race at the Augustalia,¹ which were celebrated in honour of his birthday, a madman seated himself in the chair which was dedicated to Julius Caesar, and taking his crown, put it on. This incident disturbed everybody, for it seemed to have some bearing upon Augustus, as, indeed, proved true. For in the following year, when Sextus Apuleius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls, Augustus set out for Campania, and after superintending the games at Neapolis, passed away shortly afterward at Nola. A.D. 14

¹ Cf. liv. 34, 1-2, where Dio himself appears to apply the name Augustalia to the celebration of Augustus' birthday as well as to the Augustalia proper; but he there adds the phrase "which are still celebrated" to distinguish the latter from the former.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἄρα ἐς τοῦτο αὐτῷ φέροντα οὔτε ἐλάχιστα οὔτε
 3 δυσσύμβλητα ἐγεγένητο· ὅ τε γὰρ ἥλιος ἅπας
 ἐξέλιπε, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ πολὺ καίεσθαι ἔδοξε,
 ξύλα τε διάπυρα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κίπτοντα ἐφαντάσθη,
 καὶ ἀστέρες κομήται καὶ αἱματώδεις ὤφθησαν.
 βουλῆς τε ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελθείσης,
 ἵν' εὐχὰς ποιήσωνται [Xiph. 118, 6-22, Zon. 10,
 38, p. 453, 21-454, 2 D.] τό¹ τε συνέδριον κεκλει-
 μένον² εὐρέθη καὶ βύας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος
 4 ἔβυξε· καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ
 Καπιτωλίῳ ἐστῶσαν ἐμπέσων τὸ γράμμα τὸ
 πρῶτον τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἠφάνισεν·
 ὅθεν οἱ μάντις ἑκατοστῆ³ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν
 ἡμέρα θείας τινὸς μοίρας μεταλήψεσθαι ἔφασαν,
 τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι τό τε στοιχεῖον ἐκεῖνο τὸν τῶν
 ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν παρὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
 5 πᾶν ὄνομα θεῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρσηνοῖς νοεῖ. ταῦτα
 μὲν ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ προεφάνη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἔπειτα
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τό τε τοῦ Σερουίου
 Σουλπικίου Γάλβου ἐνθύμιον ἐγένετο. ἐκεῖνοί
 τε γὰρ συγγενεῖς πῆ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄντες ἦρχον,
 καὶ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ τὸ κράτος ὕστερον χρόνῳ λαβὼν
 τότε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους
 6 ἐνεγράφη. ἐπεὶ οὖν πρῶτος¹ μετὰ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγού-
 στου γένος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἐμονάρχησε,
 λόγον τισὶ παρέσχεν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου
 τότε ταῦτα ἀλλ' ἐκ δαιμονίου προβουλῆς ἐγένετο.
 30 Ὁ δ' οὖν Αὐγουστος νοσήσας μετήλλαξε· καί
 τινα ὑποψίαν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἢ Λιουία

¹ M resumes with τό.

² κεκλειμένον Dind., κεκλεισμένον M.

³ ἑκατοστῆ Dind., ἕκαστος τῆι M.

BOOK LVI

Indeed, not a few omens had appeared, and these by no means difficult of interpretation, all pointing to this fate for him. Thus, the sun suffered a total eclipse and most of the sky seemed to be on fire; glowing embers appeared to be falling from it and blood-red comets were seen. When a meeting of the senate had been appointed on account of the emperor's illness, in order that they might offer prayers, the senate-house was found closed and an owl sitting on it hooted. A thunderbolt fell upon his statue that stood upon the Capitol and blotted out the first letter of the name "Caesar." This led the seers to declare that on the hundredth day after that he should attain to some divine state. They deduced this from the fact that the letter "C" signifies "one hundred" among the Latins, and the remainder of the word means "god" among the Etruscans. Now these signs appeared before and while he was still alive; but people of later days were struck also by coincidences in the case of the consuls and of Servius Sulpicius Galba. For the consuls then in office were in some way related to Augustus; and Galba, who later came to the throne, assumed the *toga virilis* at this time on the very first day of the year. Now since he was the first of the Romans to become emperor after the family of Augustus had passed away, it gave occasion to some to say that this had not been a mere coincidence, but had been brought about by some divine purpose.

So Augustus fell sick and died. Livia incurred some suspicion in connexion with his death, in view of the fact that he had secretly sailed over to the

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἔλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν κρύφα ἐς
 τὴν νῆσον διέπλευσε καὶ ἐδόκει οἱ καὶ παντά-
 2 πασι καταλλαγῆσθαι. δείσασα¹ γάρ, ὡς
 φάσι, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ αὐτὸν καταγάγη,
 σὺκά τινα ἐπὶ δένδροις, ἔτ' ἐπόντα, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ
 Αὐγουστος αὐτοχειρία συκάζειν εἰώθει, φαρμάκῳ
 ἔχρισε, καὶ αὐτὴ τε ἅμα τὰ ἀνήλιφα² ἤσθιε
 3 κἀκείνῳ τὰ πεφαρμαγμένα³ προσέβαλλεν. εἴτ'
 οὖν ἐκ τούτου εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀρρωστήσας τοὺς
 τε ἑταίρους συνεκάλεσε, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅσα
 ἔχρηζε, τέλος ἔφη ὅτι “τὴν Ῥώμην γήινην⁴
 4 παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω.” τοῦτο
 μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτῆς
 ἀκριβὲς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχυρὸν ἐνεδεί-
 ξατο· κρότον δὲ δὴ τινα παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς
 γελωτοποιοῖς, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μίμου τινὸς τελευτῇ,⁵
 αἰτήσας καὶ πάμπαν πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 βίον διέσκωψε.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγού-
 στου, ἐν ἣ ποτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσε, μετήλλαξε,
 ζήσας μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας
 δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι (τῇ γὰρ τρίτῃ καὶ
 εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγεγέννητο), μοναρ-
 χήσας δέ, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ἐνίκησε, τέσ-
 31 σαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν
 δέοντα. οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἐκφανῆς εὐθύς ὁ θάνατος
 αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἢ γὰρ Λιουία, φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ
 Τιβερίου ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ ἔτ' ὄντος νεωτερισθῆ-
 τι, συνέκρυψεν αὐτὸν μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο.
 ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς τε πλείοσι καὶ τοῖς⁶ ἀξιο-

¹ δείσασα Xiph., δείσας M.

² ἀνήλιφα Sylburg, ἀνήλειφα M Xiph.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πιστοτέροις γέγραπται· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ καὶ παραγενέσθαι τὸν Τιβέριον τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπισκήψεις τινὰς ἰπαρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἔφασαν.
 2 τὸ δ' οὖν σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου· ἐκ μὲν τῆς Νώλης, οἱ πρῶτοι καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐβάστασαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον οἱ ἰππῆς παραλαβόντες νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν. τῇ τε ὑστεραία βουλή ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἰππάδα στολὴν ἐνδεδυκότες συνῆλθον, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τὴν βουλευτικὴν
 3 πλὴν τῶν ἱματίων τῶν περιπορφύρων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ φαιάν, τὸν ἀγοραῖον τρόπον πεποιημένην, εἶχον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν λιβανωτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔθυσαν, τῷ δ' αὐλητῇ οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκαθέζοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ὡς που ἕκαστος εἰώθει, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ κάτω ἐν τοῖς βάθροις ὁ μὲν τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ δὲ τῷ τῶν δημάρχων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ ἄδεια ἐδόθη, ὅτι τοῦ τε νεκροῦ, οὐκ ἐξὸν δὴ, ἤψατο καὶ συμπαρέπεμψεν αὐτόν (καίτοι τὰς . . .

32,1^a . . . τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐκ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τῶν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείων, αἷς παρετέθειντο, εἰληφῶς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσήνεγκε, καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας οἱ κατασημηνάμενοι ἐπεσκέψαντο, καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τοῦ συνεδρίου.
 —Zon. 10, 38 (p. 454, 27–455, 2 D.).

1 Xiph. 120, 7–121, 32: . . . τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ Πολύβιός τις καισάρειος ἀνέγνω ὡς μὴ πρέπον βουλευτῇ τοιοῦτόν τι ἀναλέγεσθαι. κατελείπτο δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη τοῦ κλήρου τῷ Τιβερίῳ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῇ Λιουία, ὡς τινες λέγουσιν· ἵνα γάρ τι καὶ ἐκείνη τῆς οὐσίας

BOOK LVI

writers, and the more trustworthy ones; but there A.D. 14
are some who have affirmed that Tiberius was present during the emperor's illness, and received some injunctions from him. The body of Augustus was carried from Nola by the foremost men of each city in succession. When it drew near Rome, the knights took it in charge and conveyed it by night into the city. On the following day there was a meeting of the senate, to which the majority came wearing the equestrian costume, but the magistrates the senatorial garb except for the purple-bordered toga.¹ Tiberius and his son Drusus wore dark clothing made for use in the Forum. They, too, offered incense, but did not employ a flute-player. Most of the members sat in their accustomed places, but the consuls sat below, one on the praetors' bench and the other on that of the tribunes. After this Tiberius was absolved for having touched the corpse, a forbidden act, and for having escorted it on its journey, although the . . .

. . . his will Drusus took from the Vestal Virgins, with whom it had been deposited, and carried it into the senate. Those who had witnessed the document examined the seals, and then it was read in the hearing of the senate.

. . . Polybius, an imperial freedman, read his will, as it was not proper for a senator to pronounce anything of the sort. It showed that two-thirds of the inheritance had been left to Tiberius and the remainder to Livia; at least this is one report. For, in order that she, too, should have some enjoyment of his

¹ Cf. xl. 46, 1.

¹ Another folium is here lost from M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτοῦ ἀπόνηται, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἠτήσατο τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον καταλιπεῖν δυναθῆναι. κληρονόμοι μὲν δὴ οὗτοι ἐγεγράφατο· κτήματα δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, οὐχ ὅπως βουλευταῖς καὶ ἰππεῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσι, τῷ τε δήμῳ χιλίας μυριάδας, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, τοῖς δ' ἀστικοῖς τὴν ἡμίσειαν, τῷ τε λοιπῷ τῷ πολιτικῷ πλήθει πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δοθῆναι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ὧν μικρῶν ἔτι ὄντων τοὺς πατέρας τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐκεκληρονομήκει, προσέταξε πάντα μετὰ τῶν προσόδων, ἐπειδὴν ἀνδρωθῶσιν, ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅπερ πού καὶ ζῶν ἐποίει· εἰ γάρ τινα τέκνα ἔχοντα διεδέξατο, τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ πάντως, εἰ μὲν ἤδη τότε τέλειοι ἦσαν, εὐθύς, εἰ δὲ μή, μετὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἀπέδίδου. τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους παῖδας ὧν τὴν θυγατέρα οὔτε κατήγαγε, καίπερ καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιώσας, καὶ ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ἀπηγόρευσε.

33 Τοσαῦτα μὲν αἱ διαθῆκαι ἐδήλουν, ἐσεκομίσθη δὲ καὶ βιβλία τέσσαρα· καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Δρούσος ἀνέγνω. ἐγγράπτο δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ ὅσα τῆς ταφῆς εἶχετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἔπραξε πάντα, ἃ καὶ ἐς χαλκᾶς στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρώῳ αὐτοῦ σταθείσας ἀναγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε· τὸ τρί-

¹ Cf. ch. 10, 2.

² The *Acta Divi Augusti*. A fragmentary copy of this record, together with a Greek translation, was discovered in the sixteenth century inscribed on the walls of a temple of

BOOK LVI

estate, he had asked the senate for permission to leave her so much, which was more than the amount allowed by law.¹ These two, then, were named as heirs. He also directed that many articles and sums of money should be given to many different persons, not relatives of his and others unrelated, not only to senators and knights but also to kings; to the people he left forty million sesterces; and as for the soldiers, one thousand sesterces apiece to the Pretorians, half that amount to the city troops, and to the rest of the citizen soldiery three hundred each. Moreover, in the case of children of whose fathers he had been the heir while the children were still small, he enjoined that the whole amount together with interest should be paid back to them when they became men. This, in fact, had been his practice even while living; for whenever he inherited the estate of anyone who had offspring, he never failed to restore it all to the man's children, immediately if they were already grown up, and otherwise later. Nevertheless, though he took such an attitude toward the children of others, he did not restore his own daughter from exile, though he did hold her worthy to receive gifts; and he commanded that she should not be buried in his own tomb. So much was made clear by the will.

Four books were then brought in and Drusus read them. In the first were written detailed instructions regarding his funeral; in the second were recorded all the acts which he had performed, which he commanded also to be inscribed upon bronze columns to be set up around his shrine;² the third

Augustus at Angora, the ancient Ancyra (hence known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*).

τον τά τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων
 τῶν τε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τό τε πλῆθος
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 τοιουτότροπα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέροντα ἦν, εἶχε,
 3 καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἐντολὰς καὶ ἐπισκῆψεις τῷ
 Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ, ἄλλας τε καὶ ὅπως μὴτ'
 ἀπελευθερώσι πολλούς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδαπῶ
 ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι, μὴτ' αὖ ἐς τὴν
 πολιτείαν συχνούς ἐσγράψωσιν, ἵνα πολὺ τὸ
 4 διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἦ. τά τε
 κοινὰ πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ εἰδέναί καὶ πράτ-
 τειν ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ἐς μηδένα ἕνα¹ ἀναρτᾶν
 αὐτὰ παρήνεσέ σφισιν, ὅπως μήτε τυραννίδος
 τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ,² μὴτ' αὖ πταίσαντος ἐκείνου τὸ
 5 δημόσιον σφαλῆ. γνώμην³ τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς
 τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ πλείον
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν
 τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τούτου
 6 καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσαι ἔφη. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς
 ὄντως αἰεὶ ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ
 ἐτήρησε· παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρ-
 βαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε.

34 Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ ἐντολαὶ εἶχον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ
 ἐκφορὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. κλίνη ἦν ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος
 καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποϊημένη καὶ στρώμασιν ἀλουργοῖς
 διαχρύσοις κεκοσμημένη· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν
 σῶμα κάτω που ἐν θήκῃ συνέκρυπτο, εἰκῶν
 δὲ δὴ τις αὐτοῦ κηρίνη ἐν ἐπινικίῳ στολῆ ἔξεφαί-

¹ ἕνα supplied by Reim.

² τυραννίδος τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ L', τυραννίδα τις ἐπιθεὶς εἴη C, τυραννίδα τις ἐπιθείη V.

³ γνώμην CL', γνώσειν V.

BOOK LVI

A.D. 14

contained an account of military matters, of the revenues, and of the public expenditures, the amount of money in the treasuries, and everything else of the sort that had a bearing upon the administration of the empire; and the fourth had injunctions and commands for Tiberius and for the public. Among these injunctions was one to the effect that they should not free many slaves, lest they should fill the city with a promiscuous rabble; also that they should not enrol large numbers as citizens, in order that there should be a marked difference between themselves and the subject nations. He exhorted them to entrust the public business to all who had ability both to understand and to act, and never to let it depend on any one person; in this way no one would set his mind on a tyranny, nor would the State, on the other hand, go to ruin if one man fell. He advised them to be satisfied with their present possessions and under no conditions to wish to increase the empire to any greater dimensions. It would be hard to guard, he said, and this would lead to danger of their losing what was already theirs. This principle he had really always followed himself not only in speech but also in action; at any rate he might have made great acquisitions from the barbarian world, but he had not wished to do so. These, then, were his injunctions.

Then came his funeral. There was a couch made of ivory and gold and adorned with coverings of purple and gold. In it his body was hidden, in a coffin down below; but a wax image of him in triumphal garb was visible. This image was borne from the palace by the officials elected for the following year, and another of gold from the senate-house, and still

- 2 νετο. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου πρὸς τῶν
 ἐς νέωτα ἀρχόντων,¹ ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευ-
 τηρίου χρυσῆ, καὶ ἑτέρα αὖ ἐφ' ἄρματος πομπικοῦ
 ἦγετο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτας αἶ τε τῶν προπατόρων
 αὐτοῦ καὶ αἶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν τῶν τεθνη-
 κότων, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅτι ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας
 ἐσεγέγραπτο, αἶ τε τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τῶν
 καὶ καθ' ὀτιοῦν πρωτευσάντων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 3 Ῥωμύλου ἀρξάμεναι, ἐφέροντο. καὶ τις καὶ τοῦ
 Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου εἰκὼν ὤφθη, τὰ τε ἔθνη
 πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκτήσατο, ἐπιχωρίως σφίσιν ὡς
 ἕκαστα ἀπηκασμένα ἐπέμφθη. κακ τούτου καὶ
 τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται,
 4 ἐφέσπετο. προτεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τοῦ
 δημηγορικοῦ βήματος, ἀπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ὁ Δροῦσός
 τι ἀνέγνω, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐμβόλων τῶν
 Ἰουλιείων ὁ Τιβέριος δημόσιον δὴ τινα κατὰ
 δόγμα λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοιόνδε ἐπελέξατο·
- 35 “ Ὅσα μὲν ἰδία καὶ παρὰ² τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπὶ
 τῷ θεῷ ἐκείνῳ Αὐγούστῳ λεχθῆναι ἔδει, Δροῦσος
 εἴρηκεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ δημοσίας τρόπον τινὰ
 φωνῆς ἢ γερουσία καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἠξίωσεν αὐτόν,
 οἶδα μὲν προσήκοντα ἑμαυτῷ τὸν λόγον τόνδε
 2 ἐπιτραπείς (τίς γὰρ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐμοῦ τοῦ καὶ
 παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ διαδόχου τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπαινον
 ἐνεχειρίσθη;) οὐ μέντοι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἔχω ὡς οὐ
 πολὺ καταδεέστερος καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας περὶ αὐτοῦ
 3 βουλήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀξιώσεως ὢν. ἀλλ' εἰ
 μὲν ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις τισὶ λέξειν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα
 ἂν ἐφοβούμην μὴ τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ προσέχοντες
 τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ νομίσωσιν εἶναι· νῦν
 δὲ δὴ παραμυθεῖταί με ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς πάντα

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- τε αὐτὰ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσι καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν
 πεπειραμένοις, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων
 τῶνδε αὐτὸν ἠξιωκόσι, τοὺς λόγους ποιήσομαι.
- 4 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ εἶπω καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν
 κρινεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ σύνιστε καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 λόγοις βοηθήσετε, ἀναπληροῦντες τὸ ἐλλεῖπον
 τῆς μνήμης τῶν γεγονότων, ὥστε κοινὸν κἂν τούτῳ
 παρὰ πάντων τὸν ἔπαινον γενέσθαι, ἐμοῦ τε
- 5 ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ τινὶ τὰ κεφάλαια ἀποσημαίνοντος,
 καὶ ὑμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ συνεπηχούτων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ
 καὶ ἐκεῖνο δέδοικα, μὴ ἦτοι ἐμοῦ¹ ἀσθένειάν τινα
 καταγνώτε, ὅτι μή δύναμαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑμῶν
 τυχεῖν, ἢ αὐτοὶ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι ὑμᾶς τῆς
 ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ φθονήσητε. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται
- τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν πάντες ἄνθρωποι συνελθόντες
 ἀξίους αὐτοῦ ἐπαίνους εἶποιεν, καὶ πάντες ἐθε-
- 6 λονταὶ τῶν νικητηρίων αὐτῷ παραχωρεῖτε, οὐχ
 ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ἐξισωθείη οἱ φθονοῦντες,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλό-
 μενοι; ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος μείζων ὑμῶν φανῆ,
 τοσοῦτῳ μείζονα ὑμεῖς εὐηργετηῆσθαι δόξετε, ὥστε
 μὴ ἀφ' ὧν ἐλαττοῦσθε αὐτοῦ βασκανίαν ὑμῖν,
 ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν εὐπεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σεμνότητα
 ἐγγενέσθαι.
- 36 “ Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ
 κοινὰ πράττειν ἤρξατο, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς
 πρώτης ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν τῶν
 μεγίστων τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργων ἐστίν, ὅτι ἄρτι
- 2 ἐκ τε τῶν παίδων ἐξεληλυθῶς καὶ μεираκιούσθαι

¹ ἐμοῦ Reim., ἐμοὶ M.

BOOK LVI

be addressed to you who are thoroughly acquainted with all his achievements, who have known them all through personal experience, and for that reason have held him to be worthy of these words of praise. For you will judge of his excellence, not from what I may say, but from what you yourselves know, and you will come to the aid of my discourse, supplying what is deficient by your memory of the events. Hence, in this respect also, his eulogy will be a public one, rendered by us all, as I, like the leader of a chorus, merely give out the leading words, while you join in and chant the rest. For of this I assuredly am not afraid—either that you will find it a weakness in me that I am unable to attain to your desires, or that you yourselves will be jealous of one whose virtue so far surpassed your own. For who does not realize that not all mankind assembled together could worthily sound his praises, and that you all of your own free will yield to him his triumphs, feeling no envy at the thought that not one of you could equal him, but rather rejoicing in the very fact of his surpassing greatness? For the greater he appears in comparison with you, the greater will seem the benefits which you have enjoyed, so that rancour will not be engendered in you because of your inferiority to him, but rather pride because of the blessings you have received at his hands.

“I shall begin at the point where he began his public career, that is, with his earliest manhood. For this, indeed, is one of the greatest achievements of Augustus, that at the time when he had just emerged from boyhood and was barely coming to man’s estate, he devoted himself to his education just so long as public affairs were well managed by

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὰ δημόσια πρὸς τοῦ ἡμιθέου ἐκείνου Καίσαρος
 διωκεῖτο, παιδεία προσεῖχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιβουλευ-
 θέντος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐταράχθη, τῷ τε
 πατρὶ ἅμα ἱκανῶς ἐτιμώρησε καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναγκαίως
 ἐπεκούρησε, μήτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν φοβηθεῖς
 μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων δείσας μήτε τὴν
 3 ὀλιγοετίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὀκνήσας. καίτοι τί τοιοῦ-
 τον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἢ Ῥωμύλος ὁ ἡμέ-
 τερος, οἵπερ πρὸς μάλιστα νεαροὶ ὄντες ἐλλόγιμόν
 τι ποιῆσαι δοκοῦσιν, ἔπραξαν; ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν
 ἐάσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραβάλλειν οἱ
 καὶ παραδεικνύναι σφᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ὑμῖν μηδὲν
 ἦττον ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦς εἰδόσι, σμικροτέραν τὴν τοῦ
 4 Αὐγούστου ἀρετὴν ποιεῖν νομισθῶ· πρὸς μόνον δὲ
 δὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἔργα παραθεωρῶν
 αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς μὲν ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν
 δόξαιμι, τοσοῦτον δ' ἂν τῆς προαιρέσεως διαμάρ-
 τοιμι ὅσον ἐκείνος μὲν ἐν τε παισὶν ὄφεις καὶ ἐν
 ἀνδράσιν ἔλαφόν τέ τινα καὶ κάπρον καὶ νῆ Δία
 καὶ λέοντα ἄκων καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτάξεως ἀπέκτεινεν,
 5 οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἐν θηρίοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἐθελον-
 τῆς καὶ πολεμῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν τό τε κοινὸν
 ἀκριβῶς ἔσωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαμπρύνθη. τοιγάρτοι
 διὰ ταῦτα καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν εἴλεσθε καὶ
 ὑπατον ἀπεδείξατε¹ ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχοντα
 ἐν ᾧ μηδὲ στρατεύεσθαι τινες ἐθέλουσιν.

37 “ Αὕτη μὲν δὴ καὶ Αὐγούστῳ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου
 ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγου γέγονε· μετὰ
 δὲ δὴ τούτου ὁρῶν τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ κράτιστον
 καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἑαυτῷ συμφρονοῦν,

¹ ἀπεδείξατε Bs., εδείξατε M.

BOOK LVI

that demigod, Caesar, but when, after the conspiracy against Caesar, the whole State was thrown into confusion, he at one and the same time amply avenged his father and rendered much-needed assistance to you, neither fearing the multitude of his enemies nor dreading the magnitude of the responsibilities nor hesitating by reason of his own immaturity. Yet what deed like this can be cited of Alexander of Macedon or of our own Romulus, who perhaps above all others are thought to have performed some notable exploit in youth? But these men I shall pass over, lest from merely comparing them with him and using them as examples—and that among you who know them as well as I—I may be thought to be detracting from the virtues of Augustus. With Hercules alone and his exploits I might compare him, and should be thought justified in so doing, if that were all; but even so I should fall short of my purpose, in so far as Hercules in childhood only dealt with serpents, and when a man, with a stag or two and a boar which he killed,—oh, yes, and a lion, to be sure, albeit reluctantly and at somebody's behest; whereas Augustus, not among beasts, but among men, of his own free will, by waging war and enacting laws, literally saved the commonwealth and gained splendid renown for himself. Therefore it was, that in recognition of these services you chose him praetor and appointed him consul at an age when some are unwilling to serve even as common soldiers.

“This then was the beginning of Augustus' political life, and this is likewise the beginning of my account of him. Soon afterwards, seeing that the largest and best element of the people and of the senate was in

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

στασιωταίαις¹ δέ τισι τόν τε Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον τόν τε Σέξτον καὶ τὸν Βρούτον τόν τε
 2 Κάσσιον χρωμένους, καὶ² φοβηθεὶς μὴ πολλοῖς
 ἅμα πολέμοις, καὶ τούτοις ἐμφυλίοις, ἢ πόλις
 συνενεχθεῖσα καὶ διασπασθῆ καὶ ἐκτροχωθῆ
 ὥστε μηδένα ἔτι τρόπον ἀνενεγκεῖν δυνηθῆναι,
 φρονιμώτατα καὶ δημωφελέστατα αὐτοὺς διέ-
 3 θηκεν· τούς τε γὰρ ἰσχύοντας καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ
 ἄστει ἐπικειμένους προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησε
 μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους, καὶ τούτων ὑπεξαιρε-
 θέντων αὐθις αὐ καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἠλευθέρωσεν
 ἡμᾶς, ἐλόμενος μὲν ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ ἄκων σφίσι
 προέσθαι ὥστε τοὺς πλείους διασῶσαι, ἐλόμενος
 δὲ καθ' ἐκάστους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύως πως προσ-
 4 ενεχθῆναι ὥστε μὴ πᾶσιν ἅμα πολεμῆσαι. ἐξ
 ὧν ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ἐκέρδανεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ
 πάντας περιφανῶς ὠφέλησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
 τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τε ἐμφυλίου καὶ τοὺς ὀθνεῖ-
 οὺς ἔργα αὐτοῦ τί ἂν τις μακρηγοροίη, ἄλλως τε
 καὶ διότι τὰ μὲν ὠφέλε μὴδ' ἀρχὴν γεγονέναι, τὰ
 δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικτηθέντων πολὺ ἐναργεστέραν τὴν
 5 ὠφελίαν παντὸς λόγου παρέχεται; καὶ προσέτι
 καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντα, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν
 μὲν πολιτῶν πολλῶν δὲ καὶ συμμάχων κατορθω-
 θέντα, καὶ κοινὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ
 ἔχει, καὶ τάχα ἂν καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν πράξεσι
 6 παραβληθείη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω· καὶ
 γὰρ που πολλαχῆ αὐτὰ καὶ γεγραμμένα καὶ
 τετυπωμένα καὶ ὄραν καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν δύνασθε·
 ἃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργα

¹ στασιωταίαις Dind., στασιωταίαις M.

BOOK LVI

accord with him, but that Lepidus and Antony, A.D. 14
Sextus, Brutus, and Cassius were resorting to factions
machinations, and fearing the city might become
involved in many wars at once, and civil wars too, and
thus be torn asunder and exhausted beyond all possi-
bility of recovery, he accordingly dealt with them
with the greatest prudence and to the greatest public
good. For he first attached to himself the powerful
leaders who were menacing the very existence of the
city, and with them fought the others until he had
made an end of them; and when these were out of
the way, he in turn freed us from the former. He
chose, though against his will, to surrender a few to
their wrath so that he might save the majority, and
he chose to assume a friendly attitude towards each of
them in turn so as not to have to fight with them all
at once. From all this he derived no personal gain,
but aided us all in a signal manner. And yet why
should one dwell on his exploits in the wars, whether
civil or foreign, especially when the former ought
never to have occurred at all, and the latter by the
conquests gained show the benefits they brought
better than any words can tell? Moreover, since
these exploits depended largely upon chance and
their success was due to the aid of many citizens and
many allies, he must share with them the credit for
them, and these achievements might possibly be com-
pared with the exploits of some other men. These,
accordingly, I shall omit; for they are described and
depicted in many a book and painting, so that you
can both read and behold them. But of the deeds
which are in a peculiar sense those of Augustus

² καὶ Xyl., καὶ μὴ M.

ἐστί, καὶ μήτ' ἄλλω τινι ἀνθρώπων πέπρακται, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν κινδύνων περιπεποίηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπορωτέραν καὶ δυνατωτέραν ἐξείργασται, ταῦτ' ἔρῳ μόνα· ἐκείνω τε γὰρ εὐκλειαν ἐξαίρετον λεχθέντα οἴσει, καὶ ὑμῶν τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ἡδονὴν ἀμεμπτον ποιήσει, τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις διδασκαλίαν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ τε τρόπου καὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς πολιτείας παρέξει.

38 “Ὁ τοίνυν Αὐγουστος οὗτος, ὃν δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἠξιώσατε, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἀπηλλάγη καὶ πράξας καὶ παθῶν οὐχ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἠθέλεν ἀλλ' ὅσα τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἔδοξεν, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀντιστάντων οἱ καὶ περιγενομένων ἐκ τῶν παρατάξεων ἔσωσεν, ἐν μηδενὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μιμη-
2 σάμενος τὸν εὐτυχῆ ὀνομαζόμενον. καὶ ἵνα μὴ πάντας αὐτοὺς καταλέγω, τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὸν Σόσσιον, τίς τὸν Σκαῦρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σέξτου, τίς τὸν Λέπιδον αὐτόν, ὃς καὶ ἐπεβίω τοσοῦτον τῇ ἡττῇ χρόνον καὶ ἀρχιέρεως διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ ὧν διετέλεσεν; ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας οἱ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις δω-
3 ὑβρίζειν εἶασεν. ἀλλ' ἴστε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Μαικῆναν καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ὥστε με μηδὲν μηδὲ τούτους ἐξαριθμήσασθαι δεῖσθαι. δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔσχεν οἷα ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλω ἐνὶ ἐγένετο. ἤδη γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐχθρῶν τινες ἐφείσαντο καὶ ἕτεροι τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀσελγαίνειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν· ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέρα τῷ αὐτῷ ἅμα διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ ποτὲ

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 ἄλλω ὑπῆρξε. τεκμήριον δέ' Σύλλας μὲν καὶ
 Μάριος καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων
 σφίσιν ἤχθησαν· τί γὰρ δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν
 τῶν μικροτέρων μνημονεύειν; Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ
 Καῖσαρ τούτου μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὥς γε ἐπίπαν
 εἰπεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φίλοις οὐκ ὀλίγα παρὰ τὰ
 5 ἑαυτῶν ἤθη ποιεῖν ἐφήκαν. ἀλλ' οὗτος οὕτως
 ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἔμιξε καὶ ἐκέρασεν ὥστε τοῖς
 τε ἐναντιωθεῖσιν οἱ νίκην τὴν ἡτταν ἀποφῆναι
 καὶ τοῖς συναγωνισαμένοις εὐτυχῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν
 ἀποδείξαι.

39 “Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ μὲν στασιωτικὸν
 πᾶν τὸ περιλειφθὲν φιλανθρωπία καταστήσας,
 τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν τὸ κρατήσαν εὐεργεσία με-
 τριάσας, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 ὄπλων τῶν τε χρημάτων μόνος ἀναμφιλόγως
 2 κύριος ἀπάντων, ὧν γε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἐγεγόνει, εἶναι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
 τις ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς σῶμα νενοσηκὸς παραλαβὼν
 καὶ ἐξιασάμενος, ἀπέδωκε πάντα ὑμῖν ὑγιᾶ ποιή-
 σας. καίτοι τοῦτο¹ ἡλίκον ἐστί, μάλιστα ἂν ἐξ
 ἐκείνου τεκμήραιοσθε² ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ
 τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν τότε ἀνθήσαντα ἐπήνεσαν οἱ
 πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς δυνάμεις μεθ' ὧν
 3 ἐπολέμησαν ἐθελονταὶ διαφῆκαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι
 μικρὰν τινα ἰσχὺν καὶ ταύτην πρόσκαιρον ἔχον-
 τες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀντιπάλους τοὺς οὐκ
 ἐπιτρέψοντάς σφίσιν ἄλλο τι ποιῆσαι κεκτη-
 μένοι, τοῦτό τε³ ἔπραξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπαινον

¹ καίτοι τοῦτο Rk., καὶ τοιοῦτον M.

² τεκμήραιοσθε H. Steph., τεκμηήρασθαι M.

³ τε Rk., γε M.

BOOK LVI

in one and the same man. For example, Sulla and Marius cherished hatred toward even the sons of those who had fought against them ; and why need I mention the minor instances? Pompey and Caesar refrained in general from such hatred, yet permitted their friends to do not a few things that were contrary to their own principles. But this man so combined and fused the two qualities, that to his adversaries he made defeat seem victory, and to his comrades in arms proved that virtue is blest by fortune. A.D. 14

“ After these achievements, and when by kindness he had allayed all that remained of factional discord and by generosity had moderated the victorious soldiery, he might on the strength of this record and of the weapons and the money at his command have been indisputably the sole lord of all, as, indeed, he had become by the very course of events. Nevertheless, he refused ; and like a good physician, who takes in hand a disease-ridden body and heals it, he first restored to health and then gave back to you the whole body politic. The significance of this act you may judge best by recalling that our fathers praised Pompey and the Metellus who flourished at that time¹ because they voluntarily disbanded the forces with which they had waged war ; for if they, who possessed only a small force gathered for the occasion, and, besides, were confronted by rivals who would not allow them to do otherwise, acted thus and received praise for doing so, how could one

¹ Q. Caecilius Metellus, the conqueror of Crete, who was content with the title Creticus for his reward ; see Florus iii. 7. He is described as Pompey's contemporary in order to distinguish him from the many other famous Metelli.

ἔσχον, ποῦ δὴ δύναιτ' ἄν τις τῆς Αὐγούστου
 4 μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐφικέσθαι, ὅστις πάσας μὲν τὰς
 δυνάμεις ὑμῶν τηλικαύτας οὔσας ἔχων, πάντων
 δὲ τῶν χρημάτων πλείστων ὄντων κρατῶν, καὶ
 μήτε φοβούμενός τινα μήθ' ὑποπτεύων, ἀλλ'
 ἐξὸν αὐτῷ πάντων συνεπαινούντων μόνῳ ἄρχειν,
 οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ
 τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ μέσον ὑμῖν κατέθηκεν ;

5 “Ὅθενπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες καὶ ὀρθῶς
 φρονοῦντες, οὐκ ἠνέσχεσθε οὐδὲ¹ ἐπετρέψατε
 αὐτῷ ἰδιωτεῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἅτε² εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι δη-
 μοκρατία μὲν οὔποτ' ἄν τηλικούτοις πράγμασιν
 ἀρμόσειεν, προστασία δὲ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς μάλιστ' ἄν
 αὐτὰ σώσειεν, οὔτε λόγῳ μὲν³ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς
 τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἔργῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς στασιασμοὺς
 6 ἠθελήσατε, καὶ ἐκείνον, ὃν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις
 ἐδεδοκιμάκειτε, προκρίναντες ἠναγκάσατε χρόνον
 γέ τινα ὑμῶν προστῆναι. ἐξ οὗ δὴ πολὺ μᾶλλον
 αὐτοῦ πειραθέντες, καὶ δεύτερον αὖθις καὶ τρίτον
 τέταρτόν τε καὶ πέμπτον ἐξεβιάσασθε αὐτὸν ἐν
 40 τῇ τῶν κοινῶν διαχειρίσει ἐμμεῖναι. καὶ μάλα
 εἰκότως· τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ἔλοιτο ἀπραγμόνως
 σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀκινδύνως εὐδαιμονεῖν, καὶ τῶν
 μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἀφθόνως ἀπο-
 λαύειν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ φροντίσι ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ
 συνεῖναι ;

“Τίς δ' ἄν ἀμεινον τοῦ Αὐγούστου τῆς ἰδίας
 οἰκίας μόνης, μήτι γε καὶ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
 2 τοσοῦτων,⁴ ἠρξεν ; ὅστις τὰ μὲν ἐπίπονα καὶ ἐμ-
 πολέμια ἔθνη¹, αὐτὸς καὶ φρουρήσειν καὶ σώσειν⁵

¹ οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε M.

² ἀλλ' ἅτε R. Steph., ἀλλά τε M.

BOOK LVI

fittingly characterize the magnanimity of Augustus? A.D. 14
 He possessed all your armies, whose numbers you know; he was master of all your funds, so vast in amount; he had no one to fear or suspect, but might have ruled alone with the approval of all; yet he saw fit not to do this, but laid the arms, the provinces, and the money at your feet.

“You, therefore, on your part acted well and prudently, when you withheld your assent and did not permit him to retire to private life; for you knew well that a democracy could never accommodate itself to interests so vast, but that the leadership of one man would be most likely to conserve them, and so refused to return to what was nominally independence but really factional discord; and making choice of him, whom you had tested by his actual deeds and approved, you constrained him for a time at least to be your leader. And when you had thus proved him far better than before, you compelled him for a second, a third, a fourth, and a fifth time to continue in the management of affairs. And this was but fitting; for who would not choose to be safe without trouble, to be prosperous without danger, to enjoy without stint the blessings of government while escaping the life of constant anxiety for its maintenance?

“Who was there that could rule better than Augustus even his own house, to say nothing of so many other human beings? He it was who undertook as his own task to guard and preserve the

³ οὔτε λόγῳ μὲν Rk., λόγῳ μὲν οὔτε M.

⁴ τοσούτων Leuncl., τόσουτον M.

⁵ σώσειν R. Steph., σώζειν M.

ὑπεδέξατο· τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀκίνδυνα ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν, στρατιώτας τε τοσούτους ἀθανάτους πρὸς τὸ προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν τρέφων οὐδενὶ τῶν σφετέρων λυπηροὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ὀθνεῖον φύλακας φοβερωτάτους, πρὸς δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀόπλους ἀπολέμους εἶναι παρεσκεύασε.

3 “Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην ἀφείλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀθλά σφισι τῆς ἀρετῆς προσπαρέσχεν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς διαγνώμας τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς διαψηφίσεως κατέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
4 τῆς παρρησίας προσέθηκεν.¹ ἔκ τε τοῦ δήμου τὸ δύσκριτον ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν ἐς τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀκρίβειαν μεταστήσας, τό τε ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε, κὰν ταύταις τὸ φιλότιμον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλονείκου σφᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσε, κὰκ τῶν σπουδαρχιῶν αὐτῶν τὸ πλεονεκτικὸν ἐκκόψας τὸ εὐδοξον αὐτοῖς ἀντέδωκε. τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ χρήματα σωφρόνως ἐπαύξων ἐς τὴν δημοσίαν χρεῖαν ἀνήλισκεν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ὡς
5 ἰδίων κηδόμενος ὡς ἀλλοτριῶν ἀπείχετο. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπισκευάσας οὐδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπεστέρησε· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ καινῆς, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὀνόματι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασε τὰ δὲ ἐκείνοις οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε, τὸ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμον διὰ πάντων ἰδῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εὐκλείας ἰδίᾳ τισι φθονήσας.

¹ προσέθηκεν Pflugk, προστέθεικεν M.

BOOK LVI

provinces that were troublesome and at war, restoring to you such as were peaceful and free from danger; and though he supported so vast a number of soldiers as a permanent force to fight in your behalf, he permitted them to annoy no Roman citizen, but made them most formidable protectors against alien races while being to the people at home unarmed and unwarlike. A.D. 14

“Furthermore, as regards the members of the senate, he did not take away from them the right to cast lots for the governorship of provinces, but even offered them additional prizes as a reward for excellence; nor in connection with the senate’s decrees did he do away with their privilege of voting, but even added safeguards for their freedom of speech. From the people he transferred matters difficult of decision to the strict jurisdiction of the courts, but preserved to them the dignity of the elections; and at these elections he inculcated in the citizens the love of honour rather than the love of party strife, and eliminating the element of greed from their office-seeking, he put in its place the regard for reputation. His own wealth, which he enhanced by sober living, he spent for the public needs; with the public funds he was as careful as if they were his own, but would not touch them as belonging to others. He repaired all the public works that had suffered injury, but deprived none of the original builders of the glory of their founding. He also erected many new buildings, some in his own name and some in others’, or else permitted these others to erect them, constantly having an eye to the public good, but grudging no one the private fame attaching to these services.

- 6 “Τοῖς τε τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ὑβρίσμασιν ἀπα-
 ραιτήτως ἐπεξιὼν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτήματα
 ἀνθρωπίνως μετεχειρίζετο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετὴν
 τινα ἔχοντας ἀφθόνως εἶα οἱ παρισούσθαι, τοὺς
 7 δ’ ἄλλως πως βιοῦντας οὐκ ἤλεγχεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων αὐτῷ μόνους τοὺς μηδ’
 ἂν¹ ἑαυτοῖς λυσιτελούντως ζήσαντας ἐδικαίωσε,
 τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς οὕτω διέθηκεν ὥστε παμπληθῆ
 χρόνον μηδένα μήτ’ οὖν ἀληθῆ μήτε ψευδῆ αἰτίαν
 ἐπιθέσεως λαβεῖν. θαυμαστὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶ
 καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη ποτέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ οἱ θεοὶ
 πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἀρέσκουσιν· ἢ δὲ δὴ τῶν καλῶς
 ἀρχόντων ἀρετὴ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἕτεροι κακουργή-
 σωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ εὐ² ποιήσωσι
 φαίνεται·
- 41 “Εἶρηκα, ὦ Κυριῖται, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἐκπρε-
 πέστατα, ὡς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις διελθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἂν
 γέ τις πάντα ἀκριβῶς καθ’ ἕκαστον ἀναριθ-
 μήσασθαι ἐθελήσῃ, παμπόλλων ἂν ἡμερῶν δεη-
 θείῃ. πρὸς δὲ καὶ εὐ οἶδ’ ὅτι παρ’ ἐμοῦ μὲν
 μόνα ταῦτα ἀκηκοότες ἔσεσθε, παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς δὲ
 δὴ καὶ τὰλλα ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα ἀναμνησθήσεσθε,
 ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐμὲ δοκεῖν εἰρηκέναι.
 2 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως κόμπου τινὸς ἔνεκα οὔτ’ ἐγὼ τὸν
 περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον³ οὔθ’ ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀκρόασιν πε-
 ποίησθε, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πολλὰ
 καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ἀειμνήστου παρὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
 3 ὑμῶν εὐκλείας τύχῃ. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν
 βουλευτῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύσειεν; ὧν τὸ φαῦλον

¹ μηδ’ ἂν Bk. (?), μηδὲν M.

² εὐ supplied by Bk.

³ ἔνεκα οὔτ’ ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον Bk., ἐν ἑτέροις τοῖς περὶ
 αὐτοῦ λόγον M.

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τὸ ἐκ τῶν στάσεων ἐπιπολάσαν ἀλύπως ἀφελῶν
 τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ ἐσέμνυνε καὶ τῇ αὐξήσει
 τοῦ τιμήματος ἐμεγάλυνε τῇ, τε δόσει τῶν χρη-
 μάτων ἐπλούτισεν· οἷς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν
 γνώμην ἐδίδου, καὶ μεθ' ὧν συμμεθίστατο· οἷς
 πάντα τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα αἰεὶ¹ ποτε
 ἢ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἢ καὶ οἴκοι διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν
 καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, παραλαμ-
 4 βάνων ἄλλοτε ἄλλους, ἐπεκοίνου. τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν
 τῶν λοιπῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἷς ἔργα, χρήματα, ἀγῶνας,
 πανηγύρεις, ἄδειαν, ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,
 ἀσφάλειαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν
 κακούργων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
 δαιμονίου οὐχ ὅτι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ
 συμπιπτόντων, παρεσκεύασε. τίς τῶν συμμάχων,
 οἷς ἀκίνδυνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, οἷς ἀζήμιον τὴν
 συμμαχίαν ἐποίησε. τίς τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὧν²
 5 οὐδεὶς οὐθ' ὑβρίσθη ποτὲ οὔτε ἐπηρεάσθη. πῶς
 δ' ἂν τις ἐπιλάθοιτο ἀνδρὸς ἰδίᾳ μὲν πένητος
 δημοσίᾳ δὲ πλουσίου, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὲν
 οἰκονομικοῦ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλωτικοῦ
 γενομένου, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν πάντα αἰεὶ καὶ πόνον
 καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑπομείναντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ
 μηδ' ὅσον προπέμψαι ποι αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα ἢ καὶ
 ἀπαντῆσαί οἱ ἐπανιόντι ταλαιπωρήσαντος, καὶ ἐν
 μὲν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον οἴκαδε προσδε-
 ξαμένου, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις καὶ τὴν γερου-
 6 σίαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀσπασαμένου ; πῶς
 τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας ἅμα τῶν νόμων
 τῶν τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις αὐτάρκες παραμύθιον

¹ αἰεὶ Xyl., εἰ M.

² ὧν supplied by R. Steph.

BOOK LVI

he removed from their number the scum that had come to the surface from the factions, and by this very act exalted the remainder, magnified it by increasing the property requirement, and enriched it by grants of money; he voted on an equality with his colleagues and with them took part in a division of the house; he always communicated to them all the greatest and most important matters, either in the senate chamber or else at his house, whither he summoned different members at different times because of his age and bodily infirmity. How can one refrain from mentioning the Roman people at large? For them he provided public works, largesses, games, festivals, amnesty, food in abundance, and safety, not only from the enemy and from evildoers, but even from the acts of Heaven, both those that befall by day and those also that befall by night. There are, again, the allies: for them he freed their liberty of its dangers and their alliance of its costs. There are the subject nations also: no one of them was ever treated with insolence or abuse. How could one forget to mention a man who in private life was poor, in public life rich; who with himself was frugal, but towards others lavish of his means; who always endured every toil and danger himself on your behalf, but would not inflict upon you the hardship of so much as escorting him when he left the city or of meeting him when he returned; who on holidays admitted even the populace to his house, but on other days greeted even the senate only in its chamber? How could one pass over the vast number of his laws and their precision? They contained for the wronged an all-

A.D. 14

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον τιμωρίαν ἐχόν-
 των ; πῶς τῶν γερῶν τῶν τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ
 τεκνοῦσι προκειμένων ; πῶς τῶν ἄθλων τῶν τοῖς
 στρατιώταις ἄνευ τινὸς ἑτέρου βλάβης δεδομένων ;
 7 τί δέ ; τὸ τοῖς ἅπαξ ἀναγκαίως κτηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθῆ-
 ναι αὐτὸν καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον προσκατεργάσασθαι
 ἐθελῆσαι, ἐξ οὗ πλειόνων ἂν δόξαντες ἄρχειν καὶ
 τὰ ὄντα ἀπωλέσαμεν, ἢ τὸ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ φίλοις
 καὶ συνησθῆναι αἰεὶ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ συλλυπηθῆναι
 8 καὶ συμπαῖξαι καὶ συσπουδάσαι, πᾶσι δ' ἀπλῶς
 τοῖς ὠφέλιμόν τι ἐπινοῆσαι δυνασθεῖσι παρ-
 ρησιάσασθαι ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀληθιζο-
 μένους τινὰ ἐπαινέσαι, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύοντας
 μισῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων
 πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαι, πάντα δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα
 αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τινων παῖδας ἐχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις
 ἀποδοῦναι, ποῖα ἂν ἐπιλησμοσύνη φθαρείη ;

9 “Τοιγαροῦν διὰ ταῦτα εἰκότως καὶ προστάτην
 αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα δημόσιον ἐποιήσασθε, καὶ
 ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑπατείαις πλείσταις
 ἐπεγαυρώσατε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἥρωα
 ἀπεδείξατε καὶ ἀθάνατον ἀπεφήνατε. οὐκ οὐν
 οὐδὲ πευθεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν πρέπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν
 σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει ἤδη ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν δὲ
 ψυχὴν ὡς καὶ θεοῦ αἰεὶ ἀγάλλειν.”

42 Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα ἀνέγνω, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν
 τε κλίνην. οἱ αὐτοὶ οἵπερ καὶ πρότερον ἀράμενοι
 (διὰ τῶν ἐπινικίων πύλων) (κατὰ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ
 δόξαντα διεκόμισαν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ συνεξέφερεν

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αὐτὸν ἢ τε γερουσία καὶ ἢ ἱππᾶς, αἷ τε γυναῖκες
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δορυφορικόν, οἷ τε λοιποὶ πάντες
 2 ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς
 τὴν πυρὰν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ἐνετέθη,
 πρῶτοι¹ μὲν οἱ ἱερῆς πάντες περιήλθον αὐτήν,
 ἔπειτα δὲ οἷ τε ἱππῆς, οἷ τε ἐκ τοῦ τέλους, καὶ
 οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν τὸ φρουρικὸν περιέ-
 δραμον, πάντα τὰ νικητήρια, ὅσα τινὲς αὐτῶν
 ἐπ' ἀριστεία ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐπιβάλ-
 3 λοντες αὐτῇ.² κακὸν τούτου δᾶδας ἑκατόνταρχοι,
 ὡς πού τῇ βουλῇ ἐδόκει,³ λαβόντες ὑψήψαν
 αὐτήν· καὶ ἢ μὲν ἀνηλίσκετο, ἀετὸς δέ τις ἐξ
 αὐτῆς ἀφθεῖς ἀνίπτατο ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν
 αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρων. (πραχθέντων
 4 δὲ τούτων) οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἢ δὲ δὴ
 Λιουία κατὰ χώραν πέντε ἡμέραις⁴· μετὰ τῶν
 πρῶτων ἱππέων μείνασα τὰ τε ὅσῃ αὐτοῦ
 συνελέξατο καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατέθετο.
 43 Τὸ δὲ δὴ πένθος τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, οἱ μὲν
 ἄνδρες οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἷ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐνἑαυτῷ
 ὄλω κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐποίησαντο,⁵ ὃ δ' ἀληθὲς
 ἐν μὲν τῷ παραχρῆμα, οὐ πολλοῖ ὕστερον δὲ
 πάντες ἔσχον. εὐπρόσοδός τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως
 ἦν, καὶ ἐς χρήματα πολλοῖς ἐπήρκει, τοὺς τε
 φίλους ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμα, καὶ ταῖς παρρησίαις
 2 αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαιρε. τεκμήριον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρη-
 μένοις ἵστί τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου ἐν δίφρῳ ποτὲ
 καταστέγω ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ γυναικός

¹ πρῶτοι M, πρῶτον Xiph.

² ἐδόκει Xyl., ἐδεδόκει M.

⁵ ἐποίησαντο St., ἐποίησαν M.

² αὐτῇ Oddey, αὐτῷ M Xiph.

⁴ ἡμέραις M, ἡμέρας Xiph.

BOOK LVI

equestrian order, their wives, the pretorian guard, and practically all the others who were in the city at the time. When the body had been placed on the pyre in the Campus Martins, all the priests marched round it first; and then the knights, not only those belonging to the equestrian order but the others¹ as well, and the infantry from the garrison ran round it; and they cast upon it all the triumphal decorations that any of them had ever received from him for any deed of valour. Next the centurions took torches, conformably to a decree of the senate, and lighted the pyre from beneath. So it was consumed, and an eagle released from it flew aloft, appearing to bear his spirit to heaven. When these ceremonies had been performed, all the other people departed; but Livia remained on the spot for five days in company with the most prominent knights, and then gathered up his bones and placed them in his tomb.

The mourning required by law was observed only for a few days by the men, but for a whole year by the women, in accordance with a decree. Real grief was not in the hearts of many at the time, but later was felt by all. For Augustus had been accessible to all alike and was accustomed to aid many persons in the matter of money. He showed great honour to his friends, and delighted exceedingly when they frankly spoke their opinions. One instance, in addition to those already related, occurred in the case of Athenodorus. This man was once brought into his room in a covered litter, as if he

¹ *i. e.* cavalrymen.

⁸ εἰρημένοις M Xiph., προειρημένοις cod. P'eir.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τινος ἐσκομισθέντος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ξιφήρους
 ἐκπηδήσαντος, καὶ πρόσεπειπόντος “ οὐ φοβῆ μή
 τίς σε οὕτως ἐσελθὼν ἀποκτείνῃ; ” οὐχ ὅπως
 3 ὠργίσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν αὐτῷ ἔγνω. ταῦτά τε
 οὖν αὐτοῦ ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς λυπή-
 σασί τι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀκρατῶς ὠργίζετο, τὴν τε
 πίστιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους αὐτῆς ἐτήρει.
 Κοροκότταν¹ γοῦν² τινα ληστήν ἐν Ἰβηρία ἀκμά-
 σαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτω δι’ ὀργῆς ἔσχεν ὥστε³
 τῷ ζωγρήσαντι αὐτὸν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας
 ἐπικηρῦξαι, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐκὼν οἱ προσῆλθεν,
 οὔτε τι κακὸν εἰργάσατο καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῷ
 ἀργυρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐπλούτισε.
 4 Διὰ τε οὖν ταῦτα, καὶ ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν τῆ
 δημοκρατία μίξας τό τε ἐλεύθερόν σφισιν ἐτήρησε
 καὶ τὸ κόσμιον τό τε ἀσφαλὲς προσπαρεσκεύασεν,
 ὥστ’ ἔξω μὲν τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ θράσους ἔξω δὲ
 καὶ τῶν τυραννικῶν ὑβρεῶν ὄντας ἐν τε ἐλευθερία
 σώφρονι καὶ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἀδεεῖ ζῆν, βασιλευο-
 μένους τε ἀνευ δουλείας, καὶ δημοκρατουμένους
 44 ἀνευ διχοστασίας, δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐπόθουν.⁴ Εἰ
 γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν προτέρων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίαις
 πολέμοις γενομένων ἐμνημόνευον, ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῆ
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη ἀγείθεσαν, τὴν δὲ δὴ
 γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀναμφίλογον ἔσχεν
 ἐξετάζειν ἠξίου. πλείστον γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον
 2 ὡς ἀληθῶς παρέσχετο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καθ’
 ἕκαστον ἂν τις τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπεξιῶν ἀκρι-

¹ Κοροκότταν M cod. Peir., Κορακόταν Xiph.

² γοῦν M Xiph., γὰρ cod. Peir.

³ ὥστε M cod. Peir., ὥστε καὶ Xiph.

⁴ ἐπόθουν M cod. Peir. Zon., ἐπένθουν Xiph.

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βώσειε.¹ κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς γράφω ὅτι τό τε στασιάζον πᾶν ἔπαυσε καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα πρὸς τε τὸ κράτιστον μετεκόσμησε καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκράτυνε, ὥστε εἰ καὶ βιαιότερόν τι, οἷα ἐν τοῖς παραλόγοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπράχθη, δικαιότερον ἂν τινα αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐκείνον αἰτιάσασθαι.

3 Οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δ' οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν καὶ τὸ πολυχρόνιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας συνήρατο. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ οἱ πλείους
4 καὶ οἱ δυνατώτεροι ἀπωλώλεσαν· οἱ δ' ὕστεροι ἐκείνης μὲν οὐδὲν εἰδότες, τοῖς δὲ παροῦσι μόνοις ἢ καὶ μάλιστα ἐντραφέντες οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤχθοντο αὐτοῖς ἄτε καὶ συνήθεσιν οὔσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρον, καὶ βελτίω καὶ ἀδεέστερα αὐτὰ ὧν ἤκουον ὀρώντες ὄντα.

45 Ταῦτα δὲ ἠπίσταντο μὲν καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ,² ἐπὶ πλείου δ' ὅμως μεταλλάξαντος ἔγνωσαν· καὶ γὰρ φιλεῖ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον³ οὐχ οὕτω τι εὐπαθοῦν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἰσθάνεσθαι ὡς δυστυχῆσαν ποθεῖν αὐτήν. ὅπερ που καὶ τότε περὶ τὸν Αὐγούστον συνέβη· τοῦ γὰρ Τιβερίου μετ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁμοίου πειραθέντες ἐκείνον ἐζήτουν.
2 καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ παρὰ χρῆμα τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς καταστάσεως τοῖς ἔμφροσι τεκμήρασθαι· ὃ τε γὰρ ὕπατος ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξορμήσας ὡς καὶ τοῖς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου σῶμα ἄγουσιν ἀπαντήσων πρότε σκέλος ἐπλήγη καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ φοράδην ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ βύας αὐθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐν

¹ ἀκριβώσειε Dind., ἀκριβωσεις M (s deleted by corr.), ἀκριβώσει cod. Peir.

² αὐτοῦ M Xiph., αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ cod. Peir.

BOOK LVI

that he put an end to all the factional discord, transformed the government in a way to give it the greatest power, and vastly strengthened it. Therefore, even if an occasional deed of violence did occur, as is apt to happen in extraordinary situations, one might more justly blame the circumstances themselves than him. A.D. 14

Now not the least factor in his glory was the length of his reign. For the majority as well as the more powerful of those who had lived under the republic were now dead, and the later generation, knowing naught of that form of government and having been reared entirely or largely under existing conditions, were not only not displeased with them, familiar as they now were, but actually took delight in them, since they saw that their present state was better and more free from terror than that of which they knew by tradition.

Though the people understood all this during his lifetime, they nevertheless realized it more fully after he was gone; for human nature is so constituted that in good fortune it does not so fully perceive its happiness as it misses it when misfortune has come. This is what happened at that time in the case of Augustus. For when they found his successor Tiberius a different sort of man, they yearned for him who was gone. Indeed, it was possible at once for people of any intelligence to foresee the change in conditions. For the consul Pompeius, upon going out to meet the men who were bearing the body of Augustus, received a blow on the leg and had to be carried back on a litter with the body; and an owl sat on the roof of the

² ἀνθρώπειον M, ἀνθρώπινον Xiph.

αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς βουλῆς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἔδρα ἰδρύθη καὶ πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ αἴσια
 3 ἐπεφθέγγατο. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ σύμπαν ἀλλήλων διήνεγκαν ὥστε τινὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον ὑποπτεῦσαι ὅτι ἐξεπίτηδες τὸν Τιβέριον, καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς ὁποῖος ἦν, διάδοχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἵνα αὐτὸς εὐδοξήσῃ.

46 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὖν ὕστερον διαθροεῖν ἤρξαντο, τότε δὲ ἀθανατίσαντες αὐτόν, καὶ θιασώτας οἱ καὶ ἱερὰ ἱερείαν τε τὴν Λιουίαν τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε¹
 2 καὶ Αὐγουσταν ἤδη καλουμένην ἀπέδειξαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ῥαβδούχῳ χρῆσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψαν· ἐκείνη δὲ δὴ Νουμερίῳ τινὶ Ἀπτικῷ, βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ τὰ περί τε τοῦ Πρόκλου καὶ περί τοῦ Ῥωμύλου λεγόμενα, ἀνιόντα ἑώρα-
 3 κέναι ὤμοσε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρώου ψηφισθὲν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας οἰκοδομηθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς Λιουίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐποιήθη, καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι, τὰ μὲν ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν δήμων τὰ δὲ ἀκόντων οἰκοδομουμένων. καὶ οἱ καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ οἰκία, ἐν ᾧ μετήλλαξεν, ἐτε-
 4 μενίσθη. ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν τὸ ἐν² τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρώου ἐγίγνετο, εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸν ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνη πάντα ὅσα τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐνόμισαν. ταῦτά τε αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ὅπως μὴτ' εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκφορᾷ³ τινος πομπεύῃ, καὶ τὰ γενέσια οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς Ἀρείοις²

¹ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε Reim., ἰουλίαν τε τὴν M.

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ἀγωνοθετώσι, τά τε Αὐγουστάλια οἱ δήμαρχοι
 5 ὡς καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς ὄντες διατιθῶσι. καὶ οἱ τὰ
 μὲν ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἰῶθει γίνεσθαι ἔπραξαν (καὶ
 γὰρ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἐπινικίῳ ἐν τῇ ἵπποδρομίᾳ
 ἐχρήσαντο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπέβησαν.
 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ ἡ Λιουία ἰδίαν δὴ τινα αὐτῷ
 πανήγυριν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ
 ἐποίησεν, ἣ καὶ δεῦρο¹ αἰεὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν αἰεὶ
 αὐτοκρατόρων τελεῖται.

47 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοσαῦτα, λόγῳ μὲν
 ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Λιουίας, ἐνομίσθη (ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλα
 ἐσηγουμένων, ἔδοξέ σφίσι βιβλία παρ' αὐτῶν
 τὸν Τιβέριον λαβόντα ἐκλέξασθαι ὅσα ἐβούλετο.
 προσέθηκα δὲ τὸ τῆς Λιουίας ὄνομα, ὅτι καὶ
 αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς καὶ αὐταρχοῦσα
 ἀντεποιεῖτο.

2 Ἐὰν τούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν ὀρχηστῶν τινος
 μὴ ἐθελήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ τεταγμένῳ μισθῷ ἐς τὸ
 θέατρον ἐν τοῖς Αὐγουσταλίοις ἐσελθεῖν, ἐστα-
 σίασε· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι
 πρὶν τοὺς δημάρχους τὴν τε βουλὴν αὐθημερῶν
 συναγαγεῖν, καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι
 πλεῖόν τι τοῦ νενομισμένου ἀναλῶσαι.²

¹ δεῦρο Casaubon, δευτέρα M.

² M places here ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ Αὔγουστον ἐγένετο, the opening words of lvii.

BOOK LVI

Martiales, and that the tribunes, as being sacrosanct, were to have charge of the Augustalia. These officials conducted everything in the customary manner—even wearing the triumphal garb at the horse-race—except that they did not ride in the chariot. Besides this, Livia held a private festival in his honour for three days in the palace, and this ceremony is still continued down to the present day by whoever is emperor. A.D. 14

Such were the decrees passed in memory of Augustus, nominally by the senate, but actually by Tiberius and Livia. For when some men proposed one thing and some another, the senate decreed that Tiberius should receive suggestions in writing from its members and then select whichever he chose. I have added the name of Livia because she, too, took a share in the proceedings, as if she possessed full powers.

Meanwhile the populace fell to rioting, because at the Augustalia one of the actors would not enter the theatre for the stipulated pay; and they did not cease their disturbance, until the tribunes convened the senate that very day and begged it to permit them to spend more than the legal amount. Here ends my account of Augustus.¹

¹ These words properly belong at this place in the English, instead of at the beginning of the following book, where the Greek calls for them and where modern editors place them in spite of the fact that our best manuscript (M) here violates the usual practice.

FRAGMENTS¹

1. οὗτος τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ πάντων ἠγαπᾶτο ὥστε καὶ τελευτῶν τις ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κληρονόμοις θῦσαι ὅτι ζῶντα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καταλείπει. Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 26–28 Cram.).

τοσοῦτον δὲ πεφίχθητο παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων | ὥστε τὸν βίον ἐκλείπειν μέλλων ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος | ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ καὶ διαδόχοις | χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς προσευγεῖν θυσίας, | “ὅτι,” φησί, “τὸν Σεβαστὸν ζῶντα καταλιμπάνω.” Const. Man. v. 1912–1916.

2. δυστυχήσας δὲ περὶ γάμον καὶ τὰ εἰς παῖδας ἐκβεβηκότα ἐβόα·

αἴθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι.

Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 28–30 Cram.).

3. περὶ δὲ ὀρθογραφίαν ἐσπουδάκει ὥστε καὶ διάδοχόν τινι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπεμψεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλων τῆς ὀρθῶς ἐχούσης ἐσφάλῃ γραφῆς. Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 31–33 Cram.).

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BOOK LVII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περὶ Τιβερίου.
 β. Ὡς Καππαδοκία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.
 γ. Ὡς Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.
 δ. Ὡς Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

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

Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ Τιβερίου υἱ. ὕπ.¹
 Γ. Νωρβανδὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος
 Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. Σισέννας² Ταῦρος ὕπ.
 Λ. Σκριβώνιος Λ. υἱ. Λίβων
 Γ. Καικίλιος Γ. υἱ. Νέπως³ ἢ⁴ Ροῦφος ὕπ.
 Λ. Πομπώνιος Λ. υἱ. Φλάκκος
 Τιβ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου υἱ. τὸ γ' ὕπ.
 Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ β'
 Μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός
 Γ. Νωρβανδὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ἢ⁴ Βάλβος ὕπ.⁵
 Μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας ὕπ.
 Μ.⁶ Αὐρήλιος Μ. υἱ. Κόττας
 Τιβ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου υἱ. τὸ δ' ὕπ.
 Δροῦσος Ἰούλιος Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ β'⁷
 Δέκιμος Ἀτέριος Κ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας ὕπ.
 Γ.⁸ Σουλπίκιος Σεργ. υἱ.⁹ Γάλβας¹⁰
 Γ. Ἀσίνιος Γ. υἱ. Πωλίων ὕπ.
 Γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υἱ. Οὐέτος¹¹
 Σέργ. Κορνήλιος Σεργ. υἱ. Κέθηγος ὕπ.
 Λ. Οὐισέλλιος¹² Γ. υἱ.¹³ Οὐάρρων¹⁴
 Μ.¹⁵ Ἀσίνιος Γ.¹⁶ υἱ. Ἀγρίππας ὕπ.
 Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Κόσσου υἱ. Λεντούλος ὕπ.

¹ ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

² Σισέννας R. Steph., σισένναι M.

³ Νέπως R. Steph., νέπος M.

⁴ Bs. suggests that ἢ should be deleted.

⁵ ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

⁶ M. R. Steph., μ' υἱ' M.

⁷ τὸ β' ὕπ. Bs., ὕπ. τὸ β' M.

⁸ Γ. supplied by Xyl.

⁹ Σεργ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.

BOOK LVII

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

About Tiberius (chap. 1 ff.).

How Cappadocia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 17).

How Germanicus Caesar died (chap. 18).

How Drusus Caesar died (chap. 22).

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

A. D.

15 Drusus Caesar Tiberi f., C. Norbanus C. f. Flaccus.

16 T. Statilius T. f. Sisenna Taurus, L. Scribonius L. f. Libo.

17 C. Caecilius C. f. Nepos [or ¹] Rufus, L. Pomponius L. f. Flaccus.

18 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (III), Germanicus Caesar Ti. f. (II).

19 M. Iunius M. f. Silanus, C. Norbanus C. f. Flaccus [or ¹] Balbus.

20 M. Valerius M. f. Messalla, M. Aurelius M. f. Cotta.

21 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (IV), Drusus Iulius Ti. f. (II).

22 Decimus Haterius C. f. Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Serg. f. Galba.

23 C. Asinius C. f. Pollio, C. Antistius C. f. Vetus.

24 Sergius Cornelius Sergi f. Cethegus, L. Visellius C. f. Varro.

25 M. Asinius C. f. Agrippá, Cossus Cornelius Cossi f. Lentulus.

¹ "Or" is perhaps to be deleted.

¹⁰ Γάλβας R. Steph., γάλουας M.

¹¹ Ουέτος Xyl., ιουστός M.

¹² Λ. Ουισέλλιος Xyl., κηλουσέλλιος M, i. e. Κ. ἢ Λ. Ουισέλλιος? ¹³ Γ. υί. Ryckius, Λ. υί. M.

¹⁴ Ουάρρων H. Steph., ουάρων M.

¹⁵ M. R. Steph., μ' ηγ' M.

¹⁶ Γ. Bs., M. R. Steph., μ' ηγ' M.

Ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ Αὐγουστον ἐγένετο, Τιβέριος δὲ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἦν καὶ ἐπεπαιδευτο, φύσει δὲ ἰδιωτάτῃ ἐκέχρητο. οὔτε γὰρ ὧν ἐπεθύμει προσεποιεῖτό τι, καὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἐναντιωτάτους τῇ προαιρέσει τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος πᾶν τε ὃ ἐπόθει ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐμίσει προετείνετο· ὠργίζετό τε ἐν οἷς ἤκιστα ἐθυμοῦτο, καὶ ἐπιεικῆς ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἠγανάκτει
 2 ἐδόκει εἶναι· ἠλέει τε δῆθεν οὐς σφόδρα ἐκόλαζε, καὶ ἐχαλέπαῖνεν οἷς συνεγίγνωσκε· τὸν τε ἔχθιστον ὡς οἰκειότατον ἔστιν ὅτε ἑώρα, καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ ὡς ἀλλοτριωτάτῳ προσεφέρετο. τό τε σύμπαν οὐκ ἠξίου τὸν αὐταρχοῦντα κατάδηλον ὧν φρονεῖ εἶναι· ἔκ τε γὰρ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πταίεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολλῶ
 3 πλείω καὶ μείζω κατορθοῦσθαι ἔλεγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτ' εἶχεν, εὐφύλακτος ἂν τοῖς ἐς πείραν αὐτοῦ ἐλθοῦσιν ἦν· (πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὸ ἐναντιώτατον) πάντα ἂν λαμβάνοντες¹ (ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου) τό τε μὴ βούλεσθαι δὴ τι αὐτὸν τῷ πάνυ ποθεῖν) καὶ (τὸ ὀρέγεσθαι τινος τῷ² μὴ ἐφίεσθαι ἐνόμιζόν· νῦν δὲ ὠργίζετο εἴ τις αὐτοῦ συνεῖς φά^νερός ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὺς οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν ἢ ὅτι συνενόησαν αὐτὸν ἐγκαλέσαι ἔχων ἀπέκτει-
 4 νεν. ὥστε χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν μηδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἄτε (πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον) ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ βουλούμενον) συναινοῦντές οἱ ἐσφάλλοντο), χαλεπώτερου δὲ συνιέναι·

¹ ἂν λαμβάνοντες Xiph., ἀναλαμβάνοντες M cod. Peir.

² τῷ R. Steph., τὸ M cod. Peir. Xiph.

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τὴν τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτοῦ καταφωρᾶν (κακ
 5 τούτου) καὶ ἄχθεσθαι αὐτῇ ὑπωπτεύοντο. μόνος¹
 οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ που σπανιώτατόν ἐστι, διε-
 γέμετο ὃς οὔτ' ἠγνόησε τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ οὔτ'
 ἤλεγξεν· οὔτω γὰρ οὔτε πιστεύσαντές οἱ ἠπατή-
 θησαν, οὔτε ἐνδειξάμενοι νοεῖν ἃ ἔπραττεν ἐμισή-
 θησαν. πάνυ γὰρ πολὺν ὄχλον παρεῖχεν, εἴτε
 6 τις ἐναντιοῖτο οἷς ἔλεγεν εἴτε καὶ συναίροιτο· (τὸ
 μὲν γὰρ ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι
 ἐθέλων, πάντως τέ τινας πρὸς ἑκάτερον ἐναντιου-
 μένους εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας
 τοὺς δὲ τῆς δοκῆσεως ἔνεκα ἤχθαιρε.

2 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὢν ἕς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα
 καὶ ἕς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθύς ἀπὸ
 τῆς Νώλης ἐπέστειλε, μὴ λέγων αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι·
 ψηφισθὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ
 Αὐγούστου λαβὼν τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτοῦ ταύτην
 2 οὐκ ἔθετο. τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
 ἤδη ἔχων ἐδεῖτο δὴ τῆς γερουσίας συνάρασθαί οἱ
 ὥστε μηδὲν βίαιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ταφῇ
 παθεῖν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ δῆθεν μὴ τινες αὐτὸ ἀρπά-
 σαντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος,
 3 καύσωσι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε κομψευσάμενός τις ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ φρουρὰν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντι δοθῆναι
 ἐσηγήσατο, τὸν τε χλευασμὸν αὐτοῦ συνῆκε, καὶ
 ἔφη καὶ ὅτι “οἱ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ

¹ μόνος Xiph., μόνον M cod. Pelr.

BOOK LVII

people were then suspected of discovering his practice and consequently of being displeased with it. Practically the only sort of man, therefore, that could maintain himself,—and such persons were very rare,—was one who neither misunderstood his nature nor exposed it to others; for under these conditions men were neither deceived by believing him nor rated for showing that they understood his motives. He certainly gave people a vast amount of trouble whether they opposed what he said or agreed with him; for inasmuch as he really wished one thing to be done but wanted to appear to desire something different, he was bound to find men opposing him from either point of view, and therefore was hostile to the one class because of his real feelings, and to the other for the sake of appearances.

It was due to this characteristic, that, as emperor, he immediately sent a dispatch from Nola to all the legions and provinces, though he did not claim to be emperor; for he would not accept this name, which was voted to him along with the others, and though taking the inheritance left him by Augustus, he would not adopt the title "Augustus." At a time when he was already surrounded by the bodyguards, he actually asked the senate to lend him assistance so that he might not meet with any violence at the burial of the emperor; for he pretended to be afraid that people might catch up the body and burn it in the Forum, as they had done with that of Caesar. When somebody thereupon facetiously proposed that he be given a guard, as if he had none, he saw through the man's irony and answered: "The soldiers do not belong to me, but to the State."

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δημόσιοί εἰσι.” ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔπρασσε,
 καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔργω πάντα διοικῶν ἠρνεῖτο
 4 μηδὲν αὐτῆς δεῖσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ
 πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν (ἔξ γὰρ καὶ
 πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἐγεγόνει) καὶ δι’ ἀμβλυωπίαν
 (πλείστον γὰρ τοῦ σκότους βλέπων ἐλάχιστα
 τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρα) ἐξίστασθαι ἔλεγεν· ἔπειτα δὲ
 κοινωνοὺς τέ τινας, καὶ συνάρχοντάς, οὗτι γε καὶ
 πάντων καθάπαξ ὡσπερ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐς
 τρία μέρη νέμων αὐτήν, ἦται, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς
 ἔχειν ἠξίου, τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων ἄλλοις παρεχώρει.
 5 ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἐν μὲν ἢ τε Ῥώμη καὶ ἢ ἄλλη
 Ἰταλία, ἕτερον δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ ἕτερον
 οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπήκοοι. ὡς οὖν πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, οἱ
 μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ὡς ἀντέλεγον δῆθεν καὶ ἐδέοντο
 αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν πάντων, Ἀσίνιος δὲ δὴ Γάλλος,
 παρρησία αἰεί ποτε πατράϊκα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ συμφέρον
 αὐτῷ χρώμενος “ἐλοῦ” ἔφη “ἦν ἂν ἐθελήσης
 6 μοῖραν.” καὶ Τιβέριος “καὶ πῶς οἶόν τέ ἐστίν”
 εἶπεν “τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι;”
 συνεῖς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος ἐν ᾧ κακοῦ ἐγεγόνει, τῷ
 μὲν λόγῳ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὑπολαβὼν ὅτι
 “οὐχ ὡς καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἔξουτός σου, ἀλλ’ ὡς
 ἀδύνατον ὄν τὴν ἀρχὴν διαιρεθῆναι, τοῦτό σοι
 7 προέτεινα,” οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐτιθάσειεν,
 ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προπαθῶν μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἐπαπεσφάγη. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ
 τὴν προτέραν ἐγεγαμήκει, τὸν τε Δρούσον ὡς
 υἱὸν προσεποιεῖτο, ὅθενπερ καὶ πρότερον διὰ
 μίσους αὐτῷ ἦν.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 Ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτα τότε ἐποίει· τὸ μὲν πλείστον ὅτι οὕτω τε ἐπεφύκει καὶ οὕτω προήρητο, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὰ τε στρατεύματα, καὶ τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Γερμανικά, ὑπετόπει, καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε¹ καὶ **2** φιλούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδεδίει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὄντας, τοῖς ὄρκοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταδειχθείσι προκατέλαβεν· ἐς δὲ ἐκείνους ὑποπτεύων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἀνεῖχεν, ὅπως, ἂν τι νεωτερίσαντες ἐπικρατήσωσιν, ὡς καὶ ιδιωτεύων σωθῆ. καὶ πολλάκις γε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρρωστεῖν προσεποιεῖτο καὶ οἴκοι κατέμενεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκασθῆ ἀποκεκριμένον τι εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι. **3** ἤδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Λιουία ἄκοντος τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιπεποιηκέναι ἐλέγετο, ἔπραττεν,² ὅπως μὴ ἵπαρ' ἐκείνης! (καὶ γὰρ πάνυ αὐτῇ ἤχθετό) ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγκαστός, ὡς καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν σφῶν προήκων, **4** δόξειεν αὐτὴν εἰληφέναι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκείνο, ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὄρων ἀλλοτρίως ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντας διέμελλε καὶ διῆγεν, ὅπως μὴ φθάσαντές τι νεοχμώσωσιν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ ἐθελούσιον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφήσειν, μέχρις οὗ ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῆς **5** διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως αἴτια τῆς διαγωγῆς ταύτης γράφω, ὡς τὴν τε ἐπιτήδευσιν τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν παραχρῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης πέμψας τινὰ ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προστάξεως τοῦτο

¹ τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε Zon., τῆς τότε Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα M.

BOOK LVII

Tiberius acted in this way at that time, chiefly A.D. 14 because it was his nature to do so and because he had determined upon that policy, but partly also because he was suspicious of both the Pannonian and Germanic legions and feared Germanicus, then governor of the province of Germany and beloved by them. For he had previously made sure of the soldiers in Italy by means of the oaths of allegiance established by Augustus; but as he was suspicious of the others, he was ready for either alternative, intending to save himself by retiring to private life in case the legions should revolt and prevail. For this reason he often feigned illness and remained at home, so as not to be compelled to say or do anything definite. I have even heard that when it began to be said that Livia had secured the rule for him contrary to the will of Augustus, he took steps to let it appear that he had not received it from her, whom he cordially hated, but under compulsion from the senators by reason of his surpassing them in excellence. Another story I have heard is to the effect that when he saw that people were cool toward him, he waited and delayed until he had become complete master of the empire, lest in the hope of his voluntarily resigning it they should rebel before he was ready for them. Still, I do not mean to record these stories as giving the true causes of his behaviour, which was due rather to his regular disposition and to the unrest among the soldiers. Indeed, he immediately sent from Nola and caused Agrippa to be put to death. He declared, to be sure, that this had not been done by his orders and

² ἔπραττεν Bs., ἔπλαττεν M.

6 γεγονέναι, ἐπηπείλει τε τῷ δράσαντι, οὐ μὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' εἶα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λογοποιεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι ὁ Αὐγουστος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τελευταίην ἀπεχρήσατο, τοὺς δ' ὅτι ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος ὁ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔχων καινοτομοῦντά τι ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτογνωμονήσας, ἄλλους ὡς ἡ Διουία, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνος, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν.

4 Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα ὑπεξείλετο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸν δεινῶς ἐφοβεῖτο. ἐθορύβησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ στρατιῶται, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου μεταλλαγῆς ἦσθοντο· καὶ συνελθόντες ἐς ἓν τεῖχος, καὶ ἐκείνο κρατυνάμενοι, πολλὰ καὶ στασιαστικὰ ἔπραξαν.

2 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντά σφων Ἰούνιον Βλαῖσον ἀποκτεῖναι ἐπεχείρησαν, τοὺς τε δούλους αὐτοῦ συλλαβόντες ἐβασάνισαν. τό τε σύμπαν οὐθ' ὑπὲρ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη στρατεύεσθαι ἤθελον, καὶ δραχμὴν ἡμερησίαν φέρειν τά τε ἄθλα εὐθύς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαμβάνειν ἠξίουν, ἀπειλοῦντες, ἂν μὴ τύχωσιν αὐτῶν, τό τε ἔθνος

3 ἀποστήσειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσειν., οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι μὲν τότε τε¹ μόλις ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βλαῖσου πεισθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπεμψαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν, ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκφοβήσαντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸ κράτος δόντες, κατα-

4 πράξειν ἠλπίζον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Δρούσου σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐπελθόντος σφίσιν ἐταράχθησαν μὲν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς βέβαιον ἐλέγετο, καὶ τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ κατέτρωσαν τινὰς καὶ

¹ τε supplied by Bk.

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αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτὸς περιεφρούρησαν, μὴ διαφύγη, τῆς δὲ δὴ σελήνης ἐκλιπούσης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἀπημβλύθησαν, ὥστε κακὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, πρέσβεις δ' αὖθις πρὸς τὸν
 5 Τιβέριον ἀποστεῖλαι. κὰν τούτῳ χειμῶνος μεγάλου γενομένου, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἐκάστων τείχη ἀναχωρησάντων, οἷ τε θρασύτατοι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γε τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ, μεταπεμφθέντες ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατέστησαν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τινὰς ὡς καὶ αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως γεγονότας ἐκδοῦναι.

5 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἡσύχασαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἠθροισμένοι καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Τιβερίου κρείττω ὄρωντες ὄντα, οὐδὲν ἐμετρίαζον. ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ προτεινόμενοι τὸν τε Τιβέριον ἐκακηγόρησαν καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα
 2 ἐπέκάλεσαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος πολλὰ εἰπὼν καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς καταστήσει, τέλος τὸ ξίφος ὡς καὶ ἑαυτὸν καταχρησόμενος ἐσπάσατο, ἐπέβησάν οἱ χλευάζοντες,¹ καὶ τις αὐτῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ξίφος ἀνατείνας “ τοῦτο ” ἔφη “ λαβέ· τοῦτο γὰρ
 3 ὀξύτερόν ἐστιν.” ὁ οὖν Γερμανικὸς ἰδὼν ὅποι² τὸ πρᾶγμα προεληλύθει, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διὰ τε τὰλλα καὶ ὅτι στασιάσειν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἠττον ἤλπισε, γράμματα δὲ δὴ τινα ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου πεμφθέντα συνθείς, τήν τε δωρεὰν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταλείφθεισάν

¹ χλευάζοντες v. Herw., αἰάζοντες M. ² ὅποι Bk., ὅπηι M.

BOOK LVII

prevent his escape. But when the moon suffered A.D. 11
 eclipse, they took the omen to heart and their spirit
 abated, so that they did no further harm to this
 detachment and dispatched envoys again to Tiberius.
 Meanwhile a great storm came up; and when in
 consequence all had retired to their own quarters,
 the boldest spirits were put out of the way in one
 manner or another, either by Drusus himself in his
 own tent, whither they had been summoned as if
 for some other purpose, or else by his followers; and
 the rest were reduced to submission, and even surren-
 dered for punishment some of their number whom
 they represented to have been responsible for the
 mutiny.

These troops, then, were reduced to quiet in the
 manner described; but the soldiers in the province
 of Germany, where many had been assembled on
 account of the war, would not hear of moderation,
 since they saw that Germanicus was at once a
 Caesar and far superior to Tiberius, but putting for-
 ward the same demands as the others, they heaped
abuse upon Tiberius and saluted Germanicus as
emperor. When the latter after much pleading
 found himself unable to reduce them to order, he
 finally drew his sword as if to slay himself; at this
 they jeeringly shouted their approval, and one of 4
 them proffered his own sword, saying: "Take this;
 this is sharper." Germanicus, accordingly, seeing
 to what lengths the matter had gone, did not venture
 to kill himself, particularly as he did not believe
 they would stop their disturbance in any case. In-
 stead, he composed a letter purporting to have been
 sent by Tiberius and then gave them twice the
 amount of the gift bequeathed them by Augustus,

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

διπλὴν ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ἔδωκε, καὶ τοὺς
 4 ^{σφίσι} ἐξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀφῆκε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ
 ὄχλου, οὓς ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐάρου
 συμφορὰν προσκατέλεξεν, οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν.
 τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτω στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο·
 ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβευτῶν (παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου βου-
 λευτῶν ἐλθόντων, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μόνον
 5 εἶπεν ὅσα τὸν Γερμανικὸν μαθεῖν ἠθέλησεν (εὐ τε
 γὰρ ἠπίστατο πάντως σφᾶς ἐροῦντάς οἱ πάντα
 τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διανοήματα, καὶ οὐκ ἠβουλήθη παρὰ
 ταῦτα οὐδέν, ὡς καὶ μόνον ὄντα, οὔτε ἐκείνους
 οὔτε τὸν Γερμανικὸν πολυπραγμονῆσαι), τούτων
 οὖν ἀφικομένων οἱ στρατιῶται τότε τοῦ Γερμα-
 νικοῦ στρατήγημα μαθόντες, καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς
 ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 καταλύσει παρόντας ὑποπτεύσαντες, ἐθορύβησαν
 6 αὐθις, καὶ τῶν τε πρέσβεων ὀλίγου τινὰς ἀπέ-
 σφαξαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ¹ ἐνέκειντο, τὴν τε γυναῖκα
 αὐτοῦ Ἀγριππίναν, τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου καὶ τῆς
 Ἰουλίας τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου θυγατέρα² οὔσαν,
 καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὃν Γάιον Καλιγόλαν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ τὸ πλεῖστον τραφεῖς τοῖς στρα-
 τιωτικοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἐχρήτο,
 προσωνόμαζον, ὑπεκπεμφθέντας ποι ὑπὸ τοῦ
 7 Γερμανικοῦ συνέλαβον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀγριππίναν
 ἐγκύμονα οὔσαν ἀφῆκαν αὐτῷ δεηθέντι, τὸν δὲ δὴ
 Γάιον κατέσχον. χρόνῳ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ τότε, ὡς
 οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἡσύχασαν, καὶ ἕς τοσαύτην γε
 μεταβολὴν ἦλθον ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς θρασυτά-
 τους σφῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι συλλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς

¹ ἐκείνῳ supplied by Bk.

² θυγατέρα R. Steph., θυγατρὸς θυγατέρα M.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μὲν ἰδίᾳ ἀποκτεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ (ἐς τὸ μέσον) ἀγαγόντες ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ τῶν πλειόνων βούλημα τοὺς μὲν ἀποσφάξαι τοὺς δ' ἀπολύσαι. 6 φοβηθεῖς δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ὁ Γερμανικὸς μὴ καὶ αὐθις στασιάσωσιν, ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσχολίαν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τροφὴν ἀφθόνον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων παρέχων ἐνεχρόνισε.

2 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν (ἢ γὰρ εὐνοία πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων σφῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποίει) οὐκ ἠθέλησε. Τιβέριος δὲ ἐπήνεσε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κεχᾶρισμένα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ἐπέστειλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσθη οἷς ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ 3 τὰ στρατεύματα ἀνηρτημένον ἔδεισεν. οὐ γάρ που καὶ φρονεῖν οὕτως ὡς¹ ἐδόκει, ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτῷ συνήδει ἄλλα μὲν λέγοντι ἄλλα δὲ ποιοῦντι, ὑπελάμβανεν, ὥσθ' ὑπετόπει μὲν καὶ ἐκείνον, ὑπετόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ ἀντίπαλον τὸ φρόνημα τῷ τοῦ γένους ὄγκῳ 4 ἔχουσα, οὐ μὲν καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἀχθεσθαί σφισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πολλοὺς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δρούσου, γενέσθαι ἐσηγήσατο. (τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς (ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ) τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς 5 ὑπ' ἐκείνου δοθεῖσιν ἐδώρησατο· (ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἔπειτα) οὐ πρότερον τοὺς (ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας στρατευομένους ἀπέλυε πρὶν τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη στρατεύσασθαι.

7 Ὡς δ' οὖν οὐδὲν ἔτι νεώτερον ἠγγέλλετο, ἀλλὰ

¹ ὡς supplied by Reim.

BOOK LVII

death privately and bringing the rest before an assembly, after which they either slew them or released them in accordance with the wishes of the majority. But Germanicus, being afraid even so that they would fall to rioting again, invaded the enemy's country and tarried there, giving the troops plenty of work and food in abundance at the expense of aliens. A.D. 14

Thus, though Germanicus might have obtained the imperial power,—for he had the good will of absolutely all the Romans as well as of their subjects,—he refused it. For this Tiberius praised him and sent many pleasing messages both to him and to Agrippina; and yet he was not pleased with his conduct, but feared him all the more because he had won the attachment of the legions. For he assumed, from his own consciousness of saying one thing and doing another, that Germanicus' real sentiments were not what they seemed, and hence he was suspicious of Germanicus and suspicious likewise of his wife, who was possessed of an ambition commensurate with her lofty lineage. Yet he displayed no sign of irritation toward them, but delivered many eulogies of Germanicus in the senate and also proposed that sacrifices should be offered in honour of the achievements of Germanicus just as in the case of those of Drusus. Also he bestowed upon the soldiers in Pannonia the same rewards as Germanicus had granted to his troops. For the future, however, he refused to release soldiers in the service outside of Italy until they had served the full twenty years.

Now when no further news of any rebellious

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀσφαλῶς πάντα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν ἡγε-
 μονίαν αὐτοῦ συνεφρόνησε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν
 ἔτι εἰρωνευόμενος ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τοιῷδε αὐτὴν
 τρόπῳ, ἔφ' ὅσον ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἔζη, διήγαγεν.
 2 αὐτὸς μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἔπραττε,
 πάντα δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα ἐς τε τὴν γερου-
 σίαν ἔσέφε^{ρε} καὶ ἐκείνη ἐκοίνου. ἐπεποιήτο μὲν
 γὰρ βῆμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἔφ' οὐ προκαθίζων ἐχρη-
 μάτιζε, καὶ συμβούλους αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸν Αὐγουστου
παρελάμβανεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διώκει λόγου τι
 3 ἄξιον ὁ μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπεκοίνου. καὶ ἐς γε
 τὸ μέσον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην τιθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως
 ἀντειπεῖν αὐτῇ παντί τῳ παρρησίαν ἐνεμεν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὰναντία οἱ ἔστιν ὅτε ψηφιζομένων τινῶν
 ἔφερε. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ψῆφον πολλάκις ἐδίδου.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δροῦσος ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις· τοτὲ μὲν
 4 πρῶτος τοτὲ δὲ μεθ' ἑτέρους τοῦτ' ἐποίει· ἐκεῖνος
 δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἐσιώπα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πρῶτος ἢ
 καὶ μετ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἢ καὶ τελευταῖος· τὰ μὲν
 ἀντικρυς ἀπεφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω, ἵνα δὴ μὴ
 δοκῇ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἔλεγεν
 ὅτι “ εἰ γνώμην ἐποιούμην, τὰ καὶ τὰ ἂν ἀπεδει-
 5 ξάμην.”¹ καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ἴσῃν τῷ
 ἑτέρῳ ἰσχὺν ἔχον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκωλύοντο οἱ
 λοιποὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντά σφισι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πολλάκις ὁ μὲν τὸ ἐγίγνωσκεν, οἱ δὲ μετ'
 αὐτὸν ἕτερόν τι ἀνθηροῦντο, καὶ (ἔστιν ὅτε) καὶ
 ἐπεκράτουν· καὶ οὐδενὶ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦτο ὄργην
 6 εἶχεν. ἐδίκαζε μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπεφοίτα
 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων δικαστήρια, καὶ

¹ ἀπεδειξάμην Rk., ἐπεδειξάμην M Xiph.

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παρακαλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαρακλήτος, καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν χώρᾳ καθῆσθαι εἶα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου τοῦ κατάντικρὺς σφῶν κειμένου καθίζων ἔλεγεν ὅσα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ὡς πάρεδρος.¹

8 Καὶ τὰλλα δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τρόπον ἐποίει. οὔτε γὰρ δεσπότην ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὔτε αὐτοκράτορα πλὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καλεῖν ἐφίει, τό τε τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος πρόσρημα παντελῶς διεώσατο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου οὐκ ἐπέθετο μὲν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ψηφισθῆναί ποτε εἶασε), λεγόμενον δ' ἀκούων καὶ γραφόμενον ἀναγιγνώσκων ἔφερε· καὶ ὅσάκις γε βασιλευσίτισιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ ἐκείνο προσενέγραφε. τὸ δ' ὄλον Καῖσαρ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πραχθέντων, πρόκριτός τε τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ² ὠνομάζετο, καὶ πολλάκις γε ἔλεγεν ὅτι “δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτός εἰμι.” εὐχετό τε, ὅσάκις τι τοιοῦτο παραπέσοι,³ τοσοῦτον καὶ ζῆσαι καὶ ἄρξαι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφέρη. καὶ οὕτω γε διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως δημοτικός ἦν ὥστε οὔτε ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαι τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐπέτρεπεν, οὔτ' ὁμνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει, εἴ τε⁴ καὶ ὁμόσας τις αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιωρκηκῶς ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἐπεξήει. συνελόντι τε

¹ πάρεδρος Bk., πρόεδρος M Xiph.

² After ἑαυτοῦ M repeats κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

³ τι τοιοῦτο παραπέσοι Bs., τοιοῦτό τι παραπέσοι Pflugk, τι τοιοῦτό τι ἄρα πέσοι M.

BOOK LVII

magistrates, not alone when invited by them, but also when not invited. He would allow them to sit in their regular places, while he himself took his seat on the bench facing them and as an assessor made any remarks that seemed good to him. A.D. 14

In all other matters, too, he behaved in this same way. Thus, he would not allow himself to be called master by the freemen, nor *imperator* except by the soldiers; the title of Father of his Country he rejected absolutely; that of Augustus he did not assume,—in fact he never permitted it to be even voted to him,—but he did not object to hearing it spoken or to reading it when written, and whenever he sent messages to kings, he would regularly include this title in his letters. In general he was called Caesar, sometimes Germanicus (from the exploits of Germanicus), and Chief of the Senate,¹—the last in accordance with ancient usage and even by himself. He would often declare: “I am master of the slaves, *imperator* of the soldiers, and chief of the rest.” He would pray, as often as occasion for praying arose, that he might live and rule so long only as should be to the advantage of the State. And he was so democratic in all circumstances alike, that he would not permit any special observance to be made of his birthday and would not allow people to swear by his Fortune, and if anybody after swearing by it incurred the charge of perjury, he would not prosecute him. In short, he would not at first even sanction the carrying out in his own case of the custom which was regularly been followed on New Year’s day down

¹ *Princeps senatus.*

² εἰ τε Dind., οὔτε M.

εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ὅπερ ἐπί τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δεῦρο αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνον ἄρξασιν, ὧν γε καὶ λόγον τινὰ ποιούμεθα, ἐπί τε τοῖς τὸ κράτος αἰεὶ ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται, τὸ¹ τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν αἰεὶ ζώντων ὄρκοις τισὶ βεβαιούσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὰ γε πρῶτα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ περιεΐδε γενόμενον. καίτοι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου πράξεσι τοὺς τε ἄλλους πάντας ὄρκου καὶ αὐτὸς ὤμνυε. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐκδηλώτερον αὐτὸ ποιοίη, παρείς ἂν² τὴν νομηνίαν καὶ μήτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν μήθ' ὅλως ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὄφθεις, ἀλλ' ἐν προαστείῳ τινὶ διατρίψας, ἐσῆει τε μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ μόνας ἐπιστοῦτο. τούτου τε οὖν ἔνεκα ἔξω που ταῖς νομηνίαις διῆγε, καὶ ἵνα μηδένα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄσχολον, περὶ τε τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔχοντα, ποιῆ, ἢ καὶ ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνη. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν Αὐγούστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπήνευε διὰ τὸ πολλὴν μὲν δυσχέρειαν ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνάλωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως γίνεσθαι.

9 Ταῦτά τε οὖν δημοτικῶς διώκει, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε τεμένισμα αὐτῷ οὐχ ὅπως αὐθαίρετον ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλως τότε γε ἐτεμενίσθη, οὔτε εἰκόνα ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ στήσαι· ἀντικρυς γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἀπηγόρευσε μήτε πόλει μήτ' ἰδιώτῃ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. 2 προσέθηκε μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἀπορρήσει ὅτι “ ἂν μὴ ἐγὼ ἐπιτρέψω,” προσεπέειπε δὲ ὅτι “ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω.” ἐπεὶ τό γε ὑβρίσθαι πρὸς τινος ἢ καὶ τὸ ἡσεβῆσθαι

¹ τὸ added by Pflugk.

² παρείς ἂν R. Steph., παρείσαν M.

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πρὸς τινος (ἀσέβειάν τε γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον
 ὠνόμαζον, καὶ δίκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλὰς ἐσῆγον)
 ἤκιστα προσεποιεῖτο, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἦντινα τοιαύτην
 ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γραφὴν προσεδέξατο, καίπερ τὸν Αὐ-
 3 γουστοῦ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σεμνύνων. (τὸ μὲν γὰρ
 πρῶτον οὐδένα οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τινὰ αἰτίαν
 λαβόντων ἐκόλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκληθέντας τινὰς
 ὡς καὶ ἐπιωρκηκότας τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ ἀπέλυσε.
 (προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς
 ἐθανάτωσε.

10 Καὶ ἐν τε τούτῳ τὸν Αὐγουστοῦ ἠγαλλε, καὶ
 ὅτι τὰ τε οἰκοδομήματα, ἃ προκατεβύλετο μὲν
 οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ, ἐκποιῶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπέ-
 γραφέ σφισι, τὰ τε ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ ἡρῶα
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα οἱ δῆμοι καὶ ὅσα οἱ ἰδιῶται
 ἐποίουν, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς καθιέρου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποντι-
 2 φίκων τινὶ προσέτασσε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ (κατὰ τὰς
 ἐπιγραφὰς) οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις μόνοις τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγού-
 στοῦ ἔργοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐπισκευῆς
 τινος δεηθεῖσιν ἐποίησε· πάντα γὰρ τὰ πεπονη-
 κότα ἀνακτησάμενος (αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν
 ἐκ καινῆς, πλὴν τοῦ Αὐγουστείου, κατεσκευάσατο)
 οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἰδιώσατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν πρῶτων
 οἰκοδομησάντων αὐτὰ ὀνόματα πᾶσί σφισιν ἀπέ-
 3 δωκεν. ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἐς ἑαυτὸν¹ δαπανῶν πλείιστα
 ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήλισκε, πάντα μὲν ἵως εἰπεῖν τὰ
 δημόσια ἔργα τὰ μὲν ἀνοικοδομῶν τὰ δὲ ἐπικασ-
 μῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐπαρκῶν.
 τῶν τε βουλευτῶν συχνοὺς πενομένους καὶ μηκέτι

¹ ἑαυτὸν Xiph. Zon., αὐτὸν M.

treated by anybody (they were already calling such conduct *maiestas* and were bringing many suits on that ground), and he would not fear of any such indictment being brought on his own account, though he paid tribute to the majesty of Augustus in this matter also. At first, to be sure, he did not punish any of those, even, that had incurred charges for their actions in regard to his predecessor, and he actually released some against whom complaint was made that they had perjured themselves after swearing by the Fortune of Augustus; but as time went on, he put great numbers to death.

Not only did he magnify Augustus in the manner stated, but also when completing the buildings which Augustus had begun without finishing them he inscribed upon them the other's name; and in the case of the statues and the shrines which were being erected to Augustus, whether by communities or by private individuals, he either dedicated them himself or instructed one of the pontifices to do so. This principle of inscribing the original builder's name he carried out not only in the case of the buildings erected by Augustus, but in the case of all alike that needed any repairs; for, although he restored all the buildings that had suffered injury (he erected no new ones whatsoever himself except the temple of Augustus), yet he claimed none of them as his own, but restored to all of them the names of the original builders. While expending extremely little for himself, he laid out very large sums for the common good, either rebuilding or adorning practically all the public works and also generously assisting both cities and private individuals. He enriched numerous senators who were poor and on that account no

- μηδὲ βουλεύειν διὰ τοῦτ' ἐθέλοντας ἐπλούτισεν.
 4 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀκρίτως αὐτὸ ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 διέγραφε τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἀσελγείας τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ
 πτωχείας, ὅσοι μηδένα αὐτῆς λογισμὸν εἰκότα
 ἀποδοῦναι ἐδύναντο. πᾶν τε ὃ ἐδωρεῖτό τισιν
 εὐθὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἠριθμεῖτο·
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μεγάλα ἐκ τῶν
 τοιούτων οἱ δοτῆρες αὐτῶν ἀπετέμνοντο, δεινῶς
 ἐφυλάττετο μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι.
 5 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ἐκ τῶν νενομισμένων
 προσόδων ἐδαπάνησεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε χρημά-
 των ἕνεκά οὐδένα οὔτ' οὐσίαν τινὸς τότε γε
 ἐδήμευσεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπηρείας τι ἠργυρολό-
 γησεν. Αἰμιλίω γοῦν Ῥήκτω χρήματά ποτε αὐτῷ
 πλείω παρὰ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἧς
 ἦρχε πέμψαντι ἀντεπέστειλεν ὅτι " κείρεσθαί μου
 τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βούλομαι."
 11 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ εὐπρόσодος καὶ εὐπροσήγορος
 ἰσχυρῶς ἦν. τοὺς γοῦν βουλευτὰς ἀθρόους
 ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μὴ ὠστίζωνται.
 τό τε σύμπαν τοσαύτην ἐπιείκειαν ἤσκει ὥστε,
 2 ἐπειδὴ ποτε οἱ Ῥοδίων ἄρχοντες ἐπιστείλαντές τι
 αὐτῷ οὐχ ὑπέγραψαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ
 νομιζόμενον, εὐχὰς αὐτῷ ποιούμενοι, μετεπέμ-
 ψατο μὲν σφας σπουδῆ ὡς καὶ κακόν τι δράσων,
 ἐλθόντας δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπογρά-
 ψαντας τὸ ἐνδέον ἀπέπεμψε. τοὺς τε αἰεὶ
 3 ἄρχοντας ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐτίμα, καὶ τοῖς
 ὑπάτοις καὶ ὑπανίστατο· ὁπότε τε αὐτοὺς δει-
 πνίζοι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐσιόντας σφᾶς πρὸς τὰς θύρας
 ἐξεδέχετο, (τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀπιόντας προέπεμπεν.

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εἶ τέ ποτε (ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου) κομίζοιτο,¹ οὐδένα οἱ παρακολουθεῖν οὐχ ὅπως βουλευτήν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 4 ἵππέα τῶν πρώτων εἶα. (ἐν τε ταῖς πανηγύρεσι, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τοιουτότροπον ἀσχολίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἐλθὼν ἀν' ἀφ' ἑσπέρας πρὸς τινὰ τῶν Καίσαρείων τῶν πρὸς τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις² ἐς ἃ συμφοιτῆσαι ἔδει οἰκούντων, ἐνταῦθα τὰς νύκτας ἐνηυλίζετο, ὅπως ἐξ ἐτοιμοτάτου καὶ ἀπονωτάτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 5 ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο. καὶ τοὺς γε τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶνας) ἐξ οἰκίας καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὸς πόλλάκις ἑώρα. συνεχέστατα γὰρ (ἐπὶ τὰς θεάς) ἀπήντα (τῆς τε τιμῆς τῶν ἐπιτελούντων αὐτὰς ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους εὐκοσμίας, τοῦ τε συνεορτάζειν σφίσι δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὔτε ἐσπούδασέ ποτε τὸ παράπαν τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν, οὔτε δόξαν τινὰ ὡς καὶ συσπεύδων τινὶ
 6 ἔσχευ. οὕτω τε ἐς πάντα ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος ἦε ὥστ' ὀρχηστήν τινὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερώθῆναί ποτε βουλευθέντος μὴ πρότερον συνεπαινέσαι πρὶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ καὶ πεισθῆναι καὶ τὴν τιμὴν
 7 λαβεῖν. (τοῖς τε ἑταίροις) ὡς καὶ (ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ) συνῆν· καὶ γὰρ δικαζομένοις σφίσι συνηγωνίζετο καὶ θύουσι³ συνεώρταζε, νοσοῦντάς τε ἐπεσκέπτετο μηδεμίαν φρουρὰν ἐπεσαγόμενος, καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὶ γέ τινι αὐτῶν τελευτήσαντι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον αὐτὸς εἶπε.

¹ κομίζοιτο Xiph., ἐκομίζετο M.

² ἐκείνοις R. Steph., ἐκείν' M ('ων added in margin by corr.)

³ θύουσι Xiph., θυσιοῦσι M.

BOOK LVII

he entertained them at dinner, he would both receive them at the door when they entered and escort them on their way when they departed. In case he was at any time being carried anywhere in his litter, he would not even allow any one of the knights who was prominent to accompany him, still less a senator. On the occasion of festivals or as often as anything similar was going to afford the multitude diversion, he would go the evening before to the house of some one of the imperial freedmen who lived near the place where the crowd was to gather, and would spend the night there. His purpose in doing this was, that the people might meet him with as little difficulty and trouble as possible. And he, too, would often watch the equestrian contests from the house of a freedman. For he attended the spectacles very frequently, in order not only to show honour to those who gave them, but also to ensure the orderliness of the multitude and to seem to be staring in their holiday. As a matter of fact, however, he never felt the slightest enthusiasm for anything of the kind, nor had he the reputation of favouring any one of the contestants. In all respects he was so fair and impartial that once, when the populace wanted a certain actor manumitted, he would not approve their demand until the man's master had given his consent and had received payment for him. His relations with his companions were such as he would maintain in private life: he stood by them when they were involved in law-suits and joined them in offering sacrifice on festal occasions; he visited them in their sickness, taking no guard into the room with him; and in the case of at least one of them who died he himself delivered the funeral oration.

A.D. 14

12 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πάνθ' ὅσα πρέποντα αὐτῇ τῶν τοιούτων ποιεῖν ἦν, τὸ μὲν τι (τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζηλώσεως ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραυχῆ, 2 πρᾶττειν ἐκέλευε. πάνυ γὰρ μέγα καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς πρόσθεν γυναῖκας ὠγκωτο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν βουλήν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ἐθέλοντας οἴκαδε ἀσπασομένους αἰεὶ ποτε ἐσδέχεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὰ δημόσια ὑπομνήματα ἐσγράφεσθαι. αἱ τε ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ τὸ ἐκείνης ὄνομα (χρόνον τινὰ ἔσχον, καὶ ἐγράφετο ἀμφοῖν 3 ὁμοίως. πλὴν τε ὅτι οὔτε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον οὔτε ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὔτε ἐς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐτόλμησέ ποτε ἐσελθεῖν, τὰ γε ἄλλα πάντα ὡς καὶ αὐταρχοῦσα διοικεῖν ἐπεχείρει. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μέγιστον ἠδυνήθη καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτῇ αὐτοκράτορα πεποικῆναι ἔλεγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅσον ἐξ ἴσου οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 4 πρεσβεύειν αὐτοῦ ἤθελεν. ὅθεν ἄλλα τε ἔξω τοῦ νενομισμένου ἐσεφέρετο, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μητέρα αὐτὴν τῆς πατρίδος πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γονεὰ προσαγορεύεσθαι γνώμην ἔδωκαν. ἄλλοι καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐσηγήσαντο, ὅπως (ὡσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες πατρόθεν, οὕτω καὶ 5 ἐκεῖνος μητρόθεν ὀνομάζεται. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε τὰ ψηφιζόμενα αὐτῇ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐπεκύρου, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ὑπέρογκον ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν. εἰκόνα γοῦν ποτε αὐτῆς οἴκοι τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ὀσιωσάσης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν βουλήν καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστιᾶσαι ἐθελησάσης, οὔτ' ἄλλως συνεχώρησέν

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οἱ τοῦτο πράξει πρὶν τὴν γερουσίαν ψηφίσασθαι,
οὔτε τότε τοὺς ἄνδρας δειπνίσαι,¹ ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν
6 τούτοις ἐκείνη δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἰστίασε. καὶ
τέλος τῷ μὲν δημοσίων παντάπασιν αὐτὴν
ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ δ' οἴκοι διοικεῖν οἱ ἐφεῖς, εἶθ' ὡς
καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπαχθῆς ἦν, ἀποδημίας τε ἐστέλ-
λετο καὶ πάντα τρόπον αὐτὴν ἐξίστατο ὥστε καὶ
ἐς τὴν Καπρίαν δι' ἐκείνην οὐχ ἤκιστα μεταστῆναι.

13 Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς Λιουίας παραδέδοται· ὁ δὲ
δὴ Τιβέριος αὐτὸς μὲν τραχύτερον τοὺς αἰτια-
ζομένους τι μετεχειρίζετο, ἰτῶ δὲ δὴ Δρούσῳ
τῷ υἱεῖ καὶ ἀσελγεστάτῳ καὶ ὠμοτάτῳ, ὥστε
καὶ τὰ ὀξύτατα τῶν ξιφῶν Δρουσιανὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
κληθῆναι, ὄντι καὶ ἤχθετο καὶ ἐπετίμα καὶ ἰδία
2 καὶ δημοσία πολλάκις. καὶ πῶτε αὐτῷ καὶ
ἀντικρυς πολλῶν παρόντων εἶπεν ὅτι “ζῶντος
μὲν μου οὐδὲν οὔτε βίαιον οὔθ' ὑβριστικὸν πρά-
ξεις· ἂν δέ τι καὶ τολμήσης, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος.”

3 σωφρονέστατα γὰρ (χρόνον τινὰ) διεγένετο, καὶ
οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ ἀσελγαίνειν ἐφίει, ἀλλὰ
καὶ συχνὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλαζε, καίτοι τῶν
βουλευτῶν ποτε ἐπιτίμιόν τι (κατὰ τῶν ἀσώτως
ζώντων νομοθετηθῆναι ἐθελησάντων) μήτε τι
τάξας, καὶ προσεπειπὼν ὅτι ἄμεινόν ἐστιν ἰδία
τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοὺς σωφρονίζειν ἢ κοινὴν σφισι
4 τιμωρίαν ἐπιθεῖναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τῷ φόβῳ
τῆς αἰσχύνης καὶ μετριάσαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὥστε
καὶ λαθεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαι· ἂν δ' ἅπαξ ὁ νόμος ὑπὸ
τῆς φύσεως ἐκνικηθῆ, μηδένα αὐτοῦ προτιμήσειν.
5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε πολλῇ ἐσθῆτι ἀλουργεῖ καὶ ἄνδρες

¹ δειπνίσαι H. Steph., δειπνήσαι M.

BOOK LVII

so voted, and not even then to receive the men at dinner; instead, he entertained the men and she the women. Finally he removed her entirely from public affairs, but allowed her to direct matters at home; then, as she was troublesome even in that capacity, he proceeded to absent himself from the city and to avoid her in every way possible; indeed, it was chiefly on her account that he removed to Capreae. Such are the reports that have been handed down about Livia. A.D. 14

Tiberius, now, began to treat more harshly those who were accused of any crime, and he became angry with his son Drusus, who was most licentious and cruel (so cruel, in fact, that the sharpest swords were called Drusian after him), and he often rebuked him both privately and publicly. Once he said to him outright in the presence of many witnesses: "While I am alive you shall commit no deed of violence or insolence; and if you dare to try, not after I am dead, either." For Tiberius lived a very temperate life for a time, and would not allow any one else to indulge in licentiousness, but punished many for it. And yet once, when the senators desired to have a penalty imposed by law upon those who were guilty of lewd living, he would make no such provision, explaining that it is better to correct them privately in some way or other than to inflict any public punishment upon them. For under existing conditions, he said, there was a chance that some of them would restrain themselves through fear of disgrace, in the endeavour to escape detection; but if the law should once be overcome by human nature, no one would pay any heed to it. Not a few men, also, were wearing a great deal of

συχνοὶ καίπερ ἀπαγορευθὲν πρότερον ἐχρῶντο, διεμέμψατο μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἐζημίωσεν οὐδένα, ὑετοῦ δὲ ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ γενομένου φαιὰν μαυδύην ἐπενέδν· κακ τούτου οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀλλοῖον ἔσθημα λαβεῖν ἐτόλμησε.

6 Ταῦθ' οὕτω πάντα μέχρι γε καὶ ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐζη ἐποίει· μετὰ γὰρ τοῦτο συχνὰ αὐτῶν μετέβαλεν, εἴτ' οὖν φρονῶν μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ πρώτης ὡς ὕστερον διέδειξε, πλασάμενος δὲ (ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἐβίω, ἐπιείδηπερ ἐφεδρεύοντα αὐτὸν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἑώρα, εἴτε καὶ πεφυκῶς μὲν εὖ, ἐξοκείλας
14 δ' ὅτε τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ ἐστερήθη. λέξω δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο, ὅσα γε καὶ μνήμης ἀξιά ἐστιν.

Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ Γαΐου τε Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων τῷ δήμῳ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ προσελθόντις πρὸς νεκρὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφερόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ προσκύψας ἐψιθύρισέ τι, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν ιδόντων ὅ τι εἰρήκοι, ἐντετάλθαι ἔφη τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ὅτι οὐδέπω οὐδὲν ἐκομίσαντο.
2 ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἵνα αὐτάγγελος αὐτῷ, ὡς πον καὶ ἐπισκώπτων εἶπε, γένηται, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπήλλαξε, κατὰ πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα δραχμὰς διανείμας.
3 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει γενέσθαι τινὲς λέγουσι· τότε δὲ ἵππέων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν

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οὓς ὁ Δρούσος ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ διέθηκε¹ μονομαχῆσαι ἐθελησάντων
 τὸν μὲν ἀγῶνα αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶδε, σφαγέντος δὲ
 τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον οὐκέτ' εἶασεν ὀπλομα-
 4 χῆσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ
 Αὐγούστου γενεσίων ἵπποδρομία μάχαι, καί
 τινα καὶ θηρία ἐσφάγη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ
 πολλὰ ἔτη οὕτως ἐποιήθη· τότε δὲ ἡ Κρήτη
 τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος τῷ τε ταμία
 καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον προσε-
 5 τάχθη. ἐπειδὴ τε σύχνοι τῶν τὰ ἔθνη κληρου-
 μένων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ
 Ἰταλίᾳ ἐνδιέτριβον, ὥστε τοὺς προάρξαντας
 αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς χρονίζειν, ἐκέλευσέ
 σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆς τοῦ Ἰουνίου νομηνίας ἀφορμᾶ-
 6 σθαι. κὰν τούτῳ τοῦ ἐγγόνου² αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐκ τοῦ
 Δρούσου εἶχε, τελευτήσαντος οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν
 συνήθων οὐκ ἔπραξε, μήτ' ἄλλως ἀξιῶν τὸν
 ἄρχοντά τινων πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας συμφορὰς τῆς
 τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐξίστασθαι, καὶ τοὺς
 λοιποὺς ἐθίζων³ μὴ διὰ τοὺς οἰχομένους καὶ τὰ
 τῶν ζώντων προίεσθαι.

7 Τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριδος πολλὰ τῆς
 πόλεως κατασχόντος ὥστε πλευσθῆναι, οἱ μὲν
 ἄλλοι ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ που
 τό τε μέγεθος τῶν σεισμῶν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ μέρος τι
 τοῦ τείχους ἔπεσε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κεραυνῶν
 ὑφ' ὧν καὶ οἶνος ἐξ ἀγγείων ἀθραύστων ἐξετάκη,
 8 ἐλάβανον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ δὴ νομίσας ἐκ πολυπλη-

¹ διέθηκε Bs., δὴ διέθηκε M.

² ἐγγόνου M, ἐγγόνου Xiph. Zon.

BOOK LVII

Drusus had arranged in his own name and in that of Germanicus; but Tiberius did not witness their combat, and when one of them was killed, he forbade the other to fight as a gladiator again. There were also other contests in connexion with the Circensian games given in honour of Augustus' birthday; and a few beasts, also, were slain. This continued to be done for a number of years. At this time, too, Crete, upon the death of its governor, was entrusted to the quaestor and his assessor for the unexpired period. Since, also, many of those to whom provinces had been allotted were accustomed to linger a long while in Rome and other parts of Italy, so that their predecessors continued in office beyond the appointed time, Tiberius commanded that they should take their departure by the first day of June. Meanwhile his grandson by Drusus died, but he neglected none of his customary duties; for he did not think it right in any case that one who was governing others should neglect his care of the public interests because of his private misfortunes, and moreover he was trying to accustom the rest not to jeopardize the interests of the living on account of the dead.

When now the river Tiber overflowed a large part of the city, so that people went about in boats, most people regarded this, also, as an omen, like the violent earthquakes which shook down a portion of the city wall and like the frequent thunderbolts which caused wine to leak even from vessels that were sound; the emperor, however, thinking that it was due to the great over-abundance of surface

³ ἐθίζων Leuncl., καθίζων M.

θίας ναμάτων αὐτὸ γεγονέναι) πέντε αἰὲ βουλευτὰς κληρωτοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσέταξεν, ἵνα μήτε τοῦ χειμῶνος πλεονάζῃ μήτε τοῦ θέρους ἐλλείπῃ, ἀλλ' ἴσος ὅτι μάλιστα αἰὲ ρέῃ.

- 9 Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Δρούσος τὰ μὲν τῇ ὑπατεία προσήκοντα) ἐξ ἴσου τῷ συνάρχοντι ὡσπερ τις ἰδιώτης διετέλεσε, καὶ κληρονόμος γε ὑπὸ τίνος καταλείφθεις τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ συνεξήνεγκε, τῇ μέντοι ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρήτο ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς ἵππεϊ ἐπιφανεῖ δοῦναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κάστωρ παρωνύμιον λαβεῖν.
- 10 τῇ τε μέθῃ κατακορῆς οὕτως ἐγίγνετο ὥστε ποτὲ νυκτὸς ἐμπρησθεῖσιν τισιν ἐπικουρῆσαι ἕμετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἀναγκασθεῖς, ὕδωρ αὐτῶν αἰτούντων, θερμόν σφισιν ἐγγέαι κελεῦσαι. τοῖς τε ὀρχησταῖς οὕτω προσέκειτο ὥστε καὶ στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, οὓς ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐσεννηνόχει, καθίστασθαι.
- 15 . Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγέμετο, Στατιλίου δὲ Ταύρου μετὰ Λουκίου Λίβωνος, ὑπατεύσαντος) ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπέειπε μὲν ἐσθῆτι σηρικῇ μηδένα ἄνδρα χρῆσθαι, ἀπέειπε δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ σκεύει μηδένα πλὴν (πρὸς 2 τὰ ἱερά) νομίζειν. ἐπεὶ τε διηπόρησάν τινες εἰ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ τὰ χρυσοῦν τι ἔμβλημα ἔχοντα ἀπηγορευμένον σφίσιν εἶη κεκτῆσθαι, βουληθεῖς

¹ This was the name of a celebrated gladiator of the time. Cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 18, 19.

² Among the Greeks and Romans not only cold but also hot water, the latter probably flavoured with spices or herbs, was ordinarily served with wine. "Water!" was a request with which Drusus had grown only too familiar at drinking-

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καὶ περὶ τούτου τι δόγμα ποιῆσαι, ἐκώλυσεν ἐς
 αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ ἐμβλήματος ὡς καὶ Ἑλλη-
 νικὸν ἐμβληθῆναι, καίτοι μὴ ἔχων ὅπως ἐπιχω-
 3 ρίως αὐτὸ ὀνομάσῃ. ἐκεῖνό τε οὖν οὕτως ἐποίησε,
 καὶ (ἐκατοντάρχου ἑλληνιστὶ ἐν τῷ συνέδριῳ
 μαρτυρῆσαί τι ἐθέλησαντος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, καίπερ
 πολλὰς μὲν δίκας (ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ) καὶ
 ἐκεῖ λεγομένας ἀκούων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 4 ἐπερωτῶν. τοῦτό τε οὖν οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον
 ἔπραξε, καὶ Λούκιον Σκριβώνιον Λίβωνα, νεανί-
 σκον εὐπατρίδην δόξαντά τι νεωτερίζειν, τέως
 μὲν ἔρρωτο, οὐκ ἔκρινε, νοσήσαντα δὲ ἐπιθά-
 νατον¹ ἐν τε σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ, ὁποῖῳ αἱ τῶν
 βουλευτῶν γυναῖκες χρῶνται, ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν
 5 ἐσεκόμισε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναβολῆς τινος γενομένης
 ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντα εὐθυνε-
 τά τε χρήματα αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς διέδωκε,²
 καὶ θυσίας (ἐπ' αὐτῷ) οὐχ (ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἕνεκα)
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ Ἰουλίου, καθάπερ ποτὲ ἐδέδοκτο, ψηφισθῆναι
 6 ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦτον πράξας, Οὐιβίῳ³
 Ῥούφῳ οὔτε ἐνεκάλεσέ τι ἀρχὴν ὅτι τῷ τοῦ
 Καίσαρος δίφρῳ, ἐφ' οὗ αἰεὶ ποτε ἐκαθίζετο καὶ
 ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐσφάγη, ἐχρήτο. τοῦτό τε γὰρ ὁ
 Ῥούφος ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔπραττε, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κικέ-
 ρωνος γυναικὶ συνώκει, σεμννόμενος ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ
 ὥσπερ ἢ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ῥήτωρ ἢ διὰ τὸν
 7 δίφρον Καίσαρ ἐσόμενος· οὐ μὲν οὔτε αἰτίαν

¹ ἐπιθάνατον Bk., ἐπὶ θάνατον M.

² διέδωκε Reim., ἐδεδώκει M.

³ Οὐιβίῳ Bk., οὐειουίῳ M.

BOOK LVII

A. D. 16

he wished to issue a decree about this, too, but would not allow the word *emblema*, since it was a Greek term, to be inserted in the decree, even though he could find no native word for inlaid work. Such was the course he took in this matter. Similarly, when a certain centurion wished to give some evidence before the senate in Greek, he would not permit it, in spite of the fact that he was wont to hear many cases tried and to examine many witnesses himself in that language in that very place. This was one instance of inconsistency on his part; another was seen in his treatment of Lucius Scribonius Libo, a young noble suspected of revolutionary designs. So long as this man was well, he did not bring him to trial, but when he became sick unto death, he caused him to be brought into the senate in a covered litter, such as the wives of the senators use; then, when there was a slight delay and Libo committed suicide before his trial could come off, he passed judgment upon him after his death, gave his money to his accusers, and caused sacrifices to be offered to commemorate the man's death, not only on his own account, but also on that of Augustus and of the latter's father Julius, as had been decreed in past times. Though he took such action in the case of Libo, he brought no charge at all against Vibius Rufus, who was using the chair on which Caesar had always been accustomed to sit and on which he had been slain. Indeed, Rufus not only made a practice of doing this, but he also had Cicero's wife as his consort, and prided himself on both these grounds, evidently thinking that he should either become an orator because of his wife or a Caesar because of the chair. And yet

τινὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσχε καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπά-
τευσε.

Καὶ μέντοι (τῷ τε Θρασύλλῳ) αἰὲς συνῶν καὶ
μαντεία τινὲ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν χρῶμενος,
αὐτός τε ἀκριβῶν οὕτω τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥστε ποτὲ
ὄναρ δοῦναί τινι ἀργύριον κελευσθεὶς συνεῖναί
τε ὅτι δαίμων τις ἐκ γοητείας οἱ ἐπιπέμπεται καὶ
8 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτεῖναι, πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους
τούς τε ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γόητας, εἴ τέ τινα
ἕτερον καὶ ὅποιονοῦν τρόπον ἐμαντεύετό τις, τοὺς
μὲν ξένους ἐθανάτωσε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας, ὅσοι καὶ
τότε ἔτι, μετὰ τὸ πρότερον δόγμα δι' οὐ ἀπηγό-
ρευτο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ πόλει μεταχειρίζεσθαι,
ἐσηγγέλθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ χρῶμενοι, ὑπερώρισε
9 τοῖς γὰρ πειθαρχήσασιν αὐτῶν ἄδεια ἐδόθη. καὶ
σύμπαντες δ' ἂν οἱ πολῖται καὶ παρὰ γνώμην
αὐτοῦ ἀφείθησαν, εἰ μὴ δήμαρχός τις ἐκώλυσε.
ἐνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας
σχῆμα κατενόησεν, ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ τε Δρούσου
καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, συνέπαινος Γναίῳ Καλπουρνίῳ
Πίσωνι¹ γενομένη, κατεκράτησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπὸ
τοῦ δημάρχου ἠττήθη.

16 Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν
πέρυσι τεταμιευκότων, ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τινὲς ἐξεπέμ-
φθησαν, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ τότε ταμιεύοντες ἐλάττους
αὐτῶν ἦσαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις, ὅσάκις
2 ἐδέησεν, ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ τε πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων
γραμμάτων τὰ μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἀπωλώλει, τὰ
δὲ ἐξίτηλα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγεγόνει, τρεῖς
βουλευταὶ προέχειρίσθησαν ὥστε τὰ τε ὄντα

¹ Πίσωνι R. Steph., πείσωνι M.

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ἐκγράψασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναζητῆσαι. ἐμπρησθεῖσί τέ τισιν οὐχ ὅπως ὁ Τιβέριος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Λιουία ἤμυνε.

3 Κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει Κλήμης τις, δοῦλός τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου γεγονώς καὶ πῆ καὶ προσεοικῶς αὐτῷ, ἐπλάσατο αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία ὑστερον προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὄρμησεν ὡς καὶ τὴν παππῶαν
4 μοναρχίαν ἀποληψόμενος. ἰταραττομένων τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ συχνῶν αὐτῷ προστιθεμένων, ὁ Τιβέριος σοφία αὐτὸν διὰ τινῶν ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνου φρονούντων ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βασανίσας ἵνα τι περὶ τῶν συνεγνωκότων αὐτῷ μάθῃ, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐξελάλησεν, ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ “ πῶς Ἀγρίππας ἐγένου ; ” καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι “ οὕτως ὡς καὶ σὺ Καῖσαρ.”

17 Τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ ἔτει τὸ μὲν τῶν ὑπάτων ὄνομα Γάϊός τε Καϊκίλιος καὶ Λούκιος Φλάκκος ἔλαβον, ὃ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετὰ τὴν νομηνίαν τινὲς ἀργύριον αὐτῷ προσήνεγκαν, οὔτε ἐδέξατο καὶ τι καὶ γράμμα περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐξέθηκε,
2 ῥήματί τινι μὴ Λατίνῳ χρησάμενος. ἐνθυμηθεῖς οὖν νυκτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκριβοῦντας μετεπέμψατο· πάνυ γὰρ δὴ ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τοῦ καλῶς διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ τινος Ἀτείου Καπίτωνος εἰπόντος ὅτι “ εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἐφθέγγετο, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πάντες
' διὰ σὲ ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα αὐτὸ καταριθμήσομεν,” Μάρκελλός¹ τις ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “ σὺ, Καῖσαρ, ἀνθρώποις μὲν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων δύνασαι
3 δοῦναι, ῥήμασι δὲ οὔ.” ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ

BOOK LVII

text of the others. Assistance was rendered to the victims of various conflagrations not only by Tiberius but also by Livia. A.D. 16

The same year a certain Clemens, who had been a slave of Agrippa and resembled him to a certain extent, pretended to be Agrippa himself. He went to Gaul and won many to his cause there and many later in Italy, and finally he marched upon Rome with the avowed intention of recovering the dominion of his grandfather. The population of the city became excited at this, and not a few joined his cause; but Tiberius got him into his hands by a ruse with the aid of some persons who pretended to sympathize with the upstart. He thereupon tortured him, in order to learn something about his fellow-conspirators. Then, when the other would not utter a word, he asked him: "How did you come to be Agrippa?" And he replied: "In the same way as you came to be Caesar."

The following year Gaius Caecilius and Lucius Flaccus received the title of consuls. A.D. 17 And when some brought Tiberius money at the beginning of the year, he would not accept it and published an edict regarding this very practice, in which he used a word that was not Latin. After thinking it over at night he sent for all who were experts in such matters, for he was extremely anxious to have his diction irreproachable. Thereupon one Ateius Capito declared: "Even if no one has previously used this expression, yet now because of you we shall all cite it as an example of classical usage." But a certain Marcellus replied: "You, Caesar, can confer Roman citizenship upon men, but not upon words." And

¹ Μάρκελλός Xyl., πόρκελλός M Xiph.

τούτῳ κακόν, καίπερ ἀκρατῶς παρρησιασάμενον, ἔδρασε.

Τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα δι' ὀργῆς σχών, ὅτι πρότερόν οἱ ὑποπεπτωκῶς ὥστε καὶ συνηγόρω, ὅτε ἐπὶ¹ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, κατηγορήθη, 4 χρήσασθαι, μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ρόδον ἀπελθόντος ἠμέλησε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γάιον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθόντα ἐθεράπευσε, μετεπέμψατο ὡς καὶ νεωτερίζοντά τι, καὶ τῇ τῆς γερουσίας ψήφῳ παρέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ὑπεργήρων² οὕτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινῶς ποδαγρῶντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ παρα- 5 φρονεῖν δοκοῦντα. ἔπαθε μὲν γάρ ποτε τοῦτο οὕτως, (ὥστε καὶ ἐπίτροπον παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τῆς ἀρχῆς λαβεῖν) οὐ μέντοι καὶ τότε ἔτι παρελήρει, ἀλλ' ἐπλάσσετο, εἴ πως ἔκ γε τούτου σωθείη. κὰν ἐθανατώθη, εἰ μὴ καταμαρτυρῶν 6 τις αὐτοῦ ἔφη ποτέ αὐτὸν εἰρηκέειν ὅτι "ἐπειδὰν οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθω, δείξω αὐτῷ οἷα νεῦρα ἔχω." γέλωτος γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μὴ ὅτι στήναι ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθίζεσθαι δύνασθαι, πολλοῦ γενομένου οὐκέτ' αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπέ- 7 κτεινεν. οὕτω γάρ τοι κακῶς διέκειτο ὥστε ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγω, εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσκομισθῆναι (νομιζόμενον γὰρ πού καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἦν, ὁπότε³ τις αὐτῶν ἀσθενῶς ἔχων ἐκεῖσε ἐσίει, κατακείμενον αὐτὸν ἐσφέρεισθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Τιβέριός ποτε⁴ ἐποίησε), καὶ διελέχθη γέ τινα 7 ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου προκύψας. τότε μὲν οὕτως

¹ ἐπὶ R. Steph., ὑπὸ M.

² ὑπεργήρων Xiph., ὑπεργήρω M.

³ ἦν ὁπότε Dind., ἦν ποτε M.

⁴ ποτε Bs., πότε M (τότε added in margin by corr.).

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ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐσώθη, ἄλλως δ' οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἀπέθανε, καὶ τούτου καὶ ἡ Καππαδοκία τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο καὶ ἰππεῖ ἐπετράπη.

8 Ταῖς τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσία πόλεσι ταῖς (ὑπὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ κακωθείσαις ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκῶς (σὺν πέντε ῥάβδούχοις) προσετάχθη, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ἀνείθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
9 παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδόθη. τῶν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἰσχυρῶς, μέχρι γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐπετήδευσεν, ἀπεχόμενος,¹ μηδὲ² τὰς κληρονομίας ἃς τινες αὐτῷ συγγενεῖς ἔχοντες κατέλιπον προσ-
10 ἰέμενος, πάμπολλα ἔς τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ιδιώτας ἀνήλισκε, καὶ οὔτε τιμὴν οὔτε ἔπαινον
9 οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προσεδέχετο. ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐδέποτε μόνος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλὰ πολλούς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἄρξαντάς ποτε αὐτῶν, κοινωνοὺς τῆς διαγνώμης ἐποιεῖτο.

18 Γερμανικὸς δὲ τῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς στρατεία φερόμενος εὐ μέχρι τε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ προεχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους (κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν) νικήσας τὰ τε ὅστα τῶν σὺν τῷ Οὐάρῳ πεσόντων συνέλεξε τε καὶ ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀνεκτήσατο.—*Xiph.* 134, 20–32.

1^a Τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα Ἰουλίαν οὔτε ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἣν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεδικάσθη δι' ἀσέλγειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέκλεισεν αὐτήν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ κακουχίας καὶ λιμοῦ φθαρῆναι.—*Zon.* 11, 2 (p. 5, 14–17 D.).

¹ After ἀπε at least two quaternions have been lost out of M; it resumes at 58, 7, 2. The missing portions are supplied

the life of Arcelaus was spared for the time being ; A D 17
 but he died shortly afterward from some other cause.
 After this Cappadocia fell to the Romans and was
 put in charge of a knight as governor.

The cities in Asia which had been damaged by the
 earthquake were assigned to an ex-prætor with five
 lictors ; and large sums of money were remitted from
 their taxes and large sums were also given them by
 Tiberius. For not only did he refrain scrupulously
 from the possessions of others—so long, that is, as
 he practised any virtue at all—and would not even
 accept the inheritances that were left to him by
 testators who had relatives, but he actually con-
 tributed vast sums both to cities and to private
 individuals, and would not accept any honour or
 praise for these acts. When embassies came from
 cities or provinces, he never dealt with them alone,
 but caused a number of others to participate in the
 deliberations, especially men who had once governed
 these peoples.

Germanicus, having acquired a reputation by his
 campaign against the Germans, advanced as far as
 the ocean, inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon
 the barbarians, collected and buried the bones of
 those who had fallen with Varus, and won back
 the military standards.

Tiberius did not recall his wife Julia from ex-
banishment to which her father Augustus had con-
demned her for unchastity, but even put her under
lock and key until she perished from general debility
and starvation.

in part by Xiph. and Zon., the text here given being in some
 cases a combination of their respective accounts.

² μηδὲ Βκ., μήτε VCL'.

2 Ἐν τῷ δὲ¹ Τιβερίῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἐγκειμένης, καὶ τὸν γοῦν μῆνα τὸν Νοέμβριον, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγεγέννητο,² Τιβέριον καλεῖσθαι ἀξιούσης, “καὶ τί” ἔφη “ποιήσετε, ἂν δεκατρεῖς Καίσαρες γένωνται;” —Χιρι. 134, 32–135, 4, Zon. 11, 2 (p. 5, 18–21 D.), Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 5 (p. 198 sq. Mai = p. 182, 17–20 D.).

3 Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Ἰουνίου Λουκίου τε Νωρβανοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων τέρας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ οὐ σμικρὸν ἐγένετο, ὅπερ που (ἐς τὸ Γερμανικοῦ πάθος) ἀπεσήμαινεν· ὁ γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ὑπάτος σάλπιγγι αἰεὶ προσκείμενος, καὶ ἐρρωμένως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀσκῶν, ἠθέλησε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, πολλῶν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παρόντων, σαλπῖσαι. καὶ τοῦτό τε πάντα ὁμοίως ἐξετάραξε καθάπερ ἐμπολέμιόν τι σύνθημα τοῦ ὑπάτου σφίσι παραγγείλαντος,³ καὶ ὅτι καὶ⁴ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ⁵ ἄγαλμα κατέπεσε. λόγιόν τέ τι ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ τῆς πόλεως χρόνῳ προσῆκον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ παρόντα ἀδόμενον, οὐχ ἡσυχῇ σφας ἐκίνει· ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι·

τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν
Ῥωμαίους ἐμφυλος ὀλεῖ⁶ στάσις, χά⁷ Συβαρίτις
ἀφροσύνα.

ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτά τε τὰ ἔπη ὡς καὶ ψευδῆ ὄντα διέβαλε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα τὰ μαντεῖαν

¹ τῷ δὲ VC, τῷ δέ γε L'.

² ἐγεγέννητο L', ἐγεγέννητο VC.

³ σφίσι παραγγείλαντος VC, παραγγείλαντός σφισι L'.

⁴ καὶ om. L'.

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- τινὰ ἔχοντα ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν (ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια) ἀπέκρινε τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε.—Xiph. 135, 4–23.
- 5^a (Τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν) ἔς τὴν Ῥωμην)
 συνελθόντων καὶ συχνούς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθῃ μεθιστάντων, τοὺς πλείονας ἐξήλασεν. —Joann. Antioch. fr. 79 § 4^b M. v. 20–22.
- 6 / Τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος) ὁ μὲν Τιβέριος καὶ ἡ Λιουία πάνυ ἤσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἐλυπήθησαν. κάλλιστος μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἄριστος δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔφυ, παιδεία τε ἅμα καὶ ῥώμη διέπρεπε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ πολέμιον ἀνδρειότατος ὢν ἡμερώτατα τῷ οἰκείῳ
- 7 προσεφέρετο, καὶ πλείστον ἰσχύων ἅτε Καίσαρ ὢν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐσωφρόνει, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε (πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους) ἐπαχθὲς οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπίφθονον οὔτε πρὸς τὸν
- 8 Τιβέριον ἐπαίτιον ἔπραττεν,¹ ἀλλὰ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν πρόποτε οὔτ' ἐξήμαρτέ τι ἔς τὴν ὑπάρξασαν αὐτῷ τύχην) οὔτ' αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνης διεφθάρη· δυνηθεὶς γοῦν² πολλάκις καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα λαβεῖν
- 9 ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Πίσωνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Πλαγκίνης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς· ὅστ' αὖτε³ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων⁴ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐν ἧ ἄκει⁵ κατορωρυγμένα καὶ ἔλασμοι μολίβδινοι ἀράς τινας (μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ) ἔχοντες ζῶντος ἔθ' εὐρέθη. ὅτι δὲ καὶ φαρμάκῳ ἐφθάρη, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐξέφηνεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν

¹ ἔπραττεν cod. Peir., ἔπραξε Xiph.

² γοῦν Xiph., οὖν cod. Peir.

tained any prophecies, rejecting some as worthless and retaining others as genuine. A.D. 19

As the Jews had flocked to Rome in great numbers and were converting many of the natives to their ways, he banished most of them. □

At the death of Germanicus Tiberius and Livia were thoroughly pleased, but everybody else was deeply grieved. He was a man of the most striking physical beauty and likewise of the noblest spirit, and was conspicuous alike for his culture and for his strength. Though the bravest of men against the foe, he showed himself most gentle with his countrymen; and though as a Caesar he had the greatest power, he kept his ambitions on the same plane as weaker men. He never conducted himself oppressively toward his subjects or with jealousy toward Drusus or in any reprehensible way toward Tiberius. In a word, he was one of the few men of all time who have neither sinned against the fortune allotted to them nor been destroyed by it. Although on several occasions he might have obtained the imperial power, with the free consent not only of the soldiers but of the people and senate as well, he refused to do so. His death occurred at Antioch as the result of a plot formed by Piso and Plancina. For bones of men that had been buried in the house where he dwelt and sheets of lead containing curses together with his name were found while he was yet alive; and that poison was the means of his carrying off was revealed by the condition of his body, which was brought into the Forum and ex-

³ τε Zon., om. Xiph.

⁴ ἀνθρώπων Xiph., ἀνθρώπεια Zon.

⁵ ᾤκει Xiph., κατ᾽ᾤκει Zon.

10 κομισθὲν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι δειχθέν. ὁ δὲ Πίσων¹ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομισθεὶς καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐσαχθεὶς, διακρουομένου τὴν ὑποψίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φθορᾷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, ἀναβολὴν τέ τινα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο.—Χιρι. 135, 23—136, 6, Exc. Val. 188 (p. 665 sq.), Zon. 11, 2 (p. 5, 22—6, 12 D.).

11 Ἐπὶ τρισὶ δ' υἱέσιν² ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, οὓς ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ Καίσαρας ὠνόμασε. τούτων ὁ πρεσβύτατος³ Νέρων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον τοῖς ἐφήβοις κατηριθμήθη.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 12—15 D.).

19 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πλείστα χρηστὰ ὁ Τιβέριος ἔπραξε καὶ βραχέα ἐξήμαρτεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐφεδρεῦον οὐκέτ' εἶχεν, (ἐς πᾶν τοῦναντίον τῶν πρόσθεν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, περιέστη. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγρίως ἤρξε, καὶ ταῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκαις, εἴ τις οὐχ ὅσον ἐς τὸν Αὐγούστον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ πράξας τι ἢ καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνεπιτήδειον ἐπεκλήθη, δεινῶς ἐπεξήει.—Χιρι. 136, 6—13, Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 16—22 D.).

1^a Καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπονοηθέντας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἀπαραίτητος ἦν.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 22—23 D.).

1^b "Ὅτι Τιβέριος τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἐπὶ τινι πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν οὕτως ἐπιλέγων "οὐδεὶς ἐκῶν ἄρχεται ἀλλ' ἄκων εἰς τοῦτο συνελαύνεται· μὴ μόνον γὰρ μὴ⁴ πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἠδέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἄρχουσι." καὶ προσεδέχετο τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μὴ διακρίνων εἴτε

¹ Πίσων L', νηίσων VC, πείσων Zon.

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δοῦλος κατὰ δεσπότου εἶτε κατὰ πατρός¹ υἱὸς λέγει.—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 6 p. 199 Mai (p. 182, 21–27 D.).

1^c Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενός τιςιν ὅτι βούλεται τεθνάναι τινάς, δι' ἐκείνων σφᾶς ἀπεκτίννυε, καὶ οὐκ ἐλάνθανε ταῦτα ποιῶν.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 23–25 D.).

2 Ἐβασανίζοντο δὲ οὐχὶ οἰκέται μόνον (κατὰ τῶν ἰδίῳν δεσποτῶν), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πολῖται. οἳ τε κατηγορήσαντες ἢ καὶ καταμαρτυρήσαντές τινων τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἀλισκομένων διελάγχανον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς προσελάμβανον.

3 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐν ἧ ἐγέννηντο ἐξετάζων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν τύχην αὐτῶν διασκοπῶν, ἀπεκτίννυεν· εἰ γάρ τῳ ὑπέρογκόν τι καὶ εὐελπί' πρὸς δυναστείαν ἐνεῖδε,

4 πάντως ἀπώλλυεν. οὕτω δ' οὖν τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐκάστῳ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐξήταζε καὶ ἠπίστατο ὥστε καὶ τῷ Γάλβῳ τῷ (μετὰ ταῦτα) αὐταρχήσαντι ἀπαντήσας, γυναῖκα ἐγγεγυνημένῳ, εἰπεῖν ὅτι “καὶ σύ ποτ' ἐτῆς ἡγεμονίας γεύση.” ἐφείσατο γὰρ² αὐτοῦ, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ εἰμαρμένον ἦν, ὡς δ' αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν γῆρα καὶ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ ἄρξοι.—Xiph. 136, 13–29, Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 25–31 D.).

18, “Ὅτι καὶ ἀφορμάς τινὰς φόνων ὁ Γιβέριος ἔσχε·
10^b διὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θάνατον πολλοὶ ὡς καὶ ἐφησθέντες αὐτῷ ἀπώλοντο.

19, Συνήρατο³ δὲ καὶ συγκατειργάσατο αὐτῷ πάν-
5 τὰ προθυμότατα Λούκιος Αἴλιος⁴ Σεϊανός,⁵ υἱὸς

¹ κατὰ πατρός supplied by Mai. ² γὰρ Xiph., δὲ Zon.

³ συνήρατο R. Steph., συνείρατο VCL', συνήρετο cod Peir.

was a slave denouncing his master or a son his father. A.D. 20

Indeed, by indicating to certain persons his desire for the death of certain others, he brought about the destruction of the latter at the hands of the former, and his part in these deaths was no secret.

Not only were slaves tortured to make them testify against their own masters, but freemen and citizens as well. Those who had accused or testified against persons divided by lot the property of the convicted and received in addition both offices and honours. In the case of many, he took care to ascertain the day and hour of their birth, and on the basis of their character and fortune as thus disclosed would put them to death; for if he discovered any unusual ability or promise of power in anyone, he was sure to slay him. In fact, so thoroughly did he investigate and understand the destiny in store for every one of the more prominent men, that on meeting Galba (the later emperor), when the latter had had a wife betrothed to him, he remarked: "You also shall one day taste of the sovereignty." He spared him, as I conjecture, because this was settled as his fate, but, as he explained it himself, because Galba would reign only in old age and long after his own death.

Tiberius also found some pretexts for murders; for the death of Germanicus led to the destruction of many others, on the ground that they were pleased at it.

He was most enthusiastically aided and abetted in all his undertakings by Lucius Aelius Sejanus,

^a Αἴλιος R. Steph., αἰμόλιος V, αἰμόλιος C, αἰμίλιος L' cod. Peir. ^b Σεϊανός Βη., σιανός Χιρh., σιλανός cod. Peir.

μὲν τοῦ Στράβωνος ὢν,¹ παιδικὰ δέ ποτε¹ Μάρκου
 Γαβίου¹ Ἀπικίου γενόμενος, Ἀπικίου ἐκείνου ὅς
 πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀσωτία ὑπερεβάλετο οὕτως
 ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ μαθεῖν ποτε ἐθέλησας ὅσα τε ἤδη
 καταναλώκει καὶ ὅσα ἔτ' εἶχεν, ἔγνων ὅτι διακόσμαι
 καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτῷ μυριάδες περιεῖεν,² ἐλυπήθη
 τε ὡς καὶ λιμῷ τελευτήσῃν μέλλων καὶ ἑαυτὸν
 6 διέφθειρεν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Σεϊανὸς χρόνῳ μὲν τινι
 μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν δορυφόρων ἤρξεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον πεμφθέντος μόνος τῆν
 προστασίαν αὐτῶν ἔσχε, τὰ τε ἄλλα συνέστησεν
 αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ἰδία καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων,
 ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὄντας ἐς ἓν τεῖχος
 συνήγαγεν; ὥστε τὰ παραγγέλματα καὶ ἀθρόους
 καὶ διὰ ταχέων λαμβάνειν; καὶ φοβεροὺς πᾶσιν
 7 ἅτε καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ τείχῃ ὄντας εἶναι· τοῦτον οὖν ὁ
 Τιβέριος (ἐκ τῆς τῶν τρόπων ὁμοιότητος) προσ-
 λαβὼν ταῖς τε στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησεν,
 ὃ μῆπω πρότερον μηδενὶ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ³ ἔγε-
 γόνει, καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ὑπηρέτην πρὸς πάντα
 ἐποιεῖτο.

8 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Γερ-
 μανικοῦ θάνατον μετεβάλετο ὥστε αὐτὸν μεγάλως
 καὶ πρότερον ἐπαινούμενον πολλῷ δὴ τότε μᾶλλον
 θαυμασθῆναι.—Χιρ. 136, 29–137, 17, Exc. Val.
 189 (p. 666).

20 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἤρξε
 μετὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, εὐθύς οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄλεθρον
 τῷ Δρούσῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου προεμαντεύσαντο·

¹ ὢν and δέ ποτε and Γαβίου om. cod. Peir.

² περιεῖεν Chirh. VC, cod. Peir., ἔτι περιεῖεν L'.

³ οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ Chirh.

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οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν ὑπατευσάντων ποτὲ μετ'
 2 αὐτοῦ οὐ βιαίως ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ
 Οὐᾶρος¹ ὁ Κυιντίλιος, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Πίσων² ὁ
 Γναῖος ὃ τε Γερμανικὸς αὐτὸς βιαίως καὶ κακῶς³
 ἀπώλοντο. τοιοῦτῳ τινί, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ βίου δαί-
 μονι συνεκεκλήρωτο.⁴ ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Δρούσος
 τότε καὶ ὁ Σείανός μετὰ ταῦτα συνάρξαντές· οἱ
 ἐφθάρησαν.

3 Ἐκδημοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου Γάιος Λουτώριος
 Πρίσκος ἵππεύς, ἄλλως τε μέγα (ἐπὶ ποιήσει)
 φρονῶν καὶ ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τῷ Γερμανικῷ ἐπιφανῆ
 συγγράψας, ὥστε καὶ χρήματα δι' αὐτὸν πολλὰ
 λαβεῖν, αἰτίαν ἔσχευ ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ
 ποίημα· παρὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοῦ συντεθεικῶς, καὶ
 ἐκρίθη τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ κατεδικάσθη
 4 καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ἀγανακτήσας, οὐχ
 ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐκολάσθη ἀλλ' ὅτι τις ὑπὸ τῶν βου-
 λευτῶν ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐθανατώθη, ἐπε-
 τίμησέ τε αὐτοῖς, καὶ δόγματι παραδοθῆναι ἐκέ-
 λευσε μήτ' ἀποθνήσκειν ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν τὸν
 καταψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μήτε τὸ γράμμα τὸ
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ γινόμενον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον (ἐντὸς τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ χρόνου) ἀποτίθεται, ὅπως καὶ ἀποδημῶν
 προπυρνήθηται τὰ δόξαντά σφισι καὶ ἐπιδιακρίνη.

21 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπατείας
 ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθε, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους συνα-
 γορεύειν τισὶν ἐκώλυσεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι “εἰ ὑπάτευον,
 2 οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησα τοῦτο.” ἐπειδὴ τε τῶν στρατη-

¹ ὁ Οὐᾶρος VC, οὔαρος L'.

² ὁ Πίσων VC, πείσων L'.

³ βιαίως καὶ κακῶς L', κακῶς VC.

⁴ συνεκεκλήρωτο cod. Feir., συνεκεκλήρωτο VCL'.

⁵ ἐφθάρησαν VC, διεφθάρησαν L'.

BOOK LVII

of the men who had ever been consul with Tiberius failed to meet a violent death; but in the first place there was Quintilius Varus, and next Gnaeus Piso, and then Germanicus himself, all of whom died violent and miserable deaths. Tiberius was evidently doomed to exert some such fatal influence throughout his life; at all events, not only Drusus, his colleague at this time, but also Sejanus, who later shared the office with him, came to destruction. A.D. 21

While Tiberius was out of town, Gaius Lutorius¹ Priscus, a knight, who took great pride in his poetic talents and had written a notable ode on the occasion of Germanicus' death, for which he had received a considerable sum of money, was charged with having composed a poem about Drusus, also, during the latter's illness. For this he was tried in the senate, condemned, and put to death. Tiberius was vexed at this, not because the man had been executed, but because the senators had inflicted the death penalty upon a person without his approval. He therefore rebuked them, and ordered a decree to be issued to the effect that no person condemned by them should be executed within ten days and that the decree in such a person's case should not be made public within that time. The purpose of this was to ensure his learning their decisions in season, even while absent, and of reviewing them.

After this, when his consulship had expired, he came to Rome and prevented the consuls from acting as advocates for some persons in court, remarking: A.D. 22
"If I were consul, I should not have done so." One

¹ The form Clutorius (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 49-51) is probably to be preferred to C. Lutorius.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γούντων τις αἰτίαν, ὡς καὶ ἀσεβές¹ τι² ἐς αὐτὸν
 εἰρηκῶς ἢ καὶ πεποιηκῶς, λαβὼν ἐξῆλθέ τε (ἐκ τοῦ
 συνεδρίου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχικὴν στολὴν ἐκδύς ἐπαν-
 ἦλθέ τε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι παραχρῆμα ὡς καὶ
 ἰδιωτεύων ἠξίωσε, δεινῶς τε ἤλγησε καὶ οὐκέτ'
 3 αὐτοῦ ἠψατο. τοὺς δὲ ὄρχηστὰς τῆς τε Ῥώμης
 ἐξήλασε καὶ μηδαμόθι τῆ τέχνη χρῆσθαι προσέ-
 ταξεν, ὅτι τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἠσχυνον καὶ στάσεις
 ἤγειρον. ἄλλους μὲν δὴ οὖν καὶ πολλοὺς γε τῶν
 τελευτώντων καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς
 ἐτίμα· τὸν δὲ δὴ Σεϊανὸν ζῶντα (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
 χαλκοῦν ἔστησε. κακ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν ὑπὸ
 πολλῶν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ ἐποιήθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ
 ἔπαινοι καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ παρὰ τῇ βουλῇ)
 4 ἐγίγνοντο, ἐς τε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ
 ἐλλόγιμοι καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον
 συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων, καὶ τὰ τε ἴδια αὐτῷ πάντα, ὅσα
 τινὲς ἀξιῶσιν παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐμελλον, καὶ
 τὰ κοινά, ὑπὲρ ὧν χρηματισθῆναι ἔδει, ἐπεκοίνουν.
 καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τῶν
 τοιούτων ἐπράττετο.

5 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ στοὰ μεγίστη
 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἑτεροκλινῆς ἐγένετο· θαυ-
 μαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον ὠρθώθη. ἀρχιτέκτων
 γάρ³ τις, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα οὐδεὶς οἶδε (τῇ γὰρ θαυ-
 ματοποιία αὐτοῦ φθονήσας ὁ Τιβέριος οὐκ ἐπέ-
 τρεψεν αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγραφῆναι),
 οὗτος οὖν ὅστις ποτὲ ὠνομάζετο, τοὺς τε θεμελίους
 6 αὐτῆς περίξ κρατύνας ὥστε μὴ συγκινηθῆναι, καὶ
 τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν πόκοις τε καὶ ἱματίοις παχέσι

¹ ἀσεβές VL', ἀσελγές C.

² τι ὁμ. L'.

³ γὰρ L', ὁμ. VC.

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- περιλαβών, σχοίνοις τε πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν διέ-
 δήσε, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔδραν ἀνθρώποις τε, πολ-
 λοῖς καὶ μηχανήμασιν ὀνευσάμενος¹ ἐπανηγαγε.
 τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν
 καὶ ἐζηλοτύπησε, καὶ διὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνο χρήμασιν
 ἐτίμησε, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε.
 7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσελθόντος οἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰκετεῖαν
 ποιουμένου, κὰν τούτῳ ποτήριόν τι ὑαλοῦν κατα-
 βαλόντος τε ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ θλασθέν πως ἢ συν-
τριβὲν ταῖς τε χερσὶ διατρίψαντος καὶ ἄθραυστον
 παραχρῆμα ἀποφήναντος, ὡς καὶ συγγνώμης διὰ
 τοῦτο τευξομένου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν.
 22 Δροῦσος δὲ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ φαρμάκῳ διώλετο. ὁ
 γὰρ Σεϊανὸς ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἰσχύϊ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι
 ὑπερμαζήσας τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπέρογκος ἦν, καὶ τέλος
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δροῦσον ἐτράπετο καὶ ποτε πύξ
 2 αὐτῷ ἐνέτεινε. φοβηθεῖς τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖ-
 νον καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ ἅμα καὶ² προσδοκήσας,
 ἂν τὸν νεανίσκον ἐκποδῶν ποιήσῃται, καὶ τὸν
 γέροντα ῥᾶστα μεταχειριεῖσθαι, φάρμακόν τι
 αὐτῷ διὰ τε τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ ὄντων
 καὶ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἣν τινες Λιουίλλαν
 ὀνομάζουσιν,³ ἔδωκε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐμοίχευεν αὐτήν.

¹ ὀνευσάμενος v. Herw., ὠμευσάμενος VC, ὠσάμενος L'.

² ἅμα καὶ om. L'.

³ ἦν τινες Λιουίλλαν ὀνομάζουσιν Xyl., ἦν τινες λουίλλαν ὀνο-
 μάζουσιν VCL', ἦν Ἰουλίαν ἕτεροι δὲ Λιβίαν γράφουσι Zon. Bs.
 suggests that Dio wrote ἦν τινες μὲν Λιουίλλαν ἕτεροι δὲ Λιουίαν
 ὀνομάζουσιν (in § 4^b inf. Zon. has Λιβία, in lviii. 11 and 24 M
 has Λιουίλλα).

¹ This second anecdote is related much more intelligently
 by Pliny (N. H. xxxvi. 26, 66) and by Petronius (51). The

BOOK LVII

together on all sides by means of ropes; then with the aid of many men and windlasses he raised it back to its original position. At the time Tiberius both admired and envied him; for the former reason he honoured him with a present of money, and for the latter he expelled him from the city. Later the exile approached him to crave pardon, and while doing so purposely let fall a crystal goblet; and though it was bruised in some way or shattered, yet by passing his hands over it he promptly exhibited it whole once more. For this he hoped to obtain pardon, but instead the emperor put him to death.¹

Drusus, the son of Tiberius, perished by poison. It appears that Sejanus, puffed up by his power and rank, in addition to his other overweening behaviour, finally turned against Drusus and once struck him a blow with his fist. As this gave him reason to fear both Drusus and Tiberius, and as he felt sure at the same time that if he could once get the young man out of the way, he could handle the other very easily, he administered poison to the son through the agency of those in attendance upon him and of Drusus' wife, whom some call Livilla²; for Sejanus was her paramour. The guilt was imputed to

man, it appears, had discovered a method of producing flexible glass, and the goblet in falling received such injuries as a metal cup would have received; in restoring its shape a little hammer was used, according to Petronius. When the emperor learned, upon inquiry, that no one else was in the secret, he caused the man to be beheaded, lest if the process became known, gold should become as dirt.

² Her name is given both as Livilla and Livia. Dio's text here may have read: "whom some call Livilla and others Livia."

3 αἰτίαν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλαβεν, ὅτι μήτε νοσοῦντος τοῦ Δρούσου μὴτ' ἀποθανόντος ἔξω τι τῶν συνήθων ἔπραξε, μηδὲ¹ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν· οὐ μὲντοι καὶ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. τοῦτό τε γὰρ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως ἔπραττε, καὶ τῷ υἱεὶ ἅτε καὶ μόνῳ καὶ γνησίῳ ὄντι προσ-
4 έκειτο, τοὺς τε χειρουργήσαντας τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν εὐθύς τοὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐκόλασε. τότε δ' οὖν ἐσηλθέ τε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἔπαινον ποιησάμενος οἴκαδε ἐκομίσθη.—Χιρι. 137, 17–140, 7.

4^a Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως διώλετο,² ὁ δέ γε Τιβέριος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἀφικόμενος ἐκείνόν τε ἀπώδύρατο καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα· τὸν τε Δρούσον τοὺς τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ παῖδας τῇ γερουσίᾳ παρακατέθετο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Δρούσου προυτέθη ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ ὁ Νέρων γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ ὦν ἔπαίνους ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ θάνατος αὐτοῦ πολλοῖς αἰτίος θανάτου ἐγένετο ὡς ἐφησθεῖσι τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ
4^b αὐτοῦ· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι διώλοντο καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα μετὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς, τοῦ νεωτάτου χωρίς. πολλὰ γὰρ κατ' αὐτῆς ὁ Σεϊανὸς³ παρώξυνε τὸν Τιβέριον, προσδοκήσας ἐκείνης μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπολομένης τῇ τε Λιβία συνοικήσειν τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου γυναικί, ἧς ἦρα, καὶ τὸ κράτος ἔξειν μηδενὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ διαδόχου τυγχάνοντος· τὸν γὰρ υἱδοῦν ἐμίσει ὡς καὶ μοιχίδιον. καὶ ἄλλους δὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ ἄλλαις καὶ ἄλλαις αἰτίαις, ταῖς δέ γε πλείοσι πεπλασμέναις, καὶ ἐφυγάδευσε καὶ διέφθειρε.—Ζον. 11, 2 (p. 7, 11–28 D.).

¹ μηδὲ Bk., μήτε VCL'.

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5 Ἀπεῖπε δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἰρχθεῖσι μὴ διατίθεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν φυλάττεται. Αἴλιον δὲ Σατορνῖνον,¹ ὡς καὶ ἔπη τινὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντα,² ὑπὸ τε τὴν βουλὴν ὑπήγαγε καὶ ἄλόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 23 Καπιτωλίου κατέκρήμνισε. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα γράφειν ἔχοιμι, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξίοιμι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰρήσθω, ὅτι συχνοὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ζητῶν καθ' ἐν³ ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ὅσα τινὲς ἠτιάζοντο φλαύρως περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκέναι, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ
 2 ἔλεγε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τις καὶ πρὸς ἓνα διελέχθη τι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδημοσίευεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγράφεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις ἂ μὴδ' εἶπέ τις, ὡς εἰρημένα, ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτῷ συνήδει προσκατεψεύδετο, ὅπως ὡς δικαιοτάτα ὀργίζεσθαι
 3 νομιθεῖη. κακὸν τούτου συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς ἄλλους ὡς ἀσεβοῦντας ἐκόλαζεν, αὐτὸν ἐς ἑαυτὸν πλημμελεῖν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χλευασμὸν ὀφλισκάνειν· ἂ γὰρ ἀπηρνοῦντό τινες μὴ λελαληκέναι, ταῦτα αὐτὸς δισχυριζόμενος εἰρήσθαι καὶ κατομνύων ἀληθέστερον ἑαυτοῦ ἠδίκηι. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐξεστηκέναι τινὲς
 4 αὐτὸν τῶν φρενῶν ὑπώπτεισαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὄντως παραφρονεῖν ἐκ τούτου ἐπιστεύετο· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντα δεόντως διώκει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ βουλευτῆτινι ἀσελγῶς ζῶντι ἐπίτροπον ὥσπερ τινὶ ὀρφανῷ προσέταξε· τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Καπίωνα

¹ Σατορνῖνον (Σατορνῖνον) R. Steph., σατωρνῖνον VCL'.

² ἀπορρίψαντα L', ἀπορράψαντα VC.

³ ἐν om. L'.

BOOK LVII

Tiberius forbade those who were debarred from fire and water to make any will, a custom that is still observed. He brought Aelius Saturninus before the senate for trial on the charge of having recited some improper verses about him, and upon his conviction caused him to be hurled down from the Capitol. And I might narrate many other such occurrences, were I to go into everything in detail. Suffice it, then, to state, briefly, that many were put to death by him for such offences, and furthermore that while investigating carefully, case by case, all the slighting remarks that any persons were accused of having uttered about him, he was really calling himself all the evil names that men had invented. For even if a man made some remark secretly to a single companion, he would publish this, too, by having it entered in the public records; and often he falsely added, from his own consciousness of his defects, what no one had ever said, as if it had really been uttered, in order that he might appear to have every justification for his anger. Consequently it came to pass that he reaped upon himself all the abuse for which he was wont to punish others on the charge of *maiestas*, and incurred ridicule besides. For, when persons denied having uttered certain remarks, he, by insisting and swearing that they had been uttered, was more truly wronging himself. On this very account some suspected that he was bereft of his senses. Yet he was not believed to be really insane because of this behaviour, since he handled all other matters in a thoroughly competent manner. For example, he appointed a guardian over a certain senator who lived licentiously, as he would have done in the case of an orphan. Again, he brought

A.D. 23

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν¹ ἐπιτροπεύσαντα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ στρατιώταις ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχων
 5 ἔπραξεν, ἐφυγάδευσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τότε τοῖς τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα διοικοῦσι πλέον οὐδὲν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰς νενομισμένας προσόδους ἐκλέγειν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἰδιώταις δικάζεσθαι.

Τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ διαλλάττον! ἐν ταῖς Τι-
 24 Βερίου πράξεσιν ἦν, διελθόντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ψηφίσματος μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς οὐδενὸς ἐδεήθη (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο κατατέμνων αὐτήν, ὡσπερ ὁ Αὐγουστος, ἀρχεῖν), ἢ μέντοι πανήγυρις ἢ δεκαετηρίς² ἐποιήθη.

2 ·· Κρεμούτιος³ δὲ δὴ Κόρδος αὐτόχειρ ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι, ὅτι τῷ Σεϊανῷ προσέκρουσεν, ἠναγκάσθη· οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα ἐπαίτιον λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθη (καὶ γὰρ ἔν πύλαις ἤδη γήρως ἦν καὶ ἐπιεικέστατα ἐβεβιώκει) ὥστε ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ,
 3 ἦν πάλαι ποτὲ περὶ τῶν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πραχθέντων συνετεθείκει καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος⁴ ἀνεγνώκει, κριθῆναι, ὅτι τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐπήνεσε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς καθήψατο, τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον εἶπε μὲν
 4 κακὸν οὐδέν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερεσέμνυε. ταῦτά τε γὰρ ἠτιάθη, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν τὰ τέ⁵ ἐν τῇ

¹ Ἀσίαν L', οὐσίαν VC.

² δεκαετηρίς R. Steph., δεκαετηρῆς VCL'.

³ Κρεμούτιος Xyl., κρεμούλιος VC, κλεμούλιος L'.

⁴ For ἐκεῖνος H. Peter would read ἐκείνῳ, comparing Suet. Tib. 61.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πόλει εύρεθέντα πρὸς τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἐκαύθη, ὕστερον δὲ¹ ἐξεδόθη τε αὐθις (ἄλλοι τε γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα ἢ θυγαῖτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρκία συνέκρυψεν αὐτά) καὶ πολὺ ἀξιοσπουδαστότερα² ὑπ' αὐτῆς³ τῆς τοῦ Κόρδου συμφορᾶς ἐγένετο.

5 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ὁ Τιβέριος τὴν τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ γυμνασίαν τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὥσπερ ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ἐπέδειξεν, ὅπως καὶ πολλοὺς σφας καὶ ἐρρωμένους ἰδόντες μᾶλλον αὐτὸν⁴ φοβῶνται.

6 τὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ταῦτά τε ἴστωρίας ἀπόδειξιν ἐγένετο, καὶ Κυζικηνῶν ἢ ἐλευθερία

αὐθις, ὅτι τε Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἔδησαν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἠρώον ὁ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ποιεῖν ἤρξαντο οὐκ ἐξετέλεσαν, ἀφηρέθη. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ τὸν

7 συμπωλήσαντα τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κριθέντα ἀπεκτόνει, εἰ μὴ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὴν γνώμην πρῶτον ἀνήρετο· αἰδεσθεῖς γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι χαρίζεσθαι δόξη, τὴν

8 ἀπολύουσαν ἔθετο. Λεντούλου δὲ τινος βουλευτοῦ φύσει τε ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ τότε ἐν γήρᾳ πολλῷ ὄντος κατηγόρησέ τις ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευκός τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λέντουλος (παρῆν γάρ) ἀνεκάγχασεν· ὁ δὲ Τιβερίος, ἐπιθορυβησάσης τι πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς γερουσίας, “οὐδὲ ζῆν ἔτ’” ἔφη “ἀξιός εἰμι, εἴγε καὶ Λέντουλός με μισεῖ.” — Χίρι. 140, 7–142, 18.

¹ δὲ L', om. VC.

² ἀξιοσπουδαστότερα L', ἀξιοσπουδαστότερον VC.

those found in the city at the time were destroyed A.D. 25
by the aediles, and those elsewhere by the magistrates
of each place. Later they were republished, for his
daughter Marcia as well as others had hidden some
copies; and they aroused much greater interest by
very reason of Cordus' unhappy fate.

About this time Tiberius gave to the senators an
exhibition of the pretorian guard at drill, as if they
were ignorant of the power of these troops; his
purpose was to make them more afraid of him, when
they saw his defenders to be so numerous and so
strong. There were other events, also, at this time
worthy of a place in history. The people of Cyzicus
were once more deprived of their freedom, because
they had imprisoned some Romans and because they
had not completed the shrine to Augustus which
they had begun to build. A man who had sold the
emperor's statue along with his house was brought
to trial for doing this, and would certainly have been
put to death by Tiberius, had not the consul called
upon the emperor himself to give his vote first; for
in this way Tiberius, being ashamed to appear to be
favouring himself, cast his vote for acquittal. A
senator, also, Lentulus, a man of mild disposition and
now far advanced in years, was accused of having
plotted against the emperor. Lentulus himself was
present and burst out laughing. At this the senate
was in an uproar, and Tiberius declared: "I am no
longer worthy to live, if Lentulus, too, rates me."

³ ὑπ' αὐτῆς VC, ὑπὸ L'.

⁴ αὐτὸν CL', αὐτῶν V.

BOOK LVIII

1 Ἀπεδήμησε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνεκομίσθη, καίτοι μέλλων τε αἰεὶ καὶ ἐπαγγελ-
 λόμενος.—Xiph. 142, 18–21.

1^a Πολλοῦ τε πάθους αἴτιος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ προσαναλίσκων τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν κυνηγίων θεὰς τῆς πόλεως ἀπελάσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό τινες ἔξω ταύτας τελεῖν πειραθέντες αὐτοῖς συνδιεφθάρησαν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐκ τινων σανίδων εἰργασμένοις.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 79 § 5^b. 6 M. (v. 25–30).

1 Λατιάριος¹ δέ τις ἑταῖρος Σαβίνου ἀνδρὸς τῶν πρῶτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τῷ Σεϊανῷ χαριζόμενος, ἐς τὴν τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ διητᾶτο ὀροφὴν βουλευτὰς κατακρύψας ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐς λόγους, καί τι εἰπὼν ὧν εἰώθει, ἐπεσπάσατο καὶ ἐκεῖνον
 2 πάνθ' ὅσα ἐφρόνει ἐκλάλησαι. (τῶν γὰρ τοι συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελόντων) ἔργον ἐστὶ λαιδορίας τέ τινος προκατάρχεσθαι καὶ ἀπόρρητόν τι ἐκφαίνειν, ἵνα ἀκούσας τι αὐτὸς ἢ καὶ ὁμοίον τι εἰπὼν αἰτιαθῇ. τοῖς μὲν γάρ, ἅτε ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῦτο δρῶσιν, ἀκίνδυνός ἐστιν ἢ παρρησία (οὐ γὰρ ὡς καὶ φρονοῦντές τινα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑτέρους ἐλέγξαι

¹ Λατιάριος Xyl., ῥατιάριος VCL'.

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βουλόμενοι λέγειν αὐτὰ πιστεύονται), οἱ δ' ὅ τι
 ἂν καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος
 3 εἴπωσι, κολάζονται. ὅπερ καὶ τότε ἐγένετο· (ἔς
 τε γὰρ τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐθημερὸν ὁ Σαβῖνος
 κατετέθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκριτος¹ ἐφθάρη, τό
 τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐρρίφη καὶ
 ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβλήθη. καὶ δεινὸν μὲν τοῦτο
 τὸ πάθος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἅπασιν ἦν, ἐδείνωσε δ'
 αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πλεον κύων τις τοῦ Σαβίνου, συνεσελθὼν
 τε αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ ἀποθανόντι παραμείνας
 καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν συνεσπεσών.

2 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τού-
 τῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ Λιουία² μετήλλαξεν, ἔξ καὶ ὀγδοή-
 κοντα ἔτη ζήσασα. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Τιβέριος οὔτε
 νοσοῦσαν ἐπεσκέψατο οὔτ' ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτὸς
 προέθετο.³ οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τιμὴν ἄλλο τι αὐτῇ
 πλὴν τῆς δημοσίας ἐκφορᾶς) καὶ εἰκόνων ἑτέρων
 τέ τινων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἐνείμεν. ἀθανατισθῆναι
 2 δὲ αὐτὴν ἀντικρυσ ἀπηγόρευσε. οὐ μόντοι καὶ
 μόνα οἱ ἡ βουλὴ, ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐπέστειλεν, ἐψη-
 φίσατο, ἀλλὰ πένθος ἐπ' αὐτῇ⁴ παρ' ὅλον τὸν
 ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπήγγειλαν, καίπερ τὸν
 Τιβέριον ἐπαινέσαντες ὅτι τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοική-
 3 σεως οὐδὲ τότε ἀπέσχετο· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀψίδα
 αὐτῇ, ὃ μηδεμιᾶ ἄλλῃ γυναικί, ἐψηφίσαντο, ὅτι
 τε οὐκ ὀλίγους σφῶν ἐσεσώκει, καὶ ὅτι παῖδας
 πολλῶν ἐτετρόφει κόρας τε πολλοῖς⁵ συνεξεδε-
 δώκει, ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ μητέρα αὐτὴν τῆς πατρίδος

¹ ἄκριτος v. Herw., ἀκρίτως VCL'.

² Λιουία R. Steph., λιβία VCL'.

³ προέθετο H. Wolf, προσέθετο VCL'.

⁴ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Zon., αὐτῇ VCL'.

BOOK LVIII

real feelings, but because of their desire to convict others; their victims, on the other hand, are punished for the least word out of the ordinary that they may utter. This is what happened in the case in question. Sabinus was put in prison that very day, and later perished without trial, his body being flung down the Stairway¹ and cast into the river. This affair was tragic enough in itself in the eyes of all; but it was rendered still more tragic by the behaviour of a dog belonging to Sabinus that went with him to prison, remained beside him at his death, and finally leaped into the river with his body. So much for this affair. A.D. 28

At this time also Livia passed away at the age of eighty-six. Tiberius neither paid her any visits during her illness nor did he himself lay out her body; in fact, he made no arrangements at all in her honour except for the public funeral and images and some other matters of no importance. As for her being deified, he forbade that absolutely. The senate, however, did not content itself with voting merely the measures that he had commanded, but ordered mourning for her during the whole year on the part of the women, although it approved the course of Tiberius in not abandoning the conduct of the public business even at this time. They furthermore voted an arch in her honour—a distinction conferred upon no other woman—because she had saved the lives of not a few of them, had reared the children of many, and had helped many to pay their daughters' dowries, in consequence of all which A.D. 29

¹ The *Scalae Gemoniae*.

⁶ πολλοῖς Xiph., πλείοσι Zon.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τινὲς ἐπωνόμαζον. ἐν δὲ τῷ μνημείῳ ἐτάφη τῷ τοῦ Αὐγούστου.—Χιρh. 142, 21—143, 25.

3^a Οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν τισι καταλειφθέντων, ὑπ' ἐκείνης δέδωκεν ὁ Τιβέριος.—Ζον. 11, 2 (p. 8, 18—19 D.).

4 Καὶ αὐτῆς ἄλλα τε καλῶς εἰρημένα ἀποφθέγματα φέρεται, καὶ ὅτι γυμνοὺς ποτε ἄνδρας ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῇ καὶ μέλλοντας διὰ τοῦτο θανατωθήσεσθαι ἔσωσεν, εἰποῦσα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνδριάντων
 5 ταῖς σωφρονούσαις οἱ τοιοῦτοι διαφέρουσι. (πυθόμενου τέ τινος αὐτῆς, πῶς καὶ τί δρῶσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτῇ τε ἀκριβῶς σωφρονούσα, καὶ πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἠδέως ποιοῦσα, καὶ μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι
 6 προσποιουμένη.¹ τοιαύτη μὲν² ἡ Λιουία³ ἐγένετο, ἢ μὲντοῖ ψηφισθεῖσα αὐτῇ ἄψις οὐκ ὠκοδομήθη διὰ τὸ τὸν Τιβέριον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι κατασκευάσειν αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσθαι· κατοκνήσας γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ δόγμα λύσαι, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνέτρεψεν αὐτό, μήτ' ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐπιτρέψας τὸ ἔργον⁴ γενέσθαι μήτ' αὐτὸς ποιήσας.

7 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεϊανὸς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἤρρετο, καὶ ἐψηφίσθη ὅπως τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ἐορτάζηται. τὸ γὰρ τοι πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδριάντων ὧν ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ ἢ ἱππᾶς αἶ τε φυλαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι ἔστησαν αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐξηρίθμησεν ἄν
 8 τις· πρέσβεις τε ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἢ γερουσία ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ

¹ ἀθύρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη Χιρh., Exc. Plan., Ζον., ἐπὶ δώματα . . . μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη V, ἐπὶ δώματα . . . μήτις εἰσθανέσθω παραποιουμένη C,

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ἰππῆς¹ τό τε πλῆθος ἔκ τε τῶν δημάρχων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγορανόμων τῶν σφετέρων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους² αὐτοὺς ἐπέμπον, καὶ εὐχοντο ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως καὶ ἔθνον, τήν τε τύχην αὐτῶν ὤμνυσαν.—Χιρh. 143, 25–144, 19.

3 Τῷ δὲ δὴ Γάλλῳ ὁ Τιβέριος, τῷ τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀγαγομένῳ³ καὶ τῇ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρρησία χρησαμένῳ,⁴ καιρὸν λαβὼν ἐπέθετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸν Σεϊανὸν ἦτοι καὶ ἀληθῶς ὡς αὐταρχήσοντα⁵ ἢ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου δέει ἰατροθεραπείων,² ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ διὰ κόρου γενόμενος φθαρῆ, τά τε πλείω οἱ καὶ τὰ μείζω ἐσηγήσατο καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἰγενέσθαι ἐσπούδασεν, ἐπέστειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ Σεϊανῷ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν φιλίας φθουοίη, καίπερ αὐτὸς Συριακῷ φίλῳ³ χρώμενος. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξέφηνε τῷ Γάλλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸν ἐδεξιώσατο, ὥστε συμβῆναί οἱ⁶ πρᾶγμα παραδοξότατον, καὶ ὁ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ συνηνέχθη· ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρά τε τῷ Τιβερίῳ εἰστιάθη καὶ φιλοτησίας ἐπίε, καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτήριῳ κατεψηφίσθη, ὥστε καὶ στρατηγὸν τὸν δήσοντά τε⁷ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν⁸ ἀπάξοντα⁹ πεμφθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦθ' οὕτως ὁ Τιβέριος πράξας οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἐθελή-

¹ ἰππῆς Bs., ἰππεῖς VCL'.

² ἀμφοτέρους VC, om. L'.

³ ἀγαγομένῳ Pflugk, ἀγομένῳ VCL'.

⁴ παρρησία χρησαμένῳ VC, χρησαμένῳ παρρησία L'.

⁵ αὐταρχήσοντα Val., αὐταρχήσαντα cod. Peir.

⁶ οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ VCL'.

⁷ τε om. cod. Peir.

⁸ τιμωρίαν cod. Peir. L', ἐξορίαν V, ἐξωρίαν C.

BOOK LVIII

the senate, by the knights, and also by the people, A.D. 29
 who selected theirs from the tribunes and from the
 plebeian aediles. For both of them alike they
 offered prayers and sacrifices and they took oaths by
 their Fortunes.

Tiberius now found an opportunity to attack A.D. 30
 Gallus, who had married the former wife of Tiberius¹
 and had spoken his mind so freely regarding the
 empire.² He was now paying court to Sejanus,
 either sincerely, because he believed this minister
 would become emperor, or out of fear of Tiberius,
 or perhaps by way of a plot to make Sejanus irksome
 to the emperor himself and so cause his ruin; at any
 rate he proposed the greater and the more important
 part of the honours voted to him and strove to be
 one of the envoys. Tiberius, accordingly, sent a
 message about Gallus to the senate, declaring among
 other things that this man was jealous of the
 emperor's friendship for Sejanus, in spite of the fact
 that Gallus himself had Syriacus as his friend. He
 did not make this known to Gallus, but instead
 entertained him in a most hospitable manner. Thus
 this man had a most remarkable experience, one that
 never happened to anyone else: on one and the
 same day he was banqueted at the house of Tiberius,
 pledging him in the cup of friendship, and was con-
 demned in the senate, so that a praetor was sent to
 bind him and lead him away to execution. Yet
 Tiberius, after acting in this manner, did not permit

¹ Vipsania Agrippina, whom Tiberius had divorced at Augustus' command, in order to marry Julia. See liv. 31, 2.

² Cf. lvii. 2, 5.

³ ἀπράξοντα cod. Peir., ἀξοντα VL', ἀξοντες C.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σαντι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν δεδογμένων ἤσθετο,¹
ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνω τε, ἵνα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
κακωθείη, θαρσεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ² ἐνε-
τείλατο ὅπως ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἦ, μέχρις ἂν
αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκηται, ἵν', ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ
μακρότατον καὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ ἅμα καὶ τῷ φόβῳ τα-
5 λαιπωρήσειε. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· πρὸς τε γὰρ τῶν
ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἐτηρεῖτο (ἔξω τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς·
τότε γὰρ πρὸς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐφυλάχθη), οὐχ
ἵνα μὴ φύγη, ἀλλ'³ ἵνα μὴ τελευτήσῃ, καὶ οὔτε
ἐταῖρός τις οὔτ' οἰκέτης αὐτῷ συνεγίγνετο, οὔτ'
ἐλάλει τινὶ οὔθ'⁴ ἑώρα τινὰ πλὴν ὅποτε⁵ τροφήν
6 λαβεῖν ἠναγκάζετο. καὶ ἦν αὕτη τοιαύτη καὶ
τοσαύτη ὥστε μήτε τινὰ ἠδονὴν ἢ καὶ⁶ ῥώμην
αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν μήτ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν εἶαν·
τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ δεινότατον. ὁ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων
συχνῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐποίει· δήσας γοῦν τινα τῶν
ἐταίρων, ἔπειτα λόγου περὶ τῆς θανατώσεως αὐ-
τοῦ γενομένου ἔφη ὅτι· “οὐδέπω αὐτῷ διήλλαγα-
7 μαι.” ἕτερον μὲντοι τινὰ καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς
βασανίσας, ἔπειτα γνοῦς ὅτι ἀδίκως κατηγορήθη,
καὶ πάνυ σπουδῇ ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι χαλεπω-
τέρως ὑβρισταὶ ἢ ὥστε καλῶς δύνασθαι ζῆν.
Συριακὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀδικήσας τι οὔτ' αἰτιαθεὶς, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἐλλόγιμος ὢν,⁷ ἐσφάγη διὰ τοῦτο
μόνον ὅτι φίλον αὐτὸν τοῦ Γάλλου ὁ Τιβέριος
εἶπεν εἶναι.—Exc. Val. 191 (p. 667), Xiph. 144,
19–145, 22.

¹ ἤσθετο L', καθ' ἐν V, space left in C.

² ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ supplied by Sylburg.

³ οὐχ ἵνα μὴ φύγη (φάγη C) ἀλλ' VC, ἵνα μὴ φύγη οὐ μὰ
δὲ L'. ⁴ οὔθ' L', οὐχ VC.

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- 8 "Ὅτι ὁ Σεῖανός καὶ τὸν Δρούσον διέβαλε διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. ἅσας γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν γαμετὰς μοιχεύων τὰ τε λεγόμενα ἢ καὶ πραττόμενα ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐμάνθανε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ συνεργούς σφας ὡς καὶ γαμηθησομένας οἱ ἐποιεῖτο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπλῶς τὸν Δρούσον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέμψεν, ὁ Σεῖανός δεισας μὴ μεταβάληται, ἐπίεισε τὸν Κάσσιον χρηματίσαι τι κατ' αὐτοῦ.—EHC. Val. 192 (p. 669).
- 9 Τὸν δὲ Σεῖανὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ἐπάρας καὶ κηδεστήν ἐπὶ Ἰουλία τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου θυγατρὶ ποιησάμενος ὕστερον ἐκτενε.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 8, 31-9, 1 D.).
- 4 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεῖανός καὶ μείζων καὶ φοβερώτερος αἰεὶ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορι προσέχειν, τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τιβέριος οὔτε ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιήσατο, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντικρυσ αὐτὸν ἀποδείξωσιν, οὔτε ἠμέλησεν. ἐκ μὲν δὴ οὖν τοῦ προφανοῦς ἔδρασε· τό τε γὰρ δορυφορικὸν πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ὠκείωτο, καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τὸ δὲ ἐλπίσι τὸ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προσεπεποιήτο, τοὺς τε περὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ὄντας οὔτω πάντα προσηταίριστο ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου πάντα ἀπλῶς, καὶ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ ὅσα ἔπραττε, παραυτίκα οἱ ἀγγέλλεσθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρώμενα μηδένα τῷ Τιβερίῳ δηλοῦν. ἄλλως οὖν αὐτὸν μετεπορεύετο, καὶ ὑπατόν τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε

¹ Drusus, the son of Germanicus. Cf. lvii. 22, 4^a.

BOOK LVIII

Sejanus brought false accusation also against Drusus¹ through the medium of the latter's wife. For by maintaining illicit relations with the wives of nearly all the distinguished men, he learned what their husbands were saying and doing; and he furthermore made them accessories to his crimes by promising to marry them. When, now, Tiberius merely sent Drusus to Rome, Sejanus, fearing that he might change his mind, persuaded Cassius² to propose some action against him. A.D. 30

After exalting Sejanus to a high pinnacle of glory and making him a member of his family by his alliance with Julia, the daughter of Drusus, Tiberius later killed him.

Now Sejanus was growing greater and more formidable all the time, so that the senators and the rest looked up to him as if he were actually emperor and held Tiberius in slight esteem. When Tiberius learned this, he did not treat the matter lightly or disregard it, since he feared they might declare his rival emperor outright. He did nothing openly, to be sure, for Sejanus had completely won over the entire Pretorian guard and had gained the favour of the senators, partly by the benefits he conferred, partly by the ropes he inspired, and partly by intimidation; he had furthermore made all the associates of Tiberius so completely his friends that they immediately reported to him absolutely everything the emperor either said or did, whereas no one informed Tiberius of what Sejanus did. Hence Tiberius proceeded to attack him in another way; he appointed him consul and termed him Starer of

² The consul of that year, either C. Cassius Longinus or his brother L. Cassius Longinus.

καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων ὠνόμαζε, “Σειανός”
 τε “ὁ ἐμός” πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνων ἔλεγε,
 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γράφων πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
 4 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐδήλου. τούτοις οὖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 ἀπατώμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες χαλκοῦς τε αὐτοὺς
 ἀπανταχοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἴστασαν, κὰν ταῖς γραφαῖς
 συνέγραφον, δίφρους τε ἐπιχρῦσους ἐς τὰ θέατρα
 ἀμφοῖν ἐσέφερον· καὶ τέλος ἐψηφίσθη ὑπάτους
 τέ σφας διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν ἅμα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, καὶ
 ἀπάντησιν, ὅποτε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσίοιεν, ἀμφο-
 τέροις ὁμοίως γίνεσθαι. καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς
 εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου
 ἔθνον.

5 Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ¹ τὸν Σειανὸν τοιαῦτα ἦν,²
 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἐφθάρησαν,
 ὧν ἦν καὶ Γάϊος Φούφιος³ Γέμινος.⁴ ἀσεβείας
 γὰρ ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ἐγκληθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐς
 τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἀνέγνω, δηλῶν ὅτι
 τὸν κληρὸν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐκείνῳ κατα-
 6 λειπῶς ἦν· καὶ μαλακίας αἰτιαθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν
 οἴκαδε πρὶν ψηφισθῆναί τι, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν ταμίαν
 ἐπὶ δικαιοῦσι αὐτοῦ παρόντα αὐτὸς τε ἑαυτὸν
 ἔτρωσε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὸ τραῦμα δείξας “ἀπάγγειλον”
 ἔφη “τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅτι ἀνὴρ οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει.”
 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ Μουτιλία⁵ Πρίσκα ἐγκλημά
 τι λαβοῦσα ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, κὰν-
 ταῦθα ἑαυτὴν ἐγχειριδίῳ τινί, ὃ λάθρα ἐσεκε-
 κομίζει, ἔσφαξεν.—Xiph. 145, 22–146, 30.

7 Ἐπὶ τούτοις τε Μουκίαν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἄνδρα

¹ περὶ VL', πρὸς C.

² ἦν VC, om. L'.

³ Φούφιος Nipperdey, ρούφος VCL'.

⁴ Γέμινος Nipperdey, γεμίσιος VCL'.

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ἄμα δυσὶ θυγατράσιν ἀνεῖλε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα φιλίαν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 79 § 7 M. (v. 35–37).

8 "Ὅτι (ἐπὶ Τιβερίου) πάντες οἱ κατηγοροῦντές τινων χρήματα καὶ πολλά γε ἕκ τε τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμὰς τινὰς ἐλάμβανον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι προχείρως τινὰς θορυβοῦντες ἢ καὶ ἐτοίμως τινῶν καταψηφιζόμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰκόνας οἱ δὲ καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους ἐκτῶντο. ὥστε τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλλογίμων, ἀξιοθέντας τοιούτου τινός, μὴ ἐθελῆσαι αὐτὸ προσθέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξωσί ποτε ὅμοιοι ἐκείνοις γεγονέναι.—Exc. Val. 193 (p. 669).

9 "Ὅτι Τιβέριος νόσον προσποιησάμενος τὸν Σεϊανὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπακολουθήσων εἰς Ῥώμην προέπεμψε λέγων μέρῃ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποσπᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτὸν¹ καὶ κατεφίλησεν (μετὰ δακρῦν ὥστε Σεϊανὸν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπαίρεσθαι.—Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 10, p. 199 sq. Mai. (p. 183, 11–16 Dind.).

5 Ὁ δὲ Σεϊανὸς τοσοῦτος ἦν τῇ τε ὑπεροχῇ² τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας ὥστε συνελόντι εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον νησίαρχόν τινα εἶναι δοκεῖν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Καπρία τὰς διατριβὰς ποιεῖσθαι. σπουδαί τε³ καὶ ὄθισμοὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ τοῦ δεδιέναι μὴ μόνον μὴ οὐκ ὀφθῆ τις αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις φανῆ. πάντα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τῶν πρώτων, ἐτηρεῖτο καὶ τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ νεύματα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεία ἀξιῶσει προύχοντες οὔτε τὰ δεξιῶματα παρά τινων πάνυ ἀπαιτοῦσι,

BOOK LVIII

two daughters on account of her friendship for his mother. A.D. 30

Under Tiberius all who accused any persons received money, and large sums too, both from the victims' estates and from the public treasury, and various honours besides. There were cases, too, where men who recklessly threw others into a panic or readily passed sentence of death upon them obtained either images or triumphal honours. Hence several distinguished men who were held worthy of some such honour would not accept it, lest they might one day be thought to have been like these men.

Tiberius, feigning illness, sent Sejanus on to Rome with the assurance that he himself would follow. He declared that a part of his own body and soul was being wrenched away from him, and with tears he embraced and kissed him, so that Sejanus was still more elated.

Sejanus was so great a person by reason both of his excessive haughtiness and of his vast power, that, A.D. 31 to put it briefly, he himself seemed to be emperor and Tiberius a kind of island potentate, inasmuch as the latter spent his time on the island of Capreae. There was rivalry and jostling about the great man's doors, the people fearing not merely that they might not be seen by their patron, but also that they might be among the last to appear before him; for every word and every look, especially in the case of the most prominent men, was carefully observed. Those, now, who hold a prominent position as the result of native worth are not much given to seeking signs of friendship from others, and if such manifestations are

¹ αὐτὸν Μαι, ἐαυτὸν cod.

² τε ὑπεροχῇ L', ὑπεροχῇ τε VC.

³ τε VL', δὲ C.

κὰν ἄρα καὶ ἐκλειφθῆ τι αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦσί
 σφισιν, ἅτε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες ὅτι μὴ κατα-
 φρονοῦνται· οἱ δὲ ἐπακτῶ καλλωπίσματι χρώμενοι
 πάντα ἰσχυρῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ
 ἀξιώματός σφων πλήρωσιν ἀναγκαῖα, ἐπιζητοῦσι,
 κὰν μὴ τύχωσιν αὐτῶν, ἄχθονταί τε ὡς δια-
 4 βαλλόμενοι καὶ ὀργίζονται ὡς ὑβριζόμενοι. καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον, περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ περὶ
 αὐτοὺς ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σπουδάζουσιν,
 ὅτι τοῖς μὲν, κὰν πλημμεληθῆ τι, ἀρετὴν τὸ
 συγγνώμαί τω φέρει, τοῖς δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν ἀσθέ-
 νειάν σφων ἐλέγχειν δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπεξελεῖν καὶ
 (τιμωρήσασθαι· βεβαίωσιν τοῦ μέγα δύνασθαι
 ἔχειν νομίζεται.¹

5 Ἐν δὲ τινὶ νουμηνία πάντων συνιόντων ἐς τὴν
 οἰκίαν τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ ἢ τε κλίνη ἢ ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ,
 ἐν ᾧ ἡσπάζετο, κειμένη πᾶσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου τῶν
 ἰζησάντων συνετρίβη, καὶ προϊόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς
 6 οἰκίας γαλῆ διὰ μέσων σφων διῆξεν. ἐπειδὴ
 τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θύσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν
 κατήει, οἱ οἰκέται αὐτοῦ οἱ δορυφόροι διὰ τε τῆς
 ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς² τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀγούσης ἐξετράποντο,
 μὴ δυνηθέντες αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπακολου-
 θῆσαι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν καθ' ὧν οἱ
 δικαιούμενοι ἐρριπτοῦντο κατιόντες ὄλισθον καὶ
 7 κατέπεσον· οἰωνιζομένου τε μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ
 τῶν μὲν αἰσίων ὀρνίθων ἐπεφάνη οὐδεῖς, κόρακες
 δὲ δὴ πολλοὶ³ περιπτάμενοι καὶ περικρώξαντες
 αὐτὸν ἀπέπταντο ἀθρόοι, πρὸς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ ἐκαθέζοντο.

¹ νομίζεται VL', νομίζεσθαι C.

² ἐς R. Steph., eis VCL'.

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6 Τούτων οὖν τῶν τεράτων οὐθ' ὁ Σεϊανὸς οὔτ' ἄλλος τις ἐνθύμιον ἐποιήσατο· (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ὄψιν) οὐδ' ἂν εἰ σαφῶς θεός τις προέλεγεν ὅτι τοσαύτη (δι' ὀλίγου μεταβολή) ² γενήσῃτο, ἐπίστευσεν ἂν τις. τὴν τε οὖν τύχην ¹ αὐτοῦ κατακορῶς ² ὠμνυσαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τιβερίου, οὐκ ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ κράτος ὑποσημαίνοντες, ἐπεκάλουν. ³ Τιβέριος δὲ ἠγνόει μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν κατ' αὐτόν, βουλευόμενος ⁴ δὲ ὄντινα τρόπου αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκων ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ³ μαθεῖν, ἐχρήσατο. περὶ τε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα καὶ τῷ Σεϊανῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλε, νῦν μὲν λέγων ⁵ φλαύρως ἔχειν καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τελευτήσῃν, νῦν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ὑγιαίνειν καὶ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ⁴ ἀφίξεσθαι· καὶ τὸν Σεϊανὸν τοτὲ μὲν πάνυ ἐπήνει τοτὲ δὲ πάνυ καθήρει, τῶν τε ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα δι' ἐκείνου τοὺς δ' ἠτίμαζεν. ὥστε ὁ Σεϊανὸς ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ τοῦ ὑπερόγκου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερφόβου πληρούμενος αἰεὶ μετέωρος ἦν· οὔτε γὰρ δεδιέναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νεοχμῶσαί τι ἐπήει, ⁶ καὶ γὰρ ἐτίματο, ⁷ οὔτ' αὖ θαρσεῖν ⁸ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτολμῆσαί τι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκο- ⁶ λούετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐναλλάξ

¹ τύχην CL', τέχνην V.

² κατακορῶς Bk., κατακορεῖς VCL'.

³ ἐπεκάλουν VC, ἐδήλουν L'.

⁴ βουλευόμενος Xyl., βουλόμενος VCL'.

⁵ λέγων Bk., λέγων ὅτι VCL'.

⁶ ἐπήει L', ἐπιήει V, ἐποίει C.

BOOK LVIII

Neither Sejanus nor anyone else took these omens to heart. For, in view of the way matters stood, not even if some god had plainly foretold that so great a change would take place in a short time, would anyone have believed it. So they swore by his Fortune interminably and called him Tiberius' colleague, covertly referring to the supreme power rather than to the consulship. Tiberius, however, who was no longer ignorant of anything that concerned his minister, was planning how he might put him to death; but, not finding any way of doing this openly and safely, he handled both Sejanus himself and the Romans in general in a remarkable fashion, so as to learn exactly what was in their minds. He kept sending despatches of all kinds regarding himself both to Sejanus and to the senate, now saying that he was in a bad state of health and almost at the point of death, and now that he was exceedingly well and would arrive in Rome directly. At one moment he would heartily praise Sejanus, and again would as heartily denounce him; and, while honouring some of Sejanus' friends out of regard for him, he would be disgracing others. Thus Sejanus, filled in turn with extreme elation and extreme fear, was in constant suspense; for it never occurred to him, on the one hand, to be afraid and so attempt a revolution, inasmuch as he was still held in honour, nor, on the other hand, to be bold and attempt some desperate venture, inasmuch as he was frequently abased. So also with the people at large: they kept hearing alternately the most contradictory reports

⁷ καὶ γὰρ ἐτιμᾶτο οἱ. L'.

⁸ θαρσεῖν Bk., θαρρεῖν VOL'.

καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἀκούοντες, καὶ μήτε τὸν Σεϊανὸν θαυμάζειν ἔτι ἢ καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἔχοντες, ἕς τε τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς καὶ τεθνήξοντα ἢ καὶ ἤξοντα ὑποπτεύοντες, ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ἐγίγνοντο.

7 Σεϊανὸν μὲν οὖν ταῦτά τε ἐτάραττε, καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ὅτι [ἐξ ἀνδριάντος τινὸς αὐτοῦ] τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καπνὸς πολὺς ἀνέθορεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀφαιρεθείσης¹ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὅπως τὸ γιγνόμενον ἴδωσιν, ὄφεις μέγας ἀνεπήδησεν, ἑτέρας τε εὐθύς ἀντεπι-
 2 τεθείσης αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνου² θύσειν ἑαυτῷ μέλλοντος (τά τε γὰρ [Χιρῆ. 146, 30–149, 6] ἄλλα³ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἔθυε), σχοινίου περὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ περικείμενον εὐρέθη. Τύχης τέ τι ἄγαλμα, ὃ ἐγεγόνει μὲν, ὡς φάσι, Τουλλίου⁴ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντός ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε δὲ ὁ Σεϊανὸς⁵
 3 οἴκοι τε εἶχε καὶ μεγάλως ἠγαλλεν, αὐτός τε θύων εἶδεν ἀποστρεφόμενον⁶
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἕτεροι συνεξιώντες σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ὑπώπτευον μὲν πού ταῦτα, ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου διάνοιαν, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι τό τε ἐκείνου ἔμπληκτον καὶ τὸ τῶν πραγ-
 4 μάτων ἀστάθμητον, ἐπημφοτέριζον, καὶ ἴδια μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας διεσκόπουν, κοιυῆ δὲ δὴ ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν διὰ τε τὰλλα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἱερέας μετὰ τοῦ Γαίου⁷ καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν τε ἀνθυπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο

¹ δὲ ἀφαιρεθείσης VL', διαφαιρεθείσης C.

² ἐκείνου Sylburg, ἐκείνου τε VCL'.

³ M resumes with ἄλλα.

⁴ Τουλλίου R. Steph., τοῦ ἀλίου M.

⁵ Σεϊανὸς Bs., σιανὸς M (so regularly).

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πᾶσιν αἰεὶ τοῖς ὑπατεύουσι παραγγέλλεσθαι· κατὰ
 5 τὸ ἐκείνου ζήλωμα ἄρξαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῖς
 μὲν ἱερωσύναις ἐτίμησεν αὐτόν, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετε-
 πέμψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτησαμένῳ οἴῳ ὅπως ἐς τὴν
 Καμπανίαν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς μελλονύμφου νοση-
 σάσης ἔλθῃ, κατὰ χώραν μείναι προσέταξεν ὡς
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσον οὐπω ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφιξόμενος.

8 Ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων ὁ Σεϊανὸς αὐθις ἠλλοιοῦτο,
 καὶ διότι καὶ τὸν Γάιον ὁ Τιβέριος ἱερέα ἀποδείξας
 ἐπήνεσε, καί τι καὶ ὡς διάδοχον αὐτόν τῆς μον-
 2 αρχίας ἔξων¹ ἐνεδείκνυτο. καὶ ἐνεόχμωσε τι,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως
 ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἔχόντων, εἰ μὴ τὸν δῆμον ἰσχυρῶς
 τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Γαίου λεχθεῖσι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Γερμα-
 νικοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην ἠσθέντα· εἶδε
 πρότερον γὰρ νομίζων καὶ ἐκείνους πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ
 εἶναι, τότε ὡς ἠσθετο τὰ τοῦ Γαίου σπουδάζοντας,
 3 ἠθύμησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετεγίγνωσκεν ὅτι μηδὲν
 ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐνεόχμωσεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι . . .²
 διὰ τε ταῦτα, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τιβέριος ἐχθρόν τινα
 αὐτοῦ ἠρημένον μὲν πρὸ δέκα ἐτῶν Ἰβηρίας ἄρξαι,
 κρινόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τισιν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἀφῆκε, καὶ δι'
 αὐτόν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἡγεμονεύσειν τινῶν ἢ
 καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξειν μέλλουσιν ἄδειαν
 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν ἔδωκε.

¹ ἔξων R. Steph., ἐξ ὧν M.

² lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied ἠλλοιοῦντο (were becoming alienated) or αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησαν (despised him).

BOOK LVIII

consuls of each year should be instructed to emulate him in their conduct of the office. As for Tiberius, though he honoured him with the priesthoods, yet he did not send for him; instead, when Sejanus requested permission to go to Campania, pleading as an excuse that his betrothed was ill, the emperor directed him to remain where he was, because he himself was going to arrive in Rome almost immediately. A.D. 31

This was one reason, then, why Sejanus was again becoming alienated; there was also the fact that Tiberius, after appointing Gaius priest, praised him and gave some indications that he intended to make him his successor to the throne. Sejanus would therefore have set on foot a rebellion, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, and he not perceived that the populace was immensely pleased at the compliments paid to Gaius, out of reverence for the memory of Germanicus, his father. For he had previously supposed that they, too, were on his side, and now, finding them earnest supporters of Gaius, he became dejected, and regretted that he had not begun a rebellion during his consulship. The rest [were becoming alienated from him], not only for these reasons, but also because Tiberius quashed an indictment against an enemy of Sejanus, a man who had been chosen ten years before to govern Spain, and was now, thanks to the influence of Sejanus, being brought to trial on certain charges; whereupon, because of this case, he granted a general immunity from such suits, during the interval before taking office, to all who were designated to govern provinces or to perform any other public business. And in a letter to the

4 τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποθανόντος γράφων Σείανόν ἀπλῶς αὐτὸν ὠνόμασε, μηδὲν ὥνπερ εἴθιστο προσθείς· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπέειπε μὴτ' ἀνθρώπων τινὶ θύεσθαι, διότι καὶ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο, μήτε ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τιμῇ τι χρηματίζεσθαι, διότι πολλὰ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίζετο. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπηγορεύκει μὲν καὶ πρότερον, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν Σείανόν ἀνενεώσατο· οὐ γάρ που ὁ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ τοιοῦτό γίνεσθαι ἐπιτρέπων ἄλλῳ γε ἐφίει.

9 Ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησαν, ὥστε καὶ φανερώτερον ἢ λαυθάνειν καὶ ἐξίστασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκαταλείπειν.¹ μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τιβέριος, καὶ θαρσήσας ὡς καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συμμάχους ἔξων, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῷ· καὶ προκαθεῖς² τὸν³ λόγον ὅτι τὴν⁴ ἐξουσίαν οἱ τὴν δημαρχικὴν δώσοι, ὅπως ἀπροσδόκητον αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα λάβῃ, ἐπέστειλε κατ' αὐτοῦ τῷ συνεδρίῳ διὰ Ναιουίου⁵ Σερτωρίου Μάκρωνος, ἄρχειν τε αὐτὸν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων κρύφα προκαταστήσας, καὶ³ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐχρῆν πραχθῆναι προδιδάξας. καὶ ὅς νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐλθὼν, τὰ τε ἐπεσταλμένα οἱ Μεμμίῳ τε Ῥηγούλῳ τότε ὑπατεύοντι (ὁ γὰρ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ Σείανου ἐφρόνει) καὶ Γραικινίῳ⁶ Λάκωνι τῷ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄρχοντι ἐπε-

¹ ἐγκαταλείπειν Xiph., ἐγκαταλιπεῖν M.

² προκαθεῖς Xiph., προσκαθεῖς M.

³ τὸν om. Xiph.

⁴ τὴν Reiske, τήν τε M.

⁵ Ναιουίου M, Ναιβίου Xiph.

⁶ Γραικινίῳ Bs., γρακίνωι M Xiph.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 4 κοίνωσε, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἅμα τῇ ἕω ἐς τὸ παλάτιον
 (τῆς γὰρ βουλῆς ἔδρα ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γενή-
 σεσθαι ἔμελλε), τῷ τε Σείανῳ μηδέπω ἐς αὐτὸ
 ἐσεληλυθότι περιέπεσε, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ταρατ-
 τόμενον ὅτι μηδέν οἱ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπεστάλκει,
 παρεμυθήσατο εἰπὼν ἰδία καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ὅτι
 5 τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχικὴν φέροι. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν περιχαρὴς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενος ἐς τὸ βου-
 λευτήριον ἐσεπήδησε. Μάκρων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δορυ-
 φόρους τοὺς περὶ τε ἐκείνον καὶ τὸ συνέδριον
 ὄντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέπεμψε, τὴν τε
 ἡγεμονίαν σφίσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκφήνας καὶ γράμ-
 ματα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου γέρα τινὰ αὐτοῖς διδόντα
 6 φέρειν φήσας, τοὺς δὲ δὴ νυκτοφύλακας ἀντ'
 αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιστήσας ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς
 αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς ὑπάτοις δούς
 ἐξῆλθε πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀναγνωσθῆναι, αὐτῷ τε
 τῷ Λάκωνι τὰνταῦθα φυλάττειν προστάξας αὐτὸς
 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ καὶ νεωτερισθεῖη τι,
 ὥρμησε.
- 10 Κὰν τούτῳ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἀνεγνώσθη. ἦν δὲ
 μακρά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀθρόον κατὰ τοῦ Σείανου εἶχεν,
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἄλλο τι, εἶτα μέμψιν (κατ'
 αὐτοῦ) βραχείαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἕτερόν τι, καὶ
 κατ' ἐκείνου ἄλλο. καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δύο τε βου-
 λευτὰς τῶν ὠκειωμένων οἱ κολασθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν
 2 ἐν φρουρᾷ γενέσθαι δεῖν ἔλεγεν. ἀντικρυσ γὰρ
 ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος οὐ προσέταξεν, οὐχ
 ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφοβήθη μὴ ταραχὴ
 τις ἐκ τούτου γένηται. ὡς γοῦν οὐδὲ τὴν ὁδὸν
 ἀσφαλῶς ποιήσασθαι δυνάμενος, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν
 ὑπάτων μετεπέμψατο. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ

BOOK LVIII

Macro ascended the Palatine (for the senate was to sit in the temple of Apollo), and encountering Sejanus, who had not yet gone in, and perceiving that he was troubled because Tiberius had sent him no message, he encouraged him, telling him aside and in confidence that he was bringing him the tribunician power. Overjoyed at this announcement, Sejanus rushed into the senate-chamber. Macro now sent back to their camp the Pretorians that were guarding Sejanus and the senate, after revealing to them his authority and declaring that he bore a letter from Tiberius which bestowed rewards upon them. Then, after stationing the night-watch about the temple in their place, he went in, delivered the letter to the consuls, and came out again before a word was read. He then instructed Laco to keep guard there and himself hurried away to the camp to prevent any uprising.

In the meantime the letter was read. It was a long one, and contained no wholesale denunciation of Sejanus, but first some other matter, then a slight censure of his conduct, then something else, and after that some further objection to him; and at the close it said that two senators who were among his intimate associates must be punished and that he himself must be kept under guard. For Tiberius refrained from giving orders outright to put him to death, not because he did not wish to give such orders, but because he feared that some disturbance might result from such a course. At any rate, he pretended that he could not with safety even make the journey to Rome, and therefore summoned one of the consuls to him. Now the letter disclosed no

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐδήλου, παρῆν δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἰδεῖν
 3 πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, πρὶν
 ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι αὐτήν, ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ ὡς
 καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ληψομένου ἐποι-
 οῦντο καὶ ἐπιβοήμασιν ἐχρῶντο, προλαμβάνοντες
 ὅσα ἠλπιζον, καὶ προσενδεικνύμενοί οἱ ὡς καὶ
 4 αὐτοὶ αὐτὰ δώσοντες· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον
 εὐρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἢ προσε-
 δόκων ἤκουον, ἐν τε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 ἐν κατηφείᾳ πολλῇ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τινες καὶ
 ἐξανέστησαν τῶν συγκαθημένων αὐτῷ· ὃν γὰρ
 πρόσθεν περὶ πολλοῦ φίλον ἔχειν ἐποιοῦντο,
 τούτῳ τότε οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς συνεδρείας κοινωνεῖν
 5 ἤθελον. κακ τοῦτου καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ δήμαρχοι
 περιέσχον αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ συνταράξῃ τι ἐκπη-
 δήσας· ὅπερ πάντως ἂν ἐπεποιήκει, εἰ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 ἀθρόω τινὶ ἀκούσματι ἐπέπληκτο. νῦν δὲ τό τε
 αἰεὶ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον¹ ὡς καὶ κοῦφον καὶ μόνον
 ὄν παρορῶν, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν μὴδὲν ἄλλο, εἰ
 δὲ μή, μήτι² γε καὶ ἀνήκεστόν τι ἐπεστάλθαι
 περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίζων, διέτρίβη καὶ κατὰ χώραν
 ἔμεινε.

6 Ἰὼν τούτῳ προσκαλεσαμένου αὐτόν τοῦ Ῥη-
 γούλου οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, οὐχ ὅτι ὑπερεφρόνησεν
 (ἤδη γὰρ ἐτεταπείνωτο) ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀήθης τοῦ προσ-
 τάττεσθαί τι ἦν. ὡς δὲ καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον
 γε ἐκεῖνος ἐμβοήσας, οἱ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἅμα
 ἐκτείνας εἶπε “Σείανέ, δεῦρο ἐλθέ,” ἐπηρώτησεν
 αὐτόν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, “ἐμὲ καλεῖς;” ὃψὲ δ' οὖν

¹ ὡς Xiph., ὅπως M.

² μήτι R. Steph., μήτοι M, τοι Xiph.

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ποτε ἀναστάντι αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἐπεσελθὼν
 7 προσέστη. καὶ τέλος διαναγνωσθείσης τῆς ἐπι-
 στολῆς πάντες ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης καὶ κατεβόων
 αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπέλεγον, οἱ μὲν ἠδικημένοι οἱ δὲ
 πεφοβημένοι, ἄλλοι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἐπηλυγαζόμενοι, ἄλλοι τῇ μεταβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπι-
 8 χαίροντες. οὐ μὲν οὔτε πάντας αὐτοὺς οὔτε περὶ
 τοῦ θανάτου τινὰ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥήγουλος ἐπεψίφισε,
 φοβηθεὶς μὴ τις ἐναντιωθῆ (κακ τοῦτου) καὶ
 ταραχθῆ τι (συχνούς γὰρ δὴ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ
 φίλους εἶχεν). ἀλλ' ἕνα τινὰ ἀνακρίνας καὶ σύμ-
 ψηφον ὅπως δεθῆ λαβῶν, ἐξήγαγέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ
 τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μετὰ τε
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Λάκωνος
 κατήγαγεν.

11 "Ενθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
 ἀσθένειαν κατείδεν, ὥστε μῆδαμῆ μηδαμῶς φυ-
 σᾶσθαι. ὃν γὰρ τῇ ἕω πάντες ὡς καὶ κρείττω
 σφῶν ὄντα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον παρέπεμψαν,
 τοῦτον τότε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ὡς μηδενὸς βελτίω
 κατέσυρον, καὶ ὃν στεφάνων πρότερον πολλῶν
 2 ἤξιουν, τούτῳ τότε δεσμὰ περιέθεσαν. ὃν δὲ
 ἐδορυφόρουν ὡς δεσπότην, τοῦτον ἐφρούρουν ὡς
 δραπέτην καὶ ἀπεκάλυπτον ἐπικάλυπτόμενον,
 καὶ ὃν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἱματίῳ ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν,
 τοῦτον¹ ἐπὶ κόρρης ἔπαιον, ὃν τε² προσεκύνουν
 ὧ τε ὡς θεῷ ἔθνον, τοῦτον θανατώσοντες ἤγον.
 3 καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ δῆμος προσπίπτων πολλὰ μὲν
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεβόα, πολλὰ
 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἐπέσκωπτε. τὰς τε

¹ τοῦτον added by Bs.

BOOK LVIII

stood up, and Laco, who had now returned, took his stand beside him. When finally the reading of the letter was finished, all with one voice denounced and threatened him, some because they had been wronged, others through fear, some to conceal their friendship for him, and still others out of joy at his downfall. Regulus did not put the vote to all the senators nor propose to any the death penalty, fearing opposition from some quarter and a disturbance in consequence; for Sejanus had numerous relatives and friends. He merely asked a single senator if he should not be imprisoned, and when he got an affirmative answer, he led Sejanus out of the senate, and together with the other magistrates and Laco took him down to the prison. A.D. 31

Thereupon one might have witnessed such a surpassing proof of human frailty as to prevent one's ever again being puffed up with conceit. For the man whom at dawn they had escorted to the senate-hall as a superior being, they were now dragging to prison as if no better than the worst; on him whom they had previously thought worthy of many crowns, they now laid bonds; him whom they were wont to protect as a master, they now guarded like a runaway slave, uncovering his head when he would fain cover it; him whom they had adorned with the purple-bordered toga, they struck in the face; and him whom they were wont to adore and worship with sacrifices as a god, they were now leading to execution. The populace also assailed him, shouting many reproaches at him for the lives he had taken and many jeers for the ropes he had cherished.

² τε added by R. Steph.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πάσας κατέβαλλον καὶ κατέκοπτον
 καὶ κατέσυρον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αἰκιζόμενοι
 καὶ οὕτω θεατῆς ὧν πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν ἐγίγνετο.
 4 τότε μὲν γὰρ ἔς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνεβλήθη·
 ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῶ, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἢ γερουσία
 πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοεῖῳ, ἔπειδὴ
 τά τε τοῦ δήμου τοιαῦτα ὄντα ἤσθετο καὶ τῶν
 δορυφόρων οὐδένα ἑώρα, ἀθροισθεῖσα θάνατον
 5 αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσατο. καὶ οὕτω δικαιωθείς κατὰ
 τε τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐρρίφη, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ ὄμιλος
 τρισὶν ὄλαις ἡμέραις ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 ἔς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλε. τά τε παιδιά αὐτοῦ
 κατὰ δόγμα ἀπέθανε, τῆς κόρης, ἣν τῷ τοῦ
 Κλαυδίου υἱεῖ ἠγγυήκει,¹ προδιαφθαρείσης ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δημίου, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὄν παρθενευομένην
 6 τινὰ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ διολέσθαι. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
 Ἀπικᾶτα² οὐ κατεψηφίσθη μὲν, μαθοῦσα δὲ ὅτι
 τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς τέθνηκε, καὶ σφῶν τὰ σώματα
 ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς ἰδοῦσα, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἔς
 βιβλίον γράψασα περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Δρούσου
 κατὰ τε τῆς Λιουίλλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, δι'
 ἣνπερ πού καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσεκεκρούκει
 ὥστε μηκέτι συνοικεῖν, τὸ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ
 7 ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὴ δ' ἑαυτὴν διεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως
 ὁ Τιβέριος ἐντυχὼν τῷ βιβλίῳ, καὶ διελέγξας
 τὰ γεγραμμένα, τοὺς τε ἄλλους πάντας καὶ τὴν
 Λιουίλλαν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὅτι ἐκεῖνος
 μὲν αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐφεί-
 σατο, αὐτὴ δὲ ἢ Ἀντωνία ἐκούσα λιμῶ τὴν
 θυγατέρα ἐξώλεσε.

¹ ἠγγυήκει St., ἐνεγεγυήκει M.

² Ἀπικᾶτα Bk., ἀπεικάτα M.

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12 Τούτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ θόρυβος
πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει συνηνέχθη. ὃ τε γὰρ δῆμος
εἶ πού τινα τῶν μέγα (παρὰ τῷ Σείανῳ) δυνη-
θέντων καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ὑβρισάντων τι εἶδεν, ἐφό-
2 νευε· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι αὐτοί
τε ἐς τὴν τοῦ Σείανου εὐνοίαν, ὑπωπτεύθησαν
καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακές σφων ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκρά-
τορος πίστιν προετιμήθησαν, ἐμπρήσεις τε καὶ
ἀρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, καίτοι πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς
ἀρχαῖς ὄντων τὸ ἄστυ πᾶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου
3 ἐντολῆς φυλαττόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ βουλή
ἠσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' οἷ τε τὸν Σείανὸν τεθεραπευκότες
δεινῶς δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ οἱ
κατηγορηκότες ἢ καὶ καταμέμαρτυρηκότες τινῶν
διὰ φόβου, ὑποψία¹ τοῦ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀλλ' οὐ
' διὰ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτοὺς διεφθάρθαι, ἐγίγνοντο.
ὀλίγον τε πάνυ τὸ θαρσοῦν ἦν, ὅσον ἔξω τε
τούτων) καθειστήκει καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἠπιώτερον
4 γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα. τά τε γὰρ συμβεβηκότα
σφίσιν ἐς τὸν ἀπολωλότα, ὥσπερ που φιλεῖ
γίγνεσθαι, ἔτρεπου, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἢ οὐδενὸς ἢ
ὀλίγων² ἠτιῶντο· τὰ γὰρ πλείονα τὰ μὲν ἠγνο-
ηκένοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντα κατηναγκάσθαι πρᾶξαι
ἔλεγον. ἰδία μὲν δὴ ὡς ἕκαστοι οὕτω διετίθεντο,
κοινῇ δὲ δὴ ἐψηφίσαντο, ὡς καὶ δεσποτείας τινὸς
ἀπηλλαγμένοι, μήτε πένθος τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιή-
σασθαι, καὶ Ἐλευθερίας ἄγαλμα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν
5 ἀνατεθῆναι, ἐορτὴν τε διὰ τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ
διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἀπάντων, ὃ μηπώποτε ἐγεγόνει,
ἀχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ ἔτελεύτησε καὶ

¹ ὑποψία Rk., ὑποψίαν M.

² ὀλίγων R. Steph., ὀλίγον M.

BOOK LVIII

At the time of our narrative a great uproar took place in the city; for the populace slew anyone it saw of those who had possessed great influence with Sejanus and had committed acts of insolence to please him. The soldiers, too, angered because they had been suspected of friendliness for Sejanus and because the night-watch had been preferred to them for loyalty to the emperor, proceeded to burn and plunder, despite the fact that all the officials were guarding the whole city in accordance with Tiberius' command. Moreover, not even the senate remained quiet; but those of its members who had paid court to Sejanus were greatly disturbed by their fear of vengeance; and those who had accused or borne witness against others were filled with terror, because of the prevailing suspicion that their victims had been destroyed in the interest of Sejanus rather than of Tiberius. Very small, indeed, was the courageous element that remained free from these terrors and expected that Tiberius would become milder. For, as usually happens, they laid the responsibility for their previous misfortunes upon the man who had perished, and charged the emperor with few or none of them; as for most of these things, they said he had either been ignorant of them or had been forced to do them against his will. Privately this was the attitude of the various groups; but publicly they voted, as if they had been freed from a tyranny, not to hold any mourning over the deceased and to have a statue of Liberty erected in the Forum; also a festival was to be held under the auspices of all the magistrates and priests, a thing that had never before happened; and the day on which Sejanus had died was to be celebrated by annual

A.D. 31

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἵππων ἀγῶσι καὶ θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτησίοις διά
 τε τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας τελούντων) καὶ
 διὰ τῶν τοῦ Αὐγούστου θιασωτῶν ἀγάλλεσθαι,¹
 6 ὃ οὐδέποτε ἐπεποιήτο. ὃν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τε
 ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς καινότησι τῶν τιμῶν πρὸς
 τὸν ὄλεθρον προήγαγον, κατὰ τούτου καὶ τοῖς
 θεοῖς ξένα τινὰ ἐψηφίζοντο. οὕτω γάρ τοι σαφῶς
 ἠπίσταντο ὅτι ὑπ' ἐκείνων μάλιστα ἐξεφρόνησεν,
 ὥστ' ἀπαγορεύσαι παραχρῆμα διαρρήδην μήτε
 τιμὰς μηδενὶ ὑπερόγκους δίδοσθαι μήτε τοὺς
 ὄρκους ἐπ' ἄλλου τινὸς πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
 7 ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι ταῦθ' οὕτω, καθάπερ ἔκ
 θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας,²) ψηφισάμενοι καὶ τὸν
 Μάκρωνα καὶ τὸν Λάκωνα κολακεύειν οὐ πολλῶ
 ὕστερον ἤρξαντο· χρήματά τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ
 καὶ τιμὰς, Λάκωνι μὲν τὰς τῶν τεταμιευκότων
 Μάκρωνι δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἔδωκαν,
 καὶ αὐτοῖς³ καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι σφίσι καὶ ἱματίῳ
 περιπορφύρῳ ἐν ταῖς εὐκταίαις πανηγύρεσι χρῆ-
 8 σθαι ἐπέτρεψαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐδέξαντο
 αὐτά· τὸ γὰρ παράδειγμά σφας ὑπόγυον ὃν ἐθο-
 ρύβει. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ὁ Τιβέριος προσήκατό τι,
 ἄλλων τ' ⁴ αὐτῶ πολλῶν ψηφισθέντων, καὶ ὅπως
 αὐτός τε πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος τότε γε ἄρξηται
 ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτῶ δέκα τε τῶν
 ἵππων ἀμίλλαις καὶ ἐστιάσει τῆς γερουσίας

¹ ἀγάλλεσθαι Xiph., ἀγγέλλεσθαι M.

² ἐπιπνοίας Reim., ἐπινοίας M.

³ αὐτοῖς Leuncl., αὐτῶ M.

⁴ τ' supplied by Pflugk.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τιμῶτο· ἀλλὰ καὶ προηγόρευσεν αὐθις μηδένα μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐσηγεῖσθαι.

13 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγίνετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τέως μὲν ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ καθειστήκει μὴ ὁ Σείανος κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπλεύσῃ, καὶ πλοῖα παρεσκευάσατο ἵνα, ἂν τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, διαφύγῃ· τῷ τε Μάκρωνι, ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ἐνετείλατο ὅπως, ἂν τι παρακινήσῃ, τὸν Δροῦσον ἐς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσαγάγῃ καὶ 2 αὐτοκράτορα ἀποδείξῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολωλότα, ἔχαιρεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μόντοι καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν πεμφθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσεδέξατο, καίπερ πολλῶν μὲν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰππέων τοῦ τε 3 πλήθους, ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν, σταλέντων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑπατον τὸν Ῥήγουλον, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ αἰεὶ φρονήσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ κομιδῆς, ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλκει, ἐλθόντα, ἀπέώσατο.

14 Σείανος μὲν δὴ μέγιστον τῶν τεῖπρό αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, πλὴν Πλαυτιανοῦ, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην λαβόντων ἰσχύσας οὕτως ἀπήλλαξεν, οἳ δὲ δὴ συγγενεῖς οἳ τε ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἳ λοιποὶ πάντες οἳ τι αὐτὸν κολακεύσαντες καὶ οἳ τὰς 2 τιμὰς αὐτῷ ἐσηγησάμενοι ἐκρίνοντο· καὶ ἐκείνων τε οἳ πλείους ἠλίσκοντο ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐφθονοῦντό, καὶ οἳ ἄλλοι κατεδίκαζόν σφῶν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ τῶν κεκριμένων τε ἐπὶ τισι καὶ ἀφειμένων καὶ κατηγορήθησαν αὐθις καὶ ἄλωσαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου 3 χάριν τότε σωθῆντες. Ἐ οὕτως, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο

BOOK LVIII

These were the events that were taking place in the city. A.D. 31

Tiberius for a time had been in great fear that Sejanus would occupy the city and sail against him, and so he had got ships in readiness in order to escape if anything of the sort came to pass; he had also commanded Macro, as some report, to bring Drusus before the senate and people, in the event of any uprising, and declare him emperor. When, now, he learned that Sejanus was dead, he rejoiced, as was natural, but he would not receive the embassy that was sent to congratulate him, though many members of the senate and many of the knights and the populace had been sent out, as before. Indeed, he even rebuffed the consul Regulus, who had always been devoted to his interests and had come in response to the emperor's own command, in order to ensure the safety of his journey to the city. ✓

Thus perished Sejanus, after attaining to greater power than any of those who held this position¹ either before or after him, with the exception of Plautianus.² Moreover, his relatives, his associates, and all the rest who had paid court to him and had proposed the granting of honours to him were brought to trial. The majority of them were convicted for the acts that had previously made them objects of envy; and their fellow-citizens condemned them for the measures which they themselves had previously voted. Many men who had been tried on various charges and acquitted were again accused and now convicted, on the ground that they had been saved before as a favour to the man now fallen. Accord-

¹ Prefect of the Pretorian guard.

² Cf. lxxv. 14 ff.

ἔγκλημά τῳ ἐπεφέρετο, ἀλλ' αὐτό γε¹ τότε
 ἐξήρκει οἱ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν ὅτι φίλος τοῦ
 Σεϊανοῦ ἐγεγόνει, καθάπερ οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τι-
 βερίου φιλήσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῶν
 4 ἄλλων οὕτω σπουδασάντων. ἐμῆνυον δὲ δὴ
 ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μάλιστα τὸν Σεϊανὸν
 θεραπεύοντες· οἷα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς ὁμοίους
 σφίσιν εἰδότες, οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα εἶχον οὔτ' ἀναζη-
 τοῦντες αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐξελέγχοντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν,
 ὡς σωθησόμενοί τε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τιμὰς καὶ χρῆ-
 ματα προσληψόμενοι, οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦν τινῶν
 οἱ δὲ κατεμαρτύρουν, συνέβη δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδενὸς
 5 ὧν ἠλπιζον τυχεῖν· τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν
 οἷς τοὺς ἄλλους μετήεσαν ἐνεχόμενοι, τὸ μὲν τι
 δι' ἐκεῖνα τὸ δὲ καὶ ὡς προδωσέταιροι, προσ-
 15 ἀπώλλυντο. τῶν οὖν αἰτιαθέντων συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ
 κατηγορήθησαν παρόντες καὶ ἀπελογήσαντο, καὶ
 παρρησία γε εἰσὶν οἱ μεγάλη ἐχρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ δὴ
 πλείους αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς πρὶν ἄλῶναι διέφθειραν.
 2 ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ² μήτε τὴν
 ὕβριν μήτε τὴν αἰκίαν φέρειν (πάντες γὰρ οἱ
 τινα τοιαύτην αἰτίαν λαβόντες, οὐχ ὅπως ἱππῆς
 ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευταί, οὐδ' ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ
 γυναῖκες, ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνεωθοῦντο, καὶ
 3 καταψηφισθέντες οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ ἐκολάζοντο, οἱ δὲ
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἢ
 καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημνίζοντο, καὶ ἕς τε τὴν
 ἀγορὰν τὰ σώματα ἀπάντων αὐτῶν ἐρρίπτετο
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβάλλετο), ἤδη
 δὲ καὶ ὅπως οἱ παῖδες τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς κλη-
 4 ρονομῶσιν· ὀλίγαι γὰρ πάνυ τῶν ἐθελοντηδὸν

¹ γε H. Steph., τε M.

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πρὸ τῆς δίκης τελευτώντων ἐδημεύοντο, προκα-
 λουμένου (διὰ τούτου) τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ Τιβε-
 ρίου αὐτοέντας γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ αὐτός σφας
 ἀποκτείνειν δοκῆ, ὥσπερ οὐ πολλῶ δεινότερον ὄν
 αὐτοχειρία τὴν ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι τοῦ τῶ
 16 δημίῳ αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι. αἱ δ' οὖν πλείσται
 τῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἀποθανόντων οὐσίαι ἐδημοσιούντο,
 βραχέος τινὸς ἢ καὶ μηδενὸς τοῖς κατηγορήσασιν
 αὐτῶν διδομένου. καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματα δι' ἀκρι-
 2 βείας ἤδη πολὺ¹ μᾶλλον ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ τέλος τι διακοσιοστὴν ἔχον ἑκατοστὴν ἤγαγε,
 καὶ ἐκληρονόμει παντὸς τοῦ καταλειφθέντος
 αὐτῶ· κατέλειπον² δὲ δὴ πάντες ὀλίγου καὶ οἱ
 ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρώμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶ Σεϊανῶ ὅτε
 ἔζη.
 3 Τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διανοίᾳ ἢ τὰ πῶν ἐκόντως
 ἀποθνησκόντων) χρήματα οὐκ ἀφηρείτο, καὶ τὰς
 ἐσαγγελίας πάσας ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσήγεν, ὅπως
 αὐτός τε ἔξω αἰτίας, ὡς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, ἢ, καὶ ἡ
 βουλὴ αὐτῆς ἑαυτῆς (ὡς καὶ ἀδικούσης³ τι)
 4 καταψηφίζεται. ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἔμαθον,
 αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ πρότερον
 ἐκεῖνα οὐ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Τιβερίου
 ἔργα ἦν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατηγορήσαντές τινων
 ἐκρίνοντο ἢ καὶ οἱ καταμαρτυρήσαντες κατε-
 μαρτυροῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατεψηφισμένοι τινῶν

¹ ἤδη πολὺ St., ἢ δεῖπνα M.

² κατέλειπον Bk., κατέλιπον M.

³ ἀδικούσης Rk., διαδικούσης M.

their children might inherit their property, since very few estates of such as voluntarily died before their trial were confiscated, Tiberius in this way inviting men to become their own murderers, so that he might avoid the reputation of having killed them—just as if it were not far more dreadful to compel a man to die by his own hand than to deliver him to the executioner. Most of the estates of those who failed to die in this manner were confiscated, only a little or even nothing at all being given to their accusers; for Tiberius was now inclined to be far more strict in the matter of money. For this reason he increased to one per cent. a certain tax which had been only one-half of one per cent. and was accepting every inheritance that was left to him; and for that matter, nearly everybody left him something, even those who made away with themselves, as they had also done to Sejanus while he was alive.

Furthermore, with the same purpose that had prompted him not to take away the wealth of those who perished voluntarily, Tiberius caused all accusations to be lodged with the senate, so that he should be free from blame himself (as he imagined) and the senate should pass sentence upon itself as guilty of wrong-doing. Hence people learned only too clearly, now that they were perishing at one another's hands, that their former woes were the work of Tiberius quite as much as the work of Sejanus. For it happened not only that those who had accused others were brought to trial and those who had testified against others now found others testifying against them, but also that those who had condemned others were convicted in their turn. So

- 5 ἀνθηλίσκοντο. οὕτως οὐθ' ὁ Τιβερίος τινων ἐφείδετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς· κατ' ἀλλήλων ἀπεχρήτο, οὐτ' ἄλλον βέβαιον φίλον οὐδένα,¹ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ· καὶ τὸ ἀδικοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τό τε ὑποπτεῦόν τι καὶ τὸ ἀδεές' πρὸς τῆν τῶν Σεϊανῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀνάκρισιν ἔγιγνετο.
- 6 ἔδοξε μὲν γὰρ τινὰ ἀμνηστίαν αὐτῶν ὀψέ ποτε ἔσθαι ἠγγισσάσθαι, καὶ γὰρ πενθεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψε, προσαπειπὼν μηδὲ² ἐφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς κωλύεσθαι τίνα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὃ πολλάκις
- 7 ἐψηφίζετο· οὐ μὲν καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐβεβαίωσεν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Σεϊανῶ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροισ' ἀθεμίτοις ἐγκλήμασι συχνούς ἐκόλασεν, ἢ σχυγκέναι τε καὶ ἀπεκτονένας καὶ τὰς συγγενεστάτας σφίσιν αἰτιαθέντας.
- 17 Τοιαύτης δ' οὖν τότε τῆς καταστάσεως οὔσης, καὶ μηδ' ἀπαρνήσασθαι τινος δυναμένου τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀν³ αὐτοῦ ἠδέως ἐμφαγεῖν, γελοιότατον πρᾶγμα τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ᾧ Γναῖος Δομίτιος καὶ Κάμιλλος Σκριβωνιανὸς ὑπάτευσαν,
- 2 ἔγένετο. νομιζομένου γὰρ συχνὸν ἤδη χρόνον μηκέτι κατὰ ἄνδρα τὴν βουλήν ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὀμνύναι, ἀλλ' ἐνός, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, προομνύντος⁴ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συνεπαινεῖν, οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτό, ἀλλὰ αὐτεπάγγελτοι, μηδενός σφας ἀναγκάσαντος, ἰδία καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐπιστώθησαν ὥσπερ τι ἴπαρὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

¹ A corrupt passage. Bs. suggests ἄλλως βέβαιον φίλον οὐδένα (οὐδεὶς εἶχεν), followed in the translation.

² μηδὲ Reim., μηδένι M cod. Peir.

³ ἐν cod. Peir., om. M.

⁴ προομνύντος H. Steph., προσομνύντος M.

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- 3 εὐορκήσουτες. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ (ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη, οὐδ' ὀμνύντα τινὰ τὰ (πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ) φέροντα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἠνέσχετο· τότε δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι γελοϊότερον ἐγένετο. προχειρίσασθαί τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅσους ἂν ἐθελήσῃ σφῶν, καὶ (ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, οὓς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποφήνῃ, φρουροῖς, ὅσάκις ἂν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον) ἐσίη,¹
- 4 ξιφίδια ἔχουσι χρῆσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν τε γὰρ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τηρουμένων καὶ εἴσω μηδενὸς ἰδιώτου ἐσιόντος, δι' οὐδένα δῆλον ὅτι ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑαυτοὺς μόνους ὡς καὶ πολεμίους οἱ ὄντας² τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶ
- 18 δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ἐπήνεσε μὲν αὐτούς, καὶ χάριν δῆθεν τῆς εὐνοίας σφίσιν ἔγνω, τὸ δὲ δὴ πρᾶγμα ὡς καὶ ἄηθες διεκρούσατο· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐήθης ἦν ὥστ' αὐτοῖς γε ἐκείνοις, οὓς τε ἐμίσει καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ἐμισεῖτο, ξίφη δοῦναι.
- 2 ἀμέλει καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων προσυποτοπήσας σφᾶς (πᾶν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν τις παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν) ἐπὶ κολακείᾳ ποιῆ ὑποπτέυεται) τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων ψηφίσμασι μακρὰ χαίρειν ἔφρασε, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους καὶ λόγοις καὶ χρήμασι, καίπερ τὰ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ φρονήσαντας εἰδώς, ἐτίμησεν, ἵνα αὐτοῖς
- 3 προθυμοτέροις (κατ' αὐτῶν) χρῆσθαι ἔχῃ. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς αὐθις ἐπήνεσεν, ἐπεὶ σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὸ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο· οὕτω δὲ δὴ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς μὲν τῶ

¹ ἐσίη cod. Peir., ἐσηιη M.

² οἱ ὄντας cod. Peir., ἐσιόντας M.

¹ Cf. I vii. 8, 4.

BOOK LVIII

them any more regardful of their oath. It should A.D. 32
be explained that previously for many years the emperor objected to anyone's swearing at all to support his official acts, as I have said.¹ At this same time occurred also another incident, still more ridiculous than the other: they voted that Tiberius should select as many of their number as he liked and should then employ twenty of these, to be chosen by lot and armed with daggers, as guards whenever he entered the senate-chamber. Now, inasmuch as the soldiers were on guard outside the building and no private citizen could come inside, their resolution that a guard should be given him was evidently directed against no one but themselves, thus indicating that they were his enemies. Tiberius, of course, commended them and made a show of thanking them for their good will, but he rejected their offer as being without precedent; for he was not so simple as to give swords to the very men whom he hated and by whom he was hated. At any rate, as a result of these very measures he began to grow more suspicious of them (for every act of insincerity that one undertakes for the purpose of flattery is inevitably suspected), and dismissing utterly from his thoughts all their decrees, he bestowed honours both in words and in money upon the Pretorians, in spite of his knowledge that they had been on the side of Sejanus, in order that he might find them more zealous in his service against the senators. There was another time, to be sure, that he commended the senators; this was when they voted that the guards' pay should be given them from the public treasury. Thus, in a most effective manner, he kept deceiving the one

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λόγῳ ἀντεξηπάτα τοὺς δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ προσηταιρίζετο, ὥστε καὶ Ἰούνιον¹ Γαλλίωνα,² θεῶν τοῖς διαστράτευσαμένοις αὐτῶν³ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἰππέων ἔδρᾳ
 4 δίδουσθαι ἐσηγησάμενον, μὴ μόνον φυγαδεῦσαι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπικληθέντα ὅτι σφᾶς ἀναπείθειν ἐδόκει τῷ κοινῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ εὐνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω αὐτὸν ἐς Λέσβον ἀπαίρειν, τῆς τε ἐκεῖ ἀσφαλοῦς εὐδαιμονίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἐς φυλακὴν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ τὸν Γάλλον,
 5 παραδοῦναι. καὶ ἵνα γε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἑκατέρους πείσῃ ὅπως περὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν φρονοίῃ, ἠτήσατο παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἀρκεῖν οἱ φήσας,⁴ τὸν τε Μάκρωνα καὶ τινας⁵ χιλιάρχους ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγεσθαι. οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐδεῖτό⁶ τι αὐτῶν, ὅς γε οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι ἐσελθεῖν ἐνενόει, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἐκείνων μῖσος καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐνοίαν ἐνδείξασθαί σφισιν
 6 ἠθέλησε. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ὠμολόγησαν· τῷ γοῦν⁷ δόγματι προσενέγραψαν ὥστε ἔρευνάν σφῶν συνιόντων, μὴ καὶ ξιφίδιόν τις ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχη, γίνεσθαι.

19 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔπει ἐγνώσθη, τότε δὲ ἐφείσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν καίτοι τῷ Σεῖανῷ ὠκειωμένων, ἐφείσατο δὲ καὶ Λουκίου Καισιανοῦ⁸ στρατηγοῦ Μάρκου τε Τερεντίου

¹ Ἰούνιον R. Steph., οὐίνιον M.

² Γαλλίωνα Xyl., γαλλῆνον γαλλίωνα M, γαλλίνον cod. Peir.

³ αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτὸν M cod. Peir.

⁴ φήσας supplied by Capps; cf. Ix. 10, 2 (ἀρκοῦν εἶναι φήσας).

⁵ τινας supplied by Rk.; cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 15 (utque Macro praefectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens curiam ingrederetur, petivit).

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἰππέως, ἐκείνου μὲν ὑπερφρονήσας τά τε ἄλλα
 πάντα διὰ φαλακρῶν ἐν τοῖς Φλώραλοις, μέχρι
 νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου χλευασία, ὅτι τοι-
 2 οὔτος ἦν, ποιήσαντος, καὶ φῶς τοῖς ἀπιούσιν, ἐκ
 τοῦ θεάτρου διὰ πεντακισχιλίων παιδῶν ἀπεξυρ-
 μένων παρὰσχόντος (τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐδέησε δι'
 ὀργῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ὥστ' οὐδὲ προσεποιήσατο
 ἀρχὴν ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν ἠκηκόει, καίπερ Καισιανῶν¹
 ἐξ ἐκείνου πάντων τῶν φαλακρῶν ὀνομασθέντων),
 3 τοῦ δὲ δὴ Τερεντίου, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ
 φιλίᾳ κρινόμενος οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἔφη καὶ σπουδάσαι μάλιστα αὐτὸν καὶ
 θεραπεῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου
 οὕτως ἐτιμᾶτο, "ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ὀρθῶς"
 εἶπεν "ἐποίει τοιούτῳ φίλῳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲ ἐγώ
 4 τι ἠδίκηκα· εἰ δ' ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ πάντα ἀκριβῶς
 εἰδὼς ἐπλανήθη, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐγώ οἱ
 συνέξηπατήθην; καὶ γὰρ τοι προσήκει ἡμῖν
 πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμωμένους ἀγαπᾶν, μὴ
 πολυπραγμονοῦντας ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἓνα
 ὄρον τῆς φιλίας σφῶν ποιούμενους τὸ τῷ αὐτο-
 5 κράτορι αὐτοὺς ἀρέσκειν." ἢ τε γὰρ βουλὴ διὰ
 ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀφῆκε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς
 κατηγορήσασιν αὐτοῦ προσεπέτιμησε,² καὶ ὁ
 Τιβέριος συγκατέθετό σφισι. τὸν τε Πίσωνα
 τὸν πολίρχον τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ
 ἐτίμησεν, ὅπερ πού καὶ ἄλλοις ἐχαρίζετο· καὶ
 Λούκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Λαμίαν³ ἀνθείλετο, ὃν
 πρόπαλαι τῇ Συρίᾳ⁴ προστάξας κατεῖχεν ἐν τῇ

¹ Καισιανῶν Bs., καὶ σιανῶν M, σιανῶν Xiph.

² προσεπέτιμησε Camerarius, προσετίμησε M, προετίμησε Xiph.

He overlooked the action of the former, who at the Floralia had seen to it that all the merry-making up to nightfall was done by bald-headed men, in order to poke fun at the emperor, who was bald, and at night had furnished light to the people as they left the theatre by torches in the hands of five thousand boys with shaven pates. Indeed, Tiberius was so far from becoming angry at him that he pretended not to have heard about it at all, though all bald-headed persons were thenceforth called *Caesiani*. As for Terentius, he was spared because, when on trial for his friendship with Sejanus, he not only did not deny it, but even affirmed that he had shown the greatest zeal in his behalf and had paid court to him for the reason that the minister had been so highly honoured by Tiberius himself; “consequently,” he said, “if the emperor did right in having such a friend, I, too, have done no wrong; and if he, who has accurate knowledge of everything, erred, what wonder is it that I shared in his deception? For surely it is our duty to cherish all whom he honours, without concerning ourselves overmuch about the kind of men they are, but making our friendship for them depend on just one thing—the fact that they please the emperor.” The senate, because of this, acquitted him and rebuked his accusers besides; and Tiberius concurred with them. When Piso, the city prefect, died, he honoured him with a public funeral, a distinction that he also granted to others. In his stead he chose Lucius Lamia, whom he had long since assigned to Syria,

³ Λαμίαν Turn., ταμείαν M.

⁴ Συρία Casaubon, στρατιᾷ M.

6 Ῥώμῃ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἐποίει, ἔργῳ μὲν μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δεόμενος, λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς προσποιούμενος. καὶν τούτῳ Οὐιτρασίου¹ Πωλίωνος τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος Ἰβήρῳ τινὶ Καισαρείῳ χρόνον τινὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἐπέτρεψε.

20 Τῶν δ' οὖν ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος δι' ἔτους ἤρξε (τῆς γὰρ Ἀγριππίνης τῆς τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ ἦν), οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡς που τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἔδοξε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότεροι τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτερον ἂν ἤρεϊτο,² καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι καὶ θάσσον τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀπήλλασσε, τοῖς
2 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἄρχειν ἐδίδου. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἂν τινα ἐκεῖνον μὲν κατέλυεν, ἕτερον δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον ἀντικαθίστη καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἐς τρίτον ἑτέρους προχειριζόμενος, εἶτα ἄλλους ὑπατεύειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀνθ' ἑτέρων
3 ἐποίει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτα διὰ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο. τῶν δὲ δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτούντων ἐξελέγετο ὅσους ἤθελε, καὶ σφας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπέπεμπε, τοὺς μὲν συνιστὰς αὐτῷ, οἵπερ ὑπὸ πάντων ἠροῦντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς δικαιώμασι καὶ
4 ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῷ τε κλήρῳ ποιούμενος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ προσήκοντες ἑκατέρῳ, τῆς ἀρχαίας ὀσίας ἕνεκα, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, ὥστε ἐν εἰκόνι δοκεῖν γίνεσθαι,

¹ Οὐιτρασίου Bs., οὐητρασίου M.

² ἂν ἤρεϊτο Bk., ἀνηρεϊτο M.

¹ He is called Severus by Philo, *In Flaccum* 1.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐσιόντες ἀπεδείκνυντο. εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐνέλιπόν¹
 τινες ἢ καὶ φιλονεικία ἀκράτῳ ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ
 5 ἐλάττους προεχειρίζοντο. τῷ γοῦν ἐπιόντι ἔτει,
 ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα
 αὐταρχήσας καὶ Λούκιος Κορνήλιος τὸ τῶν
 ὑπάτων ὄνομα ἔσχον, πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγοὶ
 ἐγένοντο· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη συνέβη,
 ὥστε ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἑκκαίδεκα ἔστι δ' ὅτε παρ' ἓνα
 ἢ καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖσθαι.

21 Τιβέριος δὲ δὴ ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ
 διέτριψεν ἐν τοῖς πέριξ αὐτοῦ τόποις, οὐ μέντοι
 καὶ ἐσεφοίτησεν εἴσω, καίτοι καὶ τριάκοντα
 σταδίους ἀποσχών, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς τε τοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δρούσου τὴν
 2 Ἰουλίαν ἐκδούς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τοὺς
 γάμους αὐτῶν ἐώρτασεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἡ
 βουλὴ καὶ τότε καὶ συνήχθη καὶ ἐδίκασε. σφόδρα
 γὰρ ἐπιμελὲς ἐποιεῖτο αἰεὶ σφας ὁσάκις καὶ
 καθήκοι² συνιέναι καὶ μήτ' ὀψιαίτερον ἀπαντᾶν
 τοῦ τεταγμένου μήτε πρωιαίτερον ἀπαλλάττε-
 3 σθαι. καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτου καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις
 ἐπέστελλε, καί ποτέ τινα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ
 ἀναγνωσθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων
 πραγμάτων ἐποίει, καθάπερ μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτὰ
 ἀντικρυσ τῇ βουλῇ γράψαι. ἐπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς
 αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τὰ βιβλία τὰ διδόμενά οἱ παρὰ
 τῶν μηνυόντων τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς βασάνους ἃς ὁ
 Μάκρων ἐποιεῖτο, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πλὴν
 4 τῆς καταψηφίσεως γίνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι
 Οὐιβούλιός τε Ἀγρίππας ἵππεὺς φάρμακον ἐν

¹ ἐνέλιπόν R Steph., ἐνέλειπόν M.

² καθήκοι Dind., καθήκει M.

BOOK LVIII

election. In case there was ever a deficiency of candidates, or in case they became involved in irreconcilable strife, a smaller number were chosen. Thus, in the following year, when Servius Galba (who later became emperor) and Lucius Cornelius held the title of consuls, there were only fifteen praetors; and this situation continued for many years, so that sometimes sixteen and sometimes one or two fewer were chosen. A.D. 32

A.D. 33

Tiberius now approached the capital and sojourned in its environs; but he did not go inside the walls, although he was but four miles away, and bestowed in marriage the remaining daughters of Germanicus and also Julia, the daughter of Drusus. Hence the city, on its part, did not hold any festival in honour of their marriages, but everything went on as usual, even the senate convening and deciding judicial cases. For Tiberius made an important point of their assembling as often as it was fitting for them to meet, and insisted on their not arriving later or departing earlier than the time appointed. He also sent to the consuls many injunctions on this head, and once ordered certain statements to be read aloud by them. He took the same course also in regard to some other matters—just as if he could not write directly to the senate! He did, however, send in to that body not only the documents given him by the informers, but also the confessions which Macro had obtained from people under torture, so that nothing was left to them except the vote of condemnation. About this time, however, a certain Vibullius¹ Agrippa, a knight, swallowed poison from a ring and died in

¹ He is called Vibulenus by Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 40).

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐκ δακτυλίου ῥοφήσας
 ὑπέθανε, καὶ ὁ Νέρουας μηκέτι τὴν συνουσίαν
 αὐτοῦ φέρων ἀπεκαρτέρησε· διὰ τε τὰλλα, καὶ
 μάλισθ' ὅτι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβο-
 λαίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεθέντας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ
 ἀπιστία καὶ ταραχὴ πολλὴ γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν,
 5 ἀνενεώσατο, καὶ πολλὰ γε αὐτοῦ παρακαλοῦντος
 ὅπως τι ἐμφάγη¹ οὐδ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τι ἠθέλησε,
 τό τε πρᾶγμα τὸ κατὰ τὰ δανείσματα ἐμετρίασε,
 καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τῷ
 δημοσίῳ ἔδωκεν ὥστ' αὐτὰς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βουλευτῶν
 ἀτοκεῖ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐς τρία ἔτη ἐκδανεισθῆναι,
 τοὺς τε ἐπιβοητοτάτους τῶν τὰς κατηγορίας
 ποιουμένων ἀποθανεῖν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευσε.
 6 καὶ ἐνδείξαί τινα ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις
 ἐξητασμένου βουλευθέντος ἀπέειπε μηδένα ἐστρα-
 τευμένον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καί περ καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ
 βουλευταῖς ἐπιτρέπων αὐτὸ πράττειν.

22 Οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐν² μὲν τούτῳ ἐπηνεῖτο, καὶ
 μάλισθ' ὅτι ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ οὐκ
 ἐδέξατο, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρώτων, οἷς ἀνέδην³ καὶ
 τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν
 2 ὁμοίως ἐχρήτητο, διεβάλλετο. ὁ γοῦν Μάριος ὁ
 Σέξτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 πλουτήσας καὶ δυναθεὶς τοσοῦτον ὥστ', ἐπειδὴ
 γείτονί τινι ὠργίσθη, δειπνίσαι⁴ τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ τῇ μὲν προτεραίᾳ τὴν ἑπαυλιν
 αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν κατασκάψαι, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπι-
 τε τὸ μείζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον αὐτὴν

¹ τι ἐμφάγη Polak, τι ἂν φαίη M.

² ἐν M cod. Peir., ἐπὶ Xiph.

³ ἀνέδην cod. Peir. Xiph., ἀναίδην M.

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- 3 ἀνοικοδομήσαι, ἀγνοοῦντί τε αὐτῷ· τοὺς ταῦτα
 πεποιηκότας ἑκάτερον ὁμολογήσαι, καὶ παρα-
 δείξαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι “οὕτω καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι τινα
 καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι καὶ οἶδα καὶ δύναμαι,” τὴν
 θυγατέρα ἐκπρεπῆ οὖσαν ὑπεκπέμψας ποιῖνα μὴ
 ὁ Τιβέριος αὐτὴν αἰσχύνῃ, αἰτίαν τε ἔσχευ ὡς
 4 συνῶν οἱ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συναπώλετο. (ἐπὶ
 μὲν τούτοις αἰσχύνῃν ὠφλίσκανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ
 τε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης θανάτῳ
 ὠμότητα· δοκοῦντες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Σεϊανοῦ πάντα τὰ κατ’ αὐτοῦς πρότερον γεγονέναι,¹
 καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ὅφασ σωθήσεσθαι τότε, ὡς καὶ
 5 ἐκείνους πεφονεῦσθαι ἔμαθον, ὑπερήλγησαν· διὰ
 τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὰ ὀστά αὐτῶν οὐ² μόνον οὐκ
 ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν μνημεῖον κατέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 κρυφθῆναί που κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε
 μηδέποτε εὔρεθῆναι. (τῇ δ’ οὖν Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ
 ἡ Πλαγκίνα ἡ Μουνατία ἐπεσφάγη· πρότερον
 γὰρ καίπερ μισῶν αὐτήν, οὐ(διὰ τὸν Γερμανικὸν)
 ἀλλὰ διὰ ἄλλο τι, ὅμως ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκείνη τῷ
 θανάτῳ αὐτῆς ἐφησθῆ, ζῆν εἶα.
- 23 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἔπραττε, καὶ τὸν Γάιον ταμίαν
 μὲν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἀπέδειξεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς
 ἄλλας ἀρχὰς πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσόν τοῦ καθήκοντος
 προβιβάσειν ὑπέσχετο, καίτοι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας
 δεηθεὶς ὅπως μήτε πολλαῖς μήτ’ ἀκαίροις τιμαῖς

¹ γεγονέναι Reim., γενόμενα M, τὰ κατ’ ἐκείνων πρότερον γίνεσθαι Zon.

² οὐ supplied by Leuncl.

¹ The son of Germanicus.

then, when the other could not guess who had done it, Marius admitted his responsibility for both achievements and added significantly: "This shows you that I have both the knowledge and the power to repel attacks and also to requite kindness." When this Marius, now, had sent away his daughter, a strikingly beautiful girl, to a place of refuge, in order to prevent her from being outraged by Tiberius, he was charged with having criminal relations with her himself, and because of this he perished together with his daughter. All this brought disgrace upon the emperor, and his connexion with the death of Drusus¹ and Agrippina gave him a reputation for cruelty. Men had been thinking that all the previous action against these two was due to Sejanus, and had been expecting that now their lives would be spared; so, when they learned that they, too, had been murdered, they were exceedingly grieved, partly because of the deed itself and partly because, so far from depositing their bones in the imperial tomb, Tiberius ordered their remains to be hidden so carefully somewhere underground that they could never be found. Besides Agrippina, Munatia Plancina was slain; up to this time, it would appear, Tiberius, though he hated her (not on account of Germanicus, but for another reason), nevertheless had permitted her to live, in order to prevent Agrippina from rejoicing at her death.

Besides doing all this, he appointed Gaius quaestor, though not of the first rank, and promised to advance him to the other offices five years earlier than was customary, despite the fact that he had requested the senate not to make the young man conceited by numerous or premature honours, for fear he might

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτόν, μὴ καὶ ἐξοκείλη ποι, ἐπαίρη.¹ εἶχε μὲν
 2 γὰρ καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον τὸν ἑκγόνον· ἀλλ' ἐκείνον
 μὲν διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν (ἔτι γὰρ παιδίον ἦν) καὶ
 διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετο τοῦ Δρούσου
 παῖς εἶναι) παρέώρα, τῷ δὲ δὴ Γαίῳ (ὡς καὶ
 μοιαρχήσουσι) προσεῖχε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὸν
 Τιβέριον καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιώσεσθαι καὶ ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου φονευθήσεσθαι σαφῶς ἠπίστατο.
 3 ἠγνόει μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν (κατὰ τὸν Γάϊον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶπέ ποτε αὐτῷ διαφερομένῳ πρὸς τὸν
 Τιβέριον ὅτι “σὺ τε τοῦτον ἀποκτενεῖς καὶ σὲ
 ἄλλοι.” οὔτε δὲ ἕτερόν τινα ὁμοίως πάνυ
 προσήκοντα ἑαυτῷ ἔχων, καὶ ἐκείνον κάκιστον
 4 εἰδὼς ἐσόμενον, ἀσμένως, ὡς φασι, τὴν ἀρχὴν
 αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, ὅπως τά τε ἑαυτοῦ τῆ τοῦ Γαίου
 ὑπερβολῇ συγκρυφθῆ, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον τό τε
 εὐγενέστατον τῆς λοιπῆς βουλῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν
 φθαρῆ. λέγεται γοῦν πολλάκις μὲν² ἀναφθέγ-
 ξασθαι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον

ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί,

πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον μακαρίσαι ὅτι
 ἄρδην καὶ μετὰ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ μετὰ τῆς
 5 βασιλείας ἀπώλετο. καὶ τεκμαίρονται γε ἀληθῆ
 ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι τοῖς τότε γενομένοις·
 τοσοῦτο γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν
 βουλευτῶν ἐξώλετο ὥστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς
 κληρωτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐπὶ τρία
 τοὺς δ' ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ ἕξ ἔτη τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν
 ἐθνῶν, ἀπορία τῶν διαδεξομένων αὐτούς, σχεῖν.
 6 τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἔχοι τοὺς αἰρετοὺς ὀνομάζειν, οἷς

¹ ἐπαίρη Pflugk, ἐπαίρειν M.

² μὲν supplied by Bk.

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HISTORY

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

και ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄρχειν ἐδίδου ; ἐν
 δ' οὖν τοῖς τότε ἀποθανούσι και Γάλλος ἐγένετο·
 τότε γὰρ αὐτῷ μόλις, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπε, κατηλλάγη.
 οὕτω που, παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, και τὴν ζῆν
 τιμωρίαν τισὶ και τὸν θάνατον εὐεργεσίαν ἐποίει.
 24 . Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰκοστοῦ, ἔτους τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἐπιστάντος αὐτὸς μὲν, καιτοὶ περί τε τὸ Ἄλβανόν
 και περί τὸ Τούσκουλον διατρίβων, οὐκ ἐσήλθεν
 ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ Λούκιός τε Οὐιτέλλιος
 και Φάβιος Περσικὸς τὴν δεκετηρίδα τὴν δευτέραν
 ἐώρτασαν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκοσετη-
 ρίδα ὠνόμαζον, ὡς και τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐθις αὐτῷ
 2 κατὰ τὸν Αὐγουστοῦ διδόντες. τὴν τε οὖν ἑορτὴν
 ἅμα ἐποίουν και ἐκολλᾶζοντο· ἀφείθη μὲν γὰρ τῶν
 αἰτιαθέντων τότε οὐδεὶς, πάντες δ' ἠλίσκοντο, οἱ
 μὲν πλείους ἐκ τε τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου γραμμάτων¹
 και ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μάκρωνος βασάνων, οἱ δὲ δὴ
 λοιποὶ ἐξ ὧν βουλευέσθαι² σφας ὑπώπτειον.
 και ἐθρυλεῖτό γε ὅτι δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτῶν ἀφικνοῖτο
 ἐς τὴν Ρώμην, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ταῖς καταδίκαις
 3 αἰσχύνοιτο. ἄλλοι τε οὖν, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημίων
 οἱ δὲ και ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀπέθανον και Πομπώνιος
 Λαβέων. και οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Μυσίας ποτὲ
 ὀκτῶ ἔτεσι (μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν) ἄρξας, και
 δώρων μετα τῆς γυναικὸς γραφεῖς, ἐθελοντὶ³ σὺν
 αὐτῇ διεφθάρη. Μάμερκος⁴ δὲ δὴ Αἰμίλιος

¹ γραμμάτων Xyl., πραγμάτων M cod. Peir.

² βουλευέσθαι M, βούλεσθαι cod. Peir.

³ ἐθελοντὶ Dind., ἐθελοντῆ M.

⁴ Μάμερκος Lipsius, μάρκος M Xiph., μαμέρτιος exc. Vat.

¹ Cf. chap. 3, 6 sup.

BOOK LVIII

whom from the first he bestowed office for indefinitely long periods? Among those who perished at this time was Gallus; for not until then, and scarcely even then, did Tiberius become reconciled with him, as he himself put it.¹ Thus it came to pass that, contrary to the usual custom, he inflicted life upon some as a punishment, and bestowed death upon others as a kindness. A.D. 33

The twentieth year of Tiberius' reign was now at hand, but he did not enter the city, although he was sojourning in the vicinity of the Alban territory and Tusculum; the consuls, however, Lucius Vitellius and Fabius Persicus, celebrated the completion of his second ten-year period. For this was the way the senators styled it, rather than as a twenty-year period, to signify that they were granting him the leadership of the State again, as had been done in the case of Augustus. But punishment overtook them at the very time that they were celebrating the festival; for this time none of those accused was acquitted, but all were convicted, most of them by means of the papers of Tiberius and the statements obtained under torture by Macro, and the rest by what these two suspected they were planning. It was rumoured, indeed, that the real reason why Tiberius did not come to Rome was to avoid being disgraced by being present when the sentences were pronounced. Among the various persons who perished either at the hands of the executioners or by their own act was Pomponius Labeo. This man, who had once governed Moesia for eight years after his praetorship, was indicted, together with his wife, for taking bribes, and voluntarily perished along with her. Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus, on the other A.D. 34

- Σκαῦρος μήτ' ἄρξας τινῶν μήτε δωροδοκήσας
 ἑάλω τε διὰ τραγωδίαν καὶ παθήματι δεινοτέρῳ
 4 οὐ συνέγραψε περιέπεσεν. Ἄτρεὺς μὲν τὸ
 ποίημα ἦν, παρήνει δὲ (τῶν ἀρχομένων) τινὶ ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ κρα-
 τοῦντος ἀβουλίαν φέρῃ. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ
 Τιβέριος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε τὸ ἔπος εἰρήσθαι ἔφη,
 Ἄτρεὺς εἶναι (διὰ τὴν μαιφονίαν¹ προσποιη-
 σάμενος, καὶ ὑπειπὼν ὅτι "καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν Αἴαντ'
 αὐτὸν² ποιήσω," ἀνάγκηνοί προσήγαγεν αὐτοεντεῖ³
 5 ἀπολέσθαι. οὐ μὲν καὶ⁴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορήθη,
 ἀλλ' ὡς⁵ τὴν Λιουίλλαν μεμοιχευκῶς· πολλοὶ
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι δι' αὐτήν, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας
 οἱ δὲ ἐκ συκοφαντίας, ἐκολάσθησαν.
- 25 Ἰούτων δ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γιγνομένων οὐδὲ
 τὸ ὑπήκοον ἠσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα
 νεανίσκος τις Δρουῖσος λέγων εἶναι περὶ τε τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ὤφθη, καὶ
 ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἀσμένως αἱ πόλεις καὶ συνήρουντο.
 καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν προχωρήσας τὰ στρατόπεδα
 κατέσχευε, εἰ μὴ γνωρίσας τις αὐτὸν συνέλαβέ τε
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνήγαγεν.
- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Γάιος μὲν Γάλλος καὶ Μάρκος
 Σερουίλιος ὑπάτευσαν, Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν Ἀντίῳ τοὺς
 τοῦ Γαίου γάμους ἐώρταζεν. (ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην)
 οὐδὲ δι' ἐκείνους ἐσελθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ
 Φουλκίνιος τις Τρίων, φίλος μὲν τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ

¹ εἶναι repeated after μαιφονίαν in M.

² οὖν Αἴαντ' αὐτὸν Bs., οὖν Αἴαντα αὐτὸν Xiph. Zon. (and late corr. in M), οὖνεανταύτην M.

³ αὐτοεντεῖ M Xiph., αὐτοεντία Zon.

⁴ οὐ μὲν καὶ Xiph., οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ M.

⁵ ἀλλ' ὡς Xiph., ἄλλως M.

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γεγονώς, σφόδρα δ' αὐτῶι διὰ τὰς συκοφαντίας
 κεχαρισμένος, κατηγορηθείς τε παρεδόθη καὶ
 δείσας ἑαυτὸν προαπέκτεινε, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνον
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Μάκρωνα ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις
 3 λαιδορήσας. καὶ οἱ μὲν παῖδες αὐτοῦ οὐκ
 ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὰς δημοσιεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος
 μαθὼν τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριόν σφας
 ἐσκομισθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἤκιστά τε γὰρ αὐτῶ
 τῶν τοιούτων ἔμελε, καὶ τὰς κακηγορίας¹ καὶ
 λανθανούσας ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκῶν,
 4 ὥσπερ τινὰς ἐπαίνους, ἐξέφαινε. ἀμέλει καὶ
 ὅσα ὁ Δροῦσος, οἷα ἔν τε ταλαιπωρίων καὶ
 κακοπαθῶν, ἐξελάλησε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν βουλήν
 ἐπέπεμψε. Τρίων μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπέθανε,
 Ποππαῖος δὲ Σάβινος τῆς τε Μυσίας ἑκατέρας
 καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ
 χρόνου παρὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου
 ἀρχὴν ἡγεμονεύσας, ἡδιστα προαπηλλάγη πρὶν
 5 τινα αἰτίαν λαβεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ῥήγουλος ἐπὶ
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς διεδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία, ὡς
 δέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἡ Ἀχαΐα,² ἀκληρωτὶ³
 προσετάσσοντο.

26 Ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὁ Ἀρτάβακος
 ὁ Πάρθος τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀρτάξου τὴν
 Ἀρμενίαν Ἀρσάκη τῶ ἑαυτοῦ υἱεῖ ἔδωκε, καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ μηδεμία ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμωρία παρὰ τοῦ
 Τιβερίου ἐγένετο, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἐπίερα
 καὶ ὑπερηφανώτερον καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐχρήτο.
 2 ἀποστάντες οὖν τινες αὐτοῦ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς
 τὸν Τιβέριον, βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀμηρευόντων

¹ κακηγορίας Bk., κατηγορίας M cod. Peir. (κατηγοριῶν).

² Ἀχαΐα R. Steph., ἀχαιία M. ³ ἀκληρωτὶ St., ἀκληρωτεῖ M.

BOOK LVIII

A.D. 35

the favour of Tiberius on account of his services as an informer, had been accused and handed over for trial; and, becoming frightened, he took his own life before he could be tried, after roundly abusing both the emperor and Macro in his will. His sons, now, did not dare to make the will public, but Tiberius, learning what had been written, ordered it to be brought into the senate. For he was little concerned, indeed, about such matters, and would sometimes voluntarily give to the public denunciations of his conduct that were being kept secret, as if they were so many eulogies. At any rate, he sent to the senate all the statements that Drusus had made in his misery and distress. Besides Trio, who thus perished, there was also Poppaeus Sabinus, who had governed the two Moesias and Macedonia as well during almost the whole reign of Tiberius up to this time, and was now most happy to leave this world before any charge could be brought against him. Regulus became his successor by the same manner of appointment; for Macedonia and, according to some, Achaia, too, were assigned to him without recourse to the lot.¹

At about this same time Artabanus, the Partian, upon the death of Artaxes, bestowed Armenia upon his son Arsaces; and when no vengeance came upon him from Tiberius for this, he made an attempt upon Cappadocia and treated even the Partians somewhat naughtily. Consequently some revolted from him and sent an embassy to Tiberius, asking a king for themselves from amongst those who were

¹ This is Dio's way of stating that Tiberius had taken back these provinces that had been assigned to the senate by Augustus (cf. liii. 12, 4). Claudius later restored them to the senate (lx. 24, 1).

αἰτοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς τότε μὲν Φραάτην¹ τὸν
 τοῦ Φραάτου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν
 ὁδὸν· Τιριδάτην,² ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν
 3 γένους ὄντα, ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε³ ὡς ῥᾶστα
 τὴν βασιλείαν παραλάβη, ἔγραψε Μιθριδάτη
 τῷ Ἰβηρι εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐσβαλεῖν, ἵνα ὁ
 Ἀρτάβανος τῷ υἱεὶ βοηθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας
 ἀπάρη. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ
 ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐβασίλευσεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος
 Σκύθας προσλαβὼν οὐ χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐξήλασε.
 4 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Πάρθων οὕτως ἔσχε, τὴν δ'
 Ἀρμενίαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Μιθριδάτου μὲν, τοῦ
 Ἰβηρος, ὡς εἴκε, παῖς, Φαρασμάνου⁴ δὲ τοῦ μετ'
 αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφός,
 ἔλαβε.
 5 Σέξτου δὲ δὴ Παπινίου μετὰ Κυίντου Πλαυτίου
 ὑπατεύσαντος ὁ τε Τίβερις πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐπέκλυσεν ὥστε πλευσθῆναι, καὶ πυρὶ πολὺ
 πλείω περὶ τε τὸν ἵππόδρομον καὶ περὶ τὸν
 Ἀουεντῖνον ἐφθάρη, ὥστε τὸν Τιβέριον δισχιλίας
 καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τοῖς ζημιωθείσι τι ἀπ'
 27 αὐτοῦ δοῦναι. εἰ δέ τι καὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πρὸς
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσήκει, ὁ φοῖνιξ ἐκείνῳ τῷ
 ἔτει ὠφθη· καὶ ἔδοξε πάντα ταῦτα τὸν θάνατον
 τῷ Τιβερίῳ προσημῆναι.⁵ τότε μὲν γὰρ ὁ
 Θράσυλλος, τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἤρι ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τε⁶
 Γναίου Πρόκλου καὶ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Νιγρίνου
 2 ὑπάτων ἔτελεύτησεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Μάκρων

¹ Φραάτην Xyl., φράστην M.

² Τιριδάτην Dind., τειριδάτην M (and similarly τειριδάτης just below). ³ γε H. Steph., τε M.

⁴ Φαρασμάνου R. Steph., φαρασμένου M.

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ἄλλοις τε συχνοῖς καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ ἐπιβεβου-
 λευκῶς, καὶ ἐγκλήματα καὶ βασάνους κατ' αὐτῶν)
 ἐσκευωρημένος· οὐ μὴν καὶ πάντες οἱ αἰτιαθέντες
 ἀπέθανον διὰ τὸν Θράσυλλον· σοφώτατα τὸν
 3 Τιβέριον μεταχειρισάμενον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν
 ἐν ἧ̄ τεθνήξοι¹ εἶπεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ δέκα ἄλλα ἔτη
 ψευδῶς βιώσεσθαι ἔφη, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ
 μακρότερον ζήσων μὴ ἐπειχθῆ̄ σφας ἀποκτεῖναι.
 ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· νομίσας γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 ἐξεῖναί οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο κατὰ σχολὴν
 πράξαι, οὐτ' ἄλλως ἔσπευσε, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς,
 ἀντειπόντων τι πρὸς τὰς βασάνους τῶν ὑπευθύνων,
 ἀναβαλομένης² τὴν καταδίκην σφῶν οὐκ ὠργίσθη.
 4 γυνὴ μὲν γὰρ τις ἑαυτὴν τρώσασα ἐσεκομίσθη τε
 ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸ δεσμοτήριον
 ἀπαχθεῖσα ἀπέθανε, καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρούντιος³
 καὶ ἡλικία καὶ παιδεία προήκων, ἐκούσιος, καίπερ
 νοσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ νομιζομένου μὴ
 ῥαΐσειν, ἐφθάρη· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Γαίου κακίαν
 συνιδὼν ἐπέθύμησε, πρὶν πειραθῆναι αὐτοῦ,
 προἀπαλλαγῆναι, εἰπὼν ὅτι “οὐ δύναμαι ἐπὶ
 γήρῳ δεσπότη καίνῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ δουλεῦσαι.”
 5 οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν καὶ καταψηφισθέντες, ἀλλ'
 ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν
 ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς δίκης αὐθις, ἐπειδὴ τὸν
 Τιβέριον κακῶς ἀρρωστοῦντα ἤσθοντο, ἀναβλη-
 28 θείσης ἐσώθησαν. ἔφθασε γὰρ ἐν Μισηνῶ
 μεταλλάξας πρὶν τι αὐτῶν μαθεῖν. ἐνόσει μὲν

¹ τεθνήξοι Dind., τεθνήσοι M.

² ἀναβαλομένης R. Steph., ἀναβαλλομένης M.

³ Ἀρρούντιος Xyl., ἀρίντιος M, ἀρούντιος exc. Vat.

BOOK LVIII

against Domitius and numerous others, and had manufactured complaints and testimony taken under torture against them; yet not all the accused were put to death, thanks to Thrasyllus, who handled Tiberius very cleverly. For, though in his own case he stated very accurately both the day and the hour in which he should die, he falsely declared that the emperor should live ten years longer; this was in order that Tiberius, feeling he had a fairly long time to live, should be in no haste to put the accused men to death. And thus it came to pass. For Tiberius, thinking it would be possible for him to do whatever he liked later, at his leisure, made no haste in any way, and showed no anger when the senate, in view of the statements made by the defendants contradicting the testimony taken under torture, postponed sentencing them. Nevertheless, one woman wounded herself, was carried into the senate and from there to prison, where she died; and Lucius Arruntius, distinguished alike for his great age and for his learning, took his own life, even though Tiberius was then sick and was not thought likely to recover. For Arruntius was aware of the evil character of Gaius and desired to be out of the way before he should have any experience of it; for he declared, "I cannot in my old age become the slave of a new master like him." The rest were saved, some even after their condemnation (for it was not lawful for them to be put to death before the expiration of the ten days' grace), and the others because their trial was again postponed when the judges learned that Tiberius was very low. He died at Misenum before learning anything about the trials. He had been ill

A.D. 37

γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου, προσδοκῶν δὲ δὴ διὰ τὴν
 τοῦ Θρασύλλου πρόρρησιν βιώσεσθαι οὔτε τοῖς
 ἰατροῖς ἐκοινοῦτό τι οὔτε τῆς διαίτης τι μετέβαλεν,
 2 ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, οἷα ἐν γήρα καὶ νόσῳ μὴ ὀξείᾳ,
 κατὰ βραχὺ μαραινόμενος τοτὲ μὲν ὅσον οὐκ
 ἀπέψυχε¹ τοτὲ δὲ ἀνερρώννυτο, κακὰ τούτων
 πολλὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ ὡς
 καὶ τελευτησῶν, πολὺν δὲ καὶ φόβον ὡς καὶ ζήσῶν,
 3 ἐνεποίει. δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὴ καὶ ἀληθῶς
 ἀνασῶθῃ, οὔτε ἐμφαγεῖν τι αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ ὡς
 καὶ βλαβησομένῳ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἱμάτια πολλὰ καὶ
 παχέα ὡς καὶ θερμασίας τινὸς δεομένῳ προσεπέ-
 βαλε, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτόν, συναραμένου
 4 πη αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Μάκρωνος· ἅτε γὰρ κακῶς ἤδη
 τοῦ Τιβερίου νοσοῦντος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐθεράπευε,
 καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτόν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 γυναικὸς Ἐννίας Θρασύλλης προὔπηκτο. ὅπερ
 καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ὑποπτεύσας ποτὲ “εὐ γε,” ἔφη,
 “τὸν δυόμενον ἐγκαταλιπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα
 ἐπείγῃ.”

5 Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ πλείστας μὲν ἀρετὰς πλείστας
 δὲ καὶ κακίας ἔχων, καὶ ἑκατέραις αὐταῖς ὡς καὶ
 μόναις κεχρημένος, οὕτω μετήλλαξε τῇ ἕκτη
 καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Μαρτίου ἡμέρᾳ. ἐβίω δὲ ἑπτὰ
 καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ
 ἡμέρας ἐννέα, ἀφ' ὧν ἔτη μὲν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι
 μῆνας δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ἐμονάρχησε.
 καὶ δημοσίας τε ταφῆς ἔτυχε καὶ ἐπηνέθη ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Γαίου.

¹ ἀπέψυχε Rk., ἀπεψύχετο M.

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FRAGMENTS¹

1. τοιοῦτος ἦν (ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς,) ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μέχρι τέλους· | καὶ γὰρ ἐκόλαζε πικρῶς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀναιτίων, | ἀσυμπαθῶς μαιφονῶν, καὶ τόσον ἐμισήθη | ὡς ὀνομάζεσθαι πηλὸς αἵματι πεφυρμένος. Const. Man. v. 1971–1974.

2. ὅτι ὑπατικὸν ἄνδρα τινὰ ἀνεῖλε Τιβέριος, ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ μορφήν φέρων νόμισμα φέρων ἐν κόλποις εἰς ἄφοδον ἀπεχώρησεν. Exc. Planud. n. 129 (Mai 81 p. 554 = vol. 5 p. 236 Dind.).

ἄνδρα καὶ γὰρ ὑπατικὸν καὶ τῶν εὐγενεστέρων | τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ (σὺν αὐτῇ) τὸν πλοῦτον, | τοῦτο καὶ μόνον ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι “τὸ νόμισμά μου | φέρων ἐπικολπίδιον καὶ ῥυπαροῦς εἰς τόπους | καὶ σκυβαλώδεις παρελθὼν βάρος γαστροῦ ἐκέλευ.” Const. Man. v. 1975–1979.

3. Τιβέριος τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ ἦν ἀπηνῆς καὶ οἴνου ἐλάττων· διὸ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Βιβέριον² αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, ὃ σημαίνει παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸν οἴνοπότην. Leo p. 278 add. ad v. 14 Cram., cf. Cedr. p. 345, 21–346, 1.

¹ These excerpts, pertaining to Tiberius, are perhaps derived ultimately from Dio. Boissevain places them here at the end of Dio's account of Tiberius.

² τιβέριον cod.

FRAGMENTS

1. This is what he was like in the beginning, but he did not remain so until the end, for he harshly punished many who were innocent, heartlessly staining his hands with their blood; and he was so cordially hated that he was called "bloodstained mud."¹

2. Tiberius put to death a man of consular rank, accusing him of having carried in his bosom a coin bearing the emperor's likeness when he retired to a latrine.

For a man of consular rank and one of the noblest in the realm lost his head and with it his wealth at the hands of Tiberius, who had merely this to say to him: "With my coin in your bosom you turned aside into foul and noisome places and relieved your bowels."

3. Tiberius was harsh in his manner and disposition, and was easily overcome with wine. Hence the Romans used to call him Biberius, which with them means a wine-bibber.

¹ Suetonius (*Tib.* 57) gives *πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυραμένον* (mud kneaded with blood). Cf. Aesch., *Sept.* 48.

BOOK LIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος τοῦ καὶ Καλλιγόλου.
- β. Ὡς τὸ Αὐγούστου ἡρῶν ὠσιώθη.
- γ. Ὡς αἱ Μαυριτανίαι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξαντο.
- δ. Ὡς Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γναίου¹ Ἀκερρωνίου καὶ² Ποντίου Νιγρίνου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη τρία ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

- Μ. Ἀκύλας Γ. υἱ. Ἰουλιανός ὑπ.
- Π. Νώνιος Μ. υἱ. Ἀσπρήνας
- Γ. Καῖσαρ Γερμανικὸς τὸ β'
- Λ. Ἀπρώνιος³ Λ. υἱ. Καισιανός⁴ ὑπ.
- Γ. Καῖσαρ τὸ γ' ὑπ.⁵
- Γ. Καῖσαρ τὸ δ'
- Γν. Σέντιος Γν. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος ὑπ.

(Οὗτος ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς οὐ συναριθμεῖται διὰ τὸ τὰ πλείω αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑξηκοστῷ γεγράφθαι.)

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τιβερίου ταῦτα παραδέδοται, διεδέξατο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Γάιος ὁ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης παῖς, ὃν καὶ Γερμανικὸν καὶ Καλιγόλαν,⁶ ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπωνόμαζον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῷ ἐγγόνῳ τὴν αὐταρχίαν κατέλιπεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐσπέμψας ἀκύρους ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων οἱ, ὡς καὶ

¹ Γναίου Reim. γαίου M. ² καὶ added by R. Steph.

³ Λ. Ἀπρώνιος Xyl., λαιγρώνιος M.

⁴ Καισιανός Bs., κελιανός ἢ κεστιανός M.

⁵ ὑπ. added by Bs.

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παραφρονήσαντος, ἐπέειπεν, ὅτι παιδίῳ, ᾧ μηδὲ
 ἐσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐξῆν, ἄρχειν σφᾶς
 3 ἐπέτρεψε. τότε τε οὖν παραχρῆμα οὕτως αὐτὸν
 τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέλυσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ποιησά-
 μενος ἀπέκτεινε, καίπερ ὁ Τιβέριος πολλαχῆ τὰ
 αὐτὰ γράψας, ὡς καὶ ἰσχύει τινα παρὰ τοῦτο
 ἔξοντα, κατέλιπε, καὶ πάντα τότε ἐκεῖνα ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀνεγνώσθη. ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην, οὔτε
 πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν διαδεχομένων τινα ἐπί-
 4 σκηψίς τις ἰσχύει. ταῦτο¹ οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος
 ἔπαθεν ὅπερ τὴν μητέρα ἐπεποιήκει, πλὴν καθ'
 ὅσον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης
 διαθηκῶν ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλει-
 φθέντα πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ ἐγγόνου αὐτοῦ ἀπεδόθη.
 ἀφ' οὐπερ κατάδηλον οὐχ ἤκιστα ἐγένετο ὅτι
 διὰ τὸ παιδίον, πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας
 5 αἰτίαμα συνεσκευάσθη. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ
 μὴ ἐκφῆναί σφας (οὐ γὰρ που τὰ γεγραμ-
 μένα ἠγνόησεν). ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοί τε αὐτὰ ἤδεσαν,
 καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ² ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἠ-
 βουλή τὴν αἰτίαν, ὡς γε καὶ ἔδοκει, λήψεσθαι,
 ἀνατρέψαι μάλλον αὐτὰς δι' ἐκείνης ἢ συγκρύψαι
 2 ἠθέλησε. πρὸς δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ³
 πάντα, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δή, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις
 ἀποδοὺς μεγαλοψυχίας τινὰ δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς
 πολλοῖς ἐκτήσατο. τοὺς τε οὖν δορυφόρους
 εὐθὺς γυμνασίαν ποιουμένους θεασάμενος μετὰ
 τῆς γερουσίας, τὰς τε καταλειφθείσας σφίσι

¹ ταῦτο Reim., ταῦτα M.

² αὐτὸς Oddey, ὁ αὔγουστος M.

BOOK LIX

been of sound mind, as shown by the fact that he had permitted a mere boy to rule over them, who did not yet possess the right even to enter the senate. Thus Gaius at the time promptly deprived the lad of the throne, and later, in spite of having adopted him, he put him to death. It availed naught that Tiberius in his will had expressed the same purpose in a number of ways, as if this would lend it some force, nor yet that it had all been read at this time by Macro in the senate. But, of course, no injunction can have any weight against the ingratitude or the might of one's successors. Thus Tiberius suffered the same treatment that he had accorded to his mother, with this difference only, that, whereas he had discharged none of the obligations imposed by her will in the case of anybody, his bequests were paid to all the beneficiaries except his grandson. This, in particular, made it perfectly plain that the whole fault found with the will had been invented on account of the lad. Gaius, it is true, need not have published it, as he surely was not unacquainted with the contents; but inasmuch as many knew what was in it, and it seemed probable that he himself in the one case or the senate in the other would be blamed for its suppression, he chose rather to have it overturned by the senators than to keep it concealed. At the same time, by paying all the bequests of Tiberius, as if they were his own, to every one else, he gained with the multitude a certain reputation for generosity. Thus, in company with the senate, he inspected the Pretorians at drill and distributed to them the money that had been

A.D. 37

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς διένειμε
 2 καὶ ἑτέρας τοσαύτας προσέδωκε· καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 τὰς τε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίας
 μυριάδας (τοσαῦται γὰρ αὐτῷ κατελείφθησαν)
 καὶ προσέτι τὰς ἐξήκοντα κατ' ἄνδρα δραχμὰς,
 ἃς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσγραφῆ οὐκ
 εἰλήφεσαν, μετὰ τόκου πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλων
 3 δραχμῶν ἀπέδωκε. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀστικοῖς καὶ
 τοῖς νυκτοφύλαξι, τοῖς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας (ἐκ
 τοῦ καταλόγου οὖσιν, εἴ τί τι ἄλλο στράτευμα
 πολιτικὸν ἐν τοῖς μικροτέροις τείχεσιν ἦν, τὰ
 καταλειφθέντα διέλυσε, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀστι-
 κοῖς) ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς,
 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα.
 4 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς τῆς Λιουίας δια-
 θήκας ἐπραξε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ἀπήλλαξε.
 καὶ εἶπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα δεόντως ἀνα-
 λώκει, μεγαλόνοους τε ἂν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς εἶναι
 ἔδοξεν. ἐστὶ μὲν¹ γὰρ ὅτε φοβηθεὶς καὶ τὸν
 δῆμον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ
 δὴ πλείστον ἀπὸ γνώμης· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ παρὰ τοῦ
 Τιβερίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς προτήθης δωρη-
 5 θέντα διέλυσε. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐς ὄρχηστὰς (αὐτίκα
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπανήγαγε) καὶ ἐς ἵππους τοὺς τε
 μονομάχους καὶ τὰλλα τὰ τοιουτότροπα ἀπλή-
 στως δαπανήσας τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς μεγάλους
 γενομένους διὰ βραχυτάτου ἐξεκένωσε, καὶ αὐτὸν
 προσεξήλεγξεν ὅτι εὐχερεία τέ τινι καὶ ἀκρισία

¹ μὲν supplied by Bk.

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6 καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπεποιήκει. πέντε¹ γοῦν μυριάδας μυριάδων καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίας, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, ὀκτώ τε καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας τεθησαυρισμένας εὐρῶν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἔτος μέρος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τι διέσωσεν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς τῷ ἑτέρῳ παμπόλλων προσεδεήθη.

3 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐχρήτο. δημοκρατικώτατός τε γὰρ εἶναι τὰ πρῶτα δόξας, ὥστε μήτε τῷ δήμῳ ἢ τῇ γε βουλῇ γράψαι τι μήτε² τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἀρχικῶν προσθέσθαι τι, μοναρχικώτατος ἐγένετο, ὡστε πάντα ὅσα ὁ Αὐγούστος (ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ) μόλις καὶ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐδέξατο, ὧν ἕνια ὁ Τιβέριος οὐδ' ὅλως προσήκατο, ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ λαβεῖν. πλὴν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικλήσεως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀνεβάλετο.³ καὶ ἐκείνην δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν προσεκτήσατο. μοιχικώτατός⁴ τε ἀνδρῶν γεγενημένος, καὶ γυναῖκα μίαν μὲν ἐκδιδομένην ἀνδρὶ ἀρπάσας, ἄλλας δὲ συνοικούσας τισὶν ἀποσπάσας, ἔπειτα αὐτὰς πλὴν μιᾶς ἐμίσησε· πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκείνην ἤχθηρεν, εἰ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐβεβιώκει. ἐς τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀδελφὰς⁵ τὴν τε τήθην τὴν Ἀντωνίαν πλείιστα ὅσα εὐσεβῶς ποιήσας—ταύτην τε γὰρ Αὐγούσταν τε εὐθύς καὶ ἰέρειαν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀποδείξας πάντα αὐτῇ

¹ For πέντε Xyl. suggested ἕξ, which would make the sum the same as given by Suet., *Gai.* 37 (*vicies ac septies millies sestertium* = 2,700,000,000 sesterces).

² τι μήτε cod. Peir., τιμῆι τε M.

³ ἀνεβάλετο cod. Peir., ἀνεβάλλετο M.

⁴ μοιχικώτατός cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., μοιχιλώτατός M.

⁵ τὰς ἀδελφὰς Xiph. Zon., τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς M cod. Peir.

judgment. At all events he had found in the treasury 2,300,000,000 or, according to others, 3,300,000,000 sesterces,¹ and yet did not make any part of it last into the third year, but in his very second year found himself in need of vast sums in addition. A.D. 37

He went through this same process of deterioration, too, in almost all other respects. Thus, he had seemed at first most democratic, to such a degree, in fact, that he would send no letters either to the people or to the senate nor assume any of the imperial titles; yet he became most autocratic, so that he took in one day all the honours which Augustus had with difficulty been induced to accept, and then only as they were voted to him one at a time during the long extent of his reign, some of which indeed Tiberius had refused to accept at all. Indeed, he postponed none of them except the title of Father,² and even that he acquired after no long time. Though he had proved himself the most libidinous of men, had seized one woman at the very moment of her marriage,³ and had dragged others from their husbands,⁴ he afterwards came to hate them all save one; and he would certainly have detested her, had he lived longer. Towards his mother, his sisters, and his grandmother Antonia he conducted himself at first in the most dutiful manner possible. His grandmother he immediately saluted as Augusta, and appointed her to be priestess of Augustus, granting to her at once all the privileges

¹ See note on Greek.

² *Pater patriae.* text.

³ See chap. 8, 7.

⁴ See chap. 12, 1.

καθάπαξ, ὅσα ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ὑπάρχει, ἔδωκε, καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ταῦτά τε τὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων καὶ τὸ τὰς ἵπποδρομίας οἱ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προεδρία¹ συνθεᾶσθαι, τό τε τὰς τε εὐχὰς τὰς κατ' ἔτος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου ποιουμένας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φέροντας
 5 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμοίως γίνεσθαι ἔνειμε· τὰ τε ὅστ' αὐτὰς τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων αὐτὸς τε πλεύσας καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοχειρία ἀνελόμενος ἐκόμισε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνήμα κατέθετο, τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδύς καὶ ῥαβδούχοις τισὶν ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις
 6 κοσμηθεῖς· τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα κατ' αὐτῶν πάντα ἀπήλειψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντάς· σφισι πάντας ἐκόλασε, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας δι' αὐτοὺς κατήγαγε—ταῦτ' οὖν ποιήσας ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ περὶ τὴν τήθην καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἐγένετο· ἐκείνην τε γὰρ ἐπιτιμήσασάν τι αὐτῶ ἐς ἀνάγκην ἐκουσίου θανάτου κατέστησε, καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς πάσας διαφθείρας ἐς νῆσον τὰς δύο
 7 κατέκλεισεν· ἡ γὰρ τρίτη προαπέθανε. τὸν τε Τιβέριον αὐτόν, ὃν καὶ πάππον προσωνόμαζε, τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τιμῶν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τυχεῖν ἀξιώσας, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μὴ παραχρῆμα ἐψηφίσθησαν (οὔτε γὰρ τιμῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπομένοντες οὔτ' ἀτιμάσαι θαρσοῦντες, ἅτε μὴδέπω τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου γνώμην σαφῶς εἰδότες, ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀνεβάλλοντο), οὔδενι ἄλλῳ πλὴν τῇ δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἤγηλε,

¹ προεδρία Leuncl., προεδρεία M.

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νυκτός τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσαγαγὼν
 8 καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἕω προθέμενος. ἐποιήσατο μὲν γὰρ
 καὶ λόγους ἐπ' αὐτῶ, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἐκείνον
 οὔτως ἐπαινῶν ὡς τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ τὸν δῆμον ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ ἑαυτὸν
 αὐτοῖς παρακατατιθέμενος.

4 Οὔτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἐναντίος ἐπεφύκει
 ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὴν μαιφονίαν
 αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ διέβαλλεν αὐτόν, οὐ μόνον
 ἐζήλωσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπέρέβαλεν, ὧν δὲ δὴ ἐπῆνει
 2 οὐδὲν ἐμιμήσατο: πρῶτός τε ὑβρίσας αὐτόν καὶ
 πρῶτος λοιδορήσας, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ
 τούτου χαριεῖσθαι οἱ νομίσαντας προπετεστέρα
 παρρησία χρήσασθαι, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐνεκωμίαζε καὶ
 ἐσέμνυνεν, ὥστε καὶ κολάσαι τινὰς ἐφ' οἷς εἰρή-
 κεσαν. καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἅμα ὡς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ
 Τιβερίου διὰ τὰς βλασφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦν-
 3 τὰς πῆ αὐτόν ὡς καὶ φίλους, ἐμίσει. τὰ τε τῆς
 ἀσεβείας ἔγκλήματα παύσας πλείστους ὄσους
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀπώλεσε. καὶ τοῖς συστᾶσιν ἐπί-
 τε τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τοὺς τε
 ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ὀργὴν ἀφείς, ὡς ἔλεγε,
 καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτῶν καταφλέξας, παμπλη-
 θεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε· διέφθειρε μὲν γὰρ ὡς
 ἀληθῶς γράμματά τινα, οὐ μόντοι κακείνα τὰ
 αὐτόχειρα τὰ¹ τὸν ἀκριβῆ ἔλεγχον ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ
 4 ἀντίγραφα αὐτῶν ποιήσας. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
 εἰκόνας τε ἀπαγορεύσας κατ' ἀρχὰς μηδένα αὐτοῦ²
 ἰστάναι, καὶ ἐς ἀγαλμάτων ποίησιν προεχώρησε,

¹ τὰ supplied by Rk.

² αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ M.

the body to be brought into the city by night and laid out at daybreak. And though he delivered a speech over it, he did not say so much in praise of Tiberius as he did to remind the people of Augustus and Germanicus and incidentally to commend himself to them. A.D. 37

For Gaius invariably went so by contraries in every matter, that he not only emulated but even surpassed his predecessor's licentiousness and bloodthirstiness, for which he used to censure him, whereas of the qualities he praised in the other he imitated not one. Though he had been the first to insult him and the first to abuse him, so that others, thinking to please him in this way, indulged in rather reckless freedom of speech, he later lauded and magnified Tiberius, even going so far as to punish some for what they had said. These, as enemies of the former emperor, he hated for their abusive remarks; and he hated equally those who in any way praised Tiberius, as being the other's friends. Though he put an end to the charges of *maiestas*, he nevertheless made these the cause of a great many persons' downfall. Again, though, according to his own account, he had given up his anger against those who had conspired against his father and mother and brothers, and even burned their letters, he yet put to death great numbers of them on the strength of those letters. He did, it is true, actually destroy some letters, but they were not the originals containing the absolute proof, but rather copies that he had made. Furthermore, though he at first forbade any one to set up images of him, he even went on to manufacture statues himself; and though he once requested the annulment of a decree ordering sacrifices to be offered to

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ ψηφισθέν ποτε τῇ τύχῃ αὐτοῦ θύεσθαι παρέ-
 μενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς στήλην αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐγγραφῆναι,
 καὶ ναοὺς ἑαυτῷ καὶ θυσίας ὡς καὶ θεῷ γίγνεσθαι
 5 ἐκέλευσε. πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐρημία αὐ
 ἔχαιρεν, αἰτούμενός τέ τι καὶ μὴ αἰτούμενος αὐ
 ὠργίζετο. ὀξύτατά τε πρὸς πράξεις τινὰς ἐφέρετο,
 καὶ νωθέστατα ἔστιν ἄς¹ αὐτῶν μετεχειρίζετο.
 τά τε χρήματα καὶ ἀφειδέστατα ἀνήλισκε καὶ
 ῥυπαρώτατα ἠργυρολόγει. τοῖς τε θωπεύουσιν
 αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς παρρησιαζομένοις τι καὶ ἤχθετο
 6 ὁμοίως καὶ ἤδετο. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν μεγάλα
 ἀδικήσαντας οὐκ ἐκόλασε, πολλοὺς δὲ μηδὲ²
 δόξαντας³ ἀπέσφαξε. τῶν τε ἐταίρων τοὺς μὲν
 ὑπερεκολάκευε τοὺς δὲ ὑπερύβριζεν. ὥστε
 μηδένα μήθ'⁴ ὅ τι εἰπεῖν μήθ' ὅ τι ποιῆσαι χρῆ
 πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰδέναί, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τι καὶ κατῶρ-
 θωσαν, ἐκ συντυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης τυχεῖν
 αὐτοῦ.

5 Τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τότε αὐτοκράτορι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
 παρεδόθησαν, ὥστε τὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα, καίπερ
 χαλεπώτατα δόξαντα γεγονέναι, τοσοῦτον παρὰ
 τὰ τοῦ Γαίου ὅσον τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου παρ' ἐκεῖνα
 2 παρενεγκεῖν. Τιβέριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτός τε ἦρχε
 καὶ ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ἄλλοις πρὸς γε τὸ αὐτοῦ
 βούλημα ἐχρήτο, Γάιος δὲ ἦρχετο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἄρματηλατούντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλομαχοῦν-
 των, ἐδούλευε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς καὶ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔχουσι· τὸν γοῦν
 Ἀπελλῆν τὸν εὐδοκιμώτατον τῶν τότε τραγωδῶν

¹ ἄς St., & M Xiph. cod. Peir.

² μηδὲ M, μηδὲν cod. Peir. Zon., καὶ μηδὲν Xiph.

³ δόξαντας Polak, ἀδικήσαντας M.

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- 3 καὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ συνόντα οἱ αἰεὶ εἶχε. κακ-
 τούτου χωρὶς μὲν αὐτὸς χωρὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, πάνθ'
 ὅσα ἂν¹ ἄνθρωποι τοιοῦτοι δυναθέντες τι τολμή-
 σαιαν, ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἐποίουν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα
 τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτῶν φέροντα, αὐτὸς τε
 πολυτελέστατα ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει καὶ διετίθει
 καὶ καθίστατο καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τούς τε
 ὑπάτους ποιεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥστε καθ' ἐκάστην
 4 ὀλίγου ἡμέραν πάντως τι τοιοῦτον ἄγεσθαι. καὶ
 αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θεατῆς καὶ ἀκροατῆς ἐγί-
 γνετο, συνεσπούδαζέ τε τισι καὶ ἀντεστασίαζεν
 ὥσπερ τῖς ἔκ τοῦ ὀμίλου ὢν· καὶ ποτε δυσκο-
 λάνας τι τοῖς ἀντικαθεστηκόσιν οὐκ ἀπήντησεν
 ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. / προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ
 ἐς ζήλωμα καὶ ἐς ἀγώνισμα πολλῶν προῆλθεν·
 5 ἄρματά τε γὰρ ἤλασε καὶ ἐμονομάχησεν ὀρχήσει
 τε ἐχρήσατο καὶ τραγωδίαν ὑπεκρίνατο. καὶ
 ταῦτα μὲν που αἰεὶ ἐποίει, ἅπαξ δὲ ποτε τοὺς
 πρῶτους τῆς γερουσίας σπουδῇ νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ
 ἐπ' ἀναγκαῖόν τι βούλευμα μεταπεμφάμενος
 ὤρχησατο.
- 6 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Τιβέριος ἐτελεύ-
 τησε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀντικατέστη,
 πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βουλευτάς, παρόντων ἐν τῷ
 συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἰππέων τοῦ τε δήμου τινῶν, πολλὰ
 ἐκολάκευσε, τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν κοινώσκειν σφίσι
 καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνοις ἀρέσῃ ποιήσκειν
 ὑπέσχετο, καὶ υἱὸς καὶ τρόφιμος αὐτῶν λέγων
 2 εἶναι. ἦγε δὲ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος, ἡμερῶν
 τεσσαρῶν καὶ μηνῶν πέντε ἐπιδέον.² ἔπειτα
 τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ὄντας ἀπέλυσεν, ὧν εἷς
 ἦν Κύντος Πομπώνιος ἑπτὰ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐν τῷ

tragedians of that day, with him even in public. Thus he by himself and they by themselves did without let or hindrance all that such persons would naturally dare to do when given power. Everything that pertained to their art he arranged and settled on the slightest pretext in the most lavish manner, and he compelled the praetors and the consuls to do the same, so that almost every day some performance of the kind was sure to be given. At first he was but a spectator and listener at these and would take sides for or against various performers like one of the crowd; and one time, when he was vexed with those of opposing tastes, he did not go to the spectacle. But as time went on, he came to imitate, and to contend in many events, driving chariots, fighting as a gladiator, giving exhibitions of pantomimic dancing, and acting in tragedy. So much for his regular behaviour. And once he sent an urgent summons at night to the leading men of the senate, as if for some important deliberation, and then danced before them.

In the year that Tiberius died and Gaius succeeded to the rule, he at first showed great deference to the senators on an occasion when knights and also some of the populace were present at their meeting. He promised to share his power with them and to do whatever would please them, calling himself their son and ward. He was then twenty-five years of age, lacking five months and four days. After this he freed those who were in prison, among them Quintus Pomponius, who for seven whole years after

¹ ὄσα ἂν Ζον., ὄσα Μ.

² ἐπιδέον Βσ., ἐπιδέων Μ, ἀποδέον Χiph.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οἰκήματι μεθ' ὑπατείαν κακωθείς· τά τε ἐγκλή-
 ματα τῆς ἀσεβείας, οἷσπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
 3 πονουμένους σφᾶς ἑώρα, κατέλυσε, καὶ τὰ γράμ-
 ματα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα ὁ Τιβέριος κατελε-
λοίπει, συννήσας, ὡς γε ἐσκήπτετο, κατέκαυσε,
 εἰπὼν ὅτι “τοῦτ' ἐποίησα ἵνα μηδ' ἂν πάνυ
 ἐθέλήσω ποτὲ διὰ τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ διὰ τοὺς
 ἀδελφοὺς μνησικακῆσαί τινι, δυνηθῶ αὐτὸν τιμω-
 4 ρήσασθαι.” ἐπαινούμενός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐπειδὴ
 καὶ ἠλπίζετο παντός μᾶλλον ἀληθεύσειν ἅτε
 μηδὲν διπλοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ λέγειν
 δύνασθαι νομιζόμενος, προσεπηύξησε τὰς ἐλπίδας
 αὐτῶν τά τε Κρόνια ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἐορτάζεσθαι
κελεύσας, καὶ ὀβολὸν παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν τὸ σιτη-
 ρέσιον φερόντων, ἀντὶ τῆς δραχμῆς ἦν ἐς εἰκόνων
 ποίησιν ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῶ, λαβῶν.

5 Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν
 ὑπατεῦσαι, καταλυθέντων τοῦ τε Πρόκλου καὶ
 τοῦ Νιγρίνου τῶν τότε ἀρχόντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 κατ' ἔτος ὑπατεύειν· οὐ μὲν καὶ προσεδέξατο
 αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἔκμηνον ἐς ὃν ἀπε-
δεδείχατο διῆρξαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάτευσεν,
 6 τὸν Κλαύδιον τὸν θεῖον προσλαβῶν· οὗτος γὰρ
 ἔν τε τοῖς ἰππεύσι μέχρι τότε ἐξεταζόμενος, καὶ
 πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς τὸν Γάιον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιβερίου
 θάνατον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰππάδος πεμφθείς, τότε πρῶτον,

¹ The Greek word is “obol,” the smallest monetary unit among the Greeks, as the as was among the Romans. Strictly, the obol was the sixth part of a drachma (= denarius), and so would be more nearly the equivalent of the sestertius.

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καίπερ ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκώς, καὶ
 7 ὑπάτευσεν ἅμα καὶ ἐβούλευσεν. ὁ δ' οὖν Γάιος
 ταῦτά τε ἐπιεικώς ποιῆσαι ἔδοξε, καὶ τοιαῦτα
 ἐπιβὰς τῆς ὑπατείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐδημη-
 γόρησε, τοῦ τε Τιβερίου καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἠτιάζετο
 κατατρέχων καὶ (περὶ ἑαυτοῦ) πολλὰ ἐπαγγελ-
 λόμενος, ὥστε τὴν γερουσίαν, φοβηθεῖσαν μὴ
 μεταβάληται,¹ δόγμα ποιῆσαι (κατ' ἔτος) αὐτὰ
 αναγιγνώσκεισθαι.

7 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ ἠρῶν τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
 ὠσίωσε, τὴν ἐπινίκιον στολὴν ἐνδύς. καὶ οἱ τε
 εὐγενέστατοι παῖδες, ὅσοι γε² καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς
 ἦσαν, μετὰ παρθένων ὁμοίων τὸν ὕμνον ἦσαν,
 καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ταῖς γαμεταῖς σφῶν ὃ τε δῆμος
 2 εἰστιάθη, θεαὶ τε παντοδαπαὶ ἐγένοντο. τὰ τε
 γὰρ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐχόμενα ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἵπποι δύο
 ἡμέραις ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ μὲν προτέρα εἰκοσάκις,
 τῇ δ' ὑστέρα καὶ τετραρακοντάκις³ διὰ τὸ τὰ
 3 γενέθλια αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην εἶναι. ἦν γὰρ
 ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Αὐγούστου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ
 ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ,
 ἐποίησε. πρότερον γὰρ οὐ πλείω τῶν δέκα ἀθλων
 ἐτίθετο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἄρκτους τετρακοσίας (μεθ'
 4 ἑτέρων Λιβυκῶν θηρίων ἴσων ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οἱ
 τε εὐγενεῖς παῖδες τὴν Τροίαν ἵππευσαν, καὶ τὸ
 ἄρμα τὸ πομπικὸν ἐφ' οὗ ἤχθη ἐξ ἵπποι εἴλκυσαν.
 ὃ μηπώποτε ἐγεγόνει. οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς

¹ μεταβάληται Xiph., μεταβάλληται M.

² γε H. Steph., τε M.

³ τετραρακοντάκις Bs., τετράκις M.

six years of age, became a consul and a senator— both at the same time. In all this, now, the conduct of Gaius appeared satisfactory, and in harmony with this was the speech which he delivered in the senate on entering upon his consulship. In it he denounced Tiberius for each and every one of the crimes of which he was commonly accused and made many promises regarding his own conduct, with the result that the senate, fearing that he might change his mind, issued a decree that this speech should be read every year.

Soon after this, clad in the triumphal dress, he dedicated the shrine of Augustus. Boys of the noblest families, both of whose parents must be living, together with maidens similarly circumstanced, sang the hymn, the senators with their wives and also the people were banqueted, and there were spectacles of all sorts. For not only all kinds of musical entertainments were given, but also horse-races took place on two days, twenty heats the first day and forty the second, because the latter was the emperor's birthday, being the last day of August. And he exhibited the same number of events on many other occasions, as often as it suited him; previously to this, it should be explained, not more than ten events had been usual. He also caused four hundred bears to be slain on the present occasion together with an equal number of wild beasts from Libya. The boys of noble birth performed the equestrian game of "Troy,"¹ and six horses drew the triumphal car on which he rode, something that had never been done before. In the races he did not give the signals himself to the

¹ See note on Vol. IV., p. 255.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἡνιόχοις ἀπεσήμηνεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ προεδρίας¹ μετὰ τε
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων τῶν Αὐγου-
 5 στείων συνεθέασατο. ὅπως τε μηδεμία² τινὶ τοῦ
 μὴ συμφοιτᾶν ἐς τὰ θέατρα πρόφασις εἶη (καὶ
 γὰρ ἤσχαλλε δεινῶς εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελείπετο ἢ
 καὶ μεσούσης τῆς θεᾶς ἐξανίστατο), τὰς τε δίκας
 ἀπάσας ἀνεβάλετο³ καὶ τὰ πένθη πάντα ἐπέσχευεν,
 ὥστε καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστερη-
 μέναις γαμείσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου,
 6 ἂν γε μὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχωσιν, ἐξεῖναι. καὶ ἵνα (μετὰ
 ῥαστώνης) βαδίζοιεν καὶ μὴ πράγματα ἔχοιεν
 ἀσπαζόμενοι τινὲς αὐτόν (πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
 ὁδοῖς) τὸν αὐτοκράτορα οἱ συντυγχάνοντες οἱ προσ-
 7 ἠγόρευον), ἀπέειπε μηδένα ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ
 ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνυποδῆτοις τοῖς⁴ βουλομένοις θεάσα-
 σθαι, νομιζόμενον μὲν πού ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου
 καὶ δικάζειν τινὰς ἐν τῷ θέρει οὕτως, καὶ πολλίκις
 καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐν ταῖς θεριναῖς πανηγύ-
 ρεσι γενόμενον, ἐκλειφθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου.
 8 τὰ τε προσκεφάλαια τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὅπως μὴ
 ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν σανίδων καθίζωνται, πρῶτον
 τότε ὑπετέθη· καὶ πῖλους σφίσι τὸν Θετταλικὸν
 τρόπον ἐς τὰ θέατρα φορεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἡλιάσει
 τάλαιπωρῶνται, ἐπετράπη. καὶ εἶγε ποτὲ (ἐς
 ὑπερβολὴν) ἐπέφλεξε, τῷ διριβιτωρίῳ⁵ ἀντὶ τοῦ
 9 θεάτρου ἰκριωμένῳ ἐχρῶντο. ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ
 ὑπατείᾳ ἔπραξε, δύο τε μηνσὶ καὶ ἡμέραις δώδεκα

¹ προεδρίας Rk., προέδρας M.

² μηδεμία R. Steph., μηδὲ μιᾷ M.

³ ἀνεβάλετο Bk., ἀνεβάλλετο M.

⁴ τοῖς supplied by Rk.

⁵ διριβιτωρίῳ Bk., διριβετωρίῳ M.

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αὐτὴν σχών· τὸν γὰρ λοιπὸν τοῦ¹ ἑξαμήνου χρόνον τοῖς προαποδεδειγμένοις ἐς αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε.

8 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο νοσήσας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέθαιε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον, καίπερ (ἐς τε τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσγραφέντα καὶ τῆς νεότητος προκριθέντα καὶ τέλος ἐσποιηθέντα, ἀνεχρήσατο, ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπαγαγὼν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εὐξαμένῳ καὶ προσδοκήσαντι. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἄλλους γε² συχ-
2 νοὺς ἐφόνευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιόχῳ τε τῷ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Κομμαγηνήν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας δούς, καὶ Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἑγγονοῦ λύσας τε (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδετο) καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προστάξας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πατρῶων ἀπεστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλέ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ· ὅπερ πού καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων μετὰ
3 τοῦτο πολλῶν ἐποίησεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν (ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐφεδρεύσας ἀπώλετο, Πούπλιος δὲ Ἀφράνιος Ποτίτος δημότης τε ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ μωρᾶς κολακείας οὐ μόνον ἐθελουτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνορκος, ἂν γε ὁ Γάιος σωθῆ, τελευτήσειν ὑποσχόμενος, Ἀτάνιός τε τις Σεκουῦνδος ἵππεύς τε ὢν καὶ μονομαχήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἤλπιζον παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀντίψυχοί οἱ ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελήσαντες λήψεσθαι, ἀποδοῦναι

¹ τοῦ Bs., τῆς M.

² γε R. Steph., τε M, om. Xiph.

¹ The grandson of the emperor Tiberius.

² The young Tiberius is called Gaius' "brother" because they were co-heirs of the emperor Tiberius, and his "son" because he had been adopted by Gaius.

for two months and twelve days; for he surrendered the remainder of the six-months' period to the men previously designated for it. A.D. 37

After this he fell sick, but instead of dying himself he caused the death of Tiberius,¹ who had assumed the *toga virilis*, had been given the title of *Princeps Juventutis*, and finally had been adopted into his family. The complaint made against the lad was that he had prayed and expected that Gaius would die; and he destroyed many others, too, on this same charge. Thus it came about that the same ruler who had given Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, the district of Commagene, which his father had held, and likewise the coast region of Cilicia, and had freed Agrippa, the grandson of Herod, who had been imprisoned by Tiberius, and had put him in charge of his grandfather's domain, not only deprived his own brother, or, in fact, his son,² of his paternal inheritance, but actually caused him to be murdered, and that without sending any communication about him to the senate. Later he took similar action in numerous other cases. So Tiberius perished on suspicion of having been watching his chance to profit from the emperor's illness. On the other hand, Publius Afranius Potitus, a plebeian, perished, because in a burst of foolhardy servility he had promised not only of his own free will but also under oath that he would give his life if only Gaius should recover; and likewise a certain Atanius Secundus, a knight, because he had announced that in the same event he would fight as a gladiator. For these men, instead of the money which they hoped to receive from him in return for offering to give their lives in exchange for his, were

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἠναγκάσθησαν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιор-
 4 κήσωσι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν αὕτη αἰτία τοῦ θανάτου
 ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ δὴ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Σιλανὸς
 οὐθ' ὑποσχόμενός τι οὔτε κατομόσας, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ
 βαρὺς αὐτῷ, ὑπό τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συγ-
 γενείας ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιυβρίζετο, ἑαυτὸν
 5 κατεχρήσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τιβέριος οὕτως αὐτὸν
 ἐτίμησεν ὥστε μηδὲ¹ ἑκκλητὸν ποτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 δικάσαι ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ πάντα αὐθις τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος τὰ τε ἄλλα
 ἰσχυρῶς προεπηλάκιζε, καίτοι οὕτω καλῶς περὶ
 αὐτοῦ φρονῶν ὥστε καὶ χρυσοῦν αὐτὸν πρόβατον
 6 ὀνομάζειν, καὶ ὅπως μηκέτι πρῶτος ἐπιψηφίζεται,
 ἐν ᾧ πού καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑφ'
 ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐτιμᾶτο, κατέλυσε τὸ πρῶ-
 τόν τινα τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἢ δεύτερον, πρὸς τὸ τοῖς
 τὴν γνώμην ἐπάγουσι δοκοῦν, ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ
 κατεστήσατο ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκείνους
 ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν ἤρξαν² ἀποφαίνεσθαι.
 7 τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλὼν ἔγημε Κορνηλίαν
 Ὀρεστίλλαν,³ ἣν ἤρπασεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις
 οὓς τῷ ἠγγυημένῳ⁴ αὐτὴν Γαίῳ Καλπουρνίῳ
 Πίσωνι συνεώρταζε. πρὶν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἐξελθεῖν,
 ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς ὡς καὶ συγγιγνομένους ἀλλή-
 8 λους ἐξώρισε· καὶ τῷ γε Πίσωνι δέκα δούλους
 ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπιτρέψας, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ πλείονας
 ἠτήσατο, ἐφῆκεν ὅσοις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ χρήσασθαι,

¹ μηδὲ Xiph., μήτε M.

² ἤρξαν R. Steph., ἤραξαν M.

³ Ὀρεστίλλαν Dind., ὄρεστίναν M Xiph. Zon.

⁴ ἠγγυημένῳ Dind., ἐγγεγυημένῳ M Xiph. Zon.

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εἰπὼν ὅτι “καὶ στρατιῶται τοσοῦτοί σοι
συνέσονται.”

9 Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει ὑπατοὶ Μάρκος τε Ἰουλιανὸς
καὶ Πούπλιος Νώνιος ἐκ τῶν προαποδεδειγμένων
ἐγένοντο. καὶ οἱ ὄρκοι περὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
Τιβερίου πραχθέντων οὐκ ἐπήχθησαν, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο οὐδὲ νῦν γίνονται (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις
αὐτὸν¹ ἐν τοῖς αὐταρχήσασιν ἐς τὴν τῆς ὀρκίας
2 νόμισιν² καταλέγει). (περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Αὐγούστου)
τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡσπερ εἶθιστο, καὶ ὅτι
καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ
τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ προτιμήσουσιν, ὤμοσαν, τὰς
τε³ εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ἐποιήσαντο.
3 ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτῇ Μαχάων τις δούλος ἐπί
τε τὴν κλίνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐπανεβη,
κάντεῦθεν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἀπομαντεύσάμενος
κυνίδιον τέ τι ὃ ἐσευηνόχει ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἑαυτὸν
ἔσφαξε.

4 Γάιος δὲ καλὰ μὲν ἐπαίνου τε ἄξια τάδε ἔπραξε.
τούς τε λογισμοὺς τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, μὴ
ἐκτεθειμένους ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐξεδή-
μησε, πάντας κατὰ τὸν Αὐγούστον προέγραψε.⁴
καὶ ἔμπρησίν τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατα-
5 σβέσας ἐπήρκεσε τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι. τοῦ τε τέλους
τοῦ τῶν ἰππέων ὀλιγανδροῦντος, τοὺς πρώτους ἐξ
ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς ἔξω ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε γένεσι καὶ ταῖς
περιουσίαις μεταπεμψάμενος κατελέξατο, καὶ τι-
σιν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ βουλευτικῇ, καὶ πρὶν
ἄρξαι τινὰ ἀρχὴν δι' ἧς ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσερχό-

¹ αὐτὸν Petr. Fab., αὐτῶν M.

² τὴν τῆς ὀρκίας νόμισιν Reim., τὴν τῆς οἰκείας νόμισιν M,
τὴν ὀρκωμοσίαν Naber.

“You will have just so many soldiers, too, with you.” A.D. 37

The next year, Marcus Julianus and Publius Nonius of those previously designated became consuls. A.D. 38 The regular oaths to support the acts of Tiberius were not taken and for this reason are not in use nowadays, either; for no one reckons Tiberius among the emperors in connexion with this custom of the oaths. But as regarded the acts of Augustus and of Gaius, they took all the oaths as usual, as well as others to the effect that they would hold Gaius and his sisters in greater respect than themselves and their children; and they offered prayers for them all alike. On the very first day of the new year one Macraon, a slave, climbed upon the couch of Jupiter Capitolinus, and after uttering from there many dire prophecies, killed a little dog which he had brought in with him and then slew himself.

The following good and praiseworthy acts were performed by Gaius. He published, as Augustus had done, all the accounts of the public funds, which had not been made public during the time that Tiberius was away from the city. He helped the soldiers to extinguish a conflagration and rendered assistance to those who suffered loss by it. As the equestrian order was becoming reduced in numbers, he summoned the foremost men in point of family and wealth from the whole empire, even from outside of Italy, and enrolled them in the order. Some of them he even permitted to wear the senatorial

³ τὰς τε Rk., καὶ τὰς τε M.

⁴ προέγραψε Casaubon, προσέγραψε M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μεθα, χρῆσθαι (ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βουλείας¹ ἐλπίδι
 ἔδωκε· πρότερον γὰρ μόνοις, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς² ἐκ
 τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ φύλου γεγεννημένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν
 6 ἐξῆν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πᾶσιν ἤρεσεν· ὅτι δὲ³ τὰς
 ἀρχαιρεσίας τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει ἀπέδωκε,⁴
 λύσας ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ὠρίκει, καὶ τὸ
 τέλος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς κατέλυσε, γυμνικὸν τέ τινα
 ἀγῶνα ποιήσας σύμβολα διέρριψε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
 7 πλείστα τοῖς ἀρπάσασιν αὐτὰ διέδωκε, τῷ μὲν
 φαύλῳ ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δ' ἔμφρονας ἐλύπησε
 λογισαμένους ὅτι, ἐὰν⁵ ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἱ ἀρχαὶ
 αὐθις γένωνται καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαναλωθῇ αἱ τε
 εἰδικαὶ⁶ πρόσοδοι παυθῶσι,⁷ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ
 συμβήσεται.

10 Ἐπαίτια δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως τάδε
 ἐξεργάσατο. πλείστους ὅσους ὀπλομαχῆσαι
 ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ ἀθρόους,
 ὥσπερ ἐν παρατάξει τινί, ἀγωνίσασθαί σφας
 ἠνάγκασε, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δὴ τοῦτο αἰτήσας,
 2 ὥστε⁸ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ νενομοθετημένου πάνθ' ὅσα
 βούλοιο δράσαι, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν τε ἄλλων
 πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσι, τοὺς μὲν
 τὰς οὐσίας κατεδηδοκότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως
 ὀπλομαχίαν ἠσκηκότας. ἦν δὲ οὐ τὸ πλήθος τῶν
 ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω τι δεινόν, καίπερ δεινὸν ὄν,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς τε φόνοις αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαιρε καὶ

¹ βουλείας Bk., βουλῆς M.

² τοῖς Dind., πως M.

³ δὲ supplied by Reim.

⁴ ἀπέδωκε Pflugk, ἀποδέδωκε M.

⁵ ἐὰν St., κὰν M.

⁶ εἰδικαὶ Bk., ἰδικαὶ M.

⁷ παυθῶσι St., παυσθῶσι M.

⁸ ὥστε Bk., τὸ δὲ M, τό τε Pflugk.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 τῆς τοῦ αἵματος θεᾶς ἀπλήστως εἶχεν. ὑπὸ δὲ
 δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀμότητος, ἐπιλιπόντων¹ ποτὲ τῶν
 τοῖς θηρίοις ἐκ καταδίκης διδομένων, ἐκέλευσεν
 ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου τοῦ τοῖς ἰκρίοις προσεστηκότος
 συναρπασθῆναί τε τινὰς καὶ παραβληθῆναί
 σφισιν· καὶ ὅπως γε μήτε ἐπιβοήσασθαι μήτε
 αἰτιάσασθαι τι δυνηθῶσι, τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν
 4 προαπέτεμε. τῶν τε ἰππέων τινὰ ἐπιφανῶν μο-
 νομαχῆσαί τε ὡς καὶ ὑβρίσαντα τὴν μητέρα
 αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀγριππίναν ἠνάγκασε, καὶ νικήσαντα
 κατηγοροῖς παρέδωκε καὶ ἀπέσφαξε. τὸν τε
 πατέρα αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ἔς τε γαλεάγραν,
 ὡσπερ καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς, καθείρξε κἀνταῦθα
 5 διέφθειρεν. ἐποίησε δὲ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τούτους τὰ
 μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς Σέπτοις, πᾶν τὸ χωρίον ἐκείνο
 ἐξορύξας² καὶ ὕδατος πληρώσας, ἵνα μίαν ναῦν
 ἐσαγάγῃ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι, πλείιστά τε καὶ
 μέγιστα οἰκοδομήματα καθελὼν καὶ ἰκρία πηξά-
 μενος· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ταύρου θέατρον ὑπερεφρόνησε. ἰ
 6 τούτων τε οὖν ἔνεκα καὶ διὰ τὰς δαπάνας καὶ διὰ
 τοὺς φόρους αἰτίαν εἶχε, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μάκρωνα
 μετὰ τῆς Ἐννίας, μήτε τοῦ ταύτης ἔρωτος μήτε
 τῶν ἐκείνου εὐεργετημάτων, δι' ὧν τά τε ἄλλα
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ μόνῳ συγκατέπραξε, μνη-
 σθείς, ἔς τε ἔκουσίῳ δὴ θανάτου ἀνάγκην, καίπερ
 καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτόν οἱ προστάξας, καὶ ἐς αἰσχύνην,
 ἧς αὐτὸς τὸ πλείιστον μετείχε, κατέστησε· προ-
 αγωγείας γὰρ ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
 7 ἐπήγαγε. κακὸν τούτου καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ οἱ³ μὲν

¹ ἐπιλιπόντων Xiph., ἐπιλειπόντων M cod. Peir.

² ἐξορύξας Bs., διορύξας M Xiph.

³ οἱ supplied by Rk.

his insatiable desire for the sight of blood. The same trait of cruelty led him once, when there was a shortage of condemned criminals to be given to the wild beasts, to order that some of the mob standing near the benches should be seized and thrown to them; and to prevent the possibility of their making an outcry or uttering any reproaches, he first caused their tongues to be cut out. Moreover he compelled one of the prominent knights to fight in single combat on the charge of having insulted his mother Agrippina, and when the man proved victorious, handed him over to his accusers and caused him to be slain. And the man's father, though guilty of no crime, he confined in a cage, as, indeed, he had treated many others, and there put an end to him. He held these contests at first in the Saepta, after excavating the whole site and filling it with water, to enable him to bring in a single ship, but later he transferred them to another place, where he had demolished a great many large buildings and erected wooden stands; for he despised the theatre of Taurus. For all this he was censured, because of the expense and also of the bloodshed involved. He was blamed likewise for compelling Macro together with Ennia to take their own lives, remembering neither the affection of the latter nor the benefits of the former, who had, among other things, assisted him to win the throne for himself alone; nor did the fact that he had appointed Macro to govern Egypt have the slightest influence. He even involved him in a scandal, in which he himself had the greatest share, by bringing against him among other charges that of playing the pander. Thereupon many others were executed, some after

καταψηφισθέντες οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἀλῶναι ἐφονεύθησαν, πρόφασιν μὲν διὰ τε τοὺς γονέας¹ καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολομένους, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς διὰ τὰς οὐσίας· οἱ τε γὰρ θησαυροὶ ἐξανάλωντο καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ
 8 ἐξήρκει. ἠλέγχοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν καταμαρτυρούντων σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ κατακεκαυκέναι ποτὲ ἔφη. καὶ ἑτέρους ἢ τε νόσος ἢ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει οἱ συμβᾶσα καὶ ὁ τῆς Δρουσίλλης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ θάνατος ἔφθειρε· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ εἴ τις εἰστίασεν ἢ ἡσπάσατό τινα ἢ καὶ ἐλούσατο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις,¹ ἐκολάζετο.

11 Τῇ δὲ Δρουσίλλῃ συνώκει μὲν Μάρκος Λέπιδος, παιδικά τε ἅμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐραστῆς ὢν, συνῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος· καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν τότε ἐπήνεσε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ, δημοσίας δὲ ταφῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἠξίωσε·
 2 καὶ οἱ τε δορυφόροί μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντός σφων καὶ χωρὶς οἱ ἵππῆς τὸ τέλος . . .,² οἱ τε εὐγενεῖς παῖδες τὴν Τροίαν· περὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῆς περιέππευσαν, καὶ οἱ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τῇ γε³ Λιουία ἐδέδοτο ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἴν' ἀθανατισθῆ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον χρυσῆ ἀνατεθῆ, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Ἀφροδίσιον ἀγάλμα αὐτῆς ἰσομέτρητον
 3 τῷ τῆς θεοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμοίαις τιμαῖς ἱερωθῆ, σηκός τε ἴδιος οἰκοδομηθῆ, καὶ ἱερῆς εἴκοσιν⁴ οὐχ ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες γένωνται, αἵ τε γυναῖκες αὐτήν, ὅσάκις ἂν μαρτυρῶσί τι, ὀμνύωσι, καὶ

¹ ἐκείναις supplied by Bs.

² Lacuna indicated by Bk., who supplied περιέδραμον; Bs. suggests τὴν πυρὰν περιέδραμον.

³ γε Bs., τε M.

⁴ ἱερῆς (ἱερεῖς) εἴκοσιν Bücheler, ἱεραῖς εἴκοσι M.

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HISTORY

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1 ἐν τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτῆς ἑορτὴ τε ὁμοία τοῖς
 Μεγαλησίοις ἄγεται καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἢ τε ἱππὰς
 ἐστιᾶται. τότε οὖν Πάνθεά τε ὠνομάζετο καὶ
 τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡξι-
 4 οὔτο, Λίουῖός τε τις Γεμίνιος βουλευτῆς ἐς τε
 τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτὴν ἀναβαίνουσαν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς
 συγγιγνομένην ἑορακένας ὤμοσεν, ἐξώλειαν καὶ
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ ψεύδοιτο, ἐπαρσά-
 μενος τῇ τε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐπιμαρτυρία καὶ τῇ
 αὐτῆς¹ ἐκείνης· ἐφ' ᾧ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας
 5 ἔλαβε. τούτοις τε οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Γάιος ἐτίμησε,
 καὶ τῷ τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς τότε ὀφειλούσας γενέ-
 σθαι μήτε ἐν τῷ νενομισμένῳ χρόνῳ, πλην τῆς
 ὀσίας ἕνεκα, μήτ' αὐθὶς ποτε ποιηθῆναι. αἰτίαν
 τε πάντες ὁμοίως εἶχον, εἴτ' ἡχθέσθησαν² ἐπὶ τινι
 ὡς λυπούμενοι, εἴτε καὶ ὡς χαίροντες ἔπραξαν· ἢ
 γὰρ μὴ πενθεῖν αὐτὴν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἢ θρηνεῖν ὡς
 6 θεὸν ἕνεκαλοῦντο. πάρεστι δὲ ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντα τὰ
 τότε γενόμενα τεκμήρασθαι· τὸν γὰρ πωλήσαντα
 12 θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἀσεβήσαντα. δια-
 λιπὼν δ' οὖν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔγημε Λολλίαν Παυ-
 λῖναν, αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Μέμμιον Ῥήγουλον
 ἐγγυῆσαί οἱ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀναγκάσας, μὴ καὶ
 ἀνέγγυον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους λάβῃ. καὶ
 εὐθύς γε καὶ ἐκείνην³ ἐξήλασεν.
 2 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σοαίμῳ μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἴτυραίων τῶν
 Ἀράβων, Κότυϊ δὲ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν τὴν σμικρο-

¹ αὐτῆς H. Steph., ἑαυτῆς M.

² εἴτ' ἡχθέσθησαν Cary, εἴθ' ἡσθησαν M.

³ ἐκείνην R. Steph., ἐκείνον M (but corrected by late hand to ἐκείνην).

swear by her name, and on her birthday a festival equal to the *Ludi Megalenses* should be celebrated, and the senate and the knights should be given a banquet. She accordingly now received the name Panthea, and was declared worthy of divine honours in all the cities. Indeed, a certain Livius Geminus,¹ a senator, declared on oath, invoking destruction upon himself and his children if he spoke falsely, that he had seen her ascending to heaven and holding converse with the gods; and he called all the other gods and Panthea herself to witness. For this declaration he received a million sesterces. Besides honouring her in these ways, Gaius would not permit the festivals which were then due to take place, to be celebrated either at their appointed time, except as mere formalities, or at any later date. All persons incurred censure equally whether they took offence at anything, as being grieved, or behaved as if they were glad; for they were accused either of failing to mourn her as a mortal or of bewailing her as a goddess. One single incident will give the key to all that happened at that time: the emperor charged with *maiestas* and put to death a man who had sold hot water.² After allowing a few days to elapse, however, he married Lollia Paulina, after compelling her husband himself, Memmius Regulus, to betroth her to him, so that he should not break the law by taking her without any betrothal. But he promptly put her away, too.

Meanwhile he granted to Sohaemus the land of the Ituraean Arabians, to Cotys Lesser Armenia and

¹ The name should probably be Geminus. Cf. Dessau, *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* II. p. 290.

² See note on lvii. 14.

τέραν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τινά, τῷ
 τε Ῥυμητάλκῃ τὰ τοῦ Κότυος καὶ Πολέμωνι τῷ
 τοῦ Πολέμωνος υἱεὶ τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχήν, ψηφισα-
 μένης δὴ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐχαρίσατο, ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν δίφρῳ μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπάτων
 καθεζόμενος, καὶ παραπετάσμασι σηρικοῖς, ὡς
 3 γέ τινές φασι, χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 πηλὸν, πολὺν ἐν στενωπῷ τινι ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσεν
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Οὔεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ Φλαουίου
 ἱμάτιον, ἀγορανομοῦντός τε τότε καὶ τῆς τῶν
 στενωπῶν καθαριότητος ἐπιμελουμένου, ἐμβλη-
 θῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο οὕτω πραχθὲν παραχρῆμα μὲν
 ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ὤφθη, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Οὔεσπα-
 σιανοῦ τὰ πράγματα τεταραγμένα καὶ πεφυρμένα
 παραλαβόντος τε καὶ καταστησαμένου ἔδοξεν οὐκ
 ἀθεεὶ γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυσ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ὁ
 Γάιος πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐγκεχειρικένας.

13 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπατεύσας αὐθις τὸν μὲν τοῦ
 Διὸς ἱερέα ἐκώλυσεν (ἐν τῷ συνέδριῳ ὁμόσαι (ἰδία
 γὰρ καὶ τότε, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, τὸν ὄρκον
 ἐποιούντο), αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἐνιστάμενος εἰς τὴν
 ἀρχήν) καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἐξ ἴσου
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὃ δὴ καὶ μεῖζον τοῦ
 2 προτέρου ἐπεποίητο, ὤμοσε. τριάκοντα δὲ ἡ
 ἡμέρας ἤρξε, καίτοι Λουκίῳ Ἀπρωνίῳ τῷ συνάρ-
 χοντι ἐξ μῆνας ἐπιτρέψας· καὶ αὐτὸν Σαγκυῖνιος¹
 Μάξιμος πολιαρχῶν διεδέξατο. καὶ ἐν τε ἐκείναις
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἔπειτα, πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πρώτων κατα-
 δικασθέντες (συχνοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμω-
 τηρίου ἀφειμένων, δι' αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα δι' ἅ² ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Τιβερίου ἐδέδεντο, ἐκολάσθησαν) πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ

¹ Σαγκυῖνιος Bs., σακυῖνιος M.

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3 τῶν ἄλλων μονομαχήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. καὶ ἦν
 ἔξω τῶν φόνων οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῷ πλήθει
 ἔτι τι ἐχαρίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ (πρὸς πάντα ὅσα
 ἐβούλετο) ἀντέπραττε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνοι
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιθυμήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντέσπενδον, καὶ
 ἦν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὄραν οἷα ἂν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ὁ
 μὲν ὀργιζόμενος οἱ δ' ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι καὶ εἴποιεν
 4 καὶ πράξειαν.¹ οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔξ ἴσου σφίσι τὸ
 πρᾶγμα ἐγίγνετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ λαλεῖν ἢ
 καὶ τοῖς σχήμασί τι προσευδείκνυσθαι οὐδέν
 ἐδύναντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος συχνούς μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ
 θεωμένους κατασπῶν, συχνούς δὲ καὶ ἀπηλλαγ-
 μένους ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων, συλλαμβάνων ἀπώλλυεν.
 5 αἰτίαι δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῷ ἐγί-
 γνοντο ὅτι τε μὴ σπουδῇ συνεφοίτων (ἄλλοτε γὰρ
 ἄλλη ὥρα παρὰ τὰ προηγγελμένα ἀπαντῶντος
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς τοτὲ δὲ καὶ μετὰ
 μεσημβρίαν ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐσιόντος, ἀποκναιόμενοι
 ἐκακοῦντο) καὶ ὅτι μήτε αἰεὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀρέσ-
 κοντας αὐτῷ ἐπήνουν καὶ τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων
 6 ἔστιν ὅτε ἐτίμων. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ
 δεινῶς ἠγανάκτει ὅτι μεγαλύνοντες αὐτὸν ἐπεβόων
 “νεανίσκε Ἀὔγουστε·” οὐ γὰρ μακαρίζεσθαι ὅτι
 νέος ὢν ἐμονάρχει, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ
 τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ληλικαύτην ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἠγεῖτο. καὶ
 ταῦτα μὲν αἰεὶ ἐποίει, καὶ ποτε παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 ἅμα ἀπειλῶν ἔφη “εἴθε ἓνα αὐχένα εἴχετε·”
 7 τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ παρωξύνθη τι οἶον εἰῶθει, δυσχε-

¹ πράξειαν Dind., πράξαιεν M.

prominence in gladiatorial combats. In fact, there was nothing but slaughter; for the emperor no longer showed any favours even to the populace, but opposed absolutely everything they wished, and consequently the people on their part resisted all his desires. The talk and behaviour that might be expected at such a juncture, with an angry ruler on one side, and a hostile people on the other, were plainly in evidence. The contest between them, however, was not an equal one; for the people could do nothing but talk and show something of their feelings by their gestures, whereas Gaius would destroy his opponents, dragging many away even while they were witnessing the games and arresting many more after they had left the theatres. The chief causes of his anger were, first, that they did not show enthusiasm in attending the spectacles (for he himself used to arrive at the theatres now at one hour and now at another, regardless of previous announcement, sometimes coming before dawn and sometimes not until afternoon, so that they became tired and weary waiting for him), and again, that they did not always applaud the performers that pleased him and sometimes even showed honour to those whom he disliked. Furthermore, it vexed him greatly to hear them hail him as “young Augustus” in their efforts to extol him; for he felt that he was not being congratulated upon being emperor while still so young, but was rather being censured for ruling such an empire at his age. He was always doing things of the sort that I have related; and once he said, threatening the whole people: “Would that you had but a single neck.” At this time, when he displayed his usual exasperation, the

ῥᾶναν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τε θεᾶς ἠμέλησε καὶ ἐπὶ
 τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας ἐτράπετο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
 πολὺ σφοδρῶς βοῶντες ἐξῆτουν. καὶ ὃς ἀγανα-
 κτήσας ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν σφισιν οὐδέν, προστάξας
 δὲ ἑτέροις τισὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιεῖν ἐς Καμπανίαν,
 8 ἀπῆρε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὰ τῆς
 Δρουσίλλης γενέσια ἀγαλμὰ τε αὐτῆς ὑπ' ¹ ἑλε-
 φάντων ἐν ἄρμαμάξῃ ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἐσήγαγε,
 καὶ θεᾶν τῷ δήμῳ προῖκα ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπένειμε.
 καὶ ἐν ² αὐτῷ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἄρκτοι πρὸς ταῖς
 9 τῶν ἵππων ἀμίλλαις πεντακόσσιαι ἐσφάγησαν, τῇ
 δὲ ἑτέρα Λιβυκὰ θηρία ἴσα ἀναλώθη, καὶ παγκρα-
 τιασταὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἀμὰ τόποις ἠγωνίσαντο. καὶ
 ὁ δῆμος εἰστιάθη, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ταῖς τε
 γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν δωρεὰ ἐδόθη³
 14 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ὡς καὶ πάνυ πενόμενος ἐφόνευε,
 καί τινα καὶ ἕτερον τοιόνδε χρηματισμὸν ἐπεξεῦρε.
 τοὺς γὰρ περιγενομένους τῶν μονομάχων τοῖς τε
 ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, οὐχ
 2 ὅτι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ⁴ ἄκοντάς
 τινας βιαζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
 κληρουμένοις ὅτι μάλιστα (δύο γὰρ στρατηγοὺς
 ἐς τοὺς ὄπλομαχικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ἐγί-
 γνετο, λαγχάνειν ἐκέλευσε) πάντως ἐπιτιμῶν ἀπεδί-
 3 δοτο, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ πρατηρίου καθεζόμενος
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβάλλων. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθεν
 ἀφικνούμενοι ἀντωνοῦντο αὐτούς, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι
 ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν νόμον τῷ
 ἀριθμῷ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων χρῆσθαι, καὶ πολ-

¹ ὑπ' Bs., ἐπ' M.

² ἐν added by Bs.

³ Lacuna indicated by Xyl.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεφοίτα σφίσιν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν καὶ
 4 δεόμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ¹ χαριεῖσθαι αὐτῷ
 νομίζοντες, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους, ὅσοι ἐν δόξῃ περι-
 ουσίας ἦσαν, ἀναλώσαι τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπὶ
 τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὅπως πενέστεροι γενόμενοι
περισωθῶσιν, ἐθέλοντες,² μεγάλων αὐτοὺς χρημά-
 5 των ἠγόρασαν. καίτοι τοῦτο ποιήσας ἔπειτα
 τοὺς τε ἀρίστους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν
 φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρε. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν ἵππων τῶν τε ἠνιόχων τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν
 6 ἐποίει. ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ τῷ τὴν βατραχίδα ἐνδύνοντι
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ πρασίνου
 καλουμένῳ προσέκειτο, ὥστε καὶ νῦν ἔτι Γαϊανὸν
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄρματα ἤσκει καλεῖ-
 7 σθαι. καὶ ἓνα γε τῶν ἵππων, ὃν Ἰγκιτᾶτον
 ὠνόμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει, χρυσᾶς τε
 αὐτῷ κριθᾶς παρέβαλλε, καὶ οἶνον ἐν χρυσοῖς
 ἐκπώμασι προύπινε, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ³ καὶ
 τὴν τύχην ὠμνυε, καὶ προσυπισχεῖτο καὶ ὑπατον
 αὐτὸν ἀποδείξειν. καὶ πάντως ἂν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπε-
 ποιήκει, εἰ πλείω χρόνον ἐζήκει.

15 Ἐς δ' οὖν τοὺς πόρους τῶν χρημάτων πρότερον
 μὲν ἐψήφιστο ὅπως ὅσοι τινὰ τῷ Γιβερίῳ κατα-
 λιπεῖν ἐθελήσαντες περιῆσαν, τῷ Γαίῳ αὐτὰ
 τελευτῶντες χαρίζονται· ἵνα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἵππαρὰ
 τοὺς νόμους, καὶ κληρονομεῖν καὶ δωρήματα τοι-
 αῦτα λαμβάνειν, ὅτι μήτε γυναῖκα τότε γε μήτε
 παῖδας εἶχε, δύνασθαι δοκῆ, δόγμα τι προέθετο.⁴

¹ οἱ δὲ M, οἱ δὲ καὶ cod. Peir.

² περισωθῶσιν ἐθέλοντες Bk., περισωθῶσι θέλοντες M cod. Peir.

³ αὐτοῦ Xiph., om. M.

BOOK LIX

because he frequently visited them himself. So A.D. 39
people bought them for large sums, some because they really wanted them, others with the idea of gratifying Gaius, and the majority, consisting of those who had a reputation for wealth, from a desire to take advantage of this excuse to spend some of their substance and thus by becoming poorer save their lives. Yet after doing all this he later put the best and the most famous of these slaves out of the way by poison. He did the same also with the horses and charioteers of the rival factions; for he was strongly attached to the party that wore the frog-green, which from this colour was called also the Party of the Leek. Hence even to-day the place where he used to practise driving the chariots is called the Gaianum after him. One of the horses, which he named Incitatus, he used to invite to dinner, where he would offer him golden barley and drink his wealth in wine from golden goblets; he swore by the animal's life and fortune and even promised to appoint him consul, a promise that he would certainly have carried out if he had lived longer.

In order to provide him with funds, it had been voted earlier that all persons still living who had wished to leave anything to Tiberius should at their death bestow the same upon Gaius; for, in order to appear to have the right to accept inheritances and receive such gifts in spite of the laws (inasmuch as he had at this time neither wife nor children),¹ he caused a decree to be issued by the senate. But at the

¹ See chap. 12, 1.

⁴ προέθετο Γ' αλυ., προσέθετο M cod. Peir.

2 ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι πάσας ἀπλῶς τὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 ἑκατοντάρχοις ἐστρατευμένων οὐσίας, ὅσοι μετὰ
 τὰ ἐπινίκια ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐπέμψεν ἄλλῳ τινὶ
 αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι κατελελοίπεσαν,
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐσέπραξε.
 3 καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲ ταῦτα ἐξικνεῖτο, τρίτην τοιαύτην
 ἀφορμὴν ἀργυρισμοῦ ἐπενόησε. Γναῖος Δομίτιος
 Κορβούλων¹ βουλευτής, κακῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου
 τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐχούσας ὄρων, τοῖς τε ἐπιμεληταῖς
 αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποτε ἐνέκειτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῇ
 4 γερουσίᾳ ὀχληρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο. τοῦτον
 οὖν παραλαβὼν ἐπέθετο δι' αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν οὐχ ὅτι
 τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν, ὅσοι ποτὲ
 ἐπιστάται τῶν ὁδῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ χρήματα ἐς
 τὰς ἐπισκευὰς αὐτῶν εἰλήφεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνους
 τε καὶ τοὺς ἐργολαβήσαντάς τι παρ' αὐτῶν
 5 ὡς οὐδὲν δὴ δαπανήσαντας ἐζημίου. ἔφ' οὗ
 δὴ ὁ Κορβούλων τότε μὲν ὑπάτευσεν, ὕστερον
 δὲ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου αἰτίαν τε ἔσχε καὶ εὐθύνη·
 ὁ γὰρ Κλαύδιος οὔτε τὰ ἐποφείληθέντα ἀπήτησε,
 καὶ τὰ δεδομένα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ
 δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἐσπράξας,
 6 ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι. τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον
 ἐγένετο· τότε δ' οὐτοί τε ὡς ἕκαστοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τρόπον τινὰ
 ἀπεσυλῶντο, καὶ ἀζήμιος τῶν γέ τι ἐχόντων
 οὐδεις, οὐκ ἀνὴρ οὐ γυνή, ἦν. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα
 τῶν ἀφηλικεστέρων ζῆν εἶα, ἀλλὰ πατέρας τε καὶ
 πάππους μητέρας τε καὶ τήθας σφᾶς ὀνομάζων
 ζῶντάς τε ἐξεκαρπούτο καὶ τελευτῶντας τῶν
 οὐσιῶν ἐκληρονόμει.

¹ Κορβούλων R. Steph., κουρβούλων M cod. Peir.

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16 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρόνου τούτου αὐτός τε τὸν
 Τιβέριον αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς πάντα κακῶς ἔλεγε, καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κακηγοροῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδία καὶ
 δημοσία οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐπέτιμα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν·
 τότε δὲ ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλὰ μὲν
 ἐκεῖνον ἐπῆνεσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ
 τε δήμου κατηγόρησεν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ψευδόν-
 2 των. “ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ” ἔφη “αὐτοκράτορι ὄντι
 καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔξεστιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ δὴ οὐ μόνον
 ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄσεβεῖτε¹ πρὸς τὸν ἄρξαντά
 ποτε ὑμῶν οὕτω διακείμενοι.” κακ τοῦτου καθ’
 ἕκαστον τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐπεξιὼν ἀπέφαινε, ὡς
 γε ἐδόκει, τοὺς βουλευτὰς αἰτίους τοῦ ὀλέθρου
 τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν γεγονότας, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι
 κατηγόρησάν σφω, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι κατεμαρτύρησαν,
 3 πάντα δὲ ὅτι κατεψηφίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτά τε ὡς
 ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν γραμμάτων ἀ καταπεπρη-
 κέναι ποτὲ ἔφη ἐπανεγνώσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων,
 καὶ προσεπείπεν ὅτι “εἰ καὶ τι ὁ Τιβέριος ἠδικήκει,
 οὐκ ὠφέιλετε αὐτὸν ζῶντα τετιμηκέναι, οὐ μὰ Δί’,
 οὐδ’² ἐφ’ οἷς καὶ εἶπατε πολλάκις καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε
 4 μεταβάλλεσθαι. ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐμπλήκ-
 τως μετεχειρίσασθε, καὶ τὸν Σεϊανὸν φυσή-
 σαντες καὶ διαφθείραντες ἀπεκτείνατε, ὥστε δεῖ
 καὶ ἐμὲ μηδὲν χρηστὸν παρ’ ὑμῶν προσδέχεσθαι.”
 τοιαῦτα ἅττα εἰπὼν αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Τιβέριον τῷ
 5 λόγῳ παρήγαγε, λέγοντά οἱ ὅτι “καὶ καλῶς καὶ
 ἀληθῶς πάντα ταῦτα εἶρηκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε
 φιλήσης τινὰ αὐτῶν μήτε φείσῃ τινός. πάντες
 τε γὰρ μισοῦσί σε καὶ πάντες ἀποθανεῖν εὐχονται·

¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄσεβεῖτε exc. Vat., om. M.

² οὐδ’ Bs., οὐκ M.

Up to this time Gaius had not only himself always spoken ill of Tiberius before everybody, but also, far from rebuking others when they denounced him either privately or publicly, had actually taken delight in their remarks. But now he entered the senate-chamber and eulogized his predecessor at length, besides severely rebuking the senate and the people, saying that they did wrong in finding fault with him. "I myself have the right to do even this," he said, "in my capacity as emperor; but you not only do wrong but are guilty of *maiestas* as well, to take such a tone towards one who was once your ruler." Thereupon he took up separately the case of each man who had lost his life, and tried to show, as people thought at least, that the senators had been responsible for the death of most of them, some by accusing them, others by testifying against them, and all by their votes of condemnation. The evidence of this, purporting to be derived from those very documents which he once declared he had burned, he caused to be read to them by the imperial freedmen. And he added: "If Tiberius really did do wrong, you ought not, by Jupiter, to have honoured him while he lived, and then, after repeatedly saying and voting what you did, turn about now. But it was not Tiberius alone that you treated in a fickle manner; Sejanus also you first puffed up with conceit and spoiled, then put him to death. Therefore I, too, ought not to expect any decent treatment from you." After some such remarks as these he represented in his speech Tiberius himself as saying to him: "In all this you have spoken well and truly. Therefore show no affection for any of them and spare none of them. For they all hate you and

καὶ φονεύσουσί γε, ἂν δυνηθῶσι.¹ μήτ' οὖν
ὅπως τι χαρίση πράξας αὐτοῖς ἐννόει, μήτ' ἂν
6 τι θρυλῶσι φρόντιζε, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ
ἀσφαλὲς τὸ σεαυτοῦ μόνον ὡς καὶ δικαιοτάτον
προσκόπει. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τι πείση κακὸν
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδίστων ἀπολαύσεις, καὶ προσέτι
καὶ τιμηθήσῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἂν τ' ἐθέλωσιν ἂν τε καὶ
7 μῆ· ἐκείνως δὲ ἔργῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ὀνήσει,² λόγῳ δὲ
δὴ δόξαν κενὴν λαβὼν οὔτε τι πλέον ἕξει· καὶ
ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀκλεῶς τελευτήσῃς. οὐδεὶς γὰρ
ἀνθρώπων ἐκὼν ἄρχεται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν
φοβεῖται, θεραπεύει τὸν ἰσχυρότερον, ὅταν δὲ δὴ
θάρσῃσῃ, τιμωρεῖται τὸν ἀσθενέστερον.”
8 Γάιος μὲν ταῦτά τ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας
ἐγκλήματα ἐπαναγαγὼν, ἔς τε στήλην αὐτὰ
χαλκῆν εὐθὺς ἐγγραφήναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
βουλευτηρίου σπουδῇ ἐξεπήδησεν, ἔς τε τὸ
προάστειον αὐθημερὸν ἐξώρμησεν· ἢ δὲ δὴ
γερουσία καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο,
τῶν τε κακηγοριῶν ἅμα ἄς κατὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου
πολλάκις ἐπεποίηντο ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, καὶ οἷα
ἀνθ' οἷων ἠκηκόεσαν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκλογιζό-
9 μενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθυμίας οὔτε φθέγξασθαι οὔτε τι χρημα-
τίσαι ἠδυνήθησαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία αὐθις ἀθροι-
σθέντες ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ
ἀληθεστάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ὄντος ἐποιή-
σαντο, χάριν οἱ μεγάλην ἔχοντες ὅτι μὴ προσ-
10 ἀπώλοντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπία
αὐτοῦ βουθυτεῖν' κατ' ἔτος, ἔν τε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

¹ δυνηθῶσι Bk., δυνηθῶσί σε M.

² οὐδὲν ὀνήσει Dind., οὐδὲ νομήσει M.

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ἐν ἧ ταῦτα ἀνεγνώκει καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῷ παλατίῳ προσηκούσαις,¹ εἰκόνος τε αὐτοῦ χρυσῆς (ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναγομένης καὶ ὕμνων ἐπ' αὐτῇ διὰ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων παίδων ἀδομένων) ἐψηφίσαντο.
 11 τὰ τε ἐπινίκια τὰ μικρότερα ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς νενικηκότι πέμψαι αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τότε ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀφορμὴν πάντως τι αὐτῷ
 17 προσετίθεσαν. Γάιος δὲ ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς πομπῆς οὐδὲν προετίμησεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ μέγα τι ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἵππῳ δι' ἠπείρου διελάσαι), διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης τρόπον τινὰ διππεῦσαι ἐπεθύμησε, γεφυρώσας τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τε Προυτέων καὶ τῶν Βαύλων. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον τοῦτο κατ' ἀντιπέραν τῆς πόλεως
 2 ἐστὶ, διέχον αὐτῆς σταδίους ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, πλοῖα δὲ ἐς τὴν γέφυραν τὰ μὲν ἠθροίσθη τὰ δὲ καὶ κατεσκευάσθη· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε τὰ συλλεγῆναι δυνήθέντα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ, καίτοι πάντα ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο συναχθέντα, ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ λιμὸς ἐν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μάλιστα ἰσχυρὸς
 3 ἐγένετο. ἐξεύχθη δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς δίοδος τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ καταλύσεις, ὥστε καὶ ὕδωρ αὐτὰς πότιμον ἐπίρρυτον ἔχειν, ἐποιήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἔτοιμα ἦν, τὸν τε θώρακα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς γε ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χλαμύδα σηρικὴν ἀλουργῆ, πολὺ μὲν χρυσίου πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους Ἰνδικοὺς ἔχουσαν, ἐπενέδου, ξίφος τε

¹ Bs. suggests ἐν ταῖς θέαις ταῖς τῷ παλατίῳ προσηκούσαις.

¹ This expression is obscure. Fabricius thought it contained a reference to the Ludi Palatini. Cf. chap. 29, 4, and lvi. 46, 5. Boissevain, on the other hand, proposes to read "at the spectacles belonging to the palace."

of the day on which he had read his address and on the days belonging to the palace;¹ on these occasions a golden image of the emperor was to be carried up to the Capitol and hymns sung in its honour by the boys of the noblest birth. They also granted him the right to celebrate an ovation, as if he had defeated some enemies.

A.D. 39

These were the honours they decreed on that occasion; and later, on almost any pretext, they were sure to add others. Gaius, however, did not care at all for that kind of triumph, as he did not consider it any great achievement to drive a chariot on dry land; on the other hand, he was eager to drive his chariot through the sea, as it were, by bridging the waters between Puteoli² and Bauli.³ (The latter place lies directly across the bay from the city of Puteoli, at a distance of twenty-six stades.⁴) Of the ships for the bridge some were brought together there from other stations, but others were built on the spot, since the number that could be assembled there in a very brief space of time was insufficient, even though all the vessels possible were got together—with the result that a very severe famine occurred in Italy, and particularly in Rome. In building the bridge not merely a passageway was constructed, but also resting-places and lodging-rooms were built along its course, and these had running water suitable for drinking. When all was ready, he put on the breastplate of Alexander (or so he claimed), and over it a purple silk clamys, adorned with much gold and many precious stones from India; moreover

f. Seneca

¹ The modern Pozzuoli.

² A small place between Baiae and Misenum.

⁴ About 3½ miles.

παρεζώσατο καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔλαβε καὶ δρυὶ ἐστεφα-
 4 νώσατο, καὶ τούτου τῷ τε Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἄλλοις
 ἑοῖσι θεοῖς Φθόνῳ τε θύσας, μὴ καὶ βασκανία τις
 αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔφασκε, γένηται, ἔς τε τὸ ζεύγμα ἀπὸ
 τῶν Βαύλων ἐσέβαλε, παμπληθεῖς καὶ ἰππέας
 καὶ πεζοὺς ὀπλισμένους ἐπαγόμενος, καὶ σπουδῇ
 5 καθάπερ ἐπὶ πολεμίους τινὰς, ἔς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐσέπεσε. κἀνταῦθα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀναπαυσά-
 μενος ὡς περὶ ἐκ μάχης, ἀνεκομίσθη διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
 γεφύρας ἐφ' ἄρματος, χιτῶνᾶ χρυσόπαστον ἐνδύς·
 ἦγον δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἵπποι οἱ¹ ἀξιονικότατοι.
 καὶ ἄλλα τε² αὐτῷ πολλὰ ὡς καὶ λάφυρα | συνηκο-
 λούθησε, καὶ Δαρεῖος ἀνὴρ Ἀρσακίδης, ἓν τοῖς
 6 ὁμηρεύουσι τότε τῶν Πάρθων ὄν· οἱ τε φίλοι
 καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὀχημάτων ἐν ἐσθῆσιν
 ἀνθιναῖς, ἐφείποντο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ὁ γε
 λοιπὸς ὄμιλος, ἰδίως πῶς ἕκαστοι κεκοσμημένοι.
 καὶ ἔδει γὰρ αὐτόν, οἷα ἐν τε στρατιᾷ τοιαύτῃ
 καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη τηλικαύτῃ, καὶ δημηγορήσαί τι,
 ἀνέβη τε ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐπὶ πλοίων καὶ αὐτὸ | κατὰ
 7 μέσην· πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν πεποιημένον, καὶ πρῶτον
 μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὡς καὶ μεγάλων τινῶν ἔργων ἐπιχειρη-
 τὴν ἀπεσέμνυνεν, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς
 καὶ πεπονηκότας καὶ κεκινδυνευκότας, ἐπήνεσεν,
 ἄλλα τε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν, ὅτι πέζῃ διὰ τῆς
 8 θαλάσσης διέδραμον. καὶ χρήματά τε διὰ τοῦτ'
 αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ τῆς
 γεφύρας, ὡς περ ἐν νήσῳ τινί, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν
 ἑτέροις πλοίοις περιορμούντες, τό τε λοιπὸν τῆς
 ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν εἰστιάθησαν, πολλοῦ
 μὲν αὐτόθεν φωτὸς πολλοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρώων

¹ οἱ supplied by Rk.² τε Xiph., δὲ M.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 9 ἐπιλάμψαντος σφίσι. (τοῦ γὰρ χωρίου μηνου-
 ειδοῦς ὄντος πῦρ πανταχόθεν, καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ
 τινί, ἐδείχθη, ὥστε μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τοῦ σκότους
 γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν, ὥσπερ πού
 τὴν θάλασσαν γῆν, ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν. ἐμπλη-
 σθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑπερκορῆς καὶ σίτου καὶ μέθης
 γενόμενος συχνούς μὲν τῶν ἐταίρων· ἐς τὴν θάλασ-
 10 σαν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἔρριψε, συχνούς δὲ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πλοίοις ἐμβόλους ἔχουσι περιπλεύ-
 σας κατέδυσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τινάς· οἱ
 γὰρ πλείους καίπερ μεθύοντες ἐσώθησαν. αἴτιον
 δὲ ὅτι καὶ λειοτάτη καὶ στασιμωτάτη ἡ θάλασσα,
 καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἡ γέφυρα ἐξεύχθη καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄλλα
 11 ἐποιήθη, ἐγένετο. καί τι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ὠγκώθη,
 λέγων ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν αὐτὸν ἐφοβήθη, ἐπεὶ
 ἐς γε τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ
 ἀπέσκωπτεν, ὡς καὶ πολλαπλάσιόν σφῶν μέτρον
 τῆς θαλάσσης ζεύξας.
- 18 Τῆς μὲν δὴ γεφύρας ἐκείνης τοῦτο τὸ τέλος
 ἐγένετο, καὶ αἰτίαν καὶ αὐτῆ θανάτου πολλοῖς
 παρέσχε· ἐξαναλωθεὶς γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν πολλῶ
 πλείοσι διὰ τὰς οὐσίας ἐπεβούλευσεν. ἐδίκαζε
 2 δὲ καὶ ἰδία καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας, καί
 τινα καὶ ἐκείνη καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔκρινεν· οὐ μόντοι
 καὶ αὐτοτελής ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφέσιμοι δίκαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς
 συχναὶ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆ βουλῆ δόξαντα
 ἄλλως ἐφανεροῦτο, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου
 καταψηφισθέντων τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξετίθετο, ὥσπερ
 3 φοβουμένου αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλάβωσι. καὶ οὗτοί τε
 ἐκολάζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ οἱ δὲ καὶ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατακρημνιζόμενοι, καὶ
 ἕτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προαπεκτίννυσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ

light besides from the mountains. For since the place was crescent-shaped, fires were lighted on all sides, as in a theatre, so that the darkness was not noticed at all; indeed, it was his wish to make the night day, as he had made the sea land. When he had become sated and glutted with food and strong drink, he hurled many of his companions off the bridge into the sea and sank many of the others by sailing about and attacking them in boats equipped with beaks. Some perished, but the majority, though drunk, managed to save themselves. This was due to the fact that the sea was extremely smooth and tranquil both while the bridge was being put together and while the other events were taking place. This, too, caused the emperor some elation, and he declared that even Neptune was afraid of him; as for Darius and Xerxes, he made all manner of fun of them, claiming that he had bridged a far greater expanse of sea than they had done.

This was the end of that bridge, but it also proved a source of death to many; for, inasmuch as Gaius had exhausted his funds in constructing it, he fell to plotting against many more persons than ever because of their property. He held trials both alone and together with the entire senate. That body also tried some cases by itself; it did not, however, possess final authority, and there were many appeals from its verdicts. The decisions of the senate were made public in the usual way, but when any persons were condemned by Gaius, their names were published, as if he feared people might not learn of their fate otherwise. So these were punished, some in prison and others by being hurled down from the Capitoline; and still others killed themselves before-

οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐξελαυνομένοις ἀσφάλεια ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνων πολλοὶ ἦτοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ διεφθείροντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν δεῖ λεπτολογουῦντα μάτην τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους
 4 διοχλεῖν. Καλουίσιος δὲ δὴ Σαβῖνος ἐν τε τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς ὧν καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ Παννουῖα ἀρχῆς ἀφυγμένος, ἢ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κορνηλία γραφέντες (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη ὡς φυλακὰς τε ἐφοδεύσασα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀσκοῦντας ἰδοῦσα αἰτίαν ἔσχευ) οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὴν κρίσιν,
 5 ἀλλ' ἐαυτοὺς προανάλωσαν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Τίτιος Ροῦφος ἐποίησεν, ἔγκλημα λαβὼν εἰρηκέναι ὅτι ἡ γερουσία ἄλλα μὲν φρονεῖ ἄλλα δ' ἀποφαίνεται. Ἰούνιος τέ τις Πρίσκος στρατηγὸς ἠτιάθη μὲν ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισίν, ἢ ἀπέθανε δὲ ὡς πλούσιος. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ Γάιος, μαθὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ θανάτου ἐκέκτητο, θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐφθέγγετο, εἰπὼν ὅτι “ἠπάτησέ με καὶ μάτην ἀπώλετο· ζῆν γὰρ ἐδύνατο.”

19 Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τότε κριθείσι καὶ ὁ Ἄφρος ὁ Δομίτιος καὶ κινδύνῳ παραδόξῳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ θαυμασιωτέρᾳ ἐχρήσατο. ἤχθετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Γάιος, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου γυναικὸς τινος τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ προσηκούσης¹ κατηγορῆκει· ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ ἐκείνη συναντήσασά ποτε αὐτῷ, καὶ μαθοῦσα ὅτι ἐξέστη τῆς ὁδοῦ δι' αἰσχύνην, προσεκαλέσατό τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔφη “θάρσει,² Δομίτιε· οὐ γὰρ σύ μοι αἴτιος

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εἰ, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων." τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ εἰκόνα
 τινὰ αὐτοῦ στήσας ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῇ ἐπέγραψε
 δηλῶν ὅτι ἕβδομον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος¹ ἄγων
 3 δεύτερον ὑπατεύοι, ἠγανάκτησεν ὡς καὶ προφέ-
 ροντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τό τε μεираκιῶδες καὶ τὸ παρά-
 νομον, καὶ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τιμηθήσε-
 σθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον αὐτὸν
 ἐσήγαγε καὶ λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ μακρὸν ἀνέγνω·
 ἄλλως τε γὰρ προέχειν ἀπάντων τῶν ῥητόρων
 ἠξίου, καὶ ἐκεῖνον δεινότατον εἰπεῖν εἰδῶς ὄντα
 4 ὑπερβαλεῖν ἐσπούδασε. πάντως τ' ἂν αὐτὸν
 ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν ἀντεπεφιλοτί-
 μητο. νῦν δὲ ἀντεῖπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀπελογή-
 σατο οὐδέν, θαυμάζειν δὲ δὴ καὶ καταπεπλήχθαι
 τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Γαίου προσποιησάμενος, τὴν
 τε κατηγορίαν καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἐπιλέγων, ὥσπερ
 5 τις ἀκροατῆς ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ὢν, ἐπῆναι, καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ ἐδόθη, πρὸς ἀντιβολίαν καὶ
 ὀλοφυρμὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τέλος ἔς τε τὴν γῆν
 κατέπεσε καὶ χαμαὶ κείμενος ικέτευσεν ὡς καὶ
 τὸν ῥήτορα αὐτοῦ² μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα φοβού-
 μενος. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος, ὁρῶν τε ταῦτα καὶ
 ἀκούων, διεχύθη, πιστεύσας ὄντως τῇ τῶν λόγων
 6 παρασκευῇ κεκρατηκέναι αὐτοῦ· καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο
 καὶ διὰ Κάλλιστον τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, ὃν αὐτός
 τε ἐτίμα καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐτεθεραπεύκει, ἐπαύσατο

¹ ἔτος ἄγων Xiph. exc. Vat., ἄγων M.

² αὐτοῦ M Xiph., om. Zon. exc. Vat.

it isn't you that I hold to blame, but Agamemnon."¹ A.D. 39
 At the time in question, Afer had set up an image of the emperor and had written an inscription for it to the effect that Gaius in his twenty-seventh year was already consul for the second time. This vexed Gaius, who felt that the other was reproaching him for his youth and for his illegal conduct. Hence for this action, for which Afer had looked to be honoured, the emperor brought him at once before the senate and read a long speech against him. For Gaius always claimed to surpass all the orators, and knowing that his adversary was an extremely gifted speaker, he strove on this occasion to excel him. And he would certainly have put Afer to death, if the latter had entered into the least competition with him. As it was, the man made no answer or defence, but pretended to be astonished and overcome by the ability of Gaius, and repeating the accusation point by point, praised it as if he were a mere listener and not himself on trial. When the opportunity was given him to speak, he had recourse to entreaties and lamentations; and finally he threw himself on the ground and lying there prostrate played the suppliant to his accuser, pretending to fear him more as an orator than as Caesar. Gaius, accordingly, when he saw and heard all this, was melted, believing that he had really overwhelmed Domitius by the eloquence of his speech. For this reason, then, as well as for the sake of Callistus, the freedman, whom he was wont to honour and whose favour Domitius

¹ Based on the words of Achilles to the heralds of Agamemnon who come to take Briseis from him; see Hom., *Il.* 1, 335. Agrippina saw in Domitius merely the agent of Tiberius,

ὀργιζόμενος. καὶ τῷ γε Καλλίστῳ αἰτιασαμένῳ αὐτὸν ὕστερον ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι “ οὐκ ἔδει με τοιοῦτον
 7 λόγῳ ἀποκρύφθαι.” Δομίτιος μὲν δὴ καταγνωσθεὶς μηκέτι δεινὸς εἶναι λέγειν ἐσώθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας¹ ὁ Ἀνναῖος² ὁ³ Λούκιος, ὁ πάντα μὲν τοὺς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν, Ῥωμαίους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους σοφία ὑπεράρας, διεφθάρη (παρ’ ὀλίγον) μὴτ’ ἀδικήσας τι μὴτὲ δόξας, ὅτι δίκην τινὰ ἐν
 8 τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καλῶς εἶπε. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσας ἀφῆκε, γυναικί τινι ὧν ἐχρήτο πιστεύσας ὅτι φθόῃ⁴ τε ἔχοιτο κακῶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τελευτήσοι.

20 Τὸν δὲ Δομίτιον καὶ ὑπάτον εὐθύς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς τότε ἄρχοντας καταλύσας, ὅτι τε ἐς τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἱερομηνίαν οὐκ ἐπήγγειλαν, καίτοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἵπποδρομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς⁵ ποιησάντων καὶ θηρία ἀποκτεινάντων, ὅπερ που καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου νίκαις ἄς τὸν Ἀντωνίου ἐνενικήκει
 2 ἐορτὴν, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἤγαγον. ἵνα γὰρ συκοφαντήσῃ αὐτούς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπόγονος δοκεῖν εἶναι ἠθέλησε· καὶ προεἶπέ⁶ γε⁷ οἷς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεκοίνου, ὅτι πάντως ὁποῖον ἂν τι ποιήσωσιν ἀμαρτήσουσιν, ἂν τε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ βουθυτήσωσιν,⁸ ἂν τε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου νίκῃ ἄθυτοι

¹ Σενέκας exc. Vat., σεννέκας M Xiph.

² Ἀνναῖος Bs., ἄννιος M, ἄνιος Xiph., ἄννεος or ἄννεας exc. Vat. ³ ὁ supplied by Bk. ⁴ φθόῃ Xiph., φθόης M.

⁵ ἐν αὐτοῖς Leuncl., ἐν αὐτῷ M Xiph.

⁶ προεἶπέ Xiph., προσεἶπέ M. ⁷ γε Xiph., τε M.

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3 γένωνται. ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐθημερὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπαυσε, τὰς ῥάβδους σφῶν προσυν-
 τρίψας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἀδημονήσας
 ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξε· τὸν δὲ δὴ Δομίτιον τὸν συνάρ-
 χοντα αὐτοῦ λόγῳ μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἔργῳ δ' αὐτὸς
 εἴλετο. ἀπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αὐτοῖς·
 4 ἅτε δὲ ἐκείνων τε ἀργότερων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλῷ
 χρόνῳ μηδὲν ἐλευθέρως κεχρηματικέναι, ἐς τὸ
 δρᾶν τι τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσι ὄντων, καὶ
 τῶν σπουδαρχιώντων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ πλειόνων
 ἢ ὅσους αἰρεῖσθαι ἔδει ἐπαγγελόντων, εἰ δέ
 ποτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν γένοιτο, διόμολο-
 γουμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς
 δημοκρατίας ἐσώζετο, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐγί-
 5 γνετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αὐθις τοῦ Γαίου
 καταλύθησαν. κακὸν τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθίστατο, στρατηγοὶ δὲ
 ποτὲ μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐνὶ πλείους ἢ
 καὶ ἐλάττους, ὡς που καὶ ἔτυχον, ἤρουντο.
 6 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν,
 οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὸ σύμπαν καὶ βάσκανος καὶ ὑποπτὸς
 πρὸς πάντα ῥομοίως ἦν ὥστε καὶ Καρρίναν¹
 Σεκοῦνδον ῥήτορα φυγαδεῦσαί ποτε, ὅτι λόγον
 7 τινὰ ἐν γυμνασίᾳ κατὰ τυράννων εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ
 τε Λούκιος Πίσων ὁ τῆς τε Πλαγκίνης καὶ τοῦ
 Γναίου Πίσωνος υἱὸς ἀρξαι² τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔτυχεν,
 ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεωτερίση τι ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι δυνάμιν πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν
 καὶ ξενικὴν ἔξειν ἔμελλε, καὶ δίχα τὸ ἔθνος
 νεύμας ἑτέρῳ τό τε στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας

¹ Καρρίναν Bs., καρρίναν M, καρίαν Xiph.

BOOK LIX

Augustus' victory. These were the reasons, then, why he summarily dismissed these officials, first breaking in pieces their fasces; whereupon one of them took it so much to heart that he killed himself. As for Domitius, he was chosen as the emperor's colleague, nominally by the people, but actually by Gaius himself. The latter had, to be sure, restored the elections to the people, but they had become rather lax in the performance of their duties because for a long time they had not transacted any business in the manner of freemen; and as a rule no more candidates presented themselves than the number to be chosen, or, if ever there were more than were required, the outcome was arranged among themselves. Thus the democracy was preserved in appearance, but there was no democracy in fact; and this led Gaius himself to abolish the elections once more. After this matters went on in general as in the reign of Tiberius; but as regards the praetors, sometimes fifteen were chosen and sometimes one more or one less, just as it happened. Such was the action he took regarding the elections.

In general his attitude was one of envy and suspicion toward everything alike. Thus he banished Carrinas Secundus, an orator, for delivering a speech against tyrants as a rhetorical exercise. Again, when the lot fell upon Lucius Piso, the son of Plancina and Gnaeus Piso, to become governor of Africa, he feared that arrogance might lead him to revolt, especially as he was to have a large force made up of both citizens and foreigners; hence he divided the province into two parts, assigning the military force together with the Numidians in its vicinity to

² ἄρξαι βσ., ἄρξας Μ.

τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ προσέταξε· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ δεῦρο τοῦτο γίγνεται.

21 Καὶ ἤδη γὰρ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ χρήματα πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅθεν τι καὶ ὅπως οἶόν τε ἦν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἀναλώκει, καὶ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα πόρος τις ἀξιόχρεως ἢ καὶ δυνατὸς εὔρισκετο, καὶ αἱ δαπάναι ὑπερήπειγον
 2 αὐτόν, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφώρμησε, πρόφασιν μὲν τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς καὶ παρακινου-
 τὰς τι ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀνθοῦντα τοῖς πλούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐκχρηματίσθηται. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀντικρυς τὴν ἔξοδον προεπήγγειλεν,¹ ἀλλ' ἐς προάστειόν τι ἐλθὼν εἶτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀπῆρε, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς πολλοὺς δὲ μονομάχους ἵππους γυναῖκας τὴν
 3 ἄλλην τρυφὴν ἐπαγόμενος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖσε τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἐκάκωσεν (εὐθύς τε γὰρ ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου προχωρήσας ὑπέστρεψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀρμήσας ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις τοῖς κατορθοῦσί τι πάνυ ἤχθετο), τοὺς δ' ὑπηκόους τοὺς τε συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα ἐκακούρ-
 4 γησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τι ἔχοντας ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει ἐσύλα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δῶρα οἷ τε ἰδιῶται καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι δῆθεν μεγάλα αὐτῷ ἤγον. ἄλλους ὡς² νεωτερίζοντας, ἄλλους ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ ἐφόνευε· καὶ ἦν δημόσιον ἔγκλημα
 5 πᾶσί σφισι τὸ πλουτεῖν. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κτήματα

¹ προεπήγγειλεν Pflugk, προαπήγγειλεν M cod. Peir.

² ὡς supplied by Leuncl.

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αὐτὸς πιπράσκων πολλῶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πλείω ἠργυρολόγει· πάντες γὰρ ἠναγκάζοντο παντοίως τε καὶ πολὺ γε ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ὠνεῖσθαι, δι' ἃ εἴρηκα. ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ τὰ τῆς μοναρχίας κειμήλια τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα μεταπεμφάμενος ἀπεκήρυξε, τὴν δόξαν τῶν ποτε χρησαμένων
 6 αὐτοῖς συμπωλῶν σφισιν. ἐπέλεγε γοῦν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ “ τοῦτό μου ὁ πατήρ ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο ἡ μήτηρ, τοῦτο ὁ πάππος, τοῦτο ὁ πρόπαππος· Ἄντωνίου τοῦτο Αἰγύπτιον, Αὐγούστου τὸ νικητήριον.” καὶ τούτῳ τὴν τε ἀνάγκην ἅμα τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὥστε μηδένα ὑπομένειν ἀπορεῖν¹ δοκεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα σφισι συναπεδίδοτο.

22 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ περιεποιεῖτό τι, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰλλα ἐδαπάνη ὥσπερ εἰώθει (καὶ γὰρ θέας τινὰς ἐν τῷ Λουγδούνῳ ἐπετέλεσε), καὶ ἔς τὰ στρατεύματα· εἴκοσι γάρ, ὡς δέ τινές φασι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
 2 μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν ἤθροισε. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπτάκις αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, μήτε μάχην τινὰ νικήσας μήτε πολέμιόν τινα ἀποκτείνας ἐπωνομάσθη. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγους ποτὲ ἀπάτη τινὶ συλλαβὼν ἔδησε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ οἰκείου πολὺ μέρος ἀνάλωσε, τοὺς μὲν καθ' ἑκάστους κατακόπτων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόους ἅμα
 3 πάντας φονεύσας. ἰδὼν γὰρ ποτε ὄχλον εἴτε δεσμωτῶν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, προσέταξε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀπὸ τοῦ φαλακροῦ μέχρι τοῦ

¹ ἀπορεῖν Bk., εὐπορεῖν M cod. Peir.

greater sums than would otherwise have been the case; for everybody was compelled to buy them at any price and for much more than their value, for the reasons I have mentioned.¹ Accordingly, he sent also for the finest and most precious heirlooms of the monarchy and sold them off by auction, selling with them the fame of the persons who had once used them. Thus he would make some comment on each one, such as, "this belonged to my father," "this to my mother," "this to my grandfather," "this to my great-grandfather," "this Egyptian piece was Antony's, the prize of victory for Augustus." At the same time he also explained the necessity of selling them, so that no one could persist in pretending to be poor; and thus he made them buy the reputation of each article along with the thing itself.

In spite of all this he did not secure any surplus, but kept up his customary expenditures, not only for other objects that interested him—exhibiting, for example, some games at Lugdunum—but especially for the legions. For he had gathered together two hundred thousand troops, or, as some say, two hundred and fifty thousand. He was acclaimed *imperator* by them seven times, as his whim directed, though he had won no battle and slain no enemy. To be sure, he did once by a ruse seize and bind a few of the foe, whereas he used up a large part of his own force, striking some of them down one at a time and butchering others *en masse*. Thus, on one occasion, when he saw a crowd of prisoners or some other persons, he gave orders, in the famous phrase, that they should all be slain "from baldhead to bald-

¹ In chap. 14.

φαλακροῦ πάντας αὐτοὺς σφαγῆναι. κυβεύων
 δέ ποτε, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι οὐκ εἶη οἱ ἀργύριον, ἤτησέ
 τε τὰς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπογραφάς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
 4 τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους θανατωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἐπ-
 ανῆλθέ τε πρὸς τοὺς συγκυβευτὰς καὶ ἔφη ὅτι
 “ ὑμεῖς περὶ ὀλίγων δραχμῶν ἀγωνίζεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ
 ἐς μυρίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας μυριάδας ἤθροισα.”
 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐν¹ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· ἀμέλει
 εἷς τις αὐτῶν Ἰούλιος Σακερδῶς ἄλλως μὲν εὖ
 χρημάτων ἦκων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερπλουτῶν ὥστε
 καὶ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι δι’ αὐτά, ὅμως ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας
 5 ἀπεσφάγη· οὕτως ἀκρίτως πάντα ἐγίγνετο. τῶν
 δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν δέομαι ὀνομαστί
 καταλέγειν, ὧν δὲ δὴ ἡ ἱστορία τὴν μνήμην
 ἀπαιτεῖ, φράσω. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Γαιτούλικον²
 Λέντουλον, τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδόκιμον ὄντα καὶ τῆς
 Γερμανίας δέκα ἔτεσιν ἄρξαντα, ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι
 6 τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠκείωτο· τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Λέπιδον
 ἐκείνον τὸν ἐραστήν τὸν ἐρώμενον, τὸν τῆς Δρου-
 σίλλης ἄνδρα, τὸν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς
 τῇ τε Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ μετ’ αὐτοῦ
 ἐκείνου συνόντα, ᾧ πέντε ἔτεσι θάσσον τὰς ἀρχὰς
 7 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὃν καὶ διά-
 δοχον τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλείψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο,
 κατεφόνευσε. καὶ τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀργύριον
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καθάπερ πολεμίων τινῶν κεκρατηκῶς,
 ἔδωκε, καὶ ξιφίδια τρία τῷ Ἄρει τῷ Τιμωρῷ ἐς
 8 τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψε. τὰς τε ἀδελφὰς ἐπὶ τῇ
 συνουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς Ποντίας νήσους κατέθετο,

¹ ἐν supplied by Rk.

² Γαιτούλικον R. Steph., γαιτούλιχον M.

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πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τῷ
 συνεδρίῳ γράψας· καὶ τῇ γε Ἀγριππίνῃ τὰ ὄστα
 αὐτοῦ ἐν ὑδρίᾳ ἔδωκε, κελεύσας οἱ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις
 αὐτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς¹ ὁδοῦ ἔχουσαν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
 9 ἀνενεγκεῖν. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνὰ αὐταῖς δι' ἐκείνον
 δῆλον ὅτι προεψηφίστο,² ἀπηγόρευσε μηδενὶ τῶν
 συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν τιμὴν δίδοσθαι.
 23 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπι-
 βουλήν διαπεφευγώς, ἐπέστειλε· πάνυ γὰρ δὴ
 καὶ ἄλλως προσεποιεῖτο ἐν δεινοῖς τε εἶναι καὶ
 2 ταλαιπώρως διάγειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μαθόντες αὐτὰ οἱ
 βουλευταὶ ἄλλα τέ τινα αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ
 σμικρότερα ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 ἄλλους κλήρω καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον αἶρετὸν ἔπεμψαν,
 τοῦτό τε ἐδυσχέρανεν, ὥστε καὶ αὐθις ἀπειπεῖν
 μήτε ἐπαίνου τι μήτε τιμῆς ἐχόμενον τοῖς συγγε-
 νέσιν αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν
 3 τετιμῆσθαι ἐδόκει.³ πάντα τε γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ διδόμε-
 μενα αὐτῷ παρ' οὐδὲν ἐτίθετο, καὶ ἤχθετο μὲν
 εἰ μικρά τινα ψηφισθείη, ὡς καταφρονούμενος,
 ἤχθετο δὲ καὶ εἰ μείζω, ὡς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν
 ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρούμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο
 δοκεῖν τι τῶν τιμῆν τινα αὐτῷ φερόντων ἐπ'
 αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ κρείττοσιν αὐτοῦ οὔσι καὶ χαρί-
 σασθαί οἱ⁴ ὡς καὶ ἤττονί σφῶν τι δυναμένοις
 4 εἶναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις τινὰ οὐχ ὡς καὶ
 αὔξησιν τῆς λαμπρότητος ἀλλ' ὡς καθαίρεσιν
 τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ φέροντα διέβαλλε. καὶ μέντοι

¹ τῆς supplied by Bk.

² προεψηφίστο Reim., προεψηφίσατο M cod. Peir.

³ ἐδόκει Reim., δόκει M cod. Peir.

⁴ χαρίσασθαί οἱ Oddey, χαρίσασθαι σφῶν οἱ M.

Lepidus, having first accused them in a communication to the senate of many impious and immoral actions. Agrippina was given Lepidus' bones in an urn and bidden to carry it back to Rome, keeping it in her bosom during the whole journey. Also, since many honours had been voted earlier to his sisters manifestly on his account, he forbade the awarding of any distinction to any of his relatives.

He sent a report about these matters to the senate at the time, just as if he had escaped some great plot; for he was always pretending to be in danger and to be leading a miserable existence. The senators, on being apprised of it, voted him an ovation among other things, and they sent envoys to announce their action, choosing some of them by lot, but directly appointing Claudius. This also displeased Gaius, to such an extent that he again forbade the bestowing of anything involving praise or honour upon his relatives; and he felt, besides, that he had not been honoured as he deserved. For that matter, he always counted as naught all the honours that were granted to him. It irritated him to have small distinctions voted, since that implied a slight, and greater distinctions irritated him also, since thus the possibility of further honours seemed to be taken from him. For he did not for a moment wish it to appear that anything that brought him honour was in the power of the senators, since that would imply that they were his superiors and could grant him favours as if he were their inferior. For this reason he frequently found fault with various honours conferred upon him, on the ground that they did not increase his splendour but rather destroyed his power. And yet, though he felt thus, he used to

καὶ¹ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶν ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, εἴ ποτε
 ἐλάττω σφᾶς τῆς ἀξίας ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἔδοξεν.
 οὕτω που ἔμπληκτος ἦν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως
 5 τυχεῖν ἐδύνατο. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις
 διὰ ταῦθ' ὡς καὶ κατασκόπους ὑπιδόμενος, οὔτε
 πάντα προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους ἐπιλεξάμενος
 τοὺς λοιπούς, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπε-
 πέμψατο, οὔθ' οὓς γε προσήκατο σεμνοῦ τινος
 ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀπέκτεινεν ἄν,
 εἰ μὴ κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν τῇ φύσει τὰ
 δὲ καὶ ἐκ προνοίας πολλὴν νωθείαν προσποιου-
 6 μένου. ἑτέρους δὲ αὐθις πλείους τε πεμφθέντας
 (πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν προ-
 τέρων ἠτιᾶτο) καὶ πολλὰ τινα² ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ
 ἀγγέλλοντας ἠδέως ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ προαπήντησέ
 τε αὐτοῖς, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν αὐθις ἐτιμῆθη.

7 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ
 ἐκβαλὼν τὴν Παυλίαν, προφάσει μὲν ὡς μὴ
 τίκτουσαν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι διακορῆς αὐτῆς ἐγε-
 γόνει, Μιλωνίαν Καισωνίαν ἔγημεν, ἣν πρότερον
 μὲν ἐμοίχευε, τότε δὲ καὶ γαμῆτῆν ποιήσασθαι
 ἠθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔσχευ, ἕν' αὐτῷ παι-
 8 δῖον τριακονθήμερον τέκνη. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ἐταράττοντο δὲ
 καὶ ὅτι δίκαι σφίσιν ἐπὶ τε τῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφὰς
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πεφονευμένους φιλία
 πολλαὶ ἐπήγοντο, ὡς καὶ ἀγορανόμους στρατηγούς
 τέ τινας ἀνάγκασθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπόντας
 9 κριθῆναι. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ καυμάτων ἐτα-
 λαιπώρησαν· τοσαύτη γὰρ ὑπερβολὴ αὐτῶν ἐγέ-

¹ καὶ cod. Peir., om. M.

² τινα Leuncl., τι M.

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νετο ὥστε καὶ παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπερταθῆναι . ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τότε φεύγουσι καὶ ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ὁ Ὀφώνιος,¹ ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν μεμοιχευκῶς, ἐξέπεσεν.

24 Οὐ μέντοι ταῦθ' οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει ὡς τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἐπὶ πλείον τὴν τε ὠμότητα τὴν τοῦ Γαίου καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐξήσειν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐπυρθάνοντο τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον τοὺς βασιλέας ὥσπερ τινὰς τυραννοδι-
 2 δασκάλους συνεῖναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τρίτον οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων οὔτε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀθροῖσαι τὴν γερουσίαν ἐτόλμησε· συνάρχοντα γάρ, οὔτι² καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσας, ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν προαποδεδειγμένου τελευτήσαντος, ἑτέρου δὲ μηδενὸς δι' ὀλίγου οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ³ αὐτοῦ ἀντικατα-
 3 στήναι δυνηθέντος, οὐδένα ἔσχε. καὶ ἔδει μὲν πού τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἷς τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔργα ὅποταν ἀποδημήσωσι μέλει, πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπιτετελεκέναι ὅπως δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δόξωσιν τι πεποιηκέναι, οὐδὲν τῶν καθηκόντων ἔπραξαν,⁴
 4 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀθρόοι οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀναβάντες τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Γαίου δίφρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ κείμενον προσεκύνησαν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀργύριον κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔθος ἰσχυῶσα, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ διδόντες, κατέ-
 5 θεσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ συνῆλθον μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον μηδενὸς σφας ἀθροίσαντος, ἔπραξαν

¹ ὁ Ὀφώνιος Bs., σοφώνιος M.

² οὔτι H. Steph., οὔτοι M.

BOOK LIX

that awnings were stretched across the Forum. A.D. 39
 Among the men exiled at this time Ofonius Tigellinus was banished on the charge of having had improper relations with Agrippina.

All this, however, did not distress the people so much as did their expectation that Gaius' cruelty and licentiousness would go to still greater lengths. And they were particularly troubled on ascertaining that King Agrippa and King Antiochus were with him, like two tyrant-trainers. A.D. 40
 Consequently, while he was consul for the third time none of the tribunes or praetors ventured to convene the senate. (He had no colleague, though this was not, as some think, intentional, but rather due to the fact that the consul designate died and no one else could be appointed in his stead on such short notice in the emperor's absence.) Of course the praetors, whose office it is to perform the duties of the consuls in their absence from the city, ought to have attended to all the necessary business; but, fearing it might appear that they had acted in the emperor's place, they performed none of those duties. The senators, nevertheless, went up to the Capitol in a body, offered the regular sacrifices, and did obeisance to the chair of Gaius that was in the temple; furthermore, in accordance with the custom prevailing in the time of Augustus, they left money, acting as though they were giving it to the emperor himself. The same course was followed the next year also; but at the time of the events just narrated they assembled in the senate-house after these ceremonies, though

³ ἐκδημία Rk., ἐκκλησίαι M.

⁴ ἔπραξαν R. Steph., ἔπραξεν M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τε τοῖς ἐπαί-
 νοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὐχαῖς κατέ-
 6 τριψαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτ' ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν οὔτε
 σώζεσθαι ἐβούλουτο, ἐπὶ πλείον ἀμφότερα, ὡς
 καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς σφῶν διὰ τοῦτο ἐπηλυγασόμενοι,
 προσεποιήσαντο. καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ
 τὰς εὐχὰς ἐχούσῃ συνῆλθον μὲν, πάντων τῶν
 στρατηγῶν ἐκ κοινοῦ προγράμματος τὴν σύνοδόν
 σφισιν ἐπαγγειλάντων, ἐχρημάτισαν δὲ οὔτε τότε
 οὔτε αὐθις οὐδέν, μέχρις οὔ ὁ Γάιος δωδεκάτῃ
 7 ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπῶν ἠγγέλθη. τότε γὰρ
 παραλαμβάνοντες αὐτὴν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα κεχειροτονη-
 μένοι διώκουν τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐψη-
 φίσθη ἄλλα τε καὶ ἵνα τοῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ
 τοῖς τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενεσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπερ καὶ
 τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου γίγνηται. καὶ τινα καὶ οἱ
 ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἄνδρες πανήγυριν τε ἐπετέ-
 λησαν καὶ θέαν παρέσχοντο, καὶ¹ εἰκόνα τοῦ τε
 Γαίου καὶ τῆς Δρουσίλλης στήσαντες ὠσίωσαν.
 8 ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς που τῆς τοῦ Γαίου
 ἐπράχθη· καὶ γὰρ τὰλλα ὅσα χρηματίζεσθαι
 ἐβούλετο, ὀλίγα μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς βουλευταῖς, τὰ
 δὲ δὴ πλείω τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔγραφε,² καὶ ἐκεῖνα
 ἔστιν ὅτε ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι
 ἐκέλευε.

25 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπράττον, Γάιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ
 τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον τὸν τοῦ Ἰούβα παῖδα μετα-
 πέμψας, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι πλουτεῖ, ἀπέκτεινε,
 καὶ . . .³

¹ καὶ supplied by R. Steph.

² ἔγραφε Bs., γράφων M.

³ At this point a quaternion has been lost from M; the MS. resumes at lx. 2, 1.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

(Ὡς αἱ Μαυριτανίαι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξαντο.—Index Lib. LIX.)

Ἔς δὲ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθὼν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ στρατεύσων, καὶ πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τῇ ἡόνι παρατάξας, τριήρους τε ἐπέβη καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπάρας ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ ἰζήσας καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὡς ἐς μάχην δούς, τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς¹ ἐξοτρύνας αὐτούς, εἴτ'² ἐξαίφνης ἐκέλευσέ σφισὶ τὰ κογχύλια συλλέξασθαι. λαβὼν τε τὰ σκῦλα ταῦτα (καὶ γὰρ λαφύρων δῆλον ὅτι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπιρικήων πομπὴν ἐδείκτο) μέγα τε ἐφρόνησεν ὡς καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν δεδουλωμένος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐδωρήσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τὰ κογχύλια ἀνεκόμισεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνοις τὰ λάφυρα δείξῃ. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ οὐθ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσυχάζοι εἶχεν, ὅτι μεγαλοφρονούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπυνθάνετο, οὐθ' ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσειεν. ἂν γάρ τις ἐπὶ μηδεμιᾷ ἢ μικρᾷ τινὶ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ ἦτοι ἐπαίνους μεγάλους ἢ καὶ τιμὰς ἐξαισίους ποιῆται, διαμωκᾶσθαί τε καὶ διασιλλοῦν³ αὐτὴν ὑποπτέυεται. ὅμως ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἀπολέσαι πᾶσαν, ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσατο,⁴ τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀθροίσας πολὺ μὲν ἀργύριον ἐκ μετεώρου τινὸς πολὺ δὲ χρυσίου ἔρριψε, καὶ πολλοὶ⁵ ἀπώλοντο διαρπάζοντες. σιδήρια γὰρ μικρὰ ἅττα

¹ σαλπικταῖς Dind., σαλπικταῖς VCL'.

² εἴτ' VL', δτ' C.

³ διασιλλοῦν L', διασυλλοῦν C, διασυλοῦν (with second λ added above) V.

BOOK LII

(How the Mauretaniae began to be governed by Romans.) A.D. 40

And when he reached the ocean, as if he were going to conduct a campaign in Britain, and had drawn up all the soldiers on the beach, he embarked on a trireme, and then, after putting out a little from the land, sailed back again. Next he took his seat on a lofty platform and gave the soldiers the signal as if for battle, bidding the trumpeters urge them on; then of a sudden he ordered them to gather up the spoils. Having secured these spoils (for he needed booty, of course, for his triumphal procession), he became greatly elated, as if he had enslaved the very ocean; and he gave his soldiers many presents. The spoils he took back to Rome for the purpose of exhibiting the booty to the people there as well. The senate knew not how it could remain indifferent to these doings, since it learned that he was in an exalted frame of mind, nor yet again how it could praise him. For, if anybody bestows great praise or extraordinary honours for some trivial exploit or none at all, he is suspected of making a rissing and a mockery of the affair. Nevertheless, when Gaius entered the city, he came very near destroying the whole senate because it had not voted him divine honours. He assembled the populace, however, and showered quantities of silver and gold upon them from a lofty station, and many perished in their efforts to

⁴ ἐψηφίσατο VL', ἐψηφίσθη C (corr. to ἐψηφίσατο).

⁵ πολλοί VC, πολλοί δὲ L'.

αὐτοῖς, ὡς φασί τινες, ἀνεμέμικτο.—Xiph. 166, 30–167, 22.

5^a Ἐκ δὲ τῶν μοιχειῶν ὡς καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Κελτικὴν καὶ Βρεττανικὴν κεχειρωμένος, αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις καὶ Γερμανικὸς καὶ Βρεττανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 82 M. (v. 30–33).

5^b Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον βιοῦς πάντως ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ ἔφωρασε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ συλλαβῶν Ἀνίκιον¹ Κερεάλιον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σέξτον Παπίνιον ἐβασάνισε· καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐξελάλησεν, ἀνέπεισε τὸν Παπίνιον, σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄδειαν ὑποσχόμενος, κατειπεῖν τινῶν ἢ ἀληθῶς² ἢ ψευδῶς, καὶ ἐκεῖνον αὐτίκα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτεινεν.—Zon. 11, 6 (p. 19, 12–19 D.).

6 Βετιλῖνον δὲ Βάσσον³ ἀποσφαγῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Καπίωνα παρεῖναι φονευομένῳ αὐτῷ κατηνάγκασε μήτ' ἀδικοῦντά τι μήτ' ἐσηγγελμένον. πυθομένου τε αὐτοῦ εἰ μῦσαι γέ οἱ ἐπιτρέπει, προσέταξε καὶ ἐκεῖνον
7 σφαγῆναι. [Xiph. 167, 22–27.]⁴ ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων προσεποιήσατο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβεβουλευκότων εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντα ἐκφῆναι ὑπέσχετο, καὶ ὠνόμασε τοὺς τε ἑταίρους τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου καὶ τοὺς συνεργοὺς τῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ τῆς ὠμότητος.

¹ Ἀνίκιον Pinder, νίκιον ABC E^c.

² ἀληθῶς ABC^c, ὡς ἀληθῶς E.

³ βετιλῖνον δὲ κάσσον CV, μετιλλῖνον δὲ κάσσιον L', βάσσος exc. Vat.

⁴ Zonaras has in place of these two sentences: ἐνδὲ δὲ τῶν κτεινομένων καὶ τὸν πατέρα παρεῖναι κατηνάγκασε τοῦ υἱοῦ φονευομένου· πυθόμενον τε εἰ μῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπει, καὶ ἐκεῖνον σφαγῆναι προσέταξεν.

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καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον καὶ τὴν Καισωνίαν προσδιαβαλὼν ἠπιστήθη· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανεν, τῷ δὲ Γαίῳ τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκεύασεν.
 8 ἰδία¹ γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάρχους τε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον προσκαλεσάμενος “εἷς εἰμί” ἔφη, “τρεις δὲ ὑμεῖς, καὶ γυμνὸς μὲν ἐγώ, ὀπλισμένοι δ’ ὑμεῖς· εἰ οὖν μισεῖτέ με καὶ ἀποκτείνειν θέλετε, φονεύσατε.” ἔξ ἐκείνου δὲ μισεῖσθαι νομίσας καὶ ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐκείνους, ὑπώπτευσέ σφας, καὶ ξίφος κὰν τῇ πόλει παρεζώννυτο, καὶ συνέβαλλεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ὅπως μὴ συμφρονῶσι,² κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστω ὡς πιστοτάτῳ διαλεγόμενος· περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, μέχρις οὗ συνέντες τὸ ἐπιχείρημα προήκαντο αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.—Zon. 11, 6 (p. 19, 22–20, 11 D.).

9 “Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσε τὴν σύγκλητον συναχθῆναι, καὶ δῆθεν ἀμνηστίαν αὐτοῖς δέδωκέν, εἰπὼν ὀλίγους πάνυ ἔχειν οἷς ἔτι ὠργίζετο. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις³ διπλῆν ἐδίδου τὴν φροντίδα· ἕκαστος γὰρ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνενοεῖ.—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 31 (p. 205 Mai = p. 188, 3–7 D.).

¹ Cf., for the rest of the paragraph, Patricius: ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Γάιος τοὺς τε ὑπάρχους καλέσας καὶ ἄλλους δύο εἰσήλθεν ἐν χιτωνίσκῳ (κοιτωνίσκῳ cod.), καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς “ἰδοὺ ὑμεῖς τρεῖς ἐστε ὀπλισμένοι, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος καὶ γυμνός· εἰ μισεῖτέ με, φονεύσατέ με.” ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσέπεσαν καὶ παρεκάλουν μηδὲν τοιοῦτον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐννοεῖν, ἀνεχώρησεν δῆθεν πεπεισμένος· πλὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποπτος περὶ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν διέκειτο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐδεδείσαν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ συνέκρουεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις (exc. Vat. 30, p. 205 Mai = p. 187, 26–188, 2 D.).

² συμφρονῶσι ΑΕ, συμφωνῶσι BC^c,

³ τούτοις Mai, τούτους M.

would have brought many to destruction, had he not gone on to accuse the prefects and Callistus and Caesonia, and so aroused distrust. He was accordingly put to death, but this very deed paved the way for Gaius' own destruction. For¹ the emperor privately summoned the prefects and Callistus and said to them: "I am but one, and you are three; and I am defenceless, whereas you are armed. If, therefore, you hate me and desire to kill me, slay me." As a result of this affair, he believed that he was hated and that they were vexed at his behaviour, and so he suspected them and wore a sword at his side when in the city; and to forestall any harmony of action on their part he attempted to embroil them with one another, by pretending to make a confidant of each one separately and talking to him about the others, until they understood his purpose and abandoned him to the conspirators.

He also ordered the senate to meet and pretended to grant its members amnesty, saying that there were only a very few against whom he still retained his anger. This statement doubled the anxiety of every one of them, for each was thinking of himself.

¹ Patricius' account from this point is as follows: The same Gaius, after summoning the prefects and two others, entered, wearing a tunic, and said to them: "See! You are three men armed, whereas I am alone and defenceless. If you hate me, slay me." When they fell at his feet and besought him, claiming that they had no such intention regarding him, he withdrew, pretending to be convinced; yet not only was he suspicious of their friendship, but they, also, on their side, were filled with fear. And he tried to set them at variance with one another.

26 Ἦν¹ δέ τις Πρωτογένης πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ χαλεπώτατα ὑπηρετῶν, ὥστε καὶ βιβλία αἰεὶ δύο περιφέρειν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν ξίφος τὸ δὲ ἐγχειρίδον ὀνομάζειν. οὗτος ἐσῆλθέ ποτε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ πάντων, οἷα εἰκός, προσειπόντων τε αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιουμένων δριμύ τέ τι Σκριβωνίῳ² Πρόκλῳ ἐνεΐδε καὶ ἔφη “καὶ σύ με ἀσπάζη, μισῶν οὕτω τὸν αὐτοκράτορα;” ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ παρόντες περιέσχον τε τὸν συμβουλευτὴν καὶ διέσπασαν. —Χιρ. 167, 27–168, 4.

3 Ἦσθέντος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς κατηλλάχθαι πανηγύρεις τέ τινας ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὅπως καὶ βήματι ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὥστε μηδένα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, καὶ φρουρᾷ στρατιωτικῇ καὶ³ ἐκεῖ χρῶτο· καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ φρουρεῖσθαι ἔγνωσαν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ὁ Γάιος τὴν ὀργὴν σφισιν ἀφῆκε καὶ χρηστά⁴ τινα προσεανεανιεύσατο. Πομπώνιον γὰρ ἐπιβουλευσαι λεχθέντα⁵ οἱ ἀπέλυσεν, ἐπει ἡ ὑπὸ φίλου προεδόθη,⁶ καὶ τὴν ἐταίραν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι βασανισθεῖσα οὐδὲν ἐξεῖπεν, οὔτε τι κακὸν ἔδρασε καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήμασιν ἐτίμησεν. ἐπαινούμενος οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθείας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἥρωα τῶν δὲ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνακαλούντων, δεινῶς⁷ ἐξεφρόνησεν. ἠξίου μὲν

¹ Cf. Zonaras: τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν, ὅτι μὴ κατεψηφίσαντό τινων, περιφόβων ὄντων, Πρωτογένης τις κ.τ.λ.

² σκριβωνίῳ L', σκιρβωνίῳ VC.

³ καὶ om. cod. Peir.

⁴ χρηστά Bk., χρήματα cod. Peir. (Xiph. omits § 4).

⁵ ἐπιβουλευσαι λεχθέντα Bk., ἐπιβουλευθέντα λεχθεῖναι cod. Peir.

⁶ προεδόθη Val., προσεδόθη cod. Peir.

⁷ δεινῶς om. cod. Peir.

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γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον νομίζεσθαι, καὶ
 τῇ Σελήνῃ συγγίγνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Νίκης]
 στεφανοῦσθαι ἔλεγε,¹ Ζεὺς τε εἶναι ἐπλάττετο,
 καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ γυναῖξιν ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς
 καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μάλιστα συνεῖναι προεφασί-
 6 σατο, καὶ Ποσειδῶν αὖθις, ὅτι τοσοῦτον θαλάσσης
 μέτρον ἔξευξε, τόν τε Ἡρακλέα τόν τε Διόνυσον
 τόν τε Ἀπόλλω τούς τε ἄλλους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς
 ἄρρενας ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς θηλείας, ὑπεκρίνετο, Ἡρα-
 τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη πολλάκις ἐγίγνετο.
 πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων μετάθεσιν καὶ τὸ
 ἄλλο σχῆμα πᾶν τὸ προσῆκόν σφισιν ἐλάμβανεν,
 7 ὥστε εἰκέναι αὐτοῖς² δοκεῖν. τοτὲ³ μὲν γὰρ
 θηλυδριώδης ἔωρᾶτο καὶ κρατῆρα καὶ θύρσον εἶχε,
 τοτὲ³ δὲ ἄρρενωπός, καὶ ῥόπαλον καὶ λεοντῆν ἢ
 καὶ κράνος ἄσπίδα τε ἐφόρει. λειογένειος αὖ καὶ
 μετὰ τοῦτο πωγωνίας ἐφαντάζετο, τρίαινάν τε
 ἔστιν ὅτε ἐκράτει, καὶ κεραυνὸν αὖθις ἠνέτεινε.
 παρθένω τε κυνηγετικῇ ἢ καὶ πολεμικῇ ὠμοιοῦτο,
 8 καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐγυναίκιζεν. οὕτω που καὶ τῷ
 ῥυθμῷ τῆς στολῆς καὶ τοῖς προσθέτοις τοῖς τε
 περιθέτοις ἀκριβῶς ἐποικίλλετο, καὶ πάντα μᾶλ-
 λον ἢ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοκράτωρ τε δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελε.⁴
 καὶ ποτέ τις ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 βήματος ὑψηλοῦ ἐν Δίῳ εἶδει· χρηματίζοντα
 9 ἐγέλασεν· ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἐκάλεσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνήρετο
 “τί σοὶ δοκῶ εἶναι ;” καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο (ἐρῶ γὰρ

¹ ἔλεγε om. Xiph.

² αὐτοῖς Bs., ἂν exc. Vat. (Xiph. omits ὥστε . . . δοκεῖν).

³ τοτὲ Bk., τότε cod. Peir., ποτέ Xiph. Zon.

⁴ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοκράτωρ τε δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελε
 cod. Peir., καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον δοκεῖν ἢ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι ἤθελε

demanding that he be regarded as more than a human being, and was wont to claim that he had intercourse with the Moon, that Victory put a crown upon him, and to pretend that he was Jupiter, and he made this a pretext for seducing numerous women, particularly his sisters; again, he would pose as Neptune, because he had bridged so great an expanse of sea; he also impersonated Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo, and all the other divinities, not merely males but also females, often taking the rôle of Juno, Diana, or Venus. Indeed, to match the change of name he would assume all the rest of the attributes that belonged to the various gods, so that he might seem really to resemble them. Now he would be seen as a woman, holding a wine-bowl and thyrsus, and again he would appear as a man equipped with a club and lion's skin or perhaps a helmet and shield. He would be seen at one time with a smooth chin and later with a full beard. Sometimes he wielded a trident and again he brandished a thunderbolt. Now he would impersonate a maiden equipped for hunting or for war, and a little later would play the married woman. Thus by varying the style of his dress, and by the use of accessories and wigs, he achieved accuracy in many diverse parts; and he was eager to appear to be anything rather than a human being and an emperor. Once a Gaul, seeing him uttering oracles from a lofty platform in the guise of Jupiter, was moved to laughter, whereupon Gaius summoned him and inquired, "What do I seem to you to be?" And the other answered (I give his exact words):

Xiph., καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπος δοκεῖν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐβούλετο Ζην.

αὐτὸ τὸ λεχθέν) ὅτι “ μέγα παραλήρημα.” καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι δεινὸν ἔπαθε· σκυτοτόμος γὰρ ἦν. οὕτω που ῥᾶον τὰς τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει τινὶ ὄντων παρρησίας οἱ τοιοῦτοι φέρουσι.
 10 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ σχήματα, ὅποτε τις θεὸς ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ἐλάμβανε, καὶ αὐτῷ¹ καὶ ἱκετεῖαι καὶ εὐχαὶ θυσίαι τε κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορον προσήγοντο· ἄλλως δὲ δὴ² ἐν τε τῇ σηρικῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νικητηρία
 27 σκευῇ ὡς πλήθει ἐδημοσίευσεν,³ ἐφίλει τε ὀλιγίστους⁴ τοῖς γὰρ πλείστοις καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τὴν χεῖρα ἢ τὸν πόδα προσκυνεῖν ὤρεγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ φιληθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐγίγνωσκον, καίτοι τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς καθ'
 2 ἡμέραν φιλοῦντι πάντων ὀρώντων. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ὅσα ὡς θεῷ αὐτῷ ἐγίγνετο, οὐχ ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ αἰεὶ τινα κολακεύειν εἰωθότες ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ δοκοῦντές τι εἶναι.—Xiph. 168, 4–169, 11, Exc. Val. 211 (p. 669 sq.).

Ὁ δ' οὖν⁵ Οὐιτέλλιος⁶ ὁ Δούκιος οὐτ' ἀγεννῆς⁷ οὐτ' ἄφρων ὢν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ὀνομαστος γενόμενος (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα
 3 λαμπρῶς ἠγεμόνευσε,⁸ καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβανον καὶ ἐκείνη ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ἐπειδὴ μηδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐδεδώκει κατέπληξέ τε ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἐξαπιναίως περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη ὄντι, καὶ ἔς τε λόγους αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ

¹ αὐτῷ cod. Peir., αὐτῶν Xiph.

² δὴ om. cod. Peir.

³ ἐδημοσίευσεν R. Steph., ἐδημοσίευσεν Xiph. cod. Peir.

⁴ ὀλιγίστους cod. Peir. Xiph. VL', ὀλίγους Xiph. C.

⁵ δ' οὖν VC, γοῦν L'.

⁶ Οὐιτέλλιος Bk., βιτέλιος Xiph., βιτέλλιος cod. Peir.

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θύσαι ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε Γαίου εἰκόσιν ἠνάγκασε, σπονδάς τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμφορον δούς καὶ προσέτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ
 4 ὁμήρους λαβῶν)—οὗτος οὖν ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μετεπέμφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου, ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος (ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐξήλασαν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκείνος αἰτίαν ἔσχε, μισηθεῖς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου· τῷ τε γὰρ κρείττονι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Γάιος ἤχθετο, καὶ τὸ εὖ φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ἐπιθησόμενόν οἱ ὑπώπτειν), ἐσώθη δὲ σχηματίσας πῶς ἑαυτὸν ὥστε καὶ ἐλάττων αὐτῷ τῆς δόξης φανῆναι, καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσὼν καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσας, κὰν¹ τούτῳ καὶ θειάσας αὐτὸν πολλὰ καὶ προσκυνήσας, καὶ τέλος² εὐξά-
 6 μενος, ἂν περισωθῆ, θύσειν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐτιθάσευσε καὶ ἰλεώσατο ὥστε μὴ μόνον περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις αὐτοῦ νομισθῆναι. καί ποτε τοῦ Γαίου συγγίγνεσθαί τε τῇ Σελήνῃ λέγοντος, καὶ ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν εἰ ὁρῶν τὴν θεὸν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ, κάτω τε ὡς καὶ³ τεθηπῶς ἔβλεπεν ὑποτρέμων, καὶ σμικρόν τι φθεγξάμενος “ὕμιν” ἔφη “τοῖς θεοῖς, δέσποτα, μόνοις ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν.” Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενος πάντα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἄλλους⁴ κολακεία ὑπερεβάλετο.—Xiph. 169, 11–170, 6, Exc. Val. 212 (p. 670).

28 Γάιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει τέμενός τι ἑαυτῷ ἐν Μιλήτῳ τεμενίσαι ἐκέλευσε· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν

¹ κὰν Xiph., καὶ cod. Peir.

² τέλος om. cod. Peir.

him to sacrifice to the images of Augustus and Gaius, and made a peace with him that was advantageous to the Romans, even securing his sons as hostages. This Vitellius, now, was summoned by Gaius to be put to death. The complaint against him was the same as the Parthians had against their king when they expelled him; for jealousy made him the object of hatred, and fear the object of plots. Gaius, of course, hated all who were stronger than himself, and he was suspicious of all who were successful, feeling sure that they would attack him. Yet Vitellius managed to save his life. He arrayed himself in a manner beneath his rank, then fell at the emperor's feet with tears and lamentations, all the while calling him many divine names and paying him worship; and at last he vowed that if he were allowed to live he would offer sacrifice to him. By this behaviour he so mollified and soothed Gaius, that he not only managed to survive but even came to be regarded as one of Gaius' most intimate friends. On one occasion, when Gaius claimed to be enjoying converse with the Moon, and asked Vitellius if he could see the goddess with him, the other, trembling as in awe, kept his eyes fixed on the ground and answered in a half whisper: "Only you gods, master, may behold one another." So Vitellius, from this beginning, came later to surpass all others in adulation.

Gaius ordered that a sacred precinct should be set apart for his worship at Miletus in the province of Asia. The reason he gave for choosing this city

³ ὡς καὶ Xiph., οἷα δὴ Ζοῖν.

⁴ πάντας . . . τοὺς ἄλλους VC, τοὺς ἄλλους . . . πάντας L'.

πόλιν ἐπελέξατο, λόγῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν μὲν
 "Ἐφεσον ἢ" Ἀρτεμις τὴν δὲ Πέργαμον ὁ Αὐγου-
 στος τὴν δὲ Σμύρναν ὁ Τιβέριος προκατειλήφασι,
 τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὅτι τῶν νεῶν ὧν οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῷ
 Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ μέγαν καὶ ὑπερκαλλῆ ἐποίουν
 2 ἰδιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησε. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον
 ἐξήχθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ναὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα τὸν δὲ ἰδίᾳ
 ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ποιήσασθαι. ἐτεκτήνατο μὲν
 γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ κατάλυσίν τινα, ἵν',
 3 ὡς ἔλεγε, τῷ Διὶ συνοικίῃ· ἀπαξιώσας δὲ δὴ τὰ
 δευτέρεια ἐν τῇ συνοικήσει αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι, καὶ
 προσεγκαλέσας¹ οἱ² ὅτι τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκα-
 τέλαβεν,³ οὕτω δὲ ἕτερόν τε⁴ νεῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ
 σπουδῆ ᾧκοδομήσατο,⁵ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς αὐτὸν ἠθέ-
 λησε τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου⁶ ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
 4 εἶδος μεταρρυθμίσαι.⁷ μὴ δυνηθεὶς δέ (τό τε γὰρ
 πλοῖον τὸ πρὸς τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναυπηγηθεὶς
 ἐκεραυνώθη,⁸ καὶ γέλωσ, ὅσᾳκις τινὲς ὡς καὶ τοῦ
 ἔδους ἐφαψόμενοι προσῆλθον, πολὺς ἐξηκούετο)
 ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπήπειλει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἕτερόν ἐνέστησε.
 5 τό τε Διοσκόρειον⁹ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ
 ὃν διατεμὼν διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εσοδοῦ δι'
 αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως καὶ
 πυλωροὺς τοὺς Διοσκόρους, ὡς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν,

¹ προσεγκαλέσας Xiph. L' cod. Peir., προσεγκαλέσαι Xiph. VC.

² οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ Xiph.

³ προκατέλαβεν cod. Peir., κατέλαβεν Xiph.

⁴ τε Rk., γε Xiph. cod. Peir.

⁵ ᾧκοδομήσατο Xiph., ᾧκοδόμησεν cod. Peir.

⁶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου om. cod. Peir.

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ἔχῃ. Δία τε Λατιάριον¹ ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, τὴν
 τε Καισωνίαν² τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον
 ἄλλους τε τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἱερέας προσέθετο,
 πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἵπαρ ἑκά-
 6 στου μυριάδας λαβῶν. καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἑαυτῷ³ ἱεράτο,⁴ τὸν τε ἵππον συνιερέα ἀπέφηνε⁵
 καὶ ὄρνιθες αὐτῷ ἀπαλοί. τέ τινες καὶ πολυτί-
 μητοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐθύοντο. ταῖς τε
 βροῦταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς τινος ἀντεβρόντα καὶ ταῖς
 ἀστραπαῖς ἀντήστραπτε· καὶ ὅποτε κεραυνὸς
 καταπέσοι, λίθον ἀντηκόντιζεν, ἐπιλέγων ἐφ'
 ἑκάστῳ⁶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου “ἢ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγὼ
 7 σέ.” ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Καισωνία θυγάτριον⁷ μετὰ τριά-
 κοιτα ἡμέρας τῶν γάμων ἔτεκε, τοῦτό τε αὐτὸ
 δαιμονίως προσεποιεῖτο, σεμνυνόμενος ὅτι ἐν
 τοσαύταις ἡμέραις καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πατήρ⁸ ἐγεγόνει,
 καὶ Δρουσίλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας ἔς τε τὸ Καπι-
 τώλιον ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἔς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα ὡς
 καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ οὔσαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναῖ
 τιθηνεῖσθαι παρηγγύησεν.

8 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ οὗτος ὁ Ζεὺς (καὶ γὰρ
 ἐκαλεῖτο τὰ τελευταῖα οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ ἔς γράμ-
 ματα φέρεσθαι) ταῦτά⁹ τε ἅμα ἔπραττε καὶ
 χρήματα αἰσχίστα καὶ δεινότατα συνελέγετο.
 ἵνα γὰρ τις τὰ τε ὄνια¹⁰ καὶ τὰ καπηλεία τὰς τε

¹ Δία τε Λατιάριον Bs., following Casaubon (Δ. τε Λατιάλιον);
 διάλιόν τε M.

² Καισωνίαν R. Steph., κασωνίαν Xiph. (cod. Peir. omits
 τὴν τε . . . ἄλλους τε).

³ ἑαυτῷ Xiph., ἑναυτω cod. Peir.

⁴ ἱεράτο cod. Peir. Zon. Xiph. L', ἱεροῦτο Xiph. V, ἱερώτο
 (corr. from ἱεράτο) Xiph. C.

himself Jupiter Latiaris, he attached to his service as priests his wife Caesonia, Claudius, and other persons who were wealthy, receiving ten million sesterces from each of them in return for this honour. He also consecrated himself to his own service and appointed his horse a fellow-priest; and dainty and expensive birds were sacrificed to him daily. He had a contrivance by which he gave answering peals when it thundered and sent return flashes when it lightened. Likewise, whenever a bolt fell, he would in turn hurl a javelin at a rock, repeating each time the words of Homer, "Either lift me or I will thee."¹ When Caesonia bore a daughter only a month after her marriage, he pretended that this had come about through supernatural means, and gave himself airs over the fact that in so few days after becoming a husband he was now a father. He named the girl Drusilla, and taking her up to the Capitol placed her on the knees of Jupiter, thereby hinting that she was his child, and put her in charge of Minerva to be suckled.

This god, now, this Jupiter (for he was called by these names so much at the last that they even found their way into documents) at the same time that he was doing all this was also collecting money in most shameful and dreadful ways. One might, indeed, pass over in silence the wares and the

¹ *Il.* 23, 724. Ajax is addressing Odysseus in the course of their wrestling match.

⁶ ἀπέφηνε cod. Peir. Xiph. VC, ἀπέφαινε Xiph. L'.

⁶ ἐκάστῳ cod. Peir. Xiph. CL' Zon., ἐκάστου Xiph. C.

⁷ θυγάτριον Val., θυγάτρια cod. Peir.

⁸ καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πατήρ exc. Vat., καὶ πατήρ καὶ ἀνὴρ cod. Peir.

⁹ ταῦτά Val., ταῦ cod. Peir.

¹⁰ ὄνια Val., ὠνεια cod. Peir.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πόρνας¹ καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τοὺς τε χειροτέχνας
 καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ μισθοφοροῦντα τὰ τε ἄλλα
 τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἠργυρίζετο,
 9 παραλείπη,² ἀλλὰ τὰ γε οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
 τῷ παλατίῳ ἀποδειχθέντα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς
 τῶν πρώτων τοὺς τε παῖδας τοὺς τῶν σεμνοτάτων,
 οὓς ἐς αὐτὰ καθίζων ὕβριζεν, ἐκκαρπούμενος ἐπ'
 αὐτοῖς, πάντας ἀπλῶς, τοὺς μὲν ἐθέλοντας τοὺς
 δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας, ὅπως μὴ καὶ δυσχεραίνειν τι
 10 νομισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν τις σιωπήσειεν; οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
 τούτοις μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τὸ πλῆθος ἤχθετο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἔχαιρον ὁμοῦ οἱ τῇ τε ἀσελγείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 ὅτι ἐς τε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ
 συλλεγόμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμβάλλων ἐκάστοτε
 11 ἑαυτὸν ἐκαλινδεῖτο· ὡς μέντοι καὶ περὶ τῶν τελῶν
 πικρῶς τινα διανομοθετήσας ἐς λεύκωμα αὐτὰ
 βραχυτάτοις γράμμασιν ἐσέγραψε καὶ ἀφ' ὑψη-
 λοῦ τινος ἀπεκρέμασεν, ὅπως ὡς ἤκιστα ἀνα-
 γιγνώσκοντο, καὶ τούτου πολλοὶ τοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις,
 ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ κεκωλυμένον ἢ κεκελευσμένον,
 περιπίπτωσιν, ἐς τε τὸν ἵππόδρομον εὐθὺς σπουδῆ
 συνέδραμον καὶ δεινὰ συνεβόησαν.—*Xiph.* 170,
 6–171, 13; *Exc. Val.* 213, 214 (p. 670–674).

"Ὅτι ποτὲ τὸν δῆμον συνελθόντα ἐν τῷ ἵππο-
 δρομίῳ καὶ τοῦτον ἐλέγχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 διέφθειρεν· ἐξ οὐπερ πάντες ἐσιώπησαν.—*Joann.*
Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 1–3).

29 Ὡς οὖν πάντα τρόπον ἐξεμαίνετο, ἐπεβού-
 λευσαν αὐτῷ Κάσσιός τε Χαίρέας καὶ Κορνήλιος
 Σαβῖνος, καίτοι χιλιαρχίας ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ
 ἔχοντες. συνώμοσαν μὲν γὰρ πλείονες καὶ συνή-

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δεσαν τὸ πραττόμενον, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ τε Κάλλιστος καὶ ὁ ἑπάρχος.—Xiph. 171, 13–18, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 17–21 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 4–6).

1^a Πάντες τε ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκινήθησαν. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ οὐ συνώμοσαν, γνόντες οὐτ' ἐξέφηναν καὶ ἄσμενοι εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύομενον.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M (v. 6–7), Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 22–23 D.).

2 Οἱ δὲ αὐτόχειρες αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἀρχαιότροπός τις ἀνὴρ ὁ Χαιρέας ἦν, καὶ τινα καὶ ἰδίαν τῆς ὀργῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε· γύννιν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν καίπερ ἐρρωμενέστατον ἀνδρῶν ὄντα ὁ Γάιος ἐπεκάλει, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα αὐτῷ, ὅποτε ἐς ἐκεῖνον καθήκοι, Πόθον ἢ Ἀφροδίτην ἢ ἕτερόν τι¹ τοιοῦτον ἐδίδου. θεοπρόπιον δέ τι τῷ Γαίῳ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἐγεγόνει φυλάττεσθαι Κάσσιον· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Γάιον Κάσσιον τὸν τότε τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου ἐκείνου τοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείναντος εἶχεν, ὑποπτεύσας μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν δεδεμένον, προέλεγε δ' ἄρα αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον
4 τοῦτον τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Χαιρέαν. Ἀπολλώνιος τέ τις Αἰγύπτιος οἴκοι τε τὸ συμβὰν αὐτῷ προεῖπε, καὶ πεμφθεὶς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην προσήχθη τε αὐτῷ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ² τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ τελευταίῃσιν ἔμελλε, καὶ ἀναβληθεὶς ὡς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον κολασθησόμενος ἐσώθη.

Ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. ἑορτήν τινα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ
5 ἦγε καὶ θέαν ἐπετέλει, κὰν τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἦσθιε καὶ ἔπινε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰστία, ὅτε δὴ

¹ τι om. V.

² αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ VC, ἐκείνῃ L'.

BOOK LIX

course, in the conspiracy and privy to what was being done, among them Callistus and the prefect.¹ A.D. 41

Practically all his courtiers were won over, both on their own account and for the common good. And those who did not take part in the conspiracy did not reveal it when they knew of it, and were glad to see a plot formed against him.

But the men who actually killed Gaius were those I have named. Chaerea was an old-fashioned sort of man to begin with, and he had his own special cause for resentment. For Gaius was in the habit of calling him a wench, though he was the hardiest of men, and whenever it was Chaerea's turn to command the guard, would give him some such watchword as "Love" or "Venus." Now an oracle had come to Gaius a short time before warning him to beware of Cassius, and, supposing that it had reference to Gaius Cassius, governor of Asia at the time, because he was a descendant of the Gaius Cassius who had slain Caesar, he caused him to be brought back as a prisoner; but the man whom Heaven was really indicating to Gaius was this Cassius Chaerea. Likewise an Egyptian, Apollonius, foretold in his native land the actual fate of Gaius; for this he was sent to Rome and was brought before the emperor the very day on which the latter was destined to die, but his punishment was postponed until a little later, and in this way his life was saved.

The deed was done on this wise. Gaius was celebrating a festival² in the palace and was producing a spectacle. In the course of this he was both eating

¹ The prefect of the pretorian guard.

² He was murdered on January 24, the last day of the *Ludi Palatini*. Cf. Suet., *Gai.* 56, 58, Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 1, 11.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ Πομπώνιος Σεκουῦνδος ὁ τότε ὑπατεύων ἐνεφορεῖτό τε ἅμα τῶν σιτίων, παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ καθήμενος, καὶ ἐπικύπτων συνεχῶς αὐτοὺς κατεφίλει.—Xiph. 171, 18–172, 8.

Ὁ γὰρ Χαιρέας καὶ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις αἰσχροῖς ἀλγοῦντες, ὅμως ἐκαρτέρουν ἐπὶ 6 πέντε ἡμέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Γάιος καὶ ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ τραγωδίαν ὑποκρίνασθαι ἠθέλησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἑτέρας τρεῖς ἡμέρας προήγγειλε, οὐκέθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξελθόντα¹ ἵνα τοὺς παῖδας θεάσῃται, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας τῶν πάνυ εὐγενῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ὕμνον τὸν ἐς ἑαυτὸν πεποιημένον ἄσαι μετεπέπεμπο² δῆθεν, ἀπέκτειναν ἐν στενωπῷ τινὶ ἀπολαμβάνοντες. 7 καὶ αὐτοῦ πεσόντος οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκρὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ὡμῶς ἐτίτρωσκον³ καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγεύσαντο. τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εὐθύς ἐσφαξαν.—Xiph. 172, 8–19, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 24–23, 5 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 7–11).

30 Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μῆσιν ἐννέα ἡμέραις τε ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι πράξας τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς⁴ ὡς οὐκ ἦν θεὸς ἔμαθεν.⁵—Xiph. 172, 20–22, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 23, 6–8 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 11–14).

1^a Ὑφ' ὧν τε καὶ μὴ παρῶν προσεκυνεῖτο, τότε κατεπτύετο· καὶ ὑφ' ὧν τε Ζεὺς καὶ θεὸς ὠνομά-

¹ ἐξελθόντα Xiph., ἐξερχόμενον Zon., ἐρχόμενον Joann. Antioch.

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ζετό τε καὶ ἐγράφετο, σφάγιον ἐγένετο· ἀνδριάντες τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνες ἐσύροντο, μεμνημένου μάλιστα τοῦ δήμου ὧν ἐπεπόνθει δεινῶν.

1^b Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μέρους ἦσαν, ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ἐστασίαζον ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς ποιεῖν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 14–20).

1^c Ἐμνημόνευόν¹ τε οἱ παρόντες τοῦ λεχθέντος ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον “εἴθε ἓνα αὐχένα εἶχετε,” ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν αὐχένα
2 ἓνα σφεῖς δὲ δὴ χεῖρας πολλὰς ἔχοιεν. ἐπεὶ² δὲ τὸ δορυφορικὸν ἐταράττετο καὶ διαθέοντες ἐπυνθάροντο τίς Γάιον ἔσφαξεν, Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπατευκῶς θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον αὐτοῦς ἠσύχασεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐς περιφανές τι χωρίον καὶ ἐκβοήσας “εἴθε ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνειν.” καταπλαγέντες γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο τοῦ θορύβου.—Xiph. 172, 22–31.

3 “Ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλως πῶς ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐποιήσαντο, πεισθέντες τοῖς ὄρκοις ἠσύχασαν. τούτων δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον πραττομένων, Σέντιός τε καὶ Σεκουῦνδος οἱ ὑπατοὶ εὐθύς ἐκ τῶν-θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον μετεκόμισαν. φύλακάς

¹ Cf. Zonaras: ὡς δὲ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ διηγγέλθη, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν συνησεληγηκότων αὐτῷ πάντες ἔχαιρον, μεμνημένοι καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ὀργισθεὶς τῷ δήμῳ ἔφη “εἴθε ἓνα αὐχένα εἶχετε,” καὶ ἐπιλέγοντες ὅτι “σὺ μὲν ἓνα ἔχεις αὐχένα, ἡμεῖς δὲ χεῖρας πολλὰς.”

² Cf. Patricius: ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν συνασελγαινόντων καὶ συνεξημαρτηκότων αὐτῷ ἤχθοντο καὶ ἐταράττοντο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ πειραθέντες καταστήσαι οὐκ ἠδύναντο, Βαλέριος δὲ Ἀσιατικὸς, κ.τ.λ.

“Jupiter” and “god.” His statues and his images A.D. 41 were dragged from their pedestals, for the people in particular remembered the distress they had endured.

All the soldiers of the Germanic corps fell to rioting and quarrelling, with the result that there was some bloodshed.

The ¹ bystanders recalled the words once addressed by him to the populace, “Would that you had but one neck,” and they showed him that it was he who had but one neck, whereas they had many hands. And ² when the pretorian guard became excited and began running about and inquiring who had slain Gaius, Valerius Asiaticus, an ex-consul, quieted them in a remarkable manner; he climbed up to a conspicuous place and cried: “Would that I had killed him!” This alarmed them so much that they stopped their outcry.

All those who in any way acknowledged the authority of the senate, were true to their oaths and became quiet. While the scenes just described were being enacted around Gaius, the consuls, Sentius and Secundus, immediately transferred the funds from the treasuries to the Capitol. They

¹ Compare Zonaras: When his death was announced, everybody except a few of his former companions in lewdness rejoiced. They recalled the remark he had once made when in his anger he exclaimed to the people, “Would that you had but one neck,” and they now retorted, “You have but one neck, while we have many hands.”

² Compare Patricius: Many of his companions in lewdness and crime were angry and excited, and in spite of many attempts could not quiet the soldiers; but Valerius Asiaticus, etc.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τε τοὺς πλείους τῆς γερουσίας ἐπέστησαν, καὶ
στρατιώτας ἱκανοὺς, ἵνα μὴ διαρπαγὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ
πλήθους γένηται. οὗτοί τε ἅμα τοῖς ἐπάρχοις
καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σαβῖνον καὶ Χαιρέαν¹ τὸ πρακτέον
ἐσκοποῦντο.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. v. 20–28.

¹ Χαιρέαν Cramer, κεφαίαν cod. (and so χερέας sup.).

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BOOK LX

Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὧδε ἐγένετο. ἰμετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ Γαίου φύλακας ἐκασταχόσε τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπατοὶ διαπέμψαντες τὴν τε βουλήν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἤθροισαν, καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι γνώμαι ἐλέχθησαν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοῖς δὲ μοναρχεῖσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ οἱ 2 μὲν τὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν ἤροῦντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν λοιπὴν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν κατέτριψαν μηδὲν τελειώσαντες. κὰν τούτῳ στρατιῶταί τινες ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, ὅπως τι συλήσωσιν, ἐσελθόντες εὔρον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐν γωνίᾳ που 3 σκοτεινῇ κατακεκρυμμένον· (συνῆν τε γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξερχομένῳ¹ καὶ τότε τὴν ταραχὴν φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπτηξε), καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ ὄντα ἢ ἔχοντά τι ἐξείλκυσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ γνωρίσαντες² αὐτοκράτορά τε³ προσηγόρευσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἤγαγον, κὰκ τούτου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷα τοῦ τε βασιλικοῦ γένους ὄντι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖ νομιζομένῳ, 3^a πᾶν τὸ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνεδύετο καὶ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀντέκειτο τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονείκουν οἱ στρατιῶται μὴ παρ' ἐτέρων λαβεῖν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ δοῦναι πᾶσι. διὸ καὶ ἄκων, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὑπέκυψε.

¹ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξερχομένῳ Zon., om. Xiph.

² γνωρίσαντες VL', γνώσαντες C. ³ τε Zon., om. Xiph.

BOOK LX

CLAUDIUS became emperor on this wise. After A.D. 41 the murder of Gaius the consuls despatched guards to every part of the city and convened the senate on the Capitol, where many and diverse opinions were expressed; for some favoured a democracy, some a monarchy, and some were for choosing one man, and some another. In consequence they spent the rest of the day and the whole night without accomplishing anything. Meanwhile some soldiers who had entered the palace for the purpose of plundering found Claudius hidden away in a dark corner somewhere. He had been with Gaius when he came out of the theatre, and now, fearing the tumult, was crouching down out of the way. At first the soldiers, supposing that he was some one else or perhaps had something worth taking, dragged him forth; and then, on recognizing him, they hailed him emperor and conducted him to the camp. Afterwards they together with their comrades entrusted to him the supreme power, inasmuch as he was of the imperial family and was regarded as suitable. In vain he drew back and remonstrated; for the more he attempted to avoid the honour and to resist, the more strongly did the soldiers in their turn insist upon not accepting an emperor appointed by others but upon giving one themselves to the whole world. Hence he yielded, albeit with apparent reluctance.

4 Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ τέως μὲν ἄλλους τε¹ καὶ δημάρχους πέμποντες ἀπηγόρευον αὐτῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις γενέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ συνόντες σφίσι στρατιῶται ἐγκατέλιπον, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὠμολόγησαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἔς τὴν αὐταρχίαν αὐτοῦ² ἤκουτα ἦν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο.

2 Οὕτω μὲν Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων Γερμανικός, ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ τῆς Λιουίας παιδὸς υἱός, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἡγεμονία τινὶ ἰτὸ παράπαν ἐξητάσμενος, πλὴν ὅτι μόνον ὑπάτευσεν· ἦγε δὲ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας.—Xiph. 173, 8–174, 4, Zon. 11, 8 (p. 23, 19–24, 13 D.).

Ἐγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλος³ ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ⁴ καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ ἡσκητο, ὥστε καὶ συγγράψαι τινά, τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῇ
2 κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑποτρέμειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ φωνήματι ἐσφάλλετο, καὶ οὐ πάντα ὅσα ἔς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέφερεν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ταμιά, τὴν γε πρώτην καὶ παρῶν ὡς γε πλήθει, ἀναλέγεσθαι ἐδίδου. ὅσα δ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκε, καθήμενος ὡς τὸ
3 πολὺ ἐπελέγετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφρῳ καταστέγῳ πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὅτι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπατευκότες δίφροφορούμεθα· πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὅ τε Αὐγουστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἐν σκιμποδίοις, ὁποίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν
4 νομίζουσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφέροντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ

¹ μὲν ἄλλους τε Bk., ἄλλους μὲν Xiph.

² αὐτοῦ om. L'.

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διὰ ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅσον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐξελευθέρων
καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἷς συνῆν, ἐκακύνετο.
περιφανέστατα γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδουλοκρατήθη
τε ἅμα καὶ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη· ἅτε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων
ἐν τε νοσηλείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πολλῶν τραφεῖς,¹ καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἀληθείας εὐήθειαν προσ-
ποιησάμενος, ὅπερ πού καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
5 ὡμολόγησε, καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τῆθι τῇ
Λιουίᾳ πολὺν δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀντωνία τοῖς τ'
ἀπελευθέροις συνδιαιτηθεῖς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν
συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλείοσι γενόμενος, οὐδὲν
ἐλευθεροπρεπὲς ἐκέκτητο, ἀλλὰ καίπερ καὶ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν κρα-
τῶν ἐδεδούλωτο. ἐπετίθεντο δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τε τοῖς
6 πότοις μάλιστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μίξεσι· πάννυ γὰρ
ἀπλήστως ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι προσέκειτο, καὶ ἦν
ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ εὐαλωτότατος. πρὸς δὲ καὶ
δειλίαν εἶχεν, ὑφ' ἧς πολλάκις ἐκπληττόμενος
οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐξελογίζετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ
καὶ τοῦτο προσλαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐλάχιστα κατ-
7 ειργάζοντο· ἐκεῖνόν τε² γὰρ ἐκφοβοῦντες ἐξεκαρ-
ποῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοσοῦτον δέος ἐνέβαλλον
ὥσθ', ἵνα συλλαβὼν εἶπω, πολλοὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐν
τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ὑπ'
αὐτῶν καλούμενοι τὸν μὲν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι
παρίεντο, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐφοίτων.

3 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις, ὥς γε συνελόντι εἰπεῖν,
ὦν, οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεόντως ἔπραττεν, ὅσάκις ἔξω

¹ τραφεις cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., στραφεις M.

² ἐκεῖνόν τε Bk., καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε M.

firmities, however, that caused the deterioration in A.D. 41
Claudius so much as it was the freedmen and the women with whom he associated; for he, more conspicuously than any of his peers, was ruled by slaves and by women. From a child he had been reared a constant prey to illness and great terror, and for that reason had feigned a stupidity greater than was really the case (a fact that he himself admitted in the senate); and he had lived for a long time with his grandmother Livia and for another long period with his mother Antonia and with the freedmen, and moreover he had had many amours with women. Hence he had acquired none of the qualities befitting a freeman, but, though ruler of all the Romans and their subjects, had become himself a slave. They would take advantage of him particularly when he was inclined to drink or to sexual intercourse, since he applied himself to both these vices insatiably and when so employed was exceedingly easy to master. Moreover, he was afflicted by cowardice, which often so overpowered him that he could not reason out anything as he ought. They seized upon this failing of his, too, to accomplish many of their purposes; for by frightening him they could use him fully for their own ends, and could at the same time inspire the rest with great terror. To give but a single example, once, when a large number of persons were invited to dinner on the same day by Claudius and by these associates, the guests neglected Claudius on one pretence or another, and flocked around the others.

Though, generally speaking, he was such as I have described, still he did not a few things in a proper manner whenever he was free from the afore-

τε τῶν προειρημένων παθῶν ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκράτει. λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησε.

2 Τὰ μὲν ψηφισθέντα οἱ εὐθὺς πάντα, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐδέξατο (ταύτην γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέθετο), οὐ μὲντοι καὶ παραυτίκα ἄλλ' ὄψε καὶ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσῆλθε. τὸν τε γὰρ Γάιον οὕτως ὀρῶν ἀπολωλότα, καὶ πυνθανόμενός τινος ὡς καὶ βελτίονας ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς προβεβληῖσθαι, οὐκ ἐθάρσει, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς ἐφυλάττετο,
3 καὶ πάντας τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐποίει μή τι ξιφίδιον ἔχωσιν, ἔν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως τινὰς στρατιώτας συνόντας εἶχε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου καταδειχθὲν καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ γίγνεται, ἢ δὲ δὴ ἔρευνα ἢ
4 διὰ πάντων ἐπὶ Οὐέσπασιανου² ἐπαύσατο. τὸν μὲν οὖν Χαιρέαν καὶ τινος ἄλλου, καίπερ πάνυ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Γαίου θανάτῳ ἠσθείς, ὅμως ἀπέκτεινεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πράξιν εἰλήφει χάριν αὐτῷ ἤδει, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποσφάξαι ἐδυσχέραιεν, πόρρωθεν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν προορώμενος. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τιμωρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς
5 ἑαυτῷ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτὸν λαβών. καὶ οἱ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐκὼν ἐπαπέθανε,³ μὴ ἀξιώσας κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ περιεῖναι.

Τοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις, οἱ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκφανῶς ἐσπούδασαν ἢ καὶ ἐπίδοξοι λήψεσθαι τὸ κράτος ἐγένοντο, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν· ἐκδηλότατα

¹ ἐπὶ Rk., διὰ M Zon.

² Οὐέσπασιανου R. Steph., οὐεσπεσιανου M.

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γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάντων πρόποτε¹ οὐ τῷ λόγῳ
 μόνον τὴν ἀδειάν σφισι, κατὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 ζῆλον, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ
 6 παρέσχε. τὸ τε ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁμοίως
 οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
 πράξεσιν ἔπαυσε, καὶ οὐδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι οὔτ'
 ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐκόλασε.
 7 τοὺς γε μὴν ἀδικήσαντάς τι ἢ καὶ προπηλακίσαν-
 τας αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ὄντα (πολλοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως
 τε ὡς μηδενὸς λόγου ἄξιον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ
 οἱ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ χαριζόμενοι, ἐπεποιήκεσαν) πλαστῶ
 μὲν ἐγκλήματι οὐδενὶ μετήει, εἰ μέντοι τι ἄλλο
 κακουροῦντας εὔρισκε, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα ἐτιμωρεῖτο.
 4 τὰ τε τέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου ἐσαχθέντα, καὶ
 τὰλλα ὅσα ἐπηγορίαν τινὰ τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ εἶχε, κατέλυσε μὲν, οὐκ ἀθρόα δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς
 ἐκάστῳ πῆ προσέτυχε. καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας
 ἀδίκως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὰς
 ἀδελφάς, τὴν τε Ἀγριππίναν καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν,
 2 καταγαγὼν τὰς οὐσίας σφίσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τῶν τε
 ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος (πλεῖστοι δὲ ἐδέδεντο) τοὺς μὲν
 ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ τοιούτοις τέ τισιν ἑτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν
 ἐμπεπτωκότας ἀπήλλαξε, τοὺς δ' ὄντως ἀδι-
 κοῦντας ἐκόλασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς σφας
 ἐξήτασεν, ὅπως μήθ' οἱ κακουρήσαντές τι διὰ
 τοὺς συκοφαντούμενους ἀφεθῶσι, ἢθ' οὔτοι δι'
 3 ἐκείνους παραπόλωνται. καὶ γὰρ ἐκάστην γε
 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν, ἦτοι μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας
 ἢ καὶ ἰδία, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἤδη δὲ

¹ The return of the "Party of the Piraeus." Cf. xliv. 26.

ruler that ever lived he promised them immunity, therein imitating the example of the Athenians,¹ as he said, and it was no mere promise, but he afforded it in actual fact. He abolished the charge of *maiestas* not only in the case of writings but in the case of overt acts as well, and punished no one on this ground for offences committed either before this time or later. As for those who had wronged or insulted him when he was a private citizen,—and there were many who had behaved thus toward him, both because he had been held in no esteem, and also, more especially, in order to please either Tiberius or Gaius,—he did not prosecute them on any fictitious charge, but if he found them guilty of some other crime, he would take vengeance on them at the same time for their former abuse. The taxes introduced in the reign of Gaius and any other measures that had led to denunciation of that ruler's acts were abolished by Claudius,—not all at once, to be sure, but as opportunity offered in each case. He also brought back those whom Gaius had unjustly exiled, including the latter's sisters Agrippina and Julia, and restored to them their property. Of the persons in prison—and a very large number were thus confined—he liberated those who had been put there for *maiestas* and similar charges, but punished those who were guilty of actual wrongdoing. For he investigated all the cases very carefully, in order that those who had committed crimes should not be released along with those who had been falsely accused, nor the latter, on the other hand, perish along with the former. Almost every day, either in company with the whole senate or alone, he would sit on a tribunal trying cases, usually

καὶ ἄλλοθι, ἐπὶ βήματος ἐδίκαζε· καὶ γὰρ τὸ
κατὰ τοὺς συνέδρους, ἐκλειφθὲν ἐξ οὗ ὁ Τιβέριος
4 ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀνενεώσατο. πολλάκις
δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς, καὶ
μάλιστα τοῖς τὴν διοίκησιν ἔχουσι, συνεξητά-
ζετο, καὶ ὀλίγα παντελῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις δικα-
5 στηρίοις ἐπέτρεπε. τὰ τε φάρμακα ἃ πολλὰ ἐν
τοῦ Γαίου εὐρέθη, καὶ τὰ βιβλία τὰ τοῦ Πρωτο-
γένους, ὃν καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, τὰ τε γράμματα ἃ
ἐπλάσσετο μὲν ὁ Γάιος κεκαυκέναι εὐρέθη δὲ ἐν
τῷ βασιλικῷ ὄντα, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐπέδειξε,
καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς τε γράψασιν
αὐτὰ καὶ καθ' ὧν ἐγέγραπτο ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο κατέφλεξε. τῆς τε γερουσίας ἀτιμῶσαι
τὸν Γάιον ἐβελήσασθαι ψηφισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸς
ἐκώλυσεν, ἰδία δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς
6 ἀπάσας ἠφάνισε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ὄνομα
αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν αὐτοκρα-
τόρων ὧν μνήμην ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ὄρκοις καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς
εὐχαῖς ποιούμεθα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου,
οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκ δόγματος ἀτιμίαν οὐδέτερός¹
σφῶν ὤφλε.

5 Τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων
δι' ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὀρθῶς γενόμενα ἀνέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Δρούσῳ τῷ πατρὶ τῇ τε Ἀντωνία τῇ μητρὶ
ἵπποδρομίας ἐς τὰ γενέσια ἔδωκε, τὰς πανηγύ-
ρεις τὰς ἐς ταῦτόν αὐταῖς συμβαινούσας μεταθεῖς
2 ἐς ἑτέρας ἡμέρας, ὅπως μὴ ἅμα ποιῶνται. τὴν
τε τήθην τὴν Λιουίαν οὐ μόνον ἵππων ἀγῶσιν

¹ οὐδέτερός R. Steph., οὐδετέροις M.

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ἐτίμησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπηθανάτισεν, ἀγαλμά τε τι
 αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ Αὐγουστείῳ ἰδρύσας καὶ τὰς θυσίας
 ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἱεροποιεῖν προστάξας, ταῖς τε
 3 γυναιξὶν ὄρκον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι κελεύ-
 σας. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τοὺς πατέρας ἀποσεμνύνας
 αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν
 φερόντων ἐδέξατο· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
 νουμηνίᾳ, ἐν ἣ ἔγεγέννητο, ἠγωνίζοντο μὲν ἵπποι,
 οὐ δι' ἐκείνον δὲ ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ἐν
 ταύτῃ καθιέρωτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτησίοις ἀγῶσιν
 4 ἐτετίμητο. ἐν τε οὖν τούτοις ἐμετρίαζε, καὶ
 προσαπηγόρευσε μήτε προσκυνεῖν τινα αὐτὸν
 μήτε θυσίαν οἱ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖν· τὰ τε ἐπιβο-
 ήματα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα ἔπαυσε· καὶ
 εἰκόνα μίαν, καὶ ταύτην ἀργυρᾶν, ἀνδριάντας τε
 δύο χαλκοῦ τε καὶ λίθου ψηφισθέντας αὐτῷ τὰ
 5 πρῶτα ἔλαβε. μάταια γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἀναλώματα εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν μὲν ζημίαν
 πολὺν δὲ καὶ ὄχλον τῇ γε¹ πόλει παρέχειν ἔλεγε·
 πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ναοὶ πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 ἔργα καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐπεπλή-
 ρωτο, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι² ἔφη
 6 ἂ χρὴ πρᾶξαι. τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς τοὺς ἀγῶνας
 τοὺς ὀπλομαχικοὺς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ εἰ
 δὴ τις ἄλλος αὐτοὺς ὅπουδήποτε ἐπιτελοίη, ἀλλὰ
 μήτι³ γε ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας
 γιγνομένων σφῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ἢ καὶ λέγεσθαι
 ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε πάντα ταῦτα κρίσει καὶ
 οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσει ἔπραττεν ὥστε καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοίως

¹ γε R. Steph., τε M.

² βουλευέσθαι R. Steph., βουλεύσασθαι M.

equestrian contests but also deified; and he set up a statue to her in the temple of Augustus, charging the Vestal Virgins with the duty of offering the proper sacrifices, and he ordered that women should use her name in taking oaths. But, though he paid such reverence to his ancestors, he would accept nothing for himself beyond the titles belonging to his office. It is true that on the first day of August, which was his birthday, there were equestrian contests, but they were not given on his account; it was rather because the temple of Mars had been dedicated on that day and this event had been celebrated thereafter by annual contests. Besides his moderation in this respect, he further forbade any one to worship him or to offer him any sacrifice; he checked the many excessive acclamations accorded him; and he accepted, at first, only one image, and that a silver one, and two statues, of bronze and marble, that had been voted to him. All such expenditures, he declared, were useless and furthermore caused great loss and embarrassment to the city. In fact, all the temples and all the other public buildings had become filled with statues and votive offerings, so that he said he would consider what to do even with them. He ordered the praetors not to give the customary gladiatorial exhibitions, and also commanded that if any one else gave them in any place whatsoever, it should at least not be recorded or reported that they were being given for the emperor's preservation. He became so used to settling all these matters by his judgment, and not by precedent, that he arranged other affairs in

³ μήτι Dind., μήτοι M.

7 ἔνεμε. τὰς γοῦν θυγατέρας ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ τὴν
 μὲν ἐγγυήσας Λουκίῳ Ἰουνίῳ Σιλανῶ τὴν δὲ
 ἐκδοὺς Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ Μάγνῳ οὐδὲν ἑξαίρετον
 ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
 8 ἐδίκησε καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἠθροίσθη. τοὺς τε γαμ-
 βροὺς τότε τε ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν) ἄρξαι
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πολιαρχῆσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς)
 ἐκέλευσεν ὄψέ τέ ποτε πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον τὰς
 ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτῆσαί σφισιν ἐπέτρεψε. τούτου
 δὲ δὴ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὁ Γάιος τὴν τοῦ Μάγνου
 9 ἐπίκλησιν περιέκοψεν. ὀλίγου μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπέ-
 σφαξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὕτως ὠνομάζετο· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
 μὲν καταφρονήσας ὡς καὶ παιδίου ἔτ' αὐτοῦ
 ὄντος οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πρόσρησιν κατέ-
 λυσεν, εἰπὼν μὴ εἶναί οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Μάγνον τινὰ
 προσαγορεύεσθαι. ὃ γε μὲν Κλαύδιος καὶ ἐκεῖνο¹
 αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσρημα ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα
 προσσυνώκισε.

6 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐπιεικῶς ἔπραττε, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων
 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταβάντων ποτὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων)
 ἵνα διαλεχθῶσιν αὐτῷ, προσεξανέστη τε καὶ
 ἀντιπροσῆλθέ σφισιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν γε τῇ Νέα πόλει²
 2 καὶ παντάπασιν ἰδιωτικῶς ἔζη· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα
 ἑλληνικῶς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνόντες, οἱ διητᾶτο,
 καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῆς μουσικῆς θεωρίαις, ἰμάτιον καὶ
 κρηπίδας, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι πορφυρίδα
 3 καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐλάμβανε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ
 περὶ τὰ χρήματα θαυμαστὸς ἐγενετο. ἀπηγόρευσε
 μὲν γὰρ ἀργύριον οἱ,³ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου ἐγίγνετο, προσφέρειν, ἀπέειπε

¹ ἐκεῖνο R. Steph., ἐκείνωι M.

² Νέα πόλει Bk., νεαπολει M. ³ οἱ supplied by Bk.

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δὲ μηδὲ κληρονόμον αὐτόν, ὅστις ἂν συγγενεῖς ὀποιοῦσδήποτε αὐτὸς ἔχη, καταλείπειν, καὶ¹ τῶν προδημευθέντων² ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔτι περιούσι τὰ δὲ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἀπέδωκεν.

4 Εἰθισμένου τε,³ εἰ καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἵπερὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις ἔξω τοῦ νενομισμένου ἱπραχθείη,⁴ αὐθις αὐτάς, καθάπερ εἴρηταί μοι, γίνεσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις τούτου⁵ καὶ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον πέμπτον τε, καὶ δέκατον (ἔστιν ὅτε,) τὸ μὲν τι κατὰ τύχην τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τῶν ὠφελουμένων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, συμβαίνοντος, νόμῳ μὲν ἔταξε μίαν ἡμέραν τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἵππων δεύτερον γίνεσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς πλήθει ἐπέσχεν· οὐδὲν γάρ τι ῥαδίως, ἅτε μηδὲν μέγα ἀποκερδαίνοντες, οἱ τεχνώμενοι αὐτὸ ἐπλημμέλουν.

6 Τούς τε Ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αὐθις, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἀν' ἄνευ ταραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι. τὰς τε ἑταιρείας ἐπαναχθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ 7 Γαίου διέλυσε. καὶ ὄρων μηδὲν ὄφελος ὄν ἀπαγορεύεσθαί τινα τῷ πλήθει μὴ ποιεῖν, ἂν μὴ καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῶν βίος μεταρρυθμισθῇ, τὰ τε καπηλεία ἐς ἃ συνιόντες ἐπινοῦν κατέλυσε, καὶ προσέταξε μήτε κρέας που ἐφθὸν μήθ' ὕδωρ

¹ αὐτὸς ἔχη καταλείπειν καὶ Bs. (comparing Zon. : ἀπέπειπε δὲ μηδὲ κληρονόμος παρά τινος συγγενεῖς ἔχοντος καταλιμπάνεσθαι), αὐτῷ καταλείπειν M.

² προδημευθέντων Zon., προμυθευθέντων M.

³ εἰθισμένου τε Canter, οἷς μὲν οὔτε M.

⁴ πραχθείη Leuncl., πραχθέν M.

relatives at all should name him as his heir; he furthermore gave back the sums that had previously been confiscated under Tiberius and Gaius, either to the victims themselves, if they still survived, or otherwise to their children. A.D. 41

It had been the custom that if any detail whatsoever in connexion with the festivals was carried out contrary to precedent, they should be given over again, as I have stated.¹ But since such repetitions were frequent, occurring a third, fourth, fifth, and sometimes a tenth time, partly, to be sure, as the result of accident, but generally by deliberate intent on the part of those who were benefited by these repetitions, Claudius enacted a law that the equestrian contests in case of a second exhibition should occupy only one day; and in actual practice he usually prevented any repetition at all. For the schemers were not so ready to commit irregularities now that they gained very little by doing so.

As for the Jews, who had again increased so greatly that by reason of their multitude it would have been hard without raising a tumult to bar them from the city, he did not drive them out, but ordered them, while continuing their traditional mode of life, not to hold meetings. He also disbanded the clubs, which had been reintroduced by Gaius. Moreover, seeing that there was no use in forbidding the populace to do certain things unless their daily life should be reformed, he abolished the taverns where they were wont to gather and drink, and commanded that

¹ In lvi. 27, 4.

² τούτου Leoncl., τοῦτο M.

θερμὸν πιπράσκεισθαι, καὶ τινὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὴ πειθαρχήσαντας ἐκόλασεν.

8 Ἀπέδωκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας οὓς ὁ Γάιος ἐξ αὐτῶν μετεπέπεμπο, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Διοσκόροις¹ τὸν νεῶν τῶν τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου μνήμην· καὶ αὐτῶ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ προσθεῖς ἔγραψεν, ἐπειδὴ καυθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀνωκοδομήκει.

9 τὸ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνη μὲν, οὐχ ὅτι κατεσκευάσεν ἀλλ' ὅτι² καθιέρωσεν αὐτήν, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέκόλαψεν. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πανήγυριν, καίτοι ψηφισθέν, ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλ' ἔθυσεν³ ἐν αὐτῇ μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἱματίῳ διώκησεν.

7 Ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἄλλους τε καὶ ἰππέας καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ὁμοίων, οἵπερ πού καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦτο ποιεῖν εἰώθεσαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔχαιρέ σφισιν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν γεγονότων· αὐθις γοῦν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ

2 Κλαυδίου ἐξητάσθη. τὴν τε πυρρίχην ἣν οἱ παῖδες οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου μεταπεμφθέντες ἤσκουν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἅπαξ ὀρχήσαντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολιτεία τιμηθέντες ἀπεπέμφθησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐθις

3 ἐκ τῆς θεραπείας ἐπεδείχθησαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ θεάτρῳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἵππουδρόμῳ κάμηλοί τε ἅπαξ καὶ ἵπποι δωδεκάκις ἠγωνίσαντο, ἄρκτοι τε τριακόσαιο καὶ Λιβυκὰ θηρία ἴσα αὐταῖς ἐσφάγη. καὶ ἑώρων

¹ Διοσκόροις Bk., διοσκούροις M.

² ἔθυσεν Bk., ὅτι καὶ M.

³ ἐθυσεν Bk., εὐθύς M.

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μέν που πρότερον ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδία καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς
 ὡς ἕκαστοι, τό τε βουλευῶν καὶ τὸ ἵππευῶν καὶ
 ὁ ὄμιλος, ἀφ' οὐπὲρ τούτ' ἐνομίσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 4 τεταγμένα σφίσι χωρία ἀπεδέδεικτο· ἀλλὰ τότε ὁ
 Κλαύδιος τήν τε ἔδραν τήν νῦν οὔσαν τοῖς βουλευ-
 ταῖς ἀπέκρινε, καὶ προσέτι τοῖς ἐθέλουσί σφω
 ἐτέρωθί που καὶ ἐν γε ἰδιωτικῇ ἐσθῆτι θεάσασθαι
 ἐπέτρεψε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, τήν τε γερουσίαν
 μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας τὰς τε φυλὰς
 εἰστίασε.

8 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἰτῶ. τε Ἀντιόχῳ τήν Κομμα-
 γηνήν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ γὰρ Γάιος, καίπερ αὐτός οἱ δούς
 αὐτήν, ἀφήρητο), καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν Ἰβηρα,
 ὃν ὁ Γάιος μεταπεμψάμενος ἐδεδέκει, οἴκαδε πρὸς
 2 ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέπεμψε. ἄλλῳ τέ τινι
 Μιθριδάτῃ, τὸ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνυ ἔχοντι,
 τὸν Βόσπορον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι
 χώραν τινὰ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κιλικίας ἀντέδωκε. τῷ
 γὰρ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Παλαιστίνῳ συμπράξαντί οἱ
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄν) τήν τε
 ἀρχὴν προσεπηύξησε καὶ τιμὰς ὑπατικὰς ἐνεῖμε.
 3 τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ τό τε στρατηγικὸν
 ἀξίωμα καὶ δυναστείαν τινὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἕς τε τὸ
 συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν σφίσι καὶ χάριν οἱ ἑλληνιστὶ
 γνῶναι ἐπέτρεψε.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔργα ἦν
 καὶ ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἐπηνεῖτο· ἐπράχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
 ἅττα τότε, οὐχ ὁμοίότροπα, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐξελευθέ-
 ρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐαλερίας
 5 Μεσσαλίνης. αὕτη μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν
 ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ, ὀργισθεῖσά τε ἅμα ὅτι μήτε
 ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπ' αὐτῆς μήτε ἐκολακεύετο, καὶ ζηλο-
 386

slain. Previously to this each of the three classes, senatorial, equestrian, and the populace, had sat apart by itself while watching the games; this had long been the practice, and yet no definite positions had been assigned to them. But Claudius now set apart for the senators the section which still belongs to them, and he furthermore permitted any members who so desired to sit elsewhere and even to appear in citizen's dress. After this he banqueted the senators and their wives, the knights, and also the tribes. A.D. 41

Next he restored Commagene to Antiochus, since Gaius, though he had himself given him the district, had taken it away again; and Mithridates the Iberian, whom Gaius had summoned and imprisoned, was sent home again to resume his throne. To another Mithridates, a lineal descendant of Mithridates the Great, he granted Bosphorus, giving to Polemon some land in Cilicia in place of it. He enlarged the domain of Agrippa of Palestine, who, happening to be in Rome, had helped him to become emperor, and bestowed on him the rank of consul; and to his brother Herod he gave the rank of praetor and a principality. And he permitted them to enter the senate and to express their thanks to him in Greek.

The acts I have named, now, were the acts of Claudius himself, and they were praised by everybody; but certain other things were done at this time of quite a different nature by his freedmen and by his wife Valeria Messalina. The latter became enraged at her niece Julia because she neither paid her honour nor flattered her; and she was also jealous because

τυπήσασα ὅτι περικαλλής τε ἦν καὶ μόνη
 τῷ Κλαυδίῳ πολλάκις συνεγίγνετο, ἐξώρισεν,
 ἐγκλήματα αὐτῇ ἄλλα τε καὶ μοιχείας παρα-
 σκευάσασα, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἀνναῖος¹
 ἔφυγε, καὶ ὕστερόν γε οὐ πολλῶ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν
 6 αὐτήν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτὸν τὰς
 ἐπινικίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ πραχθείσι
 δέξασθαι ἔπεισαν, οὐχ ὅτι τι κατορθώσαντα,
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πω ὄντα ὅτε διεπολεμήθη.
 7 καίτοι καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ὁ τε Γάλβας ὁ
 Σουλπίκιος Χάπτους ἐκράτησε, καὶ Πούπλιος
 Γαβίνιος² Καύχους³ νικήσας τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδο-
 κίμησε καὶ ἀετὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὡς ὁ μόνος ἔτι παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Οὐάρου συμφορᾶς ἦν ἐκομίσασατο,
 ὡς καὶ ἀληθὲς ὄνομα αὐτοκράτορος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων
 σφῶν τὸν Κλαύδιον λαβεῖν.
 9 Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ οἱ αὐτοὶ αὐθις Μαῦροι
 πολεμήσαντες κατεστράφησαν. Σουητώνιος⁴ μὲν
 γὰρ Παυλίνοσ, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ὄν,
 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀτλαντος ἀντικατέ-
 δραμε, Γναῖος δὲ Ὀσίδιος Γέτας ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων
 μετ' ἐκεῖνον στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Σάλαβον τὸν
 στρατηγὸν σφῶν εὐθὺς ὥρμησε, καὶ ἐνίκησεν
 2 αὐτὸν καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δεύτερον. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος,
 καταλιπὼν τινὰς πρὸς τοῖς μεθορίοις εἴργειν τοὺς
 ἐπιδιώξοντας, πρὸς τὰ ψαμμώδη ἀπέφυγεν,
 ἐτόλμησεν ἐπισπένθαι οἱ, καὶ ἀντικαταστήσας
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ
 προῆει, συσκευασάμενος ὕδωρ ὅσον ἐνεδέχετο.
 3 ὡς δὲ τοῦτό τε ἐπέλειπε καὶ ἄλλο οὐχ εὕρισκετο,

¹ Ἀνναῖος Βs., ἄννιος M.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ ἐγένετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βάρβαροι
 ἄλλως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον πρὸς τὸ δίψος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἔθους ἀντέχοντες, καὶ πάντως τι ὕδωρ ἐμπειρία
 τῶν χωρίων ποριζόμενοι, διεγίγνοντο, τοῖς δὲ
 δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀδύνατον μὲν
 προχωρῆσαι χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ὑποστρέψαι ἦν.
 4 ἀποροῦντα οὖν αὐτὸν ὅ τι χρὴ πράξαι, ἀνέπεισέ
 τις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἐπωδαῖς τέ
 τισι καὶ μαγανείαις χρήσασθαι, λέγων πολλάκις
 σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου πολὺ ὕδωρ δεδόσθαι· καὶ
 αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρρύη
 ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐξακέσασθαι καὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους προσκαταπλήξαι, νομίσαντας τὸ θεῖόν
 5 οἱ ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου, ἐθελονταί
 τε ὠμολόγησαν καὶ κατελύσαντο· πραχθέντων
 δὲ τούτων ὁ Κλαύδιος διχῆ¹ τοὺς Μαύρους τοὺς
 ὑπηκόους ἔνειμεν, ἕς τε τὰ περὶ Τέγγιν καὶ ἕς τὰ
 περὶ Καισάρειαν, ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ ὀνομάζονται,
 6 καὶ δύο ἄρχουσιν ἰππεῦσι προσέταξε. κὰν τῷ
 αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τῆς Νουμιδίας τινὰ
 ἐπολεμήθη τε ὑπὸ τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων, καὶ
 ἔπειτα κρατηθέντων αὐτῶν μάχαις κατέστη.
 10 Ὑπάτευε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος μετὰ Γαΐου Λάργου,
 καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν δι' ἔτους ἄρξαι ἐφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 δύο μησὶ καὶ τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. καὶ περὶ τε
 τῶν τοῦ Αὐγούστου πράξεων τοὺς τε ἄλλους
 ὥρκωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστώθη (περὶ γὰρ τῶν

¹ Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis.

BOOK LX

found himself in the direst straits. For the barbarians, on their part, could hold out a long time anyway against thirst as the result of habit, and moreover could always get at least some water by reason of their familiarity with the country, and so they managed to get along; whereas the Romans, for the opposite reasons, found it impossible to advance and difficult even to retreat. While Geta, then, was in a quandary as to what he should do, one of the natives who were at peace with the invaders persuaded him to try some incantations and enchantments, telling him that as the result of such rites abundant water had often been given to his people. No sooner had Geta followed this advice than so much rain fell from the sky as to allay the soldiers' thirst completely and at the same time to alarm the enemy, who thought that Heaven was coming to the assistance of the Roman general. Consequently they came to terms voluntarily and ended their warfare. After these events Claudius divided the subject Moors into two districts, the first embracing the region around Tingis and the other that around Caesarea, from which cities the districts are named;¹ and he appointed two knights as governors over them. At this same period certain parts of Numidia also were attacked by the neighbouring barbarians, and then, when the latter had been defeated in battle, became quiet once more

Claudius was now consul with Gaius Larius. He allowed his colleague to serve for the whole year, but he himself retained the office for only two months at this time also. He made the others swear to uphold the acts of Augustus and took the oath himself, but with respect to his own acts he

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἑαυτοῦ οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι
 ἐπέτρεψε), καὶ ἐξιὼν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐθις ὤμοσεν
 2 ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αἰεὶ ὅσάκις
 ὑπάτευσεν ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ λόγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ
 νουμηνία τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου
 κατὰ δόγμα ἀναγιγνωσκομένους, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι
 τῆς ἐσπέρας τοὺς βουλευτὰς παρατείνεσθαι,
 ἔπαυσεν, ἀρκοῦν εἶναι φήσας ἐν ταῖς στήλαις
 3 αὐτοὺς ἐγγεγράφθαι. ἐπεὶ τέτινες τῶν στρατηγῶν
 τῶν τὴν διοίκησιν ἐγκεχειρισμένων αἰτίαν ἔλαβον,
 οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθε μὲν σφισι, πιπράσκουσι δέ τινα
 καὶ μισθοῦσιν ἐπιφοιτήσας πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνόμιζε μὴ
 καλῶς γίνεσθαι διώρθωσε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις
 4 πολλάκις ἐποίησεν. ἀνώμαλως δὲ δὴ οἱ στρατη-
 γοὶ ἀπεδείκνυντο· καὶ γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ
 ὀκτωκαίδεκα, διὰ μέσου τε, ὡς που καὶ συνέπεσεν,
 ἐγίνοντο. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἵπερὶ τὴν διοίκησιν
 ἔπραξε, καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων
 πράκτορας τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὀφειλομένων
 κατέστησε, καὶ ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτοῖς δούς.

11 Λιμοῦ τε ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐν
 τῷ τότε παρόντι ἀφθονίας τῶν τροφῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῆς ἕς πάντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα πρόνοιαν
 2 ἐποιήσατο. ἐπεσάκτου γὰρ παντὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν
 τοῦ σίτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, ἢ χώρα ἢ πρὸς
 ταῖς¹ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐκβολαῖς, οὔτε κατάρσεις
 ἀσφαλεῖς οὔτε λιμένας ἐπιτηδείους ἔχουσα,
 ἀνωφελές σφισι τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίει·
 ἔξω τε γὰρ τῶν τῇ τε ὠραία² ἐσκομισθέντων καὶ

¹ ταῖς R. Steph., τοῖς M.

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ἐς τὰς ἀποθήκας ἀναχθέντων οὐδὲν τὴν χειμερινὴν
 ἐσεφοίτα, ἀλλ' εἴ τις παρεκινδύνευσεν, κακῶς
 3 ἀπήλλασσε. τοῦτ' οὖν συνιδὼν λιμένα τε
 κατασκευάσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, οὐδ' ἀπετράπη καίπερ
 τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων εἰπόντων αὐτῷ, πυθομένῳ
 πόσον τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἔσοιτο, ὅτι "οὐ θέλεις αὐτὸν
 ποιῆσαι." οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ δαπανή-
 ματος ἀναχαιτισθῆναι αὐτόν, εἰ προπύθοιτο
 αὐτό, ἤλπισαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη πρᾶγμα καὶ
 τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης
 4 ἄξιον καὶ ἐπετέλεσε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐξορύξας
 τῆς ἠπείρου χωρίου οὐ σμικρόν, τὸ περίξ πᾶν
 ἐκρηπίδωσεν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεδέξατο.
 τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πελάγει χώματα ἐκατέρωθεν
 αὐτοῦ μεγάλα χώσας θάλασσαν ἐνταῦθα πολλὴν
 περιέβαλε, καὶ νῆσον ἐν¹ αὐτῇ πύργον τε ἐπ'
 5 ἐκείνῃ φρουκτωρίαν ἔχοντα κατεστήσατο. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν λιμὴν ὁ καὶ νῦν οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ ἐπιχώριον
 ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐποιήθη.² τὴν δὲ
 δὴ λίμνην τὴν Φουκίνην τὴν τῶν Μαρσῶν
 ἠθέλησε μὲν ἐς τὸν Λίριν ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅπως ἢ τε
 χώρα ἢ περὶ αὐτὴν γεωργῆται καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς
 ναυσίπορος μᾶλλον γένηται, μάτην δὲ δὴ
 ἐδαπανήθη.

6 Ἐνομοθέτησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τινά, ὧν
 οὐδεμία μοι ἄλλως³ ἀνάγκη μνημονεῦσαί ἐστι,
 κατέδειξε δὲ καὶ τάδε, τοὺς τε κληρωτοὺς
 ἄρχοντας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπριλίου νομηνίας,
 ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐνεχρόνιζον,

¹ ἐν Bk., ἐπ' M Xiph.

² τότε ἐποιήθη Bk., τε ἐποιήθη M.

³ ἄλλως Bk., ἄλλη M.

and stored in warehouses, they had no supplies for the winter; for if any one ever risked a voyage at that season, he was sure to meet with disaster. In view of this situation, Claudius undertook to construct a harbour, and would not be deterred even when the architects, upon his enquiring how great the cost would be, answered, "You don't want to do it!" so confident were they that the huge expenditures necessary would shake him from his purpose, if he should learn the cost beforehand. He, however, conceived an undertaking worthy of the dignity and greatness of Rome, and he brought it to accomplishment. In the first place, he excavated a very considerable tract of land, built retaining walls on every side of the excavation, and then let the sea into it; secondly, in the sea itself he constructed huge moles on both sides of the entrance and thus enclosed a large body of water, in the midst of which he reared an island and placed on it a tower with a beacon light. This harbour, then, as it is still called in local parlance,¹ was created by him at this time. He furthermore desired to make an outlet into the Liris for the Fucine Lake in the Marsian country, in order not only that the land around it might be tilled but also that the river might be made more navigable. But the money was expended in vain.

He introduced a number of laws, most of which I need not mention; but I will record the following. The governors who were chosen by lot were to set out before the first day of April; for they had been in the habit of tarrying a long time in the city.

¹ Portus Romanus, Portus Augusti, or simply Portus.

ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καὶ τοὺς αἵρετοὺς μηδεμίαν οἱ χάριν
 7 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ γιγνώσκειν, ὅπερ κατὰ τι ἔθος
 ἐποίουν, εἰπὼν ὅτι “οὐχ οὗτοι ἐμοὶ χάριν ἔχειν
 ὀφείλουσιν ὥσπερ ἐσπουδαρχηκότες, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ
 τούτοις ὅτι μοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προθύμως συνδια-
 φέρουσι· καὶ ἂν γε καὶ καλῶς ἄρξωσι, πολὺ
 8 μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσω.” τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὑπ’
 ἀσθενείας βίου μὴ δυναμένοις βουλευεῖν ἐφίει
 παρίεσθαι, ἕκ τε τῶν ἰππέων τινὰς ἐς τὰς
 δημαρχίας ἐσεδέχετο· τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους καὶ πάνυ
 πάντα ἐπηνάγκαζεν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὅσᾳκίς
 ἂν ἐπαγγελθῆ σφίσι, συμφοιτᾶν. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν
 τούτῳ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς μὴ πειθαρχοῦσιν
 12 ἐπετίμα ὥστε τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρήσασθαι, ἐς
 δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα κοινὸς καὶ ἐπιεικὴς πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 ἦν, κάμνοντάς τε ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἐορτάζουσί
 2 σφίσι συνεγίγνετο. δημάρχου τέ τινος πληγὰς
 δούλῳ αὐτοῦ¹ δημοσίᾳ δόντος αὐτὸν μὲν οὐδὲν
 κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δ’ ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ
 ἀφελόμενος ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον
 ἀπέδωκε. δούλόν τε ἕτερον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τινὰ τῶν
 ἐπιφανῶν ὕβρισεν, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν πέμψας
 3 ἀπεμαστίγωσε. κἂν² τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἐξανίστατο, εἴ ποτε ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ ἄλλοι εἰστή-
 κεσαν·³ καθήμενος γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὑπὸ τῆς
 ἀρρωστίας πολλάκις ἀνεγίγνωσκε τίνα αἰτού-
 μενος· Λουκίῳ δὲ δὴ Σύλλα καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν βάθρον, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθεῖς ποτε ὑπὸ
 γήρως ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἑδρας ἐπακοῦσαί τινα

¹ αὐτοῦ M, αὐτοῦ cod. Peir.

² κἂν Leuncl. (καὶ ἐν), καὶ M cod. Peir.

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4 ἀνέστη, καθίζεσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἔν τε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἀπεδείχθη, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξε, πλὴν ὅτι τοῖς δόρυφόροις πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς ἔδωκε, καὶ τοῦτο ἔπειτα κατ' ἔτος ἐποίησε· τῶν μέντοι στρατηγῶν τινες ἐβελονταὶ καὶ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ψηφίσματος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης δημοσίᾳ ἐτίμων.
5 οὐ γάρ που καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἐβούλοντο· τοσαύτην ἄδειαν εἶχον. οὕτω τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμετρίαζεν ὥστε γεννηθέντος αὐτῷ υἱέως, ὃς τότε μὲν Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Γερμανικὸς ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Βρεττανικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ἐπιφανὲς ἔπραξεν οὔτ' Αὐγουστον αὐτὸν ἢ τὴν γε Μεσσαλίαν Αὐγουσταν ἐπικληθῆναι ἐφῆκεν.

13 Ἐτίθει μὲν οὖν συνεχῶς μονομαχίας ἀγῶνας· πάνυ γάρ σφισιν ἔχαιρεν, ὥστε καὶ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σχεῖν· ἀπώλλυντο δὲ θηρία μὲν ἐλάχιστα ἄνθρωποι δὲ πολλοί, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλοις μαχόμενοι
2 οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀναλούμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ δούλους τοὺς τ' ¹ ἀπελευθέρους τοὺς ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας, τοὺς τε τὴν ἄλλως συκοφαντήσαντάς τινας ἢ καὶ καταψευδομαρτυρήσαντάς τινων, δεινῶς ἐμίσει, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείους οὕτως ἀνήλισκε, τοὺς δὲ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον ἐκόλαζε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις αὐτοῖς
3 ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ θνησκόντων ἐγίγνετο ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀνδριάντα τὸν ἐν τῷ

¹ τ' supplied by Oddey.

near something from his regular seat, and stood up. A.D. 42
 On the first anniversary of the day on which he had been declared emperor he did nothing out of the ordinary, except to give the Pretorians a hundred sesterces, a thing that he did every year thereafter. Some of the praetors, however, of their own free will and not because of any decree, publicly celebrated not only that day but also the birthday of Messalina. Not all of them did this, but only such as saw fit; so great freedom of action did they enjoy. Indeed, Claudius showed so great moderation in all such matters that when a son was born to him (called at that time Claudius Tiberius Germanicus, but later also Britannicus), he did not make the occasion in any way conspicuous and would permit neither the title of Augustus to be given to the boy nor that of Augusta to Messalina.

He was constantly giving gladiatorial contests; for he took great pleasure in them, so that he even aroused criticism on this score. Very few wild beasts perished, but a great many human beings did, some of them fighting with one another and others being devoured by the animals. For the emperor cordially detested the slaves and freedmen who in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius had conspired against their masters, as well as those who had laid information against others without cause or had borne false witness against them, and he accordingly got rid of most of them in the manner related, though he punished some in another way, and handed many over to their masters themselves for punishment. So great, indeed, was the number becoming of those who were publicly executed, that the statue of Augustus which stood on the spot was

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἰδρυμένον ἐτέρωσέ ποι μετενεχθῆναι
 τοῦ δὴ μήτε ἐφορᾶν αὐτὸν τοὺς φόνους νομίζεσθαι
 μήτε αἰὲ κατακαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ
 γέλῳτα ὠφλίσκανεν, εἰ δὴ ὅσα μηδὲ¹ τὸν χαλκὸν
 τὸν ἀναίσθητον δοκεῖν ὄραν ἠξίου, τούτων αὐτὸς
 4 διεπίμπλατο· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου
 τῆς θέας παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν κατακοπτο-
 μένους ἠδιστα ἐθεώρει, καίτοι λέοντα δεδιδαγμένον
 ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν καὶ πάνυ γε διὰ τοῦτο τῷ
 πλήθει ἀρέσκοντα ἀποκτείνας ὡς οὐ προσῆκον ὄν
 5 τοιοῦτό τι θέαμα ὄραν Ῥωμαίους· ὅτι δὲ δὴ σφισι
 κοινῶς τε ἐν τῇ θεᾷ συνῆν καὶ παρείχεν ὅσα
 ἐβούλοντο, καὶ κήρυξι μὲν ἐλάχιστα ἐχρήτο, τὰ
 δὲ δὴ πλείῳ ἐς σανίδας γράφων διεδήλου, σφόδρα
 ἐπηνεῖτο.

14 Ἐθισθεῖς δ' οὖν αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἀναπίμ-
 πλάσθαι προπετέστερον καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 σφαγαῖς ἐχρήσατο. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου οἱ τε
 Καισάρειοι² καὶ ἡ Μεσσαλίνα ἐγένοντο· ὅποτε
 γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα ἐθελήσειαν, ἐξεφόβουν αὐτόν,
 καὶ τούτου πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο ποιεῖν ἐπετρέ-
 2 ποντο. καὶ πολλάκις γε³ ἐξαπιναίως ἐκπλαγεῖς
 καὶ κελεύσας τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς
 ἀπολέσθαι, ἔπειτα ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ ἀναφρονήσας
 ἐπεζήτητε αὐτόν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ γεγονός ἐλυπεῖτό
 τε καὶ μετεγίγνωσκεν. ἤρξατο δὲ τῶν φόνων
 3 τούτων ἀπὸ Γαΐου Ἀππίου Σιλανοῦ. τοῦτον γὰρ
 εὐγενέστατόν τε ὄντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τότε
 ἄρχοντα μεταπεμφάμενος ὡς τι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος,
 καὶ τήν τε μητέρα οἱ τήν τῆς Μεσσαλίνης

¹ μηδὲ cod. Peir., om. M.

² Καισάρειοι cod. Peir., καισάριοι M. ³ γε Xiph., τε M.

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- συνοικίσας, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς φιλτάτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις χρόνον τινὰ τιμήσας, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης ἔσφαξεν, ὅτι τῇ τε Μεσσαλίῃ προσέκρουσεν οὐκ ἐβελήσας αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι πορνικωτάτῃ τε καὶ ἀσελγιστάτῃ οὔσῃ, καὶ τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ τῷ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκείνην.
- 4 καὶ οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οὔτ' ἀληθὲς οὔτε πιθανόν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν, συνέπλασεν ὄναρ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὡς σφαπτόμενον τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ αὐτοχειρία ἰδών, καὶ αὐτός τε εὐθύς ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ἐν τῇ εὐνῇ οἱ ἔτ' ὄντι ὑπότρομος διηγήσατο, καὶ ἡ Μεσσαλίνα παραλαβοῦσα ἐδείνωσε.
- 15 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐξ ἐνυπνίου παραπώλετο, τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα οἱ¹ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔσχον, ἀλλ' εὐθύς αὐτῷ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἄννιος Οὐνικιανὸς² ἐπεβούλευσεν. οὗτός τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Γαίου θάνατον προβληθέντων ἦν, καί τι καὶ ἐκ τούτου δεδιὼς ἐνεωτέρισεν· ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδεμίαν ἰσχὺν ἐκέκτητο, ἔπεμψε πρὸς Φούριον³ Κάμιλλον Σκριβωνιανὸν τῆς τε Δελματίας ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν συχνὴν πολιτικὴν⁴ καὶ ξενικὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ προσανέπεισεν αὐτὸν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διανοούμενον ἐπαναστῆναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐπίδοξος⁵ αὐταρχήσειν ἐγεγόνει. πράξαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ἱππῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὤρμησαν . . .⁵ οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, τοῦ Καμίλλου τό τε τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ὄνομα

¹ οἱ Xiph. Zon., om. M.

² Οὐνικιανὸς Xyl., οὐνικιανὸς M (but οὐνικιανὸς § 5) Xiph., Βινικιανὸς Zon.

him in honour among those nearest and dearest to him. Then he suddenly killed him. The reason was that Silanus had offended Messalina, the most abandoned and lustful of women, in refusing to lie with her, and by this slight shown to her had alienated Narcissus, the emperor's freedman. As they had no true or even plausible charge to bring against him, Narcissus invented a dream in which he declared he had seen Claudius murdered by the hand of Silanus; then at early dawn, while the emperor was still in bed, trembling all over he related to him the dream, and Messalina, taking up the matter, exaggerated its significance.

Thus Silanus perished because of a mere vision. After his death the Romans no longer cherished fair hopes of Claudius, and Annius Vinicianus with some others straightway formed a plot against him. Annius was one of those who had been proposed for the throne after the death of Gains, and it was partly fear inspired by this circumstance that caused him to rebel. As he possessed no military force, however, he sent to Furius Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia, who had a large body of citizen and foreign troops, and enlisted his support; for Camillus was already making his own plans for an uprising, more especially because he had been spoken of for emperor. When Annius had got thus far, many senators and knights flocked to him; [but they were of no avail], for the soldiers, when Camillus held out to them the hope of seeing the

² Φούριον R. Steph., φρούριον M Xiph. Ζουη.

³ πολιτικὴν supplied by Xyl.

⁴ Lacuna recognized by Xyl., τούτων δ' οὐκ ἀπάνατο supplied by Odley.

προτείνοντος καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδώ-
 σειν ὑπισχνουμένου, ὑπώπτευσαν πράγματα
 αὐθις καὶ στάσεις ἔξειν, καὶ οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ
 ἐπείσθησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου φοβηθεὶς
 ἴσφας ἔφυγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἴσσαν τὴν νῆσον ἔλθων
 4 ἐνταῦθα ἐκούσιος ἀπέθανε. Κλαύδιος δὲ τέως μὲν
 πάνυ κατέδεισεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐθελοντῆς ἐτοίμως
 ἔχειν τοῦ κράτους αὐτῷ ἐκστῆναι, τότε δὲ
 ἀναθαρσήσας τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἄλλοις τέ-
 τισιν ἠμείψατο καὶ τῷ τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτῶν
 στρατόπεδα, τὸ τε ἕβδομον καὶ τὸ ἐνδέκατον, καὶ
 Κλαυδίεια καὶ πιστὰ καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ πρὸς τῆς
 βουλῆς ἐπονομασθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ συνεπιβουλεύ-
 σαντας αὐτῷ ἀνεζήτησε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ)
 ἄλλους τε καὶ στράτηγόν τινα, προαπειπόντα
 5 τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀπέκτεινε. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς,
 ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Οὐνικιανός, κατεχρήσαντο. τῆς
 γὰρ ἀφορμῆς ταύτης ἢ τε¹ Μεσσαλίνα καὶ ὁ
 Νάρκισσος, ὅσοι τε συνεξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ,
 λαβόμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐκ
 ἐποίησαν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῖς
 τε ἀπελευθέροις μηνυταῖς κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν
 6 αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο. καὶ² τούτους τε καὶ ἑτέρους
 καὶ πάνυ εὐγενεῖς, οὐχ ὅτι ξένους ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πολίτας, οὐχ ὅτι δημότας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 ἰππέων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν τινας, ἐβασάνιζον,
 καίτοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τῆς
 ἡγεμονίας ὁμόσαντος μηδένα βασανιεῖν ἐλεύθερον.
 16 ἄνδρες τε οὖν ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ
 ἐν αὐτῷ γε εἰσὶν αἰ τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ, ἐκολάσθησαν.
 μέλλουσαί τε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπὶ βῆμα καὶ αὐταὶ
 ἀνήγοντο δεδεμέναι ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι, καὶ τὰ

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σώματα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς ἐρριπτεῖτο· τῶν γὰρ ἔξω που θανατωθέντων αἱ
 2 κεφαλαὶ μόναι ἐνταῦθα προετίθεντο. ἤδη δ' οὖν
 τινες καὶ τῶν πάνυ ὑπαιτίων, οἱ μὲν χάρισιν οἱ
 δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν, ὑπὸ τε τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ
 ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον Καισαρείων¹
 περιεγέγοντο. καὶ οἳ γε παῖδες τῶν ἀπολλυμένων
 τὴν μὲν ἄδειαν πάντες, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ χρήματα
 3 ἐλάμβανον. ἐκρίνοντο δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, τοῦ τε
 Κλαυδίου καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τῶν τε ἐξελευθέρων
 αὐτοῦ παρόντων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐσήγησιν ἐν μέσῳ
 τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ· ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βάθρου
 καθήμενος ἐποιεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτός, τε ἐπὶ
 τὴν συνῆθη ἔδραν μετήρχετο, καὶ ἑκείνοις οἱ
 δίφροι ἐτίθεντο.

4 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
 μεγίστων ὁμοίως ἐγίγνετο· τότε δὲ Γάλαισός τις
 ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Καμίλλου πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα
 ἐσαχθεὶς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπαρρησιάσατο, ἐν
 5 δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε μνήμης ἄξιον. τοῦ γὰρ Ναρκίσσου
 παρελθόντος ἐς τὸ μέσον καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ “τί
 ἂν ἐποίησας, Γάλαισε, εἰ Κάμιλλος ἐμεμοναρχή-
 κει;” ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι “εἰστήκειν² ἂν ὄπισθεν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσιώπων.” αὐτός τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ
 καὶ Ἀρρία αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ ὀνομαστοὶ ἐγένοντο.
 6 αὕτη γὰρ γυνὴ Καικίνου Παίτου³ οὔσα οὔτ'
 ἠθέλησε θανατωθέντος αὐτοῦ ζῆσαι, καίπερ καὶ
 ἐν τιμῇ τινι εἶναι δυναμένη (τῇ γὰρ Μεσσαλίῃ
 σφόδρα ὠκείωτο), καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα
 ἀποδειλιῶντα ἐπέρρωσε· τὸ γὰρ ξίφος λαβοῦσα

¹ Καισαρείων R. Steph., καισαρίων M.

like captives, and their bodies, also, were thrown out upon the Stairway; for in the case of those who were executed anywhere outside the city, only the heads were exhibited there. Some of the most guilty, nevertheless, by means of favours or bribes saved their lives with the help of Messalina and the imperial freedmen in the following of Narcissus. All the sons of those who were put to death were granted immunity and some also received money. The accused were tried in the senate in the presence of Claudius, the prefects and the freedmen. He would read the charge seated between the consuls on a chair of state or on a bench; then he would go to his accustomed seat and chairs would be placed for the consuls. This same procedure was followed on other occasions of great importance.

It was at this time that Galaesus, a freedman of Camillus, upon being brought before the senate, indulged in great freedom of speech generally, and made one remark in particular that is worth reporting. Narcissus had taken the floor and said to him: "What would you have done, Galaesus, if Camillus had become emperor?" He replied: "I would have stood behind him and kept my mouth shut." So he became famous for this remark, as did Arria for another. This woman, who was the wife of Caecina Paetus, refused to live after he had been put to death, although, being on very intimate terms with Messalina, she might have occupied a position of some honour. Moreover, when her husband displayed cowardice, she strengthened his resolution; for she took the sword and wounded herself, then

² εἰσπήκειν Ζουπ., ἐσπήκειν M exc. Vat.

³ Πάϊτου Cataneus, ὑπάτου M Ζον.

7 ἑαυτὴν τε ἔτρωσε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὠρέξεν εἰποῦσα
 “ ἰδοῦ, Παῖτε,¹ οὐκ ἀλγῶ.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπηνούντο·
 ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχείας τῶν κακῶν ἐς τοῦτο
 τὰ πράγματα προεληλύθει ὥστ’ ἀρετὴν μηκέτ’
 ἄλλο μηδὲν ἢ τὸ γεύναίως ἀποθανεῖν νομίζεσθαι.
 Κλαύδιος δὲ οὕτω πούριπρος τὴν τιμωρίαν πῆν τε
 ἐκείνων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἔσχευ ὥστε καὶ
 σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο συνεχῶς
 διδόναι, τὸ ὅτι χρὴ “ ἀνδρα ἀπαμύνασθαι² ὅτε τις
 8 πρότερος χαλεπήνη.” καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ
 πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τοιουτότροπα
 ἑλληνιστὶ παρεφθέγγετο, ὥστε καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ
 τοῖς δυναμένοις ἔστιν ἂν αὐτῶν συνεῖναι ὀφλισκάνειν.
 τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ
 δήμαρχοι τελευτήσαντός σφῶν ἑνὸς αὐτοὶ τὴν
 γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τὸν δημαρχήσοντα ἀντικατα-
 στηῆσαι, καίτοι τῶν ὑπάτων παρόντων, ἤθροισαν.
 17 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑπατεύσας αὐθις
 τὸ τρίτον πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ
 ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε· τό τε γὰρ πλείστον τοῦ ἔτους
 ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημία οὐκ
 2 ἐλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο. ταύτας τε οὖν συνέτεμε, καὶ
 τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο συνέστειλε. καὶ τὰ μὲν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου μήτε ἐν δίκῃ μήτε ἐν λόγῳ τινὶ
 δοθέντα τισὶν ἀπήτησε, τοῖς δὲ ὁδοποιοῖς ἀπέ-
 δωκεν ὅσα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἐξη-
 3 μίωντο. ἔπρος δ’ ἔτι τοῖς ἀρχουσι τοῖς κληρωτοῖς,
 βραδέως ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξορμωμένοις,
 προεῖπε πρὶν μεσοῦν τὸν Ἀπρίλιον ἀπαίρειν.

¹ Παῖτε Perizonius, παῖε M Zon.

² ἀπαμύνασθαι Xiph. Zon. exc. Vat., ἀπαμύνεσθαι M.

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τούς τε Λυκίους στασιάσαντας, ὥστε καὶ Ῥω-
 μαίους τινὰς ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐδουλώσατό τε καὶ (ἔς
 4 τὸν τῆς Παμφυλίας νομὸν ἔσέγραψεν. (ἐν δὲ δὴ
 τῇ διαγνώσει ταύτῃ) (ἐποίητο δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ
 βουλευτηρίῳ) ἐπύθετο τῇ Λατίνων γλώσση τῶν
 πρεσβευτῶν τινος, Λυκίου μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντος
 Ῥωμαίου δὲ γεγονότος· καὶ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ
 συνῆκε τὸ λεχθέν, τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφείλετο, εἰπὼν
 μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξίν
 5 σφῶν ἐπιστάμενον. συχνούς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους
 καὶ ἀναξίους¹ τῆς πολιτείας ἀπήλασε, καὶ ἑτέροις
 αὐτὴν καὶ πάνυ ἀνέδην,² τοῖς μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς
 δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοις, ἐδίδου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν πάσιν ὡς
 εἰπεῖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ξένων προετετίμηστο,
 πολλοὶ αὐτὴν παρά τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἠτοῦντο
 καὶ παρὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης τῶν τε Καισαρείων³
 6 ὠνοῦντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μεγάλων τὸ πρῶτον
 χρημάτων πραθείσα, ἔπειθ' οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς εὐχε-
 ρείας ἐπευώνισθη ὥστε καὶ λόγοποιηθῆναι ὅτι
 καὶ ὑάλινά⁴ τις σκεύη συντετριμμένα δῶ τινι
 7 πολίτης ἔσται. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτῳ διεσκώπτετο,
 ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ἐπηνεῖτο ὅτι πολλῶν συκοφαντου-
 μένων, τῶν μὲν ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Κλαυδίου προσρήσει
 οὐκ ἐχρῶντο, τῶν δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῷ τελευτῶντες

¹ van Herwerden proposes <ὡς> καὶ ἀναξίους ("on the ground that they were unworthy").

² ἀνέδην Leuncl., ἀναίδην M.

³ Καισαρείων R. Steph., καισαρίων M.

⁴ ὑάλινά Xiph., ὑάλιά M.

¹ See critical note.

the Lycians to servitude because they had revolted and slain some Romans, and he incorporated them in the prefecture of Pamphylia. During the investigation of this affair, which was conducted in the senate, he put a question in Latin to one of the envoys who had originally been a Lycian, but had been made a Roman citizen; and when the man failed to understand what was said, he took away his citizenship, saying that it was not proper for a man to be a Roman who had no knowledge of the Romans' language. A great many other persons unworthy¹ of citizenship were also deprived of it, whereas he granted citizenship to others quite indiscriminately, sometimes to individuals and sometimes to whole groups. For inasmuch as Romans had the advantage over foreigners in practically all respects, many sought the franchise by personal application to the emperor, and many bought it from Messalina and the imperial freedmen. For this reason, though the privilege was at first sold only for large sums, it later became so cheapened by the facility with which it could be obtained that it came to be a common saying, that a man could become a citizen by giving the right person some bits of broken glass. For his course in this matter, therefore, Claudius brought ridicule upon himself; but he was praised for his conduct in another direction. It seems that information was being laid against many of the new citizens, in some instances to the effect that they were not adopting Claudius' name,² and in others that they were not leaving him anything at

¹ That is, they were not adding the name Claudius or Claudianus to their original names, after the manner of manumitted slaves.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κατέλειπον,¹ ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὄν τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχούσιν ἐκάτερον² ποιεῖν, 8 ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εὐθύνεσθαι. ἢ δ' οὖν Μεσσαλίνα οἷ τε ἀπελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ οὕτως οὐ τὴν πολιτείαν μόνον οὐδὲ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπείας τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκαπήλευον ὥστε σπανίσει πάντα τὰ ὄνια, κακ τούτου καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀναγκασθῆναι ἔς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίου συναγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, κἀνταῦθα ἀπὸ 9 βήματος τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν διατάξαι. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὄπλομαχίας ἀγῶνα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, χλαμύδα ἐνδύς, ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ δὴ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθελονταὶ θέας τέ τινος ποιήσει καὶ δείπνων ἐώρτασαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις, ὅσοις γε καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῶν, ἐπράχθη.

18 Μεσσαλίνα δὲ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὴ τε ἠσέλγαινε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἀκολασταίνειν ὁμοίως ἠνάγκαζε, καὶ πολλάς γε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ, τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρόντων καὶ ὄρώντων, μοιχεύεσθαι 2 ἐποίει. καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν καὶ ἐφίλει καὶ ἠγάπα, τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἠγάλλε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ συγκαθιέντας σφᾶς ἔς τοῦτο καὶ ἐμίσει καὶ πάντα τρόπου³ ἀπώλλυε. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀναφανδὸν οὕτω γιγνόμενα 3 τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ πλείστου ἔλαθεν· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ θεραπαινίδιά⁴ τινὰ συμπαρακατέκλινε, καὶ

¹ κατέλειπον H. Steph., κατέλιπον M.

² After ἐκάτερον a leaf is lost from M. Its place is taken by L' (see Introd., Vol. I., p. xxv).

³ πάντα τρόπον Xiph., om. L'.

⁴ θεραπαινίδιά Xiph., θεραπαινίδα L', θεραπαινίδι cod. Peir.

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τούς τι δυναμένους οἱ μηνῦσαι τοὺς μὲν εὐεργεσίαις
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαις προκατελάμβανεν, ὥσπερ
 καὶ τότε καὶ Κατώνιον Ἰούστου τοῦ τε δορυφορικοῦ
 ἄρχοντα καὶ δηλώσαι τι αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων ἐθε-
 4 λήσαντα προδιέφθειρε. τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν τὴν τοῦ
 Δρούσου μὲν τοῦ Τιβερίου παιδὸς θυγατέρα, τοῦ
 δὲ δὴ Νέρωνος τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γυναῖκα γενομένην,
 ζηλοτυπήσασα ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν, ἀπέσφαξε.
 καὶ τις ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ἰππέων, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας
 τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, κατὰ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπὸ τε τῶν
 δημάρχων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημνίσθη.

19 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, κατὰ δὲ τὸν
 αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Αὔλος Πλαύτιος βουλευτῆς
 λογιμώτατος ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε.
 Βέρικος γάρ τις ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ
 στάσιν ἐπέισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναμιν ἐς αὐτὴν
 2 πέμψαι. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Πλαύτιος στρατηγήσας
 τὸ μὲν στράτευμα χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας
 ἐξήγαγεν· ὡς γὰρ ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης στρατεύ-
σουντες ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε αὐτῷ
 ἐπείσθησαν πρὶν τὸν Νάρκισσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυ-
 δίου πεμφθέντα ἀναβῆναί τε ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλαυτίου
 3 βῆμα καὶ δημηγορήσαι τι ἐθελῆσαι· τότε γὰρ
 πολλῶ πού μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀχθεσθέντες οὔτε
 τι ἐκείνῳ εἰπεῖν ἐπέτρεψαν, συμβοήσαντες ἐξαί-
 φνης τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον “ἰὼ σατουρνάλια,”
 ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις οἱ δοῦλοι τὸ τῶν
 δεσποτῶν σχῆμα μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐορτάζουσι,
 καὶ τῷ Πλαυτίῳ εὐθύς ἐκούσιοι συνέσποντο.¹

¹ συνέσποντο R. Steph., συνέποντο L'.

maids to lie with, and took care of those who could give him any information by either showing them favours or inflicting punishment upon them. For example, she put out of the way at this time Catonius Justus, commander of the pretorian guard, before he could carry out his intention of telling the emperor something about these doings. And becoming jealous of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, Tiberius' son, and later the wife of Nero Germanicus, just as she had been jealous of the other Julia,¹ she caused her to be slain. Also at this time one of the knights, who was charged with having conspired against Claudius, was hurled down from the Capitoline by the tribunes and the consuls.

While these events were happening in the city, Aulus Plautius, a senator of great renown, made a campaign against Britain; for a certain Bericus, who had been driven out of the island as the result of an uprising, had persuaded Claudius to send a force thither. Thus it came about that Plautius undertook this campaign; but he had difficulty in inducing his army to advance beyond Gaul. For the soldiers were indignant at the thought of carrying on a campaign outside the limits of the known world, and would not yield him obedience until Narcissus, who had been sent out by Claudius, mounted the tribunal of Plautius and attempted to address them. Then they became much angrier at this and would not allow Narcissus to say a word, but suddenly shouted with one accord the well-known cry, "Io Saturnalia" (for at the festival of Saturn the slaves don their masters' dress and hold festival), and at once right willingly followed Plautius. Their delay, however, had

¹ The sister of Caligula; see chap. 8, 5.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν μὲν οὖν ὄρμην χρονίαν διὰ ταῦτ' ἐποιήσαντο,
 4 τριχῇ δὲ δὴ νεμηθέντες ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν περαιού-
 μενοι κωλυθῶσί ποι προσσχέιν,¹ κὰν τῷ διάπλω
 τὸ μὲν τι δυσφορήσαντες ἐπειδὴ ἐπαλινδρόμησαν,
 τὸ δὲ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ὅτι λαμπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἀνατολῶν ἀρθείσα πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἤπερ ἔπλευ
 διέδραμε, κατῆραυ ἐς τὴν νῆσον μηδενός σφισιν
 5 ἐναντιωθέντος· οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ μὴ προσδοκή-
 σαντες αὐτοὺς δι' ἄπερ ἐπυρθάνοντο ἤξειν, οὐ
 προσυνελέγησαν. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἐς χεῖρας
 αὐτοῖς ἦλθου, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰ ἔλη καὶ ἐς τὰς ὕλας
 κατέφυγον, ἐλπίσαντές σφας ἄλλως κατατρίψειν,
 ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐγεγόνει,
 διὰ κενῆς αὐτοὺς ἀναπλευῦσαι.

20 Ὁ οὖν Πλαύτιος πολλὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀναζη-
 τῶν σφας ἔσχευ, ἐπεὶ δὲ εὖρέ ποτε (ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ
 αὐτόνομοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις² βασιλεῦσι προσ-
 τεταγμένοι), πρῶτον μὲν Καράτακον³ ἔπειτα
 Τογόδουμνον, Κυνοβελλίνου⁴ παῖδας, ἐνίκησεν·
 2 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει· φυγόντων δὲ ἐκείνων προσ-
 εποιήσατο ὁμολογία μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούννων, ὧν
 ἐπῆρχον Κατουελλανοὶ ὄντες, κὰνταῦθα φρουρὰν
 καταλιπὼν πρόσω ἦει. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ ποταμῷ τινι⁵
 ἐγένοντο ὃν οὐκ ὦντο οἱ βάρβαροι δυνήσεσθαι
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνευ γεφύρας διαβῆναι, καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτ' ἀμελέστερόν πως ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης αὐτοῦ τῆς
 κατ' ἀντιπέραν⁶ ηὐλίζοντο, διαπέμπει⁷ Κελτούς,

¹ προσσχέιν Bk., προσχεῖν L'.

² ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις Bk., following Leuncl. (ἀλλ' ἄλλοις ἄλλοι), ἀλλ' ἄλλοις L'.

³ Καράτακον Bs., καταράτακον L'.

⁴ Κυνοβελλίνου R. Steph., κυνοβαλλίνου L'.

⁵ M resumes with τινι.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οἷς ἔθος ἦν καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥωδεστάτων ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς
 3 ὅπλοις διανήχεσθαι. καὶ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ
 δόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσόντες τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν
 οὐδένα ἔβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἵππους τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα
 αὐτῶν ἄγοντας ἐτίτρωσκον, κακ τοῦτου Ἰταρατ-
 τομένων σφῶν οὐδ' οἱ ἐπιβάται ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι
 ἐδύναντο, ἐπιδιέπεμψε τὸν τε Οὐεσπασιανὸν τὸν
 Φλάουιον¹ τὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἀρχὴν λαβόντα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σαβῖνον
 4 ὑποστρατηγοῦντά οἱ· καὶ οὕτω διελθόντες πη καὶ
 ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ποταμὸν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ
 πρόσδεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μέντοι οἱ λοιποὶ
 ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑστεραίας αὐθις συμβαλόντες
 σφίσιν ἀγχώμαλα ἠγωνίσαντο, πρὶν δὲ Γναῖος²
 Ὀσίδιος Γέτας κινδυνεύσας ἀλῶναι, ἐπειθ' οὕτως
 αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν ὥστε καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους,
 5 καίπερ οὐχ ὑπατευκῶς, λαβεῖν. ἀναχωρησάντων
 δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν
 ποταμόν, καθ' ὃ ἔς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει
 πλημμύροντός τε αὐτοῦ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥαδίως
 αὐτὸν διαβάντων ἅτε καὶ τὰ στέριφα τά τε
 6 εὐπόρα τοῦ χωρίου ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
 ἐπακολουθήσαντές σφισι ταύτη μὲν ἐσφάλησαν,
 διανηξαμένων δ' αὐθις τῶν Κελτῶν, καὶ τινῶν
 ἐτέρων διὰ γεφύρας ὀλίγον ἄνω διελθόντων, πολ-
 λαχόθεν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς προσέμιξαν καὶ πολλοὺς
 αὐτῶν κατέκοψαν, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἀπερισκέπτως
 ἐπιδιώκοντες ἔς τε ἔλη δυσδιέξοδα ἐσέπεσον καὶ
 συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον.

21 Διὰ τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Τογοδούμνου

¹ Φλάουιον Bk., φλαουόιον M.

² Γναῖος Reim., γάιος M.

accustomed to swim easily in full armour across the most turbulent streams. These fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, but instead of shooting at any of the men they confined themselves to wounding the horses that drew their chariots; and in the confusion that followed not even the enemy's mounted warriors could save themselves. Plautius thereupon sent across Flavius Vespasian also (the man who afterwards became emperor) and his brother Sabinus, who was acting as his lieutenant. So they, too, got across the river in some way and killed many of the foe, taking them by surprise. The survivors, however, did not take to flight, but on the next day joined issue with them again. The struggle was indecisive until Gnaeus Hosidius Geta, after narrowly missing being captured, finally managed to defeat the barbarians so soundly that he received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, though he had not been consul. Thence the Britons retired to the river Thames at a point near where it empties into the ocean and at flood-tide forms a lake. This they easily crossed because they knew where the firm ground and the easy passages in this region were to be found; but the Romans in attempting to follow them were not so successful. However, the Germans swam across again and some others got over by a bridge a little way up-stream, after which they assailed the barbarians from several sides at once and cut down many of them. In pursuing the remainder incautiously, they got into swamps from which it was difficult to make their way out, and so lost a number of men.

Shortly afterwards Togodumnus perished, but the

φθαρέντος οἱ Βρεττανοὶ οὐχ ὅσον ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπισυνέστησαν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πλαύτιος οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε τὰ παρόντα (διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον μετεπέμψατο· εἴρητο γὰρ αὐτῷ, εἴ τι βιαιότερον γίγνοιτο, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ παρασκευή γε ἐπὶ τῇ στρατεία¹ πολλῇ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐλεφάντων προσυνείλεκτο.

Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἀγγελίας ὁ Κλαύδιος τὰ μὲν οἴκοι τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ² τῷ Λουκίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνεχείρισε (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ ἐξάμηνον ὅλον ὑπᾶτεῦσαι³ ἐποίησεν), αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξεστρατεύσατο. καὶ καταπλεῦσας ἐς τὰ Ὠστία ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν παρεκομίσθη, κἀντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν πεζῇ τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πορευόμενος πρὸς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀφίκετο, καὶ περαιώθεις ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν συνέμιξε τοῖς στρατοπέδοις πρὸς τῷ Ταμέσα⁴ ἀναμένουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ παραλαβὼν σφας ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπιδιέβη, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ συνεστραμμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸ Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελλί-
 5 οῦ βασίλειον εἴλε. κακ τούτου συχνοῦς τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογία τοὺς δὲ καὶ βία προσαγαγόμενος³ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τὰ πάτρια (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐνὶ⁴ οὐδενὶ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν ταύτην λαβεῖν), καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ Πλαυτίῳ

¹ τῇ στρατεία Bk., τῆς στρατιᾶς M.

² Οὐιτελλίῳ R. Steph., ἰουτελλίῳ M.

³ προσαγαγόμενος Bk., προσαγόμενος M.

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- προσέταξεν, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη, τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς νίκης διὰ τῶν γαμβρῶν, τοῦ τε
- 22 Μάγνου καὶ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ, προπέμψας. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὰ κατειργασμένα Βρεττανικὸν τε αὐτὸν ἐπεκάλεσε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ πέμψαι ἔδωκε· πανήγυριν τε ἐτησίαν καὶ ἀψίδας τροπαιοφόρους, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ Γαλατία, ὅθεν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐξαναχθεῖς
- 2 ἐπεραιώθη, γενέσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο· τῷ τε υἱεὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐπέθεσαν, ὥστε καὶ κυρίως τρόπον τινὰ Βρεττανικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ τῇ Μεσσαλίῃ τὴν προεδρίαν ἣν καὶ ἡ Διουία ἐσχῆκει καὶ τὸ¹ καρπέντω χρῆσθαι ἔδοσαν.²
- 3 Ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐτίμησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Γαΐου μνήμη ἀχθόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα τὸ χαλκοῦν πᾶν, ὅσον τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐντετυπωμένην εἶχε, συγχωνευθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν τοῦτο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς βέλτιόν τι ὁ χαλκὸς ἐχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνδριάντας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Μεσσαλίνα τοῦ
- 4 Μνηστῆρος τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ἐποιήσατο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ ποτὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέχρητο, χάριν τινὰ αὐτῷ ταύτην τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνουσίας κατέθετο. σφόδρα γὰρ ἦρα, καὶ ἐπεὶ γε μηδένα τρόπον μὴθ' ὑπισχνουμένη τι μήτε ἐκφοβοῦσα αὐτὸν, συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ ἀναπεῖσαι ἐδύνατο, διελέχθη τῷ ἀνδρί,

¹ τό Rk., τῷ M.

² At this point two leaves have been lost from M; its place is taken by L' (see Introd., Vol. I., p. xxv).

¹ The carpentum was a two-wheeled covered carriage, the use of which inside the walls of Rome was permitted only as

BOOK LX

the remaining districts. Claudius himself now A.D. 43 hastened back to Rome, sending ahead the news of his victory by his sons-in-law Magnus and Silanus. The senate on learning of his achievement gave him the title of Britannicus and granted him permission to celebrate a triumph. They voted also that there should be an annual festival to commemorate the event and that two triumphal arches should be erected, one in the city and the other in Gaul, because it was from that country that he had set sail when he crossed over to Britain. They bestowed upon his son the same title as upon him, and, in fact, Britannicus came to be in a way the boy's regular name. Messalina was granted the same privilege of occupying front seats that Livia had enjoyed and also that of using the *carpentum*.¹

These were the honours the senate bestowed upon the reigning family; but they hated the memory of Gaius so much that they decreed that all the bronze coinage which had his likeness stamped upon it should be melted down. And yet, though this was done, the bronze was converted to no better use, for Messalina made statues of Mnester, the actor, out of it. For inasmuch as he had once been on intimate terms with Gaius, she made this offering as a mark of gratitude for his consenting to lie with her. For she was desperately enamoured of him, and when she found herself unable in any way either by making him promises or by frightening him to persuade him to have intercourse with her, she had a talk with her husband and asked him that the man should be

a special mark of distinction. The privilege was conferred only upon certain matrons, the Vestals, and the priests, and their use of the vehicle was limited to festal occasions.

ἀξιοῦσα αὐτὸν πειθαρχεῖν οἱ ἀναγκασθῆναι ὡς
 5 καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι αὐτοῦ δεομένη· καὶ οὕτως
 εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν
 προστάττηται ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ποιεῖν, συνῆν
 αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου κεκελευσμένος. τὸ
 δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνοὺς ἔπραττεν·
 ὡς γὰρ εἰδότος τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὰ γιννόμενα
 καὶ συγχωροῦντός οἱ ἀκολασταίνειν ἐμοιχεύετο.

23 Τῆς μὲν οὖν Βρεττανίας οὕτω τότε ἔάλω τινά·
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Γαΐου τε Κρίσπου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ
 Τίτου Στατιλίου ὑπατευόντων, ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὴν
 Ῥώμην ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐξ μῆνας ἀποδημήσας, ἀφ' ὧν
 ἐκκαίδεκα μόνας ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε,
 καὶ τὰ νικητήρια ἔπεμψε, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ
 νομιζόμενον πράξας καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν
 τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς γόνασιν ἀναβάς, ἀναφερόντων
 2 αὐτὸν τῶν γαμβρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. ἔνειμε δὲ τοῖς
 μὲν βουλευταῖς τοῖς συνεξετασθεῖσιν οἱ τὰς
 ἐπινικίους τιμάς, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπατευκόσιν, . . .¹
 ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφθονώτατα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαχίσ-
 τοις ἐποίει, Ῥουφρίῳ δὲ δὴ Πωλίῳ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ
 εἰκόνα καὶ ἔδραν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ, ὅσάκις ἀνίῃς
 3 τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῷ συνεσίη· καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ καινο-
 τομεῖν τι δόξη, ἔφη καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐπὶ
 Οὐαλερίου τινὸς Λίγγου τοῦτο πεποιηκέναί. τὸν
 τε Λάκωνα τὸν πρότερον μὲν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων
 ἄρξαντα, τότε δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπιτροπεύοντα,
 τῷ τε αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ προσέτι ταῖς τῶν ὑπατευ-
 4 κότων τιμαῖς ἐσέμνυνε. διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν

¹ Lacuna recognized by Bs., who suggests as the missing words ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.

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πανήγυριν τὴν τῶν νικητηρίων ἐποίησεν, ὑπάτου
 τινὰ ἐξουσίαν ἐς αὐτὴν λαβών. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν
 τοῖς δύο ἅμα θεάτροις· καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἀπελείπετο¹ τῆς θέας, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ
 5 ἐπέτελουν αὐτήν. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἵππων ἐπήγγειλε²
 μὲν ἀμίλλας ὅσας ἀν' ἡμέρα³ ἐνδέξεται, οὐ μὲντοι
 καὶ πλείους τῶν δέκα ἐγένοντο· ἄρκτοι τε γὰρ
 μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου αὐτῶν ἐσφάγησαν καὶ ἀθληταὶ
 ἠγωνίσαντο, πυρρίχην τε Ἄσιανοὶ παῖδες μετὰ
 6 πεμπτοὶ ὠρχήσαντο. καὶ ἄλλην δέ τινα πανή-
 γυριν, ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ αὐτήν, οἱ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
 τεχνῆται, συγχωρηθέν σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς,
 ἐποίησαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰ Βρεττανικὰ
 ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἵνα γε καὶ ἄλλοι ῥᾶον ἐς ὁμολογίαν
 ἴωσιν, ἐψηφίσθη τὰς συμβάσεις ἀπάσας, ὅσας
 ἀν' ὁ Κλαύδιος ἦ καὶ οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι αὐτοῦ πρὸς
 τινὰς ποιήσονται, κυρίας ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν
 τὸν τε δῆμον εἶναι.

24 Τὴν τε Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν αἵρετοῖς
 ἄρχουσιν, ἐξ οὐπερ ὁ Τιβέριος ἦρξε, διδομένας
 ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ· καὶ τοὺς
 στρατηγούς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καταλύσας
 2 ταμίαις αὐτήν⁴ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπέτρεψεν, οὐχ
 ὥστε καὶ ἐτησίους σφᾶς, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τε ἐκείνων
 πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν· μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἐγένετο, ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' οἱ δύο οἱ αὐτοὶ τρία ὅλα
 ἔτη αὐτὴν διώκουν, καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγίας εὐθὺς
 ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἔφερον ὅπως ποτὲ
 3 καὶ ἔδοξαν ἄρξαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ταμίαις τὴν

¹ ἀπελείπετο R. Steph., ἀπελίπετο L'.

² ἐπήγγειλε R. Steph., ἐπήγγελλε L'.

³ ἡμέρα Fabr., ἡμέρας L'.

⁴ αὐτήν Leuncl., αὐτὰς L'.

BOOK LX

attended to these matters, he held the triumphal festival, assuming a kind of consular power for the occasion. The festival was celebrated in both theatres at the same time; and in the course of the spectacles he often absented himself while others took charge in his place. He had announced as many horse-races as could take place in a day, yet there were not more than ten of them. For between the different races bears were slain, athletes contested, and boys summoned from Asia performed the Pyrrhic dance. Another festival, likewise in honour of his victory, was given by the artists of the stage with the consent of the senate. All this was done on account of the successes in Britain; and in order that other peoples should more readily come to terms, it was voted that all the agreements that Claudius or his lieutenants should make with any peoples should be binding, the same as if made by the senate and people.

Aciaia and Macedonia, which ever since the reign of Tiberius had been assigned to governors directly appointed, Claudius now made to depend upon the lot once more.¹ He also did away with the praetors in charge of the finances, putting the business in the hands of quaestors, as it had been of old; these quaestors, however, were not annual magistrates, as had been the case with them previously and with the praetors subsequently, but the same two men attended to the business for three whole years. Some of these quaestors secured the praetorship immediately afterward and others drew a salary according to the estimate placed upon their administration of the office. The quaestors, then, were given charge of

¹ See note on lviii. 25, 5.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

διοίκησιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν¹ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀντέδωκε (πάσας γὰρ αὐτὰς ἔπαυσε), τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς δίκας τινάς, ἃς πρότερον οἱ ὑπατοὶ διεδίκαζον, ἀντενεχείρισε. τοῖς τε στρατευομένοις, ἐπειδὴ γυναῖκας οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἔκ γε τῶν νόμων ἔχειν, τὰ τῶν γεγα-
 4 μηκότων δικαιώματα ἔδωκε. καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Κοττίῳ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων τῶν ὁμωνύμων εἶχε, προσεπήύξησε, βασιλέα αὐτὸν τότε πρῶτον ὀνομάσας. τῶν τε Ῥοδίων τὴν ἐλευ-
 5 θερίαν ἀφείλετο, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινάς ἀνεσκο-
 6 λόπισαν. καὶ Οὐμβώνιον Σιλίωνα² ἀρχοντα Βαιτικῆς μεταπέμψας ἐξέωσεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ὡς καὶ σῖτον ὀλίγον τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ στρατευομένοις ἀποστείλαντα· τοῦτο γὰρ κατηγορήθη, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλ'
 7 ὅτι τισὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέκρουσε. καὶ ὡς συνήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ πρατήριον πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιπλα, πολλά τε καὶ περικαλλῆ ὄντα, ὡς καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκηρύξων, μόνην δὲ δὴ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπώλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενός σφισι διὰ τούτου ὅτι οὔτε τι δεινὸν πεπονθὼς εἶη καὶ
 8 δύναιτο ἰδιωτεύων ἠδέως βιοτεύειν. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην ἐς ἑτέραν ἡμέραν ἱερῶν τινῶν ἔνεκα μετέθεσαν· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο.

25 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει ὑπατοὶ μὲν Μάρκος τε Οὐνίκιος δεύτερον καὶ Στατίλιος Κορουῖνος³ ἦρξαν, Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πάντα τὰ εἰθισμένα

¹ ἀρχῶν τῶν Reim., ἀρχόντων L'.

² Σιλίωνα R. Steph., σιλλίωνα L'.

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HISTORY

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διώμοσε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκώλυσε κατ' ἄνδρα
 2 ὁμόσαι· καὶ οὕτως εἰς¹ τις τῶν στρατηγούντων,
 ὡσπερ ποτέ, καὶ ἕτερος τῶν δημαρχούντων, ἀπό
 τε τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστων εἰς, ἐξῆρξε τῶν ὄρκων
 τοῖς ὁμοίοις. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη
 ἐπράχθη. ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ πόλις πολλῶν εἰκόνων
 ἐπληροῦτο (ἐξῆν γὰρ ἀνέδην² τοῖς βουλομένοις
 ἐν γραφῇ καὶ ἐν χαλκῷ λίθῳ τε δημοσιεύεσθαι),
 3 τὰς τε πλείους αὐτῶν ἐτέρωσέ ποι μετέθηκε, καὶ
 ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀπηγόρευσε³ μηδενὶ ἰδιώτῃ, ὧ ἂν
 μὴ ἡ βουλή ἐπιτρέψῃ, τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξεῖναι, πλὴν
 εἴ τις ἔργον τι ὠκοδομηκῶς εἴῃ ἢ καὶ κατασκευά-
 σαιτο· τούτοις γὰρ δῆ, τοῖς τε συγγενέσιν αὐτῶν,
 4 ἴστασθαι ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐφῆκε. καί
 τινα ἐπὶ δώροις τῶν ἀρξάντων τινὸς ἔθνους φυγα-
 δεύσας, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπεκτήσατο ἐδή-
 μευσεν. ὅπως τε μὴ διακρούοιντο οἱ τοιοῦτοι
 τοὺς ἐθέλοντάς σφισι δικάζεσθαι, οὐδενὶ ἀρχὴν
 5 ἐπ' ἀρχῇ παραχρῆμα ἐδίδου· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνενό-
 μιστο μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως τις
 αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ λαγχάνῃ (οὐδὲ γὰρ
 οὐδὲ τοῖς παριεμένοις τὰς ἐκδημίας ποι⁴ ἐπετρέ-
 πετο ἐπαλλήλας⁵ ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως εἰ δὴ τι πλημ-
 μελήσειαν, μὴ προσλαμβάνοιεν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀρχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀποδημιῶν, τὸ ἀνεύθυνον),
 6 ἐξελελοίπει δέ. καὶ οὕτω γε ἀκριβῶς ἐκάτερον

¹ εἰς H. Steph., εἰ L'.

² ἀνέδην Leuncl., ἀναίδην L'.

³ ἀπηγόρεισε R. Steph., ἀνηγόρευσε L'.

⁴ ποι Leuncl., οἷς ποι L'.

⁵ ἐπαλλήλας Reim., ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις L'.

oaths, but prevented the rest from taking oath individually. Accordingly, as in earlier times, one of the praetors, one of the tribunes, and one from each of the other groups of officials recited the oaths for their colleagues. This practice was followed for several years. In view of the fact that the city was becoming filled with a great multitude of images (for any who wished were free to have their likenesses appear in public in a painting or in bronze or marble), Claudius removed most of them elsewhere and for the future forbade that any private citizen should be allowed to follow the practice, except by permission of the senate or unless he should have built or repaired some public work ; for he permitted such persons and their relatives to have their images set up in the places in question. After banishing the governor of one of the provinces for venality, the emperor confiscated to public uses all the profits which the man had made while in office. And in order to prevent such officials from eluding those who wished to bring them to trial, he would not give anybody an office immediately after his retirement from another. This, in fact, had been the custom in earlier days also, in order that anybody might freely institute suit against such officials in the intervening period ; indeed, after their terms had expired, they were not even permitted to make trips away from the city in immediate succession, since it was intended that if they were guilty of any irregularity, they should not gain the further benefit of escaping investigation either by holding new offices or by absence from the city. This custom, however, had fallen into disuse. So carefully, now, did Claudius guard against both possibilities that he

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτῶν ἐφύλαττεν ὥστε μηδὲ παρεδρεύσαντά τινι ἐπιτρέψαι ἑς ἡγεμονίαν· εὐθὺς ἔθνους ἐπιβάλλουσάν οἱ κληροῦσθαι, καίτοι καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τινὰς ἐὼν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, αἰρετούς τε ἔστιν οὓς πέμπων. τοῖς δ' οὖν αἰτουμένοις ὥστε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποδημῆσαι ἐφίει μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ γε μὴν καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ αὐτὸ¹
 7 δοκεῖν ποιεῖν δόγμα γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει ἐψηφίσθη· τότε δὲ τὴν τε πανήγυριν τὴν εὐκταίαν, ἣν τῆς στρατείας² αὐτοῦ³ ἕνεκα προῦπέσχητο, διέθηκε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ πέντε μὲν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἅπασι διέδωκεν, ἔστι δ' οἷς καὶ πλεον, ὥστε καὶ ἑς τριακοσίας καὶ δώδεκα
 8 καὶ ἡμίσειάν τισι γενέσθαι. οὐ μόντοι καὶ πάντα αὐτὸς διένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γαμβροὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἢ διάδοσις ἐγένετο καὶ ἠθέλησε καὶ δικάσαι ἐν ταύταις. τοῖς τε Κρονίοις τὴν πέμπτην ἡμέραν τὴν καταδειχθεῖσαν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταλυθεῖσαν ἀπέδωκε.

26 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἐκλείψειν ἔμελλεν, ἐφοβήθη τε μή τις ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴ γένηται, ἐπεὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τέρατα συνεβεβήκει, καὶ προέγραψεν οὐ μόνον ὅτι τε ἐκλείψει καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ἐφ' ὅπόσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἀναγκαίως γενήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν.
 2 εἰσὶ δὲ αἶδε. ἡ σελήνη τὴν κάτω τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορὰν, ὥσπερ που πεπίστευται (εἴτ' οὖν

¹ αὐτὸ R. Steph., αὐτὸν L'.

² στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιᾶς L'.

³ αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ L'.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐφεξῆς αὐτοῦ¹ εἶτε καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν αὐτὴν²
 τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην ἔχει³), κινήθεισα,⁴ κινεῖται
 μὲν κατὰ μῆκος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος, κινεῖται δὲ
 καὶ κατὰ βάθος, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ ἐκεῖνος, κινεῖται
 δὲ καὶ ἐν πλάτει, ὅπερ οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς τῷ ἡλίῳ
 3 ὑπάρχει. ὅταν οὖν κατὰ τε τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ
 εὐθυωρίαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν γένηται, καὶ
 ὑπὸ τὴν φλόγα αὐτοῦ ὑποδράμη, τότε τὴν αὐγὴν
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν γῆν καθήκουσαν τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ
 πλείον τοῖς δὲ ἐπ' ἔλαττον διεσκέπασεν, ἔστι δ'
 4 οἷς⁵ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτατον ἀποκρύπτει. ἴδιον γὰρ
 αἰεὶ φῶς ὁ ἥλιος ἔχων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε αὐτοῦ ἀπαλ-
 λάττεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν ἡ σελήνη μὴ
 ἐπίπροσθεν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν συσκιάζεσθαι, γένηται,
 ὀλόκληρος αἰεὶ φαίνεται. (περὶ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἥλιον)
 ταῦτά τε συμβαίνει καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου
 5 ἐδημοσιεύθη. ἡ δὲ σελήνη (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀπὸ
 τρόπου καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδήπερ
 ἅπαξ τοῦ λόγου τούτου προσηψάμην) ὅσάκις
 ἂν καταντικρὺ τῷ ἡλίῳ γενομένη (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς
 πανσελήνοις μόνως αὐτῇ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκείνῳ
 ἐν ταῖς νουμηνίαις, συμβαίνει), ἐς τὸ τῆς γῆς
 σκίασμα κωνοειδὲς ὄν ἔμπέση (γίγνεται δὲ τοῦτο
 ὅταν διὰ τῶν μέσων ἐν τῇ τοῦ πλάτους κινήσει
 περιφέρηται), στέρεται τε⁶ τοῦ ἡλιοειδοῦς φωτός,
 καὶ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν, ὅποιαπερ ἔστί, φαντάζεται.
 27 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτά ἐστι, τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ
 ἐκείνου ἐξελθόντος Οὐαλέριός τε Ἀσιατικὸς τὸ

¹ M resumes with αὐτοῦ.

² αὐτὴν Kuiper, αὐτοῦ M, αὐτὸν Xiph.

³ ἔχει M (but corr. in marg. to ἔχουσα) Xiph.

⁴ κινήθεισα Kuiper, κινήσεις M Xiph.

perhaps with Mercury and Venus intervening, was a longitudinal motion, just as the sun was, and a vertical motion, as the other perhaps likewise was, but it was also a latitudinal motion such as the sun never shows under any conditions. When, therefore, the moon gets in a direct line with the sun over our heads and passes under its blazing orb, it obscures the rays from that body that extend toward the earth. To some of the earth's inhabitants this obscuration lasts for a longer and to others for a shorter time, whereas to still others it does not occur for even the briefest moment. For since the sun always was a light of its own, it is never deprived of it, and consequently to all those between whom and the sun the moon does not pass, so as to throw a shadow over it, it always appears entire. This, then, is what happens to the sun, and it was made public by Claudius at that time. But now that I have once touched upon this subject, it will not be out of place to give the explanation of a lunar eclipse also. Whenever, then, the moon gets directly opposite the sun (for it is eclipsed only at full moon, just as the sun is eclipsed at the time of new moon) and runs into the cone-shaped shadow of the earth, a thing that happens whenever it passes through the mean point in its latitudinal motion, it is then deprived of the sun's light and appears by itself just as it really is. Such is the explanation of these phenomena.

At the close of that year Valerius Asiaticus and Marcus Silanus became consuls, the former for a

⁵ ἔστι δ' οἷς supplied by Louncl.

⁶ τε Bk., γὰρ M Xiph.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δεύτερον καὶ Μάρκος Σιλανὸς ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ
 οὗτος μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον ἠρέθη ἠρξεν, Ἀσιατικὸς δὲ
 ἀπεδείχθη μὲν ὡς καὶ δι' ἔτους ὑπατεύσων, ὃ καὶ
 ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο,
 2 ἀλλ' ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐθελούσιος. καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ
 ἕτεροί τινες ἐπραξαν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ πενίας
 (τὰ γὰρ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις
 γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκεχωρήκει· τετράκις γὰρ καὶ
 εἰκοσάκις ὡς πλήθει ἠμιλλῶντο), ὃ δ' Ἀσιατικὸς
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλούτου, ὑφ' οὐπερ καὶ ἀπέθανεν·
 3 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν τε πολλῇ περιουσίᾳ ἦν· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 δεύτερον ὑπατεύειν καὶ ἐπαχθῆς καὶ ἐπίφθονος
 πολλοῖς¹ ἐγεγόνει, καταλύσαι τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς
 ἑαυτὸν ἠθέλησεν ὡς καὶ ἠττόν τι παρὰ τοῦτο
 4 κινδυνεύσων. καὶ ὃ μὲν ἐξηπατήθη, ὃ δὲ Οὐνίκιος
 ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Κλαυδίου οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν (ἦν μὲν γὰρ
 διαπρεπῆς ἀνὴρ, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἡσυχίαν ἄγων καὶ τὰ
 ἑαυτοῦ πράττων ἐσώζετο), ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης,
 ὑποψία τε ὅτι τὴν² γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουλίαν
 ἀπεκτόνει, καὶ ὀργῇ³ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν οἱ συγ-
 γενέσθαι, φαρμάκῳ διεφθάρη. καὶ οὕτω ταφῆς
 τε δημοσίας καὶ ἐπαίνων ἠξιώθη· πολλοῖς γὰρ
 5 δὴ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐδίδοτο. Ἀσίνιος⁴ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος
 ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου πρὸς μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἐπεβούλευσε
 μὲν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, οὐκ ἀπέθανε δὲ ἀλλ' ὑπερω-
 ρίσθη· αἴτιον δὲ ἴσως μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅτι μήτε
 στρατεύμα προπαρασκευάσας μήτε χρήματα
 προαθροίσας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας πολλῆς, ὡς καὶ
 ἐκουσίῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸ γένος ἄρξων,

¹ πολλοῖς R. Steph., πόλυς M. ² τὴν Rk., τὴν τε M.

³ ὀργῇ R. Steph., ὀργῆς M.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐθρασύνετο· τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὅτι καὶ σμικρότατος καὶ δυσειδέστατος ὢν, κάκ τούτου καταφρονηθεῖς, γέλωτα μᾶλλον ἢ κίνδυνον ὤφλεν.

- 28 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ πάνυ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐπήνουν, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐκείνο ὅτι ἐντυχόντος τινὸς τοῖς δημάρχους κατὰ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρωσαντος αὐτόν, καὶ ὑπηρέτην ἐπ' αὐτόν αἰτήσαντος καὶ λαβόντος, ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ ἐκείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας αὐτῷ ἐκόλασε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα τοῖς τοιούτοις¹ (κατὰ τῶν δεσποτευσάντων αὐτῶν) βοηθεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, στέρεσθαι τοῦ δίκην αὐτοὺς ἑτέροις λαγχάνειν.
- 2 δουλεύοντα μέντοι αὐτόν τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις ὀρώντες ἤσχαλλον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ σπουδασάντων ποτὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὸν Σαβῖνον τὸν τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου ἄρξαντα ἐν μονομαχίᾳ τινὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἢ Μεσσαλίνα ἔσωσε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ ἐπλησίαζε.
- 3 τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτοὺς ἠνία, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μνηστῆρα ἀποσπάσασα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου εἶχε, καὶ ὅποτε γελῶντις τις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ² περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ ὀρχοῖτο γίγνοιτο, θαῦμά τε ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀπελογεῖτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὁμνύς
- 4 ὅτι μὴ συνείη αὐτῷ. πιστεύοντες γὰρ ὄντως ἀγνοεῖν αὐτόν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἐλυπτοῦντο μὲν ὅτι μόνος οὐκ ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δρώμενα, ὅσα καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη διεπεφῶιτήκει, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐξελέγχειν αὐτὰ ἠθέλον, τὸ μὲν τι τὴν Μεσσαλίναν αἰδούμενοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μνηστῆρος

¹ μηδένα τοῖς τοιούτοις Bs., μηδὲ τοῖς οὕτω M.

² Here M ends (with δή).

account of his family; but the chief reason was that he was a very small and ugly man and so, being held in contempt, incurred ridicule rather than peril. A.D. 46

People were loud in their praise of Claudius for his moderation in this matter; and especially did they praise his action in showing displeasure when a certain freedman appealed to the tribunes against the man who had freed him, thus asking and securing an assistant against his former master. Claudius punished not only this fellow but also his associates, and at the same time he forbade any one in future to render assistance to persons of this sort against their former masters, on pain of being deprived of the right to bring suit against others. But people were vexed at seeing him the slave of his wife and the freedmen. This feeling was especially strong on an occasion when Claudius himself and all the rest were eager to see Sabinus, the former prefect of the German bodyguard in the time of Gaius, killed in a gladiatorial combat, and Messaliná saved him; for he had been one of her paramours. They were also vexed because she had taken Mnester away from the theatre and was keeping him with her; but whenever there was any talk among the people about Mnester's failure to dance, Claudius would appear surprised and would make various apologies, swearing that he was not at his house. The people, believing that he was really ignorant of what was taking place, were grieved to think that he alone failed to realize what was going on in the palace—behaviour so notorious, in fact, that news of it had already travelled to the enemy. They were unwilling, however, to reveal to him the true state of affairs, partly through awe of Messalina and partly to spare

- 5 φειδόμενοι· ὅσον γὰρ ἐκείνη· διὰ τὸ κάλλος, τοσοῦτον τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν τέχνην ἤρεσκεν. οὕτω γάρ που δεινὸς σοφιστὴς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει, ἦν ὥστε τοῦ ὀμίλου μεγάλη ποτὲ σπουδῆ δρᾶμά τι αὐτὸν ἐπιβόητον ὀρχήσασθαι δεομένου, παρακῦψαί τε ἐκ τῆς σκηυῆς καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι “οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· τῷ γὰρ Ὀρέστη συγκεκοίμημαι.”
- 6 Ὁ δ' οὖν Κλαύδιος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλήθος τε δικῶν ἀμύθητον ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆντων· ἐπ' αὐτὰς¹ οἷ τι² προσδοκῶντες ἐλαττωθήσεσθαι, προεῖπε διὰ προγράμματος ὅτι καὶ κατὰ ἀπόντων αὐτῶν ἐντὸς ῥητῆς τινος ἡμέρας δικᾶσει, καὶ ἐνεπέδωσε τοῦτο.
- 7 Ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεὺς ἐνεωτέρισε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον· τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἀντιλεγούσης καὶ φυγεῖν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν ἠδύνατο, βουλευθείσης, βουλόμενος ἐπικαλύψαι τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, αὐτὸς μὲν παρεσκευάζετο, πέμπει δὲ Κότυν τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς πρεσβείαν, φιλίους λόγους τῷ Κλαυδίῳ κομίζοντα. ὁ δὲ παραπρεσβεύσας πάντα αὐτῷ κατεμήνυσε, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰβηρίας ἀντὶ Μιθριδάτου γίνεται.—Petr. Patr. exc. de leg.⁹ 2 (Hoesci. p. 15 = fr. 3 Muell. *Fragm. hist. gr.* 4 p. 184 sq.).

¹ ἐπ' αὐτὰς Rk., ἐπ' αὐταῖς L', ἐπ' αὐτῆς cod. Peir.

² οἷ τι Casaubon, ἔτι L' cod. Peir.

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INDEX

(Dates are A.D. unless otherwise specified.)

- Achaia, 251, 427
Achilles, 319 *n.*
Actium, battle of, 69
Actors, banished by Tiberius, 173;
 recalled by Gaius, 265, 273-75;
 other references, 61, 69, 107, 139,
 325, 337, 349, 427; *cf.* Mnester
Afer, Domitius (cos. *su*f. 40), 317-23
Africa, province of, divided, 323
Agamemnon, 319
Agrippa, M. Vipsanius, 85, 125
Agrippa Postumus, 69, 119-21; *cf.*
 155
Agrippa, Vibullius, 239
Agrippa, Herod, *see* Herod
Agrippina, w. of Germanicus, 125-
 27, 177, 243, 269; *cf.* 261, 271,
 327
Agrippina, d. of preceding, 237, 329-
 31, 335, 375; *cf.* 267-69, 281, 287,
 347
Ahenobarbus, Cn. Domitius (cos. 32),
 229, 237, 255
Ajax, 249, 355 *n.*
Alban territory, the, 247
Alexander the Great, 81, 311
Alps, the, 53, 429
Ancyranum, Monumentum, 73 *n.*
Andetrium, 29
Antioch, 163
Antiochus III. of Commagene, 283
Antiochus IV., 283, 335, 387
Antium, 249
Antonin, d. of triumvir, 217, 267-69,
 377
Antony, M., 83, 321, 327
Apelles, an actor, 273-75
Apicata, w. of Sejanus, 217
Apicius, M. Gablus, 169
Apollo, 347; temples of, 211, 353
Apollonius, an Egyptian, 359
Apronius, L. (cos. 39), 297
Apuleius, Sex. (cos. 14), 65
Arabians (Ituraean), 295
Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 157-
 59
Architect, unknown, restores leaning
 portico, 173-75
Arduba, 35
Armenia, 251-53, 295, 349
Armenius, 41
Arria, w. of Paetus, 407-9
Arruntius, L., 255
Arsaces, s. of Artabanus III., 251
Artabanus III., 251-53, 349
Artaxes III., 251
Asia, 157-59, 351, 359, 427
Asiaticus, P. Valerius (cos. *su*f. 46),
 363, 435-37
Asprenas, L., 49-51
Asprenas, P. Nonius (cos. 38), 287
Astrologers, executed or banished by
 Tiberius, 153; *cf.* 57
Athenians, the, 375
Athenodorus, 99-101
Atlas, Mount, 389
Atreus, 249
Atticus, Numerius, 105
Augusta, title of Livia, 105; of
 Antonia, 267; not permitted to
 Messalina, 399
Augustales, 105, 221, 281
Augustalia, 65, 107
Augustus, reign of (*cont.*), 3-65, 109;
 address of, on subject of marriage,
 5-23; death of, 65-71; his will
 and final injunctions, 71-75, 141,
 165; funeral and various honours
 accorded, 75-99, 103-7; his char-
 acter, 99-105, 109; his acts ratl-

INDEX

- fied by oath in succeeding reigns, 133, 287, 391-93; his birthday celebrated, 55, 65 *n.*, 69, 105-7, 147; shrines of, 105, 135, 183, 279, 379; statues of, 67, 399-401; mausoleum of, 189, 269; other references, 115, 119-25, 129, 133-37, 141, 145, 151, 157, 159, 181, 191 *n.*, 247, 251 *n.*, 267-73, 281, 321-23, 327, 335-37, 351, 353, 369, 381, 393, 425
 "Augustus," title of, not assumed by Tiberius, 115, 131; declined on behalf of Britannicus, 399; cf. 299
 Aventine, the, 253
- Bacchus, 347
 Baetica, 429
 Balbus, L. Norbanus (cos. 19), 161
 Bassus, Betilinus, 341
 Bato, Dalmatian chieftain, 29-31, 37
 Bauli, 311-13
 Bericus, 415
 Biberius, nickname of Tiberius, 259
 Blaesus, Junius, 121
 Bodunni, the, 417
 Bosphorus, kingdom of, 387, 441 *n.*; cf. 297
 Briseis, 319 *n.*
 Britain, mock expedition of Gaius against, 325, 339-41; invaded in reign of Claudius, 415-27
 Britannicus, s. of Claudius, 319, 423; cf. 413
 Britannicus, title given to Gaius, 341; to Claudius, 423
 Britons, the, 417-23
 Brutus, 83, 181
- Caecina Largus, C. Silius (cos. 13), 63
 Caecina Largus, C. (cos. 42), 391
 Caecina Paetus, 407-9
 Caesar, Gaius and Lucius, 63
 Jaesar, Julius, 65, 77, 81, 87, 115, 151, 181, 241, 359, 417
 Caesar, as title, 123, 131, 151, 155, 161-65, 319
 Caesarea, 391
 Caesianus, L., 233-35
 Caesonia, Milonia, w. of Gaius, 333, 343, 355
 Caligula, nickname of Gaius, 125, 261
- Callistus, freedman of Gaius, 319-21, 343, 359
 Camerinus, C. Cestius Gallus (cos. 35), 249
 Camerinus, Q. Sulpicius (cos. 9), 3
 Camillus, M. Furius, (Scribonianus) (cos. 32), 229, 403-5
 Campania, 65, 207, 301
 Campus Martins, 53, 99, 413
 Camulodunum, 421
 Capito, O. Ateius, 155
 Capito, O. Fonteius (cos. 12), 59, 181
 Capito, f. of Betilinus Bassus, 341-43
 Capitol, the, 67, 179, 201, 225, 311, 315, 335, 353, 355, 363, 367, 415, 425
 Cappadocia, 157-59, 251
 Capreae, 143, 199; cf. 377
 Caratacus, 417
Carpentum, 423 and *n.*
 Carrinas Secundus, 323
 Cassius, O. (Longinus), the conspirator, 83, 181, 359
 Cassius, O. (Longinus) (cos. suf. 30), 195 and *n.*, 359
 Cassius, L. (Longinus) (cos. 30), 195 and *n.*
 Castor and Pollux, temple of, 353, 385
 Castor, a gladiator, 149 *n.*
 Castor, nickname of Drusus, 149
 Catuellani, the, 417
 Cauchi, the, 389
 Cerealis, Anicius, 341
 Chaerea, Cassius, 357-61, 365, 373
 Chatti, the, 389
 Cherusci, the, 41
 Cicero, w. of, 151
 Cilicia, 283, 387
 Circus, the, 61, 253, 301, 357, 385; games in, 55, 65, 139, 147, 221, 269, 279-81, 301, 321, 377-79, 383-85, 427, 437; separate sections reserved for the senators and for the knights, 387
 Citizenship, freely bestowed by Claudius, 411; cf. 385
 Claudius, consul, 277-79; emperor, 367-441; character, 333, 369-73 and *passim*; other references, 149 *n.*, 251 *n.*, 305, 331-33, 355
 Clemens, slave of Agrippa Postumus, 155
 Commagene, 283, 387
 Concord, temple of, 55, 217
 Consuls, tenure of office, 237, 277, 297, 335-37, 391, 437

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INDEX

- Germany, 119-29, 159; death, 163-67; other references, 55, 61, 65, 145, 161, 169, 207, 243, 271; cf. 293, 327
- Germanicus, title given to Tiberius, 131; to Gaius, 261, 341; to Britannicus, 399; agnomen of Claudius, 369
- Germans, the, 39-55, 159, 325; Germans in pretorian guard, 51, 363, 439; with Plautius in Britain, 417-19
- Germany, 39-55, 341
- Germany, province(s) of, 39, 51-53, 119, 123-27, 329
- Geta, Cn. Hosidius, 389-91, 419
- Gladiatorial exhibitions, 57-59, 145-47, 289, 297-99, 379, 399, 413
- Gladiators, favoured by Gaius, 265, 273-75, 325; cf. 289, 301-3
- Governors, dilatory in setting out for their provinces, 147, 395-97, 409; tenure prolonged under Tiberius, 245-47; not permitted to govern two provinces in immediate succession, 431-33; cashiered, 109, 247, 351, 429, 431; cf. 329
- Greece, 249, 361
- Greeks, 19, 141, 149 *n.*
- Hercules, 81, 347
- Herod the Great, 283
- Herod Agrippa, 283, 335, 387
- Herod, king of Chalcis, 387
- Hersilia, 15
- Hiberus, an imperial freedman, 237 and *n.*
- Homer cited, 319, 355, 409
- Iberia, in Asia, 441
- Iberians, the, 253, 441
- imperator*, title, 37, 131, 327, 341, 389, 421
- Incitatus, a race horse, 303
- India, gems of, 311
- Ionia, 249, 361, 385
- Issa, 405
- Italy, 27, 51, 53, 117, 119, 147, 155, 311, 325, 429; cf. 127, 265, 287, 433
- Ituraeans, the, 295
- Janus, statue of, 161
- Jews, in Rome, 163, 383
- Juba II., 337
- Julia, d. of Augustus, 73, 93 *n.*, 125, 159, 191 *n.*
- Julia, d. of Germanicus, 329, 375, 387, 415, 437; cf. 239, 267-69, 281, 287, 347
- Julia, d. of Drusus, 195, 239, 415
- Julia, name given to Livia, 105
- Julianus, M. Aquila (cos. 38), 287
- Julii, the, 21
- Juno, 347
- Jupiter Capitolinus, 287, 353; cf. 297; J. Latiaris, 355; cf. 347, 361-63
- Justus, Catonius, 415
- Knights, fight as gladiators, 57-59, 145-47, 283-85, 289-91; other references, 71, 99, 385, 391, 397; *see* Equestrian order
- Labeo, Pomponius, 247
- Laco, Graecinius, 209-11, 215, 221, 425
- Lamia, L. Aelius (cos. 3), 235-37
- Largus, *see* Caecina
- Latiaris, Latinus, 185
- Latins (= Romans), the, 67
- Legions, seventh and eleventh, 405
- Lentulus, Cossus Cornelius (Gaetulicus) (cos. 1 B.C.), 183
- Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius (Gaetulicus) (cos. 26), 329
- Lepidus, the triumvir, 83-85
- Lepidus, M. Aemilius (cos. 6), 29
- Lepidus, M. (or M') Aemilius (cos. 11), 55
- Lepidus, Aemilius, husband of Drusilla, 293, 329-31
- Lesbos, 61, 233
- Lex Papia Poppaea, 25; Voconia, 23-25
- Liberty, statue of, 219
- Libo, L. Scribonius (cos. 16), 149
- Libo, L. Scribonius, 151
- Libya, wild beasts from, 279, 301, 385
- Liris, the, 395
- Litters, use of, 99, 139, 151, 157, 369
- Livia, 69-73, 99, 105-7, 119-21, 141-43, 155, 163, 165, 187-89; cf. 265, 293, 369, 377-79, 423
- Livilla (or Livia), w. of Drusus, 175, 177, 217, 249
- Lollia Paulina, 295, 333

INDEX

- Ludi Martiales, 61, 107; Megalenses, 295; Palatini, 311 *n.*, 359 *n.*
 Lugdunum, 327
 Lycians, the, 411
- Macedonia, 251, 427; cf. 81
 Machaon, a slave, 287
 Macro, Naevius Sertorius, 209–11, 221–23, 233, 239, 247, 251–57, 261–63, 291
 Maecenas, 85
maiestas, 135, 165, 179, 197, 271, 277, 295, 307–9, 375
 Marcellus, M. Pomponius, 155–57
 Marcia, d. of Cremutius Cordus, 183
 Marcii, the, 21
 Marius, 87
 Marius, Sextus, 241–43
 Mars, temple of, 53, 105, 379; Mars Ultor, 329
 Marsian territory, the, 395
 Massilia, 421
 Mauretania, 339, 389–91, 429
 Mercury, the planet, 435
 Messalina, 387–89, 399, 401–7, 411–15, 423–25, 437–41
 Metellus Creticus, 87
 Milesians, the, 353
 Miletus, 351
 Milonia Caesonia, *see* Caesonia
 Minerva, 355
 Misenum, 255, 311 *n.*
 Mithridates the Great, 387
 Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, 387, 441 *n.*
 Mithridates, king of the Iberians, 253, 387; cf. 441
 Mithridates, s. of preceding, 253
 Mnester, an actor, 423–25, 439–41
 Moesia, 247, 251
 Moon, eclipsed, 123; rôle of, during eclipses, 433–35; as a goddess, 347, 351
 Moors, the, 389–91
 Mucia, *see* Mutilla
 Munatia Plancina, *see* Plancina
 Mutilla Prisca, 197
 Mutillius, M. Papius (cos. *suf.* 9), 25
- Narcissus, a freedman, 403–7, 415
 Neapolis, 65, 381
 Neptune, 313–15, 347
 Nero, s. of Germanicus, 165, 177, 209; cf. 269, 271
 Nerva, M. Cocceius, 241
 Nicias, 13 *n.*
 Nigrius, C. Pontius (cos. 37), 253, 277
 Nola, 65, 71, 105, 115, 119
 Nonianus, M. Servilius (cos. 35), 249
 Nonius, P., *see* Asprenas
 Norbanus, *see* Balbus and Flaccus
 Numidia, 391
 Numidians, the, 323
- Oaths of allegiance, military, 119; senatorial and magisterial, 133, 229–31, 269, 287, 297, 377, 391–93, 429–31
 Ocean, the: (a) the North Sea, 159; (b) the English Channel, 325, 337, 421; cf. 417, 423
 Odysseus, 355 *n.*
 "Orestes," 441
 Orestilla, Cornelia, 285
ornamenta consularia, 387, 425; *quaestoria*, 221; *praetoria*, 39, 221, 387; *triumphalia*, 39, 199, 389, 419, 425
 Ostia, 421
 Ovations voted to Gaius, 311, 331
- Paetus, *see* Caecina
 Palace, the, 59, 107, 311 and *n.*, 359; cf. Palatine
 Palatine, the, 211, 353
 Palestine, 387; cf. 283
 Pamphylia, 411
 Pannonia, 39, 119–21, 127, 317
 Panthea, name conferred on Drusilla, 295
 Papinius, Sextus (cos. 36), 253, 341
 Parthians, the, 251–53, 351; hostages of, at Rome, 313
pater patriae, 131, 221, 267, 373
 Paulina, Lollia, *see* Lollia
 Paulinus, C. Suetonius, 389
 Pergamum, 353
 Persicus, Fabius (cos. 34), 247
 Pharasmanes, 253
 Phoenix, the, 253
 Phraates, s. of Phraates IV., 253
 Piraeus, Party of the, 375 *n.*
 Piso, O. Calpurnius, 285–87
 Piso, Cn. Calpurnius (cos. 7 B.C.), 153, 163–65, 171; cf. 323
 Piso, L. Calpurnius? (city pref. 32), 235
 Piso, L. Calpurnius, s. of Cn. Piso, 323
 Planasia, 69

INDEX

- Plancina, Munatia, 163, 243, 323
 Plancus, L. Munatius (cos. 13), 63
 Plautianus, pretorian prefect, 223
 Plautius, A., 415-23
 Plautius, Q. (cos. 36), 253
 Polemon II., 297, 387
 Pollio, Rufrius, 425
 Pollio, Vitrasius, 237
 Polybius, freedman of Augustus, 71
 Pompeius, Magnus and Sextus, *see*
 Pompey
 Pompeius, Cn. (Magnus), son-in-law
 of Claudius, 381, 423
 Pompeius, Sextus (cos. 14), 65, 103
 Pompey the Great, 77, 87; theatre
 of, 385
 Pompey, Sextus, 83; cf. 85
 Pomponius, Q., *see* Secundus
 Pontian Islands, the, 329
 Portico, leaning, restored, 173-75
 Porticus Julia, 3, 63
 Portus Romanus, constructed by
 Claudius, 395
 Postum(i)us, C. Vibius, 37
 Potitus, P. Afranius, 283-85
 Praetorian guard, the, 51, 73, 99,
 121, 149, 169, 183, 195, 211, 217,
 231, 233, 263, 293, 357, 359, 363,
 399, 413 *n.*; prefects of, 169, 209,
 223, 293, 343, 359, 365, 407, 415,
 425
 Praetors, number of, 57, 239, 323,
 393; in charge of gladiatorial
 exhibitions, 301, 379; in charge of
 finances, 377, 393, 427; other
 duties, 335, 337, 429
 Priam, 245
princeps iuventutis, title given to the
 younger Tiberius, 283
princeps senatus, 131
 Prisca, Mutilia, 197
 Prisons, Clutorius, 171 and *n.*
 Priscus, Junius, 317
 Proculus, Cn. Acerronius (cos. 37),
 253, 277
 Proculus, Julius, 105
 Proculus, Scribonius, 345
 Protogenes, 345, 377
 Ptolemy, s. of Juba, 337
 Pusio, German horseman, 25
 Puteoli, 311-13
 Pyrrhic dance, the, 385, 427
 Quaestors, entrusted again with
 administration of finances, 427
 Quintii, the, 21
 Quirites, 93
 Raetinum, 25
 Rectus, Aemilius, 137
 Regulus, P. Memmius (cos. 31), 209,
 213, 215, 223, 251, 295
 Rhine, the, 41, 49, 53, 55, 325
 Rhodes, 61, 157
 Rhodians, the, 137, 429
 Rhoemetalces, Thracian king, 297
 Rome, 69, 117, 155, 161, 185, 311,
 325, 353, and *passim*
 Romulus, 13, 77, 81, 105
 Rostra, the, 77; Rostra Julia, 77;
 cf. 297
 Rufus, C. Caecilius (cos. 17), 155
 Rufus, Titius, 317
 Rufus, Vibius, 151-53
 Sabines, the, 15
 Sabinus, C. Calvisius (cos. 26), 317
 Sabinus, Cornelius, 357-61, 365, 373
 Sabinus, Flavius, 419
 Sabinus, C. Poppaeus (cos. 9), 3, 251
 Sabinus, Titius, 185-87
 Sabinus, prefect under Gaius, 439
 Sacerdos, Julius, 329
 Saeptra, the, 5, 291
 Salabus, 389
 Salinae, 29
 Samos, 61
 Sanquinius Maximus (cos. suf. 39), 297
 Saturnalia, 277, 415, 433
 Saturninus, Aelius, 179
 Saturninus, Cn. Sentius (cos. 41), 363
 Scalae Gemoniae, 187, 201, 217, 407
 Scaurus, M. Aemilius, 85
 Scaurus, Mamercus Aemilius, 247-49
 Scenas, s. of Bato, 37
 Scribonianus, *see* Camillus
 Scythians, 253
 Secundus, Atanius, 283-85
 Secundus, Q. Pomponius (cos. suf.
 41), 275-77, 361, 363; cf. 345
 Secundus, Q. Poppaeus (cos. suf. 9),
 25
 Segimerus, 41
 Sejanus, 167-77, 181, 185, 189-91,
 195-229; cf. 231, 233, 235, 243,
 249, 307
 Senate, the, purged and enlarged by
 Augustus, 93-95; cf. 59, 91;
 attitude of Tiberius toward, 129,
 135-37, 227, 229-33, 239; under

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