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# APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY III



Translated by
HORACE WHITE

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APPIAN (Appianus) was a Greek official of Alexandria. He saw the Jewish rebellion of A.D.116, and later became a Roman citizen and advocate and received the rank of eques (Knight). In his older years he held a procuratorship. He died during the reign of Antoninus Pius who was emperor A.D.138-161. Honest admirer of the Roman empire though ignorant of the institutions of the earlier Roman republic, he wrote, in the simple 'common' dialect, 24 books of 'Roman affairs', in fact conquests, from the beginning to the times of Trajan (emperor A.D.98-117), arranged according to races. We have fragments of books I-V, and of VIII and IX; we have lost X and XVIII-XXIV; books VI-VII and XI-XVII are complete, and are valuable records of military history.

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES



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#### NOTE

The last two volumes of the present edition have been revised and prepared for the press by E. Iliff Robson, of Christ's College, Cambridge. The text is Viereck's recension of Mendelssohn, being the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1905, with a few unimportant changes of punctuation.



# APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY THE CIVIL WARS

# ATTIIIANOY POMAIKA

#### ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ

#### A'

#### **IIPOOIMION**

1. 'Ρωμαίοις ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλήλους περί τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἡ γῆς διαδατουμένης ἡ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐστασίασαν· οὐ μήν τι χειρῶν ἔργον ἔμφυλον ἡν, ἀλλὰ διαφοραὶ μόναι καὶ ἔριδες ἔννομοι, καὶ τάδε μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς εἴκοντες ἀλλήλοις διετίθεντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμός ποτε καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐς τοιάνδε ἔριν ἐμπεσῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὅπλοις παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐκδραμών, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληζόμενον ἱερόν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε χειρῶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτιν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἐκάλεσε δημαρχίαν ἐς κώλυσιν μάλιστα τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρουμένων μὴ ἐντελὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆ πολιτείᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶναι. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα

# THE CIVIL WARS

# BOOK I

#### INTRODUCTION

1. The plebeians and Senate of Rome were often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not, however, bring them to blows; there were dissensions merely and contests within the limits of the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for each other. Once when the plebeians were entering on a campaign they fell into a controversy of this sort, but they did not 494 use the weapons in their hands, but withdrew to the hill, which from that time on was called the Sacred Mount. Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the Tribune of the Plebs, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the Senate, so that political power should not be exclusively in their hands. From this arose still

<sup>1</sup> The Consuls were not chosen by the Senate during the republican era, but by the whole people.

δυσμενέστερον ἔτι καὶ φιλονικότερον ἐς ἀλλήλας αὶ ἀρχαὶ διετίθεντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐς αὐτὰς ἐμερίζετο ὡς ἐν ταῖς τῶνδε πλεονεξίαις ἐκάτεροι τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπικρατοῦντες. Μάρκιός τε ὁ Κοριολανὸς ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἔρισιν ἐξελαθεὶς παρὰ δίκην ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἔφυγέ τε

καὶ πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε τῆ πατρίδι.

2. Καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἄν τις εύροι τῶν πάλαι στάσεων εργον ενοπλου, και τουθ' υπ' αυτομόλου γενόμενον, ξίφος δε οὐδέν πω παρενεχθεν ές έκκλησίαν οὐδὲ φόνον ἔμφυλον, πρίν γε Τιβέριος Γράκχος δημαρχών καὶ νόμους ἐσφέρων πρώτος όδε έν στάσει ἀπώλετο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ κατά τὸ Καπιτώλιον είλούμενοι περί τὸν νεὼν άνηρέθησαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχον ἔτι αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ τωδε τω μύσει, διαιρουμένων έκάστοτε σαφώς έπ' άλλήλοις καὶ ἐγχειρίδια πολλάκις φερόντων κτιννυμένης τέ τινος άρχης έκ διαστήματος έν ίεροις ή έκκλησίαις ή άγοραις, δημάρχων ή στρατηγῶν ἢ ὑπάτων ἢ τῶν ἐς ταῦτα παραγ-γελλόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιφανῶν. ὕβρις τε ἄκοσμος ἐπεῖχεν αἰεὶ δι' ὀλίγου καὶ νόμων καὶ δίκης αισχρά καταφρόνησις. προιόντος δ' ές μέγα τοῦ κακοῦ, ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φανεραί και στρατείαι μεγάλαι και βίαιοι κατά της πατρίδος εγίγνοντο φυγάδων ανδρών ή καταδίκων ή περί άρχης τινος ή στρατοπέδου φιλονικούντων ές άλλήλους. δυναστεΐαί τε ήσαν ήδη κατά πολλά καὶ στασίαρχοι μοναρχικοί, οἱ μὲν οὐ μεθιέντες έτι τὰ πιστευθέντα σφίσιν ύπὸ τοῦ

greater bitterness, and the magistrates were arrayed R.C. in stronger animosity to each other from this time on, and the Senate and plebeians took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by augmenting the power of its own magistrates. It was in the midst of contests of this kind that Marcius Coriolanus, having been banished contrary to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war 402

against his country.

2. This is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and this was caused by an exile. The sword was never carried into the assembly, and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus, while serving as tribune 138 and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and with him many others, who were crowded together at the Capitol round the temple, were also slain. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and from time to time in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some tribune, or practor, or consul, or candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against their country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There arose chiefs of factions quite frequently, aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops entrusted to them by the people, others even hiring

δήμου στρατόπεδα, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ξενολογοῦντες. ὁπότεροι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν προλάβοιεν, τοῖς ἑτέροις ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν λόγω μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, ἔργω δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα· ἐσέβαλλον γὰρ ὡς ἐς πολεμίαν, καὶ σφαγαὶ τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἐγίγνοντο νηλεεῖς καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ θανάτω προγραφαὶ καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ δημεύσεις, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ βάσανοι πάμπαν

έπαχθείς.

3. "Εργον τε οὐδεν ἀηδες ἀπην, μέχρι τῶνδε των στασιάρχων είς έτει πεντηκοστώ μάλιστα άπὸ Γράκχου, Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ιώμενος μόναρχον αύτον απέφηνεν έπὶ πλείστον. ούς δικτάτορας εκάλουν τε καὶ επὶ ταῖς φοβερωτάταις χρείαις έξαμήνους τιθέμενοι έκ πολλοῦ διελελοίπεσαν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας βία μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκη, λόγω δ' αίρετός, ές αιεί δικτάτωρ γενόμενος όμως, έπεί τε έκορέσθη της δυναστείας, πρώτος άνδρών όδε μοι δοκεί θαρρήσαι τυραννικήν άρχην έκων αποθέσθαι καὶ ἐπειπείν, ὅτι καὶ τοίς μεμφομένοις εὐθύνας ὑφέξει, ἰδιώτης τε ὁρώντων ἀπάντων ἐς πολύ βαδίσαι κατ' άγοραν καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπαθής οίκαδε, τυσούτον ην άρα τοίς όρωσιν έτι της άρχης αὐτοῦ δέος ή της ἀποθέσεως κατάπληξις ή των εύθυνων της έπαγγελίας αίδως ή άλλη φιλανθρωπία καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τὴν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι.

\* Ωδε μεν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἔληξαν αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ

forces against each other on their own account, 133 without public authority. Whenever either side first got possession of the city, the opposition party made war nominally against their own adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it like an enemy's capital, and ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Some were proscribed, others banished, property was confiscated, and prisoners were even subjected to excru-

ciating tortures.

3. No unseemly deed was left undone until, about fifty years after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius 82 Sulla, one of these chiefs of factions, doctoring one evil with another, made himself the sole master of the state for a very long time. Such officials were formerly called dictators—an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six months only, and long since fallen into disuse. But Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated with power and was the first man, so far as I know, 82 holding supreme power, who had the courage to lay it down voluntarily and to declare that he would 79 render an account of his stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amazement at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed to call him to account, or entertained other good feeling toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been beneficial to the state.

Thus there was a cessation of factions for a short

Σύλλα, καὶ κακῶν ἀντίδοσις ἡν ὧν ὁ Σύλλας εἰργάζετο 4. μετὰ δὲ Σύλλαν αῦθις ὅμοια ἀνερριπίζετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καΐσαρ, αίρετην άρχην έπὶ πολύ δυναστεύων έν Γαλατία, της βουλής αὐτὸν άποθέσθαι κελευούσης αἰτιώμενος οὐ τὴν βουλήν, άλλα Πομπήιον, έγθρον όντα οί και στρατού περί την Ίταλίαν ηγούμενον, ώς της άρχης αὐτὸν έπιβουλεύοντα παραλύειν, προυτίθει προκλήσεις η άμφω τὰ στρατεύματα έχειν ές της έχθρας την άφοβίαν η καὶ Πομπήιον οθς έχοι μεθέντα ίδιωτεύειν ομοίως ύπο νόμοις. ου πείθων δ' ές ουδέτερα έκ Γαλατίας ήλαυνεν έπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ές την πατρίδα, έσβαλών τε ές αὐτην καὶ διώκων έκφυγόντα περί Θεσσαλίαν ένίκησε μεγάλη μάχη λαμπρώς καὶ εδίωκεν ες Αίγυπτον υποφεύγοντα. αναιρεθέντος δὲ Πομπηίου πρὸς ανδρών Αίγυπτίων έπανηλθεν ές 'Ρώμην, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον έργασάμενός τε καὶ ἐπιμείνας, μέχρι καταστήσαιτο αὐτή τοὺς βασιλέας. στασιώτην τε μέγιστον, ώ δια μεγαλουργίαν πολεμικήν Μέγας έπώνυμον ήν, ούτος δη μάλιστα πολέμου κράτει σαφώς καθελών, οὐδενὸς αὐτώ θαρροῦντος εἰς ούδεν έτι άντειπείν, δεύτερος έπὶ Σύλλα δικτάτωρ ές τὸ διηνεκές ήρέθη καὶ στάσεις αὖθις κατεπαύοντο πασαι, έστε καὶ τόνδε Βρούτος καὶ Κάσσιος ζήλφ τε της άρχης του μεγέθους καὶ πόθω της πατρίου πολιτείας έν τῷ βουλευτηρίω κατέκανον, δημοτικώτατον καὶ έμπειρότατον άρχης γενόμενον. ό γε τοι δήμος αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων

time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for the B.c evils which he had wrought, 4. but after his death similar troubles broke out and continued until Gaius Caesar, who had held the command in Gaul 49 by election for some years, when ordered by the Senate to lay down his command, excused himself on the ground that this was not the wish of the Senate, but of Pompey, his enemy, who had command of an army in Italy, and was scheming to depose him. he sent proposals that either both should retain their armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity, or that Pompey also should dismiss his forces and live as a private citizen under the laws in like manner with himself. Both suggestions being refused, he marched from Gaul against Pompey into Roman territory. entered Rome, and finding Pompey fled, pursued him into Thessaly, won a brilliant victory over him in a great battle, and followed him to Egypt. After 48 Pompey had been slain by certain Egyptians Caesar set to work on Egyptian affairs and remained there until he could settle the dynasty of that country. Then he returned to Rome. Having overpowered by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute with him about anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, envious of his great power and desiring to restore 44 the government of their fathers, slew in the Senatehouse one who had proved himself truly popular, and most experienced in the art of government. The people certainly mourned for him greatly. They

<sup>1</sup> At Pharsalus.

ἐπεπόθησε, καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐζήτουν περιιόντες καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔθαψαν ἐν ἀγορᾳ μέση καὶ νεὼν ἐπωκοδόμησαν τῆ πυρᾳ καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ.

5. Αί δὲ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῶδε μάλιστα αὖθις ἐπανελθοῦσαί τε καὶ αὐξηθεῖσαι δυνατώτατα ἐς μέγα προήλθον, καὶ φόνοι καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτω προγραφαί βουλευτών τε καί τών καλουμένων ίππέων, κατά πλήθος άθρόως έκατέρων, εγίγνοντο, τούς έγθροὺς άλλήλοις τῶν στασιωτῶν ἀντιπαρεγόντων καὶ ές τοῦτο ἀμελούντων καὶ φίλων καὶ άδελφων τοσούτον εκράτει της ες τὰ οἰκεία εύνοίας ή ές τὰ ἀντίπαλα φιλονικία. προιόντες τε την 'Ρωμαίων άρχην ώς ιδιωτικόν σφών κτημα διενείμαντο έφ' έαυτων τρείς οίδε άνδρες, Αντώνιός τε καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ ότω πρότερου μὲν 'Οκτάουιος όνομα ήν, Καίσαρι δὲ πρὸς γένους ὢν καὶ θετὸς ἐν διαθήκαις ύπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Καΐσαρ ἐκ τοῦδε μετωνομάζετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ διαιρέσει τῆδε μετὰ Βραγύ συμπεσόντες, ώς είκὸς ήν, ές άλλήλους ό Καίσαρ αὐτῶν συνέσει τε καὶ ἐμπειρία προύχων Λέπιδον μεν πρότερον αὐτῶν ἡν ἐκεκλήρωτο Λιβύην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λεπίδω καὶ ἀντώνιον πολέμω περί "Ακτιον άφείλετο την άπο Συρίας έπι κόλπον τον Ιόνιον άρχην. ἐπί τε τούτοις, μεγίστοις δή φανείσι καὶ ές έκπληξιν άπαντας έμβαλουσιν, είλε καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπιπλεύσας, ἡ χρονιωτάτη τε ην ές τότε καὶ δυνατωτάτη μετὰ 'Αλέξανδρον άρχη καὶ μόνη 'Ρωμαίοις ἔλειπεν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ώστε Σεβαστὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἔτι περιών,

scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers, buried 44 him in the middle of the forum, built a temple on the site of his funeral pyre, and offer sacrifice to

him as a god.

5. And now civil discord broke out again worse than ever and increased enormously. Massacres, 43 banishments, and proscriptions of both senators and knights took place straightway, including great numbers of both classes, the chiefs of factions surrendering their enemies to each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their friends and brothers; so much did animosity toward rivals overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepidus, and the one who was first called Octavius, but afterward Caesar from his relationship to the other Caesar and adoption in his will. Shortly after this division they fell to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Octavius, who was the superior in understanding and skill, first deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had 36 fallen to his lot, and afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from Antony all the provinces 31 lying between Syria and the Adriatic gulf. Thereupon, while all the world was filled with astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed to Egypt and took that country, which was the oldest and at that time the strongest possession of the successors of Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the Roman empire as it now stands. In immediate consequence of these exploits 27 he was, while still living, the first to be regarded by

όδε πρώτος ὀφθηναί τε 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ κληθηναι πρὸς αὐτών, αὐτός τε ἐαυτόν, ὥσπερ Γάιος καὶ ἐς τὸ δυνατώτερον ἔτι Γαίου, ἄρχοντα ἀποφηναι τῆ τε πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔθνεσιν ἄπασιν, οὐδὲν αἰρέσεως ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ προσποιήματος ἔτι δεηθείς. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγκρατοῦς τῆς ἀρχης γενομένης, ἐπιτυχὴς ἐς πάντα καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν γένος ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ διαδοχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦ-

σαν όμοίως ἐπ' ἐκείνω κατέλιπεν.

6. Ωδε μεν εκ στάσεων ποικίλων ή πολιτεία 'Ρωμαίοις ές ομόνοιαν καὶ μοναρχίαν περιέστη. ταθτα δ' όπως έγένετο, συνέγρα να καὶ συνήγαγον, άξιοθαύμαστα όντα τοις έθέλουσιν ίδειν φιλοτιμίαν ανδρών άμετρον καὶ φιλαρχίαν δεινην καρτερίαν τε άτρυτον καὶ κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίων, μάλιστα δ', ότι μοι της Αίγυπτίας συγγραφής τάδε προηγούμενα καὶ τελευτήσοντα εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναγκαῖον ἢν προαναγράψασθαι· ώδε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐλήφθη, διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν, Αντωνίφ Κλεοπάτρας συμμαχούσης. διήρηται δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πληθος ενθάδε μέν, όσα επί Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν ἀπὸ Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου, έξης δ', όσα μέχρι Γαΐου Καίσαρος της τελευτης. αί δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν, όσα οί τρείς ές άλλήλους τε καὶ 'Ρωμαίους ἔδρασαν, μέχρι τὸ τελευταίον δή τῶν στάσεων καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον, τὸ περὶ "Ακτιον Καίσαρι πρὸς "Αντώνιον όμοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτραν γενόμενον, άρχη καὶ της Αίγυπτιακης συγγραφης έσται.

the Romans as 'august,' 1 and to be called by them a Ca". Augustus.' He assumed to himself an authority like Caesar's over the country and the subject nations, and even greater than Caesar's, no longer needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government proved both lasting and masterful, and being himself successful in all things and dreaded by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him.

6. Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into harmony and monarchy. To show how these things came about I have written and compiled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearving perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. And it is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and will end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony. On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, first taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; next, those that followed to the death of Caesar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, up to the grand climax of these conflicts, the battle of Actium fought by Octavius Caesar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The title "Augustus" definitely connoted monarchical power. We might paraphrase "as His Majesty."

1

CAP. 7. 'Ρωμαΐοι την 'Ιταλίαν πολέμω κατά μέρη, χειρούμενοι γης μέρος ελάμβανον καὶ πόλεις ένωκιζον ή ές τὰς πρότερον οὔσας κληρούχους ἀπὸ σφων κατέλεγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀντὶ φρουρίων έπενόουν, της δὲ γης της δορικτήτου σφίσιν έκάστοτε γιγνομένης την μεν έξειργασμένην αὐτίκα τοίς οἰκιζομένοις ἐπιδιήρουν ἡ ἐπίπρασκον ἡ έξεμίσθουν, την δ' άργον έκ του πολέμου τότε οὖσαν, ἡ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπλήθυεν, οὐκ ἄγοντές πω σχολην διαλαχείν επεκήρυττον εν τοσώδε τοίς έθέλουσιν έκπονείν έπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, δεκάτη μεν των σπειρομένων, πέμπτη δε των φυτευομένων. ώριστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς προβατεύουσι τέλη μειζόνων τε καὶ έλαττόνων ζώων. καὶ τάδε έπραττον ές πολυανδρίαν τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους, φερεπονωτάτου σφίσιν οφθέντος, ίνα συμμάχους οἰκείους έχοιεν. ές δὲ τοὐναντίον αὐτοῖς περιήει. οί γὰρ πλούσιοι τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμήτου γῆς τὴν πολλήν καταλαβόντες καὶ χρόνω θαρρούντες ού τινα σφας έτι αφαιρήσεσθαι τά τε αγχοῦ σφίσιν όσα τε ην άλλα βραχέα πενήτων, τὰ μὲν ώνούμενοι πειθοί, τὰ δὲ βία λαμβάνοντες, πεδία μακρὰ ἀντὶ χωρίων έγεώργουν, ώνητοις ές αὐτὰ γεωργοίς καὶ ποιμέσι χρώμενοι τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας περισπᾶν, φερούσης μα καὶ τῆσδε τῆς κτήσεως αὐτοῖς πολύ κέρδος ἐκ

I

7. THE Romans, as they subdued the Italian CHAP. peoples successively in war, used to seize a part of The Roman their lands and build towns there, or enrol colonists The Romain of their own to occupy those already existing, and their idea was to use these as outposts; 1 but of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to the colonists, or sold or leased it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a toll of the yearly crops, a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a toll of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of peoples, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, absorbing any adjacent strips and their poor neighbours' allotments, partly by purchase under persuasion and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using slaves as labourers and herdsmen, lest free labourers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. At the same time the ownership of slaves brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because

<sup>1</sup> Appian is neither clear nor convincing here. He seems to confuse war-colonies and peace-colonies, those founded as 'propugnacula' and those which grew up on conquered territory.

ΟΑΡ. πολυπαιδίας θεραπόντων ἀκινδύνως αὐξομένων διὰ τὰς ἀστρατείας. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ πάμπαν ἐπλούτουν, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων γένος ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπλήθυε, τοὺς δ' Ἰταλιώτας ὀλιγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμβανε, τρυχομένους πενία τε καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ στρατείαις. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσειαν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ ἀργίας διετίθεντο, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἐχομένης καὶ γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θεράπουσιν ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων.

8. Ἐφ΄ οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσφόρει μὲν ὡς οὔτε συμμάχων ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔτι εὐπορήσων οὔτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ γενησομένης ἀκινδύνου διὰ πλῆθος τοσόνδε θεραπόντων διόρθωσιν δ' οὐκ ἐπινοοῦντες, ὡς οὐδὲ ράδιον ὃν οὐδὲ πάντη δίκαιον ἄνδρας τοσούσδε ἐκ τοσοῦδε χρόνου κτῆσιν τοσήνδε ἀφελέσθαι φυτῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς, μόλις ποτὲ τῶν δημάρχων εἰσηγουμένων ἔκριναν μηδένα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα μηδὲ προβατεύειν έκατὸν πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἐλευθέρων ἔχειν ἐπέταξαν, οἱ τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάξειν τε καὶ μηνύσειν ἔμελλον.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε νόμω περιλαβόντες ἐπώμοσαν ἐπὶ τῷ νόμω καὶ ζημίαν ὥρισαν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν λοιπὴν γῆν αὐτίκα τοῖς πένησι κατ ὀλίγον διαπεπράσεσθαι φροντὶς δ' οὐδεμία ἢν οὕτε τῶν νόμων οὕτε τῶν ὅρκων, ἀλλ' οἵτινες καὶ ἐδόκουν φροντίσαι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπὶ ὑποκρίσει

they were exempt from military service. Thus char certain powerful men became extremely rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

8. For these reasons the people became troubled lest they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and lest the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. As they did not perceive any remedy, for it was not easy, nor in any way just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, a B.C. 307 law was at last passed with difficulty at the instance The Licinof the tribunes, that nobody should hold more than ian Law 500 jugera 1 of this land, 2 or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that there should be

Having thus comprehended all this in a law, they took an oath over and above the law, and fixed penalties for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater

a certain number of freemen employed on the farms, whose business it should be to watch and

report what was going on.

<sup>1</sup> About 330 acres

<sup>&</sup>quot; Of this land" (ager publicus), not land in general.

CAP. διένεμον, οι δὲ πολλοὶ τέλεον κατεφρόνουν, 9. μέχρι Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος, ἀνήρ έπιφανής καὶ λαμπρός ές φιλοτιμίαν είπεῖν τε δυνατώτατος καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε ὁμοῦ πάντων γνωριμώτατος άπασι, δημαρχων έσεμνολόγησε περί τοῦ 'Ιταλικού γένους ώς εύπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγγενούς, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ ολιγανδρίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντος ἐς διόρθωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνας ὡς άστρατεύτω καὶ ούποτε ές δεσπότας πιστώ, τὸ έναγχος επήνεγκεν εν Σικελία δεσποτών πάθος ύπο θεραπόντων γενόμενον, ηθξημένων κάκείνων άπὸ γεωργίας, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον οὐ ράδιον οὐδὲ βραχύν, ἀλλὰ ἔς τε μῆκος χρόνου καὶ τροπὰς κινδύνων ποικίλας ἐκτραπέντα. ταθτα δὲ εἰπων ἀνεκαίνιζε τὸν νόμον μηδένα των πεντακοσίων πλέθρων πλέον έχειν. παισί δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσετίθει τὰ ημίσεα τούτων καὶ την λοιπην τρείς αίρετους άνδρας, έναλλασσομένους κατ' έτος, διανέμειν τοίς πένησι.

10. Τοῦτο δ' ην, δ μάλιστα ηνώχλει τοὺς πλουσίους, οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ὡς πρότερον τοῦ νόμου καταφρονεῖν διὰ τοὺς διαιροῦντας οὐδὲ ὡνεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν κληρουμένων ὁ γάρ τοι Γράκχος καὶ τόδε προϊδόμενος ἀπηγόρευε μὴ πωλεῖν. συνιστάμενοι δὴ κατὰ μέρος ὡλοφύροντο καὶ προύφερον τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχαῖά τε ἔργα

part disregarded it altogether, 9. till at length CHAP. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an illustrious man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for B.C. 193 these reasons well known to all, delivered an eloquent tan Law of discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Tiberius Gracchua Italian race, lamenting that a people so valiant in war, and related in blood to the Romans, were declining little by little into pauperism and paucity of numbers without any hope of remedy. He inveighed against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and adduced the recent calamity brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily, where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of vicissitudes and dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than the 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by three elected commissioners,2 who should be changed annually.

10. This was extremely disturbing to the rich Struggle because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no over its longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracehus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made lamentation, and accused the poor of appropriating

2 Triumviri agris dividendis.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the slave rebellion in 135.

CAP. έαυτων καὶ φυτά καὶ οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τιμὴν ἔνιοι δεδομένην γείτοσιν, εί καὶ τήνδε μετά της γης άπολέσουσι, τάφους τε ένιοι πατέρων έν τη γη καί διαιρέσεις έπὶ τοῖς κλήροις ώς πατρώοις, οί δὲ καὶ προίκας γυναικών ές ταθτα άνηλωμένας ή την γην παισίν έμπροίκιον δεδομένην, δανεισταί τε χρέα καὶ ταύτης ἐπεδείκνυον, καὶ ἄκοσμος ἡν ὅλως οίμωνη καὶ ἀγανάκτησις. οί δ' αὖ πένητες ἀντωδύροντο έξ εὐπορίας ές πενίαν ἐσχάτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτης ες άγονίαν, οὐ δυνάμενοι παιδοτροφείν, περιφέρεσθαι. στρατείας τε όσας στρατεύσαιντο την γην τήνδε περιποιούμενοι, κατέλεγον καὶ ηγανάκτουν, εὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποστερήσονται, ωνείδιζον τε αμα αὐτοῖς αίρουμένοις ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ πολιτών καὶ στρατιωτών θεράποντας, ἄπιστον έθνος καὶ δυσμενες αἰεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀστράτευτον. τοιαῦθ' έκατέρων όδυρομένων τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικαλούντων, πλήθος άλλο, όσον έν ταίς αποίκοις πόλεσιν ή ταις ισοπολίτισιν ή άλλως εκοινώνει τησδε της γης, δεδιότες όμοίως επήεσαν καί ές έκατέρους αὐτῶν διεμερίζοντο. πλήθει τε θαρρούντες έξετραχύνοντο καὶ στάσεις έξάπτοντες άμέτρους την δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νόμου περιέμενον, οί μεν ώς ούδενὶ τρόπω συγχωρήσοντες αὐτὸν γενέσθαι κύριον, οί δ' ώς κυρώσοντες έξ άπαντος.

the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their CHAP. dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbours. Were they to lose the B.C. 188 money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Moneylenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor-that they were being reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-disposed and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were thus lamenting and indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or persons otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other they kindled considerable disturbances, and waited eagerly for the voting on the new law, some intending to prevent its enactment by all means, and others to enact it at all costs. In addition to personal interest the spirit of

καὶ ἐς τὴν κυρίαν ἡμέραν παρασκευὴ κατ' ἀλλήλων.

11. Γράκχω δ' ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ βουλεύματος ἦν οὐκ ἐς εὐπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς εὐανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου τη ωφελεία μάλιστα αίωρούμενος, ως ού τι μείζον ούδε λαμπρότερον δυναμένης ποτε παθείν της Ίταλίας, τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸ δυσχεροῦς οὐδὲν ἐνεθυμεῖτο. ένστάσης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα προείπεν έπαγωγά καὶ μακρά, διηρώτα δ' έπ' έκεινοις, εί δίκαιον τὰ κοινὰ κοινή διανέμεσθαι καὶ εἰ γνησιώτερος αἰεὶ θεράποντος ὁ πολίτης καὶ γρησιμώτερος ο στρατιώτης ἀπολέμου καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐνούστερος ὁ κοινωνός. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δὲ την σύγκρισιν ώς άδοξον ἐπενεγκών αθθις ἐπήει τας της πατρίδος έλπίδας και φόβους διεξιών, ότι πλείστης γης έκ πολέμου βία κατέχοντες καὶ την λοιπην της οικουμένης χώραν έν έλπίδι έχοντες κινδυνεύουσιν έν τώδε περί άπάντων, ή κτήσασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δι' εὐανδρίαν ἢ καὶ τάδε δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ φθόνον ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀφαιρεθηναι. ὧν τοῦ μὲν την δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ φόβον ύπερεπαίρων έκέλευε τούς πλουσίους ένθυμουμένους ταθτα ἐπιδόσιμον, εἰ δέοι, παρὰ σφων αὐτων τήνδε την γην είς τὰς μελλούσας έλπίδας τοῖς παιδοτροφοῦσι χαρίσασθαι καὶ μή,

rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they CHAP. were making against each other for the appointed day.

11. What Gracehus had in his mind in proposing Public the measure was not money, but men. Inspired of Gracehus greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to let the commons divide the common property; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans possessed most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world; but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he admonished the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these hopes they ought to bestow this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not,

CAP. ἐν ῷ περὶ μικρῶν διαφέρονται, τῶν πλεόνων ὑπεριδεῖν, μισθὸν ἄμα τῆς πεπονημένης ἐξεργασίας αὐτάρκη φερομένους τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἄνευ τιμῆς κτῆσιν ἐς αἰεὶ βέβαιον ἑκάστφ πεντακοσίων πλέθρων, καὶ παισίν, οἷς εἰσὶ παῖδες, ἑκάστφ καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὁ Γράκχος εἰπὼν τούς τε πένητας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι λογισμῷ μᾶλλον ἡ πόθφ κτήσεως ἐχρῶντο, ἐρεθίσας ἐκέλευε

τῶ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον ἀναγνῶναι.

12. Μάρκος δ' 'Οκτάουιος δήμαρχος έτερος, ύπο των κτηματικών διακωλύειν παρεσκευασμένος, καὶ ὢν ἀεὶ παρὰ 'Ρωμαίοις ὁ κωλύων δυνατώτερος. έκέλευε τον γραμματέα σιγάν. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτῶ πολλά μεμψάμενος ο Γράκχος ές την έπιουσαν άγοραν ανέθετο . . . φυλακήν τε παραστησάμενος ίκανην ώς καὶ άκοντα βιασόμενος 'Οκτάουιον έκέλευε σύν ἀπειλη τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸ πλήθος αναγινώσκειν. καὶ ανεγίνωσκε καὶ 'Οκταουίου κωλύοντος ἐσιώπα. λοιδοριῶν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ές άλλήλους γενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου θορυβούντος ίκανως, οί δυνατοί τούς δημάρχους ηξίουν επιτρέψαι τη βουλή, περί ων διαφέρονται, καὶ ὁ Γράκχος άρπάσας τὸ λεχθέν, ὡς δη πᾶσι τοίς εθ φρονούσιν αρέσοντος τοθ νόμου, διέτρεχεν ές το βουλευτήριον. ἐκεῖ δ' ώς ἐν ολίγοις ὑβριζόμενος ύπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, αὖθις ἐκδραμῶν εἰς τὴν άγοραν έφη διαψήφισιν προθήσειν ές την έπιουσαν άγορὰν περί τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ὁκταουίου, εἰ χρὴ δήμαρχον ἀντιπράττοντα τῷ

by contending about small things, overlook larger CHAP. ones; especially since for any labour they had spent they were receiving ample compensation in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son in the case of those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the clerk to read the proposed law.

12. Marcus Octavius, however, another tribune, The tribune who had been induced by those in possession of the Octavius vetoes the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans bill the negative veto always defeats an affirmative proposal), ordered the clerk to keep silence. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day.1 Then he stationed near himself a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the clerk with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again forbade he stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. But, as he had only a few followers there and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the official rights of Octavius, to deter-

<sup>1</sup> There is probably a gap in the text here.

ΟΑΡ. δήμω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέχειν. καὶ ἔπραξεν οὕτως· ἐπείτε γὰρ Ὁκτάουιος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεὶς αὖθις ἐνίστατο, ὁ δὲ προτέραν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου.

Καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς καταψηφισαμένης τὴν άρχην τον 'Οκτάουιον ἀποθέσθαι, ἐπιστραφείς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Γράκχος ἐδεῖτο μεταθέσθαι. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ψήφους ἐπῆγεν. οὐσῶν δὲ τότε φυλών πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ συνδραμουσῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σὺν ὀργῆ τῶν προτέρων έπτακαίδεκα, ή μεν οκτωκαιδεκάτη το κύρος ἔμελλεν ἐπιθήσειν, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος αὖθις, ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου, τότε μάλιστα κινδυνεύοντι τῷ Ὁκταουίω λιπαρώς ενέκειτο μη έργον οσιώτατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον Ίταλία πάση συγχέαι μηδέ σπουδήν τοῦ δήμου τοσήνδε ἀνατρέψαι, ὧ τι καὶ παρενδοῦναι προθυμουμένω δήμαρχον όντα ήρμοζε, καὶ μη αύτου την άρχην άφαιρουμένην περιιδείν έπὶ καταγνώσει. καὶ τάδε λέγων καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρό-μενος ἄκων ἄνδρα σύναρχον ἀτιμοῦν, ώς οὐκ έπειθεν, ἐπῆγε τὴν ψῆφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν 'Οκτάουιος αὐτίκα ἰδιώτης γενόμενος διαλαθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε, Κόιντος δὲ Μούμμιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δήμαρχος ἡρεῖτο, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυροῦτο.

13. Διανέμειν τε αὐτὴν ἐκεχειροτόνηντο πρῶτοι Γράκχος αὐτός, ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνου καὶ ὸς ἐκήδευε τῷ νομοθέτη Κλαύδιος "Αππιος, πάνυ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὡς δεδιότος, μὴ τὸ ἔργον ἐκλειφθείη τοῦ νόμου, εἰ μὴ Γράκχος αὐτοῦ σὺν ὅλη τῆ οἰκία κατάρχοιτο. Γράκχος δὲ

mine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to CHAP. the people's interest could continue to hold office. And this Gracehus did; for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus proposed to take the vote on him first.

When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracehus turned to him and begged him to desist from his veto. As he would not yield. he took the votes of the other tribes. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first passionately supported the motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Graechus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent a work which was most righteous and useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods Gracchus to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to deposes him his colleague. As Octavius was still unvielding he went on taking the vote. Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved. Quintus Mummius was chosen tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted.

13. The first triumvirs appointed to divide the The bill land were Gracehus himself, the proposer of the law, passed his brother of the same name,1 and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should take the lead with his whole family. Gracchus

<sup>1</sup> Gaius Gracchus, at this time 20 years of age.

CAP. μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους οἰα δὴ κτίστης οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ ἑνὸς γένους, ἀλλὰ πάντων, ὅσα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔθνη, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν παρεπέμπετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν κεκρατηκότες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀνεχώρουν, ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐληλύθεσαν, οἱ δ' ἡσσημένοι δυσφοροῦντες ἔτι παρέμενον καὶ ἐλογοποίουν οὐ χαιρήσειν Γράκχον, αὐτίκα ὅτε γένοιτο ἰδιώτης, ἀρχήν τε ὑβρίσαντα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ στάσεως τοσήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβαλόντα.

#### II

CAP. 14. Θέρος δ' ην ήδη καὶ προγραφαὶ δημάρχων ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι τῆς χειροτονίας πλησιαζούσης ἔνδηλοι σαφῶς ῆσαν ἐσπουδακότες ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς μάλιστα Γράκχῳ πολεμίοις. ὁ δ' ἐγγὺς τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένου δείσας, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔσοιτο δήμαρχος, συνεκάλει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀσχολουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἐν θέρει, συνελαυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς προθεσμίας ὀλίγης ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἔτι οὔσης ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἄστει δῆμον κατέφευγε, καὶ περιιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἑκάστων ἐδεῖτο δήμαρχον αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑλέσθαι, κινδυνεύοντα δι' ἐκείνους. γιγνομένης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας δύο μὲν ἔφθασαν αὶ πρῶται φυλαὶ Γράκχον ἀποφῆναι, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων ἐνισταμένων οὐκ ἔννομον εἶναι δὶς ἐφεξῆς τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν καὶ 'Ρουβρίου δημάρχου τοῦ

became immensely popular by reason of the law and CHAP. was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling aggrieved, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, and had sown in Italy so many seeds of future strife.

#### 11

14. It was now summer, and the election of chap. It tribunes was imminent. As the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich had earnestly promoted the election of those most election of inimical to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be re-elected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the election, but as they were occupied with harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he was incurring for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes pronounced for Gracchus. The rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to

20

CAP. προεστάναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης διειληχότος ἐ ἐνδοιάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, Μούμμιος αὐτόν, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Τος Ὁ Οκταουίῳ δημαρχεῖν ἡρημένος, ἐκέλευεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτρέψαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι περὶ τῆς ἐπιστασίας ήξίουν ἀνακληροῦσθαι. 'Ρουβρίου γὰρ τοῦ λαχόντος ἐκστάντος αῦθις ἐς ἄπαντας τὴν διακλήρωσιν περιιέναι. ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε πολλῆς γενομένης ὁ Γράκχος ἐλταττούμενος τὴν μὲν χειροτονίαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀνέθετο, πάντα δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἐμελανειμόνει τε ἔτι ὢν ἔναρχος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀγορᾶ τὸν υίὸν ἐπάγων ἑκάστοις συνίστη καὶ παρετίθετο ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ

των έχθρων αὐτίκα ἀπολούμενος.

15. Οἶκτου δὲ πολλοῦ σὺν λογισμῷ τοὺς πένητας ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ὑπέρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἰσονόμῷ πολιτευσόντων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ δουλευσύντων κατὰ κράτος τοῖς πλουσίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γράκχου, τοιαῦτα δεδιότος τε καὶ πάσχοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, σύν τε οἰμωγῃ προπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκιαν ἑσπέρας καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐπικελευόντων, ἀναθαρρήσας ὁ Γράκχος ἔτι νυκτὸς τοὺς στασιώτας συναγαγὼν καὶ σημεῖον, εἰ καὶ μάχης δεήσειεν, ὑποδείξας κατέλαβε τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὸν νεών, ἔνθα χειροτονήσειν ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, οὐκ ἐώντων ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν, ἀνέσχε τὸ σημεῖον. καὶ βοῆς ἄφνω παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων γενομένης χεῖρές τε ἦσαν ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ τῶν Γρακχείων οἰ

preside over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and CHAP. Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to hand over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saving that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again by all. As there was much strife over this question. Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he went about in black, though still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each man and committed him to their charge, as if he himself felt that death, at the hands of his enemies, were at hand.

15. The poor when they had time to think were moved with deep sorrow, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free estate under equal laws, but would be reduced to servitude by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who was in such fear and torment in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to his house in the evening, and bade him be of good courage for the morrow. Gracehus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed if there were need for fighting. He then took possession of Riot on the the temple on the Capitoline hill, where the voting Capitoline was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who knew of it, and violence followed. Some of the

CAP. μèν αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττον οἶά τινες δορυφόροι, οί δὲ τὰ 
ἴμάτια διαζωσάμενοι, ράβδους καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν 
χερσὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀρπάσαντές τε καὶ διακλάσαντες ἐς πολλά, τοὺς πλουσίους ἐξήλαυνον ἀπὸ 
τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σὺν τοσῷδε ταράχω καὶ τραύμασιν, ὡς τούς τε δημάρχους δείσαντας διαφυγεῖν 
ἐκ μέσου, καὶ τὸν νεὼν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπικλεῖσαι, 
δρόμον τε πολλῶν ἄκοσμον εἶναι καὶ φυγὴν καὶ 
λόγον οὐκ ἀκριβῆ, τῶν μὲν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 
δημάρχους ὁ Γράκχος παραλύσειε τῆς ἀρχῆς (οὐ 
γὰρ ὁρωμένων αὐτῶν εἴκαζον οὕτως), τῶν δ᾽ ὅτι 
αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον δήμαρχον ἄνευ χειρο-

τονίας ἀποφαίνοι.

16. Γυγνομένων δὲ τούτων ή βουλή συνήλθεν είς τὸ τῆς Πίστεως ἱερόν. καί μοι θαθμα καταφαίνεται τὸ πολλάκις ἐν τοιοῖσδε φόβοις διὰ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διασεσωσμένους τότε μηδ' έπὶ νοῦν τὸν δικτάτορα λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησιμώτατον τοίς προτέροις τόδε τὸ ἔργον εύρεθὲν μηδ' έν μνήμη τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄρα γενέσθαι μήτε τότε μήθ' ὕστερον. κρίναντες δ' ὅσα ἔκριναν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνήεσαν. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς ὁ μέγιστος ἀρχιερεὺς λεγόμενος ἐξῆρχε τῆς ὁδοῦ, Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐβόα τε μέγιστον επεσθαί οἱ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ίματίου ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν περιεσύρατο, είτε τῷ παρασήμω τοῦ σχήματος πλέονας οι συντρέχειν επισπώμενος, είτε πολέμου τι σύμβολον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ὡς κόρυθα ποιούμενος, είτε θεούς εγκαλυπτόμενος ων εμελλε δράσειν. ανελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς Γρακχείοις ἐπιδραμόντι είξαν μεν ώς κατ' άξίωσιν άνδρι άρίστω,

partisans of Graechus took position around him like CHAP. body-guards. Others, having girded up their cloaks, seized the fasces and staves in the hands of the lictors and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumours. Some said that Graechus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was believed because none of them could be seen. Others said that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.

16. In these circumstances the Senate assembled at the temple of Fides. It is astonishing to me that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril; but a resource which had been found most useful in former times was never even recollected by the people, either then or later. After reaching such decision as they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save our country follow me." He wound the border of his toga about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who saw it, or in order to conceal himself from the gods on account of what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracehus they yielded out of regard for so excellent a citizen, and because they observed the

CAP. καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἄμα οἱ θεωροῦντες ἐπιοῦσαν οἱ δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῶν Γρακχείων αὐτῶν περισπάσαντες, ὅσα τε βάθρα καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνενήνεκτο διελόντες, ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα κατερρίπτουν. κἀν τῷδε τῷ κυδοιμῷ πολλοί τε τῶν Γρακχείων καὶ Γράκχος αὐτός, εἰλούμενος περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὰς θύρας παρὰ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδριάντας. καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς ἐξέρριψαν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

17. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ δὶς ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ Κορνηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφελομένου παῖς, ἀρίστου βουλεύματος ἔνεκα, βιαίως αὐτῷ προσιών, ἀνήρητο ἔτι δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τόδε μύσος γενόμενον οὐ διέλιπεν, αἰεί τινος ὁμοίου γιγνομένου παρὰ μέρος. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Γράκχου φόνῳ διήρητο ἐς λύπην καὶ ἡδονήν, οἱ μὲν οἰκτείροντες αὐτούς τε κἀκεῖνον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὡς οὐκέτι πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ χειροκρατίαν καὶ βίαν, οἱ δὶ ἐξειργάσθαι σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι πᾶν, ὅσον ἐβούλοντο.

III

CAP. 18. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν, ὅτε ᾿Αριστόνικος ὙΘωμαίοις περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμει τῆς ἐν ᾿Ασία ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Ὑράκχου καὶ τελευτήσαντος ᾿Αππίου Κλαυδίου, ἀντικαθίστανται μὲν ἐς τὸ τὴν γῆν ἅμα

Senators following with him. The latter wresting CHAP. their clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or breaking up benches and other furniture that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the precipice. In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself, vainly circling round the temple, was slain at the door Death of close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies

were thrown by night into the Tiber.

17. So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of that Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who robbed Carthage of her supremacy. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design too violently pursued; and this abominable crime, the first that was perpetrated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that their dearest wishes were accomplished.

#### III

18. These things took place at the time when CHAP. Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia; but after Gracchus was slain and Appius Claudius died, Fulvius Flaccus and

Appian seems to mean not the slopes of the Capitoline
 Hill but the Tarpeian rock. He evidently exaggerates.
 Or "huddled up near the temple" of Jupiter Capitolinus.

CAP. τῷ νεωτέρῳ Γράκχῳ διανέμειν Φούλβιος Φλάκκος καὶ Παπίριος Κάρβων, ἀμελούντων δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτὴν ἀπογράφεσθαι κατηγόρους ἐκήρυττον ένδεικνύναι. καὶ ταχὺ πλήθος ἢν δικῶν χαλεπῶν. όση γαρ άλλη πλησιάζουσα τήδε ἐπέπρατο ή τοίς συμμάχοις ἐπιδιήρητο, διὰ τὸ τῆσδε μέτρον έξητάζετο άπασα, όπως τε έπέπρατο καὶ όπως έπιδιήρητο, ούτε τὰ συμβόλαια ούτε τὰς κληρουγίας ἔτι ἐχόντων άπάντων à δὲ καὶ εύρίσκετο, άμφίλογα ην. άναμετρουμένης τε αὐτης οἱ μὲν έκ πεφυτευμένης καὶ ἐπαύλεων ἐς ψιλὴν μετετίθεντο, οί δ' έξ ένεργων ές άργον η λίμνας ή τέλματα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπὶ δορικτήτοις άκριβή πεποιημένοι. καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, τὴν ἀνέμητον έξεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα προλέγον, ἐπῆρε πολλούς τὰ πλησίον ἐκπονοῦντας τὴν ἑκατέρας όψιν συγχέαι χρόνος τε έπελθων ένεόχμωσε πάντα. καὶ τὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀδίκημα καίπερ ὅν μέγα δυσεπίγνωστον ην. καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἡ πάντων άνάστασις έγίγνετο μεταφερομένων τε καὶ μετοικιζομένων ές άλλότρια.

19. Ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπείξεις οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλιῶται Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, δς Καγχηδόνα ἐπόρθησεν, 36

Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with CHAP. the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the III persons in possession neglected to hand in lists of Litigation their holdings, a proclamation was issued that Law of Gracehus informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field adjoining an old one had been bought, or divided among the allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the land having originally been so much loot, the survey had never been carefully done. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of demarcation between public and private had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although great, was not easy to ascertain. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settling down in other people's.

19. The Italian allies who complained of these B.C. 129 disturbances, and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the

CAP. ἠξίουν προστάτην σφῶν ἀδικουμένων γενέσθαι. ό δ' ές τους πολέμους αὐτοῖς κεχρημένος προθυμοτάτοις ύπεριδείν τε ώκνησε καὶ παρελθών είς τὸ βουλευτήριον τον μεν Γράκχου νόμον οὐκ ἔψεγε διὰ τὸν δήμον σαφώς, τὴν δὲ τοῦδε δυσγέρειαν έπεξιων ήξίου τὰς δίκας οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν διαιρούντων ώς υπόπτων τοις δικαζομένοις, άλλ' έφ' έτέρων λέγεσθαι. Εδή και μάλιστα έπεισεν, είναι δοκοῦντι δικαίω· καὶ Τουδιτανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπατεύων έδόθη δικάζειν. άλλ' όδε μεν άψάμενος τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἰδων ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐστράτευε, πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος τοῦ μη δικάζειν οί δὲ την γην διανέμοντες, ούκ απαντώντος ές αὐτοὺς ούδενος ές δίκην, έπὶ ἀργίας ήσαν. καὶ μίσος έντεθθεν ήρξατο είς τον Σκιπίωνα τοθ δήμου καὶ άγανάκτησις, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπιφθόνως καὶ πολλά τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἐναντιωθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὕπατόν τε δὶς έλόμενοι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀντιπεπραχότα σφίσιν έώρων. ταῦτα δ', όσοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ήσαν έχθροί, κατιδόντες έβόων, ώς λέσαι τον Γράκχου νόμον όλως διεγνωκώς μέλλοι πολύν ἐπὶ τῶδε ἔνοπλον φόνον εργάσασθαι.

20. \* Ων ὁ δημος ἀκροώμενος ἐδεδίει, μέχρις ὁ Σκυπίων, ἐσπέρας παραθέμενος ἐαυτῷ δέλτον, εἰς ἢν νυκτὸς ἔμελλε γράψειν τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐν τῷ δήμω, νεκρὸς ἄνευ τραύματος εὐρέθη, εἴτε Κορνηλίας αὐτῷ, τῆς Γράκχου μητρός, ἐπιθεμένης, ἵνα μὴ ὁ νόμος ὁ Γράκχου λυθείη, καὶ συλλαβούσης ἐς τοῦτο Σεμπρωνίας τῆς θυγατρός, ἢ τῷ

destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these CHAP. grievances. As he had availed himself of their very zealous support in war he was reluctant to disregard Aemilianus their request. So he came into the Senate, and assists the Allies although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and urged that these causes should not to be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be assigned to other courts. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took up the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they remained idle. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw a man, in whose favour they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against themselves. When Scipio's enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and for that end was about to inaugurate armed strife aud bloodshed.

20. When the people heard these charges they His mysterwere in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing ious death near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who though

CAP. Σκιπίωνι γαμουμένη διὰ δυσμορφίαν καὶ ἀπαιδίαν οὕτ' ἐστέργετο οὕτ' ἔστεργεν, εἴθ', ὡς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐκὼν ἀπέθανε συνιδών, ὅτι οὐκ ἔσοιτο δυνατὸς κατασχεῖν ὧν ὑπόσχοιτο. εἰσὶ δ' οῖ βασανιζομένους φασὶ θεράποντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ξένοι δι' ὀπισθοδόμου νυκτὸς ἐπεισαχθέντες ἀποπνίξαιεν καὶ οἱ πυθόμενοι ὀκνήσαιεν ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὀργιζόμενον ἔτι καὶ τῷ θανάτῷ συνηδόμενον.

Σκιπίων μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει καὶ οὐδὲ δημοσίας ταφῆς ήξιοῦτο, μέγιστα δὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡφελήσας οὕτως ἡ παραυτίκα ὀργὴ τῆς ποτὲ χάριτος ἐπικρατεί. καὶ τόδε ὂν τηλικοῦτον οἰα πάρεργον

έπὶ τῆ Γράκχου στάσει συνέπεσε.

21. Την δε διαίρεσιν της γης οι κεκτημένοι καὶ ως ἐπὶ προφάσεσι ποικίλαις διέφερον ἐπὶ πλείστον. καὶ τινες εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς συμμάχους ἄπαντας, οὶ δὴ περὶ τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον, εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἀναγράψαι, ὡς μείζονι χάριτι περὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ διοισομένους. καὶ ἐδέχοντο ἄσμενοι τοῦθ' οἱ Ἰταλιῶται, προτιθέντες τῶν χωρίων τὴν πολιτείαν. συνέπρασσέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων Φούλβιος Φλάκκος, ὑπατεύων ἄμα καὶ τὴν γῆν διανέμων. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐχαλέπαινε, τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἰσοπολίτας εἰ ποιήσονται.

Καὶ τόδε μὲν τὸ ἐγχείρημα οὕτω διελύθη, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐλπίδι τέως τῆς γῆς γενόμενος ἤθύμει·

married to Scipio was both unloved and unloving CHAP. because she was deformed and childless), lest the law of Gracchus should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves under torture testified that unknown persons were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death.

So died Scipio, and although he had been of B.C. 120 extreme service to the Roman power he was not even honoured with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as a mere incident of the sedition

of Gracehus.

21. Even after these events those who were in possession of the lands postponed the division on various pretexts for a very long time. Some proposed that all the Italian allies, who made the greatest resistance to it, should be admitted to Roman citizenship so that, out of gratitude for the greater favour, they might no longer quarrel about the land. The Italians were ready to accept this, because they preferred Roman citizenship to possession of the fields. Fulvius Flaccus, who was then both consul B.C. 125 and triumvir, exerted himself to the utmost to bring it about, but the senators were angry at the thought of making their subjects equal citizens with themselves.

For this reason the attempt was abandoned, and 1.0.124 the populace, who had been so long in the hope of

CAP. ὁδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀσπάσιος ἐκ τῶν τὴν γῆν διαιρούντων ἐς δημαρχίαν ἐπιφαίνεται Γάιος Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ νομοθέτου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἡσυχάσας ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συμφορῷ πολλῶν δ' αὐτοῦ καταφρονούντων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, παρήγγειλεν ἐς δημαρχίαν. καὶ περιφανέστατα αἰρεθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῆ βουλῆ, σιτηρέσιον ἔμμηνον ὁρίσας ἐκάστῳ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς διαδίδοσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀξέως οὕτως ἐνὶ πολιτεύματι τὸν δῆμον ὑπηγάγετο, συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ Φουλβίου Φλάκκου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ῆρητο δημαρχεῖν καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη νόμος κεκύρωτο, εἰ δήμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις, τὸν δῆμον ἐκ πάντων ἐπ:λέγεσθαι.

22. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Γάιος Γράκχος οὕτως ἐδημάρχει τὸ δεύτερον οἶα δ' ἔχων τὸν δῆμον ἔμμισθον, ὑπήγετο καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας, οὶ τὴν ἀξίωσίν εἰσι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐν μέσφ, δι ἐτέρου τοιοῦδε πολιτεύματος. τὰ δικαστήρια, ἀδοξοῦντα ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις, ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν μετέφερε, τὰ ὑπόγυα μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι Αὐρήλιος Κόττας καὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ τρίτος ἐπὶ τούτοις Μάνιος ᾿Λκύλιος, ὁ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἐλών, σαφῶς δεδωροδοκηκότες ἀφεῖντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικασάντων, οἴ τε πρέσβεις οἱ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔτι παρόντες σὺν φθόνφ ταῦτα περιιόντες ἐκεκράγεσαν. ἄπερ ἡ βουλὴ

acquiring land, became disheartened. While they CHAP. were in this mood Gaius Gracchus, who had made III himself agreeable to them as a triumvir, offered Gaius Gracchus himself for the tribuneship. He was the younger elected brother of Tiberius Gracchus, the promoter of the law, and had been quiet for some time after his brother's death, but since many of the senators treated him scornfully he announced himself as a candidate for the office of tribune. Being elected with flying colours he began to lay plots against the Senate, and made the unprecedented suggestion that a monthly distribution of corn should be made to each citizen at the public expense. Thus he quickly got the leadership of the people by one political measure, in which he had the cooperation of Fulvius Flaccus. Directly after that he was chosen tribune for the following year, for in cases where there was not a sufficient number of candidates the law authorized the people to choose further tribunes from the whole body of citizens.

22. Thus Gaius Gracchus was tribune a second time. Having bought the plebeians, as it were, he began, by another like political manœuvre, to court the equestrian order, who hold the middle place between the Senate and the plebeians. He trans- He gives the ferred the courts of justice, which had become judicial discredited by reason of bribery, from the senators to the knights the knights, reproaching the former especially with the recent examples of Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and, third in the list, Manius Aquilius (the subduer of Asia), all notorious bribe-takers, who had been acquitted by the judges, although ambassadors sent to complain of their conduct were still present, going around uttering bitter accusations against them.

CAP. μάλιστα αίδουμένη ές τον νόμον ένεδίδου· καὶ ό δήμος αὐτὸν ἐκύρου. καὶ μετηνέχθη μὲν ὧδε ἐς τους ίππέας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δικαστήρια φασὶ δὲ κυοωθέντος μὲν ἄρτι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Γράκχον είπειν, ότι άθρόως την βουλην καθηρήκοι, τοῦ δ' «ργου προϊόντος ές πείραν μειζόνως έτι έκφανηναι τὸ ἔπος τὸ Γράκχου, τό τε γὰρ δικάζειν αὐτοὺς 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις ἄπασι καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευταίς, έπὶ παντὶ μέτρω, χρημάτων τε πέρι καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγής, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οἶά τινας άργοντας αὐτῶν ὑπερεπήρε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ίσα καὶ ύπηκόους ἐποίει. συνιστάμενοί τε τοῖς δημάρχοις οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐς τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνοντες παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅ τι θέλοιεν, ἐπὶ μέγα φόβου τοις βουλευταις έχώρουν ταχύ τε περιήν άνεστράφθαι τὸ κράτος της πολιτείας, την μέν άξίωσιν μόνην έτι της βουλης έχούσης, την δέ δύναμιν των ίππέων. προϊόντες γαρ οὐκ έδυνάστευον μόνον άλλα και σαφώς ενύβριζον τοίς βουλευταίς παρά τὰς δίκας. τήν τε δωροδοκίαν μεταλαβόντες καὶ γευσάμενοι καὶ οίδε κερδών άθρόων αἰσχρότερον ἔτι καὶ ἀμετρότερον αὐτοῖς έχρωντο. κατηγόρους τε ένετούς έπὶ τοίς πλουσίοις ἐπήγουτο καὶ τὰς τῶν δωροδοκιῶν δίκας, συνιστάμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ βιαζόμενοι, πάμπαν άνήρουν, ώς καὶ τὸ έθος όλως τῆς τοιᾶσδε εὐθύνης ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ στάσιν ἄλλην τὸν δικαστικον νόμον οὐκ ἐλάσσω τῶν προτέρων ἐς πολύ παρασχείν.

23. Ο δε Γράκχος καὶ όδοὺς ἔτεμνεν ἀνὰ τὴν

The Senate was extremely ashamed of these things CHAP. and yielded to the law, and the people ratified it. In this way were the courts of justice transferred from the Senate to the knights. It is said that soon after the passage of this law Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the Senate once for all, and the saving of Gracchus received a deeper and deeper significance by the course of events. For this power of sitting in judgment on all Romans and Italians, including the senators themselves, in all matters as to property, civil rights, and banishment, exalted the knights to be rulers over them, and put senators on the level of subjects. Moreover, as the knights voted in the election to sustain the power of the tribunes. and obtained from them whatever they wanted in return, they became more and more formidable to the senators. So it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down, the power being in the hands of the knights, and the honour only remaining with the Senate. The knights indeed went so far that they not only held power over the senators, but they openly flouted them beyond their right. They also became addicted to bribe-taking, and when they too had tasted these enormous gains, they indulged in them even more basely and immoderately than the senators had done. They suborned accusers against the rich and did away with prosecutions for bribe-taking altogether, partly by agreement among themselves and partly by open violence, so that the practice of this kind of investigation became entirely obsolete. Thus the judiciary law gave rise to another struggle of factions, which lasted a long time and was not less baneful than the former ones.

23. Gracchus also made long roads throughout Italy

CAP. Ἰταλίαν μακράς, πληθος ἐργολάβων καὶ χειροτεχνών υφ' έαυτώ ποιούμενος, έτοίμων ές ό τι κελεύοι, καὶ ἀποικίας ἐσηγεῖτο πολλάς. καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπὶ πάντα ἐκάλει τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὐκ εύπρεπως συγγενέσι της βουλης άντιστηναι δυναμένης των τε έτέρων συμμάχων, οίς οὐκ έξην ψήφον έν ταις 'Ρωμαίων χειροτονίαις φέρειν, έδίδου φέρειν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν καὶ τούσδε έν ταις χειροτονίαις των νόμων αυτώ συντελούντας. έφ' ὧ δη μάλιστα ή βουλή διαταραχθείσα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκέλευσε προγράψαι μηδένα τῶν οὐ φερόντων ψήφον ἐπιδημεῖν τῆ πόλει μηδὲ προσπελάζειν ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων παρὰ τὴν έσομένην περί τωνδε των νόμων γειροτονίαν. Λίβιόν τε Δροῦσον, έτερον δήμαρχον, έπεισε κωλύσαι τοὺς Γράκχου νόμους, οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντα τω δήμω τὰς αἰτίας δέδοται δὲ τω κωλύοντι μηδ' έπιλέγειν. έδωκαν δ' αὐτῶ καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι τὸν δημον δώδεκα ἀποικίαις ὁ δη καὶ μάλιστα ο δήμος ήσθείς των Γράκχου νόμων κατεφρόνησεν.

24. 'Ο δὲ τοῦ δημοκοπήματος ἐκπεσῶν ἐς Λιβύην ἄμα Φουλβίφ Φλάκκφ, κἀκείνφ μεθ' ὑπατείαν διὰ τάδε δημαρχεῖν ἑλομένφ, διέπλευσεν, ἐψηφισμένης κατὰ δόξαν εὐκαρπίας ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίας καὶ τῶνδε αὐτῶν οἰκιστῶν ἐπίτηδες ἡρημένων, ἵνα μικρὸν ἀποδημούντων ἀναπαύσαιτο ἡ βουλὴ τῆς δημοκοπίας. οἱ δὲ τῆ ἀποικία τὴν

and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans CHAP. under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies. He also called on the Latin Hedemands allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, Roman citizenship, since the Senate could not with decency refuse this for Italian privilege to men of the same race. To the other allies allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman elections, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in contemplation. The Senate was very much alarmed at this, and it ordered the consuls to give the following public notice, " Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stades 1 of it while voting is going on concerning these laws." The Senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to conciliate the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased with this that they scoffed at the laws proposed by Gracehus.

24. Having lost the favour of the rabble, Gracchus B.C. 122 sailed for Africa in company with Fulvius Flaccus, He sails for who, after his consulship, had been chosen tribune Africa with Fulvius for the same reasons as Gracchus himself. It had been Flaccus decided to send a colony to Africa on account of its reputed fertility, and these men had been expressly chosen the founders of it in order to get them out of the way for a while, so that the Senate might have a

1 A short five miles.

CAP. πόλιν διέγραφον, ένθα ποτέ ην ή Καρχηδονίων, ούδεν φροντίσαντες, ότι Σκιπίων αὐτήν, ότε κατέσκαπτεν, έπηράσατο ές ἀεὶ μηλόβοτον είναι. διέγραφον δ' ές έξακισχιλίους άντὶ έλαττόνων των ουτων έν τω νόμω, ως και τωδε τον δήμον υπαξόμενοι. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην συνεκάλουν ἐξ ὅλης Ίταλίας τοὺς έξακισχιλίους. ἐπιστειλάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύη τὴν πόλιν ἔτι διαγραφόντων, ὅτι λύκοι τοὺς όρους Γράκγου τε καὶ Φουλβίου διέρριψαν ανασπάσαντες, καὶ των μάντεων την αποικίαν ήγουμένων απαίσιον, ή μεν βουλή προέγραφεν εκκλησίαν, εν ή τον νόμον έμελλε τον περί τησδε της αποικίας λύσειν ο δε Γράκγος καὶ ὁ Φούλβιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦδε ἐξέπιπτον, μεμηνόσιν ἐοικότες ἐψεῦσθαι τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασκον περὶ τών λύκων, οί τε θρασύτατοι τών δημοτών αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον, ἐγγειρίδια φέροντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οδ περί της ἀποικίας ἐκκλησιάσειν ἔμελλον.

25. "Ηδη δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνειλεγμένου καὶ Φουλβίου τι περὶ τούτων ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Γράκχος ἀνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεμένων δορυφορούμενος. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότοις βουλεύμασι τὴν μὲν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέκλινεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν στοὰν παρελθὼν διεβάδιζεν, ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς ἐσομένοις. καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα θορύβου κατιδὼν δημότης ἀνὴρ ᾿Αντύλλος ἐν τῆ στοῷ θύων, ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα, εἴτε τι πυθόμενος ἢ ὑποπτεύων ἢ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν λόγον ὑπαχθείς, ἡξίου

respite from demagogism. They marked out the CHAP. city for the colony on the place where Carthage had formerly stood, disregarding the fact that Scipio, when he destroyed it, had devoted it with solemn imprecations to sheep-pasturage for ever. They assigned 6000 colonists to this place, instead of the smaller number fixed by law, in order further to curry favour with the people thereby. When they returned to Rome they invited the 6000 from the whole of Italy. The functionaries who were still in Africa laying out the city wrote home that wolves had pulled up and scattered the boundary marks made by Gracchus and Fulvius, and the soothsayers considered this an ill omen for the colony. So the Senate summoned the comitia, in which it was proposed to repeal the law concerning this colony. When Gracchus and Fulvius saw their failure in this matter they were furious, and declared that the Senate had lied about the wolves. The boldest of the plebeians joined them, carrying daggers, and proceeded to the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held in reference to the colony.

25. Now the people had come together already, and Rioting in Fulvius had begun speaking about the business in his return hand, when Gracchus arrived at the Capitol attended by a body-guard of his partisans. Consciencestricken by what he knew about the extraordinary plans on foot he turned aside from the meetingplace of the assembly, passed into the portico, and walked about waiting to see what would happen. Just then a plebeian named Antvllus, who was sacrificing in the portico, saw him in this disturbed state, laid his hand upon him, either because he had heard or suspected something, or was moved to

CAP. φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλόν τε θορυβηθεὶς καὶ δείσας ὡς κατάφωρος ἐνέβλεψεν αὐτῷ δριμύ· καί τις τῶν παρόντων, οὔτε σημείου τινὸς ἐπαρθέντος οὔτε προστάγματός πω γεγονότος, ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἐς τὸν ᾿Αντύλλον Γράκχου δριμύτητος εἰκάσας ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν ἤκειν καὶ χαριεῖσθαί τι τῷ Γράκχῳ δόξας πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἔργου, τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐπισπάσας διαχρῆται τὸν ᾿Αντύλλον. βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ σώματος ὀφθέντος ἐν μέσῳ νεκροῦ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεπήδων σὺν ὁμοίου

κακοῦ φόβω.

Γράκχος δ' ές τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθων ἐβούλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκλογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὑφισταμένου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγῆ πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων, ὁ μὲν Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἀπορούμενοι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὧν ἐβουλεύοντο διὰ τὸ φθάσαι τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἀπολωλεκότες ἐς τὰς οἰκίας διέτρεχον, καὶ οἱ συνθέμενοι αὐτοῖς συνήεσαν ἐς αὐτάς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ δή τινι κακῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατελάμβανον. καὶ ὸς ἐπεδήμει τῶν ὑπάτων, 'Οπίμιος, διέτασσε μέν τινας ἐνόπλους ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἄμα ἔῳ συνιέναι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν διὰ κηρύκων συνεκάλει, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

26. Τάδε ἡν τοιάδε. ἡ μὲν βουλὴ Γράκχον καὶ Φλάκκον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Αβεντίνον λόφον, ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ τόνδε προλάβοιεν, ἐνδώσειν πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τι τὴν βουλήν. διαθέοντές τε τοὺς θεράποντας

speak to him for some other reason, and begged him chapter to spare his country. Gracchus, still more disturbed, and startled like one detected in a crime, gave the man a sharp look. Then one of his party, although no signal had been displayed or order given, inferred merely from the angry glance that Gracchus cast upon Antyllus that the time for action had come, and thought that he should do a favour to Gracchus by striking the first blow. So he drew his dagger and slew Antyllus. A cry was raised, the dead body was seen in the midst of the crowd, and all who were outside fled from the temple in fear of a like fate.

Gracchus went into the assembly desiring to exculpate himself of the deed, but nobody would so much as listen to him. All turned away from him as from one stained with blood. So both he and Flaccus were at their wits' end and, having lost through this hasty act the chance of accomplishing what they wished, they hastened to their homes, and their partisans with them. The rest of the crowd occupied the forum after midnight as though some calamity were impending, and Opimius the consul who was staying in the city, ordered an armed force to gather in the Capitol at daybreak, and sent heralds to convoke the Senate. He took his own station in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the centre of the city and there awaited events.

26. When these arrangements had been made the Senate summoned Gracchus and Flaccus from their homes to the senate-house to defend themselves. But they ran out armed toward the Aventine hill, hoping that if they could seize it first the Senate would agree to some terms with them. As they

Γράκχον τοὺς ώπλισμένους ἐπέπεμπεν.

Καὶ Γράκγος μὲν διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης γεφύρας ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγών ἐς ἄλσος τι μεθ' ένος θεράποντος υπέσχε τω θεράποντι την σφαγην καταλαμβανόμενος Φλάκκου δ' ές έργαστήριον ανδρός γνωρίμου καταφυγόντος, οί μεν διώκοντες, την οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅλον ἐμπρήσειν τὸν στενωπον ηπείλουν, ο δ' ύποδεξάμενος αὐτος μεν ωκνησε μηνυσαι τον ίκέτην, ετέρω δε προσέταξε μηνῦσαι. καὶ συλληφθεὶς ὁ Φλάκκος ἀνηρέθη. Γράκχου μεν δη καὶ Φλάκκου τὰς κεφαλάς έφερον τινες 'Οπιμίω, και αυτοίς ό 'Οπίμιος ισοβαρές χρυσίον αντέδωκεν ο δε δημος αυτών τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαζε, καὶ τοὺς συμφρονήσαντας ό 'Οπίμιος συλλαβών ές την φυλακην ένέβαλέ τε καὶ ἀποπνιγήναι προσέταξε. Κοίντω δὲ τῶ Φλάκκου παιδί συνεχώρησεν ἀποθανείν, ώς θέλοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ἐκάθαιρεν. ἡ δὲ βουλή καὶ νεών 'Ομονοίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾶ προσέταξεν έγειραι.

ran through the city they offered freedom to the CHAP. slaves, but none listened to them. With such forces as they had, however, they occupied and fortified the temple of Diana, and sent Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate seeking to come to an arrangement and to live in harmony. The Senate replied that they should lay down their arms, come to the senate-house, and tell them what they wanted, or else send no more messengers. When they sent Quintus a second time the consul Opimius arrested him, as being no longer an ambassador after he had been warned, and at the same time sent his armed men against the Gracchans.

Gracchus fled across the river by the wooden B.C. 121 bridge with one slave to a grove, and there, being on Death of the point of arrest, he presented his throat to the slave. and Flaceus Flaceus took refuge in the workshop of an acquaintance. As his pursuers did not know which house he was in they threatened to burn the whole row. The man who had given shelter to the suppliant hesitated to point him out, but directed another man to do so. Flaccus was seized and put to death. The heads of Gracehus and Flaceus were carried to Opimius, and he gave their weight in gold to those who brought them, but the people plundered their houses. Opimius then arrested their fellow-conspirators, cast them into prison, and ordered that they should be strangled; but he allowed Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to choose his own mode of death. After this a lustration of the city was performed for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the building of a temple to Concord in the forum.

<sup>1</sup> The Pons Sublicius, which rested on wooden piles.

### IV

CAP. 27. Καὶ ή στάσις ή τοῦ δευτέρου Γράκχου ès τάδε έληγε νόμος τε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐκυρώθη την γην, ύπερ ής διεφέροντο, έξειναι πιπράσκειν τοίς έχουσιν απείρητο γαρ έκ Γράκχου τοῦ προτέρου καὶ τόδε· καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ πλούσιοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἐωνοῦντο, ἢ ταῖσδε ταῖς προφάσεσιν έβιάζοντο. καὶ περιην ές χείρον ἔτι τοίς πένησι, μέχρι Σπούριος Θόριος δημαρχών είσηγήσατο νόμον, την μεν γην μηκέτι διανέμειν, άλλ' είναι των έχόντων, καὶ φόρους ύπερ αὐτης τω δήμω κατατίθεσθαι καὶ τάδε τὰ χρήματα χωρείν ές διανομάς. ὅπερ ην μέν τις τοῖς πένησι παρηγορία διὰ τὰς διανομάς, ὄφελος δ' οὐδὲν ἐς πολυπληθίαν. άπαξ δὲ τοῖς σοφίσμασι τοῖσδε τοῦ Γρακχείου νόμου παραλυθέντος, αρίστου καὶ ωφελιμωτάτου, εὶ ἐδύνατο πραχθῆναι, γενομένου, καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον διέλυσε δήμαργος έτερος, καὶ ὁ δημος άθρόως άπάντων έξεπεπτώκει. όθεν έσπάνιζον έτι μάλλον όμου πολιτών τε καὶ στρατιωτών καὶ γῆς προσόδου καὶ διανομών καὶ νομῶν, πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ της Γράκχου νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ δίκαις ἐν ἀργία γεγονότες.

#### IV

27. Thus the sedition of the younger Gracchus CHAP. came to an end. Not long afterward a law was Failure of enacted to permit the holders to sell the land about the Agrarwhich they had quarrelled; for even this had been ian law forbidden by the law of the elder Gracchus. At once the rich began to buy the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts1 for seizing them by force. So the condition of the poor became even worse than it was before, until Spurius Thorius, a tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that the work of distributing the public domain should no longer be continued, but that the land should belong to those in possession of it, who should pay rent for it to the people, and that the money so received should be distributed; and this distribution was a kind of solace to the poor, but it did not help to increase the population. By these devices the law of Gracchus -a most excellent and useful one if it could have been carried out-was once for all frustrated, and a little later the rent itself was abolished at the instance of another tribune. So the plebeians lost everything, and hence resulted a still further decline in the numbers both of citizens and soldiers, and in the revenue from the land and the distribution thereof and in the allotments themselves; and about fifteen years after the enactment of the law of Gracchus, by reason B.C. 118 of a series of lawsuits, the people were reduced to unemployment.2

1 The Greek seems corrupt here. Read, perhaps, ταῖs καὶ ταιs: "found various pretexts."

<sup>2</sup> The reading is not certain. Perhaps we should understand "[the Commissioners for distributing the land] were reduced to idleness by a series of lawsuits."

CAP. 28. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Σκιπίων ὕπατος καθεῖλε τὸ θέατρον, οὖ Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ήρκτο (καὶ ήδη που τέλος ελάμβανεν), ώς καὶ τόδε στάσεων άρξον έτέρων η οὐ χρήσιμον όλως Ελληνικαίς ήδυπαθείαις 'Ρωμαίους εθίζεσθαι. τιμητής δε Κόιντος Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Γλαυκίαν τε Βουλεύοντα καὶ Απουλήιου Σατορυίνου δεδημαρχηκότα ήδη της άξιώσεως παρέλυεν, αισχρώς βιούντας, ου μην έδυνήθη· ό γάρ οί συνάρχων οὐ συνέθετο. μικρον οὖν ὕστερον ὁ ᾿Απουλήιος ὡς ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Μέτελλον ἐς ἑτέραν παρήγγελλε δημαρχίαν, φυλάξας στρατηγούντα τὸν Γλαυκίαν καὶ τῆσδε των δημάρχων της χειροτονίας προεστώτα. Νώνιος μεν ουν, επιφανής ανήρ, ές τε τον 'Απουλήιον παρρησία χρώμενος καὶ Γλαυκίαν έξονειδίζων δήμαρχος άπεδείχθη. δείσαντες δ' ό Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ ᾿Απουλήιος, μὴ δημαρχῶν αὐτοὺς άμύναιτο, όχλον ανδρών εύθυς από της έκκλησίας απιόντι επιπεμπουσι σύν θορύβω καὶ ές τι πανδοχείον συμφυγόντα κατεκέντησαν. τοῦ δὲ πάθους οἰκτροῦ καὶ δεινοῦ φανέντος οἱ περὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν, ούπω τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος, ἄμ' ἔφ χειροτονοῦσι δήμαρχον τὸν 'Απουλήιον.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν Νωνίου πάθος ὧδε ἐσιγήθη διὰ τὴν δημαρχίαν 'Απουληίου, δεδιότων αὐτὸν ἔτι ἐξελέγχειν '29. ἐξηλάθη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, προσλαβόντων Γάιον Μάριον ἕκτην ἄρχοντα ὑπατείαν, ἐχθρὸν ἀφανῆ τοῦ Μετέλλου. καὶ συνέπραξαν ὧδε ἄπαντες ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν 'Απουλήιος νόμον ἐσέφερε διαδάσασθαι γῆν, ὅσην ἐν τῆ νῦν ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων καλουμένη Γαλατία Κίμβροι γένος

28. About this time the consul Scipio [Nasica] CHAP. demolished the theatre begun by Lucius Cassius, and now nearly finished, because he considered this also a likely source of new seditions, or because he thought it far from desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to Grecian pleasures. The censor, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, attempted to degrade Glaucia, a senator, and Apuleius Saturninus. who had already been a tribune, on account of their disgraceful mode of life, but was not able to do so because his colleague would not agree to it. Accord- B.C. 101 ingly Apuleius, a little later, in order to have revenge The killing of Nonius on Metellus, became again a candidate for the tribuneship, seizing the occasion when Glaucia held the office of practor, and presided over the election of the tribunes; but Nonius, a man of noble birth, who used much plainness of speech in reference to Apuleius and reproached Glaucia bitterly, was chosen for the office. They, fearing lest he should punish them as tribune, made a rush upon him with a crowd of ruffians just as he was going away from the comitia, pursued him into an inn, and stabbed him. As this murder bore a pitiful and shocking aspect, the adherents of Glaucia came together early the next morning, before the people had assembled, and elected Apuleius tribune.

In this way the killing of Nonius was hushed up, since everybody was afraid to call Apuleius to account because he was a tribune; 29, and Metellus also was banished by his enemies with the help of Gaius to divide the land which the Cimbri (a Celtic tribe land

Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship, and was his secret enemy. Thus they all worked with B.C. 100 each other. Then Apuleius brought forward a law Division of the Gallic

CAP. Κελτών κατειλήφεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος έναγγος έξελάσας την γην ώς οὐκέτι Γαλατών ές 'Ρωμαίους περιεσπάκει. προσέκειτο δέ, εί κυρώσειε του νόμον ο δήμος, την βουλην πένθ' ήμέραις ἐπομόσαι πεισθήσεσθαι τῷ νόμφ, ἢ τὸν οὐκ ὀμόσαντα μήτε βουλεύειν καὶ ὀΦλεῖν τῶ δήμω τάλαντα είκοσιν, υπονοούντες ούτως άλλους τε τῶν δυσχεραινόντων ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ Μέτελλον ύπὸ φρονήματος οὐκ ἐνδώσοντα ἐς τὸν ὅρκον. ό μεν δη νόμος ώδε είγεν, καὶ ό 'Απουλήιος ημέραν αὐτοῦ τῆ δοκιμασία προυτίθει καὶ περιέπεμπε τούς έξαγγέλλοντας τοίς ουσιν άνα τούς άγρούς, οίς δή και μάλιστ' εθάρρουν υπεστρατευμένοις Μαρίω. πλεονεκτούντων δ', έν τῶ νόμω τῶν 'Ιταλιωτών ὁ δήμος έδυσχέραινε.

30. Καὶ στάσεως ἐν τῆ κυρία γενομένης, ὅσοι μεν εκώλυον των δημάρχων τούς νόμους, ύβριζόμενοι πρὸς τοῦ Απουληίου κατεπήδων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐβόα ὡς γενομένης έν ἐκκλησία βροντής, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἔτι κυροῦν. βιαζομένων δὲ καὶ ὡς τῶν περὶ τον 'Απουλήιον οί πολιτικοί τά τε ίμάτια διαζωσάμενοι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ξύλα άρπάσαντες τους αγροίκους διέστησαν. οί δ' αθθις ύπο του 'Απουληίου συγκαλούμενοι μετὰ ξύλων καὶ οίδε τοίς ἀστικοίς ἐπήεσαν καὶ βιασάμενοι τὸν νόμον έκύρωσαν. κυρωθέντος δ' αὐτίκα Μάριος οἶα ύπατος τη βουλή προυτίθει σκοπείν περί τού όρκου καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον είδως στερρόν τε τή

lately driven out by Marius) had seized in the country CHAP. now called Gaul by the Romans, and which was considered as now no longer Gallic but Roman territory. It was provided also in this law that, if the people should enact it, the senators should take an oath within five days to obey it, and that any one who should refuse to do so should be expelled from the Senate and should pay a fine of twenty talents for the benefit of the people. Thus they intended to punish those who should take it with a bad grace, and especially Metellus, who was too high-spirited to submit to the oath. Such was the proposed law. Apuleius appointed the day for holding the comitia and sent messengers to inform those in country districts, in whom he had most confidence, because they had served in the army under Marius. As the law gave the larger share to the Italian allies the city people were not pleased with it.

30. A disturbance broke out in the comitia, Sedition of Those who attempted to prevent the passage of the Saturninus laws proposed by the tribunes were assaulted by Apuleius and driven away from the rostra. The city crowd exclaimed that thunder was heard in the assembly, in which case it is not permitted by Roman custom to finish the business that day. As the adherents of Apuleius nevertheless persisted, the city people girded themselves, seized whatever clubs they could lay their hands on, and dispersed the rustics. The latter were rallied by Apuleius; they attacked the city folks with clubs, overcame them. and passed the law. As soon as this was done Marius, as consul, proposed to the Senate that they should consider the question of the oath. Knowing that Metellus was a man of stiff opinions and resolute

CAP. γνώμη καὶ βέβαιον ἐφ' ὅ τι φρονήσειεν ἡ εἰπεῖν φθάσειεν, ετίθει πρώτος ες μέσον την γνώμην την έαυτοῦ μετ' ἐνέδρας καὶ ἔλεγεν, ώς οὔποτε τὸν όρκον έκων τόνδε αὐτὸς ὁμόσει. συναποφηναμένου δε ταύτα καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεσάντων, ὁ Μάριος διέλυσε τὴν βουλήν. εἶτα τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας, ἡ τῷ ὅρκω τελευταία κατά τον νόμον ην, αμφί δεκάτην ώραν αὐτοὺς κατὰ σπουδην συναγαγών ἔφη τὸν δημον έσπουδακότα περί του νόμον δεδιέναι, μηγανήν δ' όρᾶν καὶ σόφισμα τοιόνδε ομόσειν γάρ, ή νόμος έστί, τῶδε πεισθήσεσθαι τῷ νόμω, καὶ νῦν μὲν ούτω διασκεδάν τους άπο των άγρων ένηδρευμένους, ύστερον δ' οὐ δυσχερως ἐπιδείξειν, ὅτι οὐκ έστι νόμος ὁ πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντής ώνομασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρά τὰ πάτρια.

31. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἀναμείνας, πάντων ἔτι σιωπώντων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπὶ τῆ ἐνέδρα καὶ τῷ χρόνῷ δεδαπανημένῷ, οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθηναί τι παρασχὼν αὐτοῖς ἐξανίστατο ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νεών, οὖ τοῖς ταμίαις ἐχρῆν ὀμνύναι, καὶ ἄμνυε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτος. ἄμνυον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποί, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δεδιὼς ἔκαστος· Μέτελλος δ' οὐκ ἄμοσε μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως διέμεινεν ἀφόβως. καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁ ᾿Απουλήιος ἐπιπέμψας τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐξείλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ἡυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων, ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ ᾿Απουλήιος ἐς τοὺς ἀγροίκους ἐκδραμόντες οὐκ ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὴν γῆν οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον κύριον, εἰ μὴ Μέτελλος ἐξελαθείη. ψήφισμά τε φυγῆς

about anything he either felt or had committed CHAP himself to by word of mouth, he himself first gave his own opinion publicly, but hypocritically, saving that he would never willingly take this oath himself. When Metellus had agreed with him in this, and the others had approved them both, Marius adjourned the Senate. On the fifth day thereafter (the last day prescribed in the law for taking the oath) he called them together in haste about the tenth hour, saving that he was afraid of the people because they were so zealous for the law. He saw a way, however, to avoid it, and he proposed the following trick-to swear that they would obey this law as far as it was a law, and thus at once disperse the country people B.C. 100 by stratagem. Afterward it could be easily shown that this law, which had been enacted by violence and after thunder had been reported, contrary to the custom of their ancestors, was not really a law.

31. After speaking thus he did not wait for the result, but while all were in silent amazement at the plot, and confused because there was no time to be lost, giving them no opportunity for thinking, he rose and went to the temple of Saturn, where the quaestors were accustomed to administer oaths, and took the oath first with his friends. The rest followed his example, as each one feared for his own safety. Metellus alone refused to swear, but stood fearlessly by his first determination. Apuleius at once on the next day sent his officer for him and tried to drag him out of the senate-house. But when the other tribunes defended him Glaucia and Apuleius hastened to the country people and told them that they would never get the land, and that the law would not be executed, unless Metellus were banished. They

CAP. ἐπέγραφου αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπικηρῦξαι προσετίθεσαν μηδένα Μετέλλω κοινωνείν πυρὸς η ὕδατος η στέγης ές τε την δοκιμασίαν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ήμέραν προύγραφον. δεινης δὲ των αστικών αγανακτήσεως ούσης και παραπεμπόντων Μέτελλον αίει σύν ξιφιδίοις, ο Μέτελλος αὐτοὺς ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἔφη δι' ἐαυτὸν ἐάσειν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ἐπιγενέσθαι τῆ πατρίδι. καὶ τόδε εἰπὼν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ ᾿Απουλήιος ἐκύρου, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι Μάριος

έπεκήρυττεν.

32. Ούτω μεν δή καὶ Μέτελλος, ἀνήρ εὐδοκιμώτατος, έφευγε, καὶ ὁ Απουλήιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρίτον έδημάρχει. καί τις αὐτῷ συνῆρχε δραπέτης εἶναι νομιζόμενος, Γράκχον ξαυτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον πατέρα ἐπιγράφων. καὶ τὸ πληθος αὐτῷ συνεπεπράχει περί την χειροτονίαν πόθω Γράκχου. προτεθείσης δε υπάτων χειροτονίας, Μάρκος μεν 'Αντώνιος έπὶ τὴν έτέραν ἀναμφιλόγως ἡρέθη, τὴν δὲ ὑπόλοιπον Γλαυκίας ὅδε καὶ Μέμμιος μετήεσαν. Μεμμίου δ' ὄντος ἐπιδοξοτέρου παρὰ πολύ, δείσας ο Γλαυκίας καὶ ο ᾿Απουλήιος ἐπιπέμπουσί τινας αὐτῶ σὺν ξύλοις ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ χειροτονία, οἱ τὸν Μέμμιον παίοντες έν μέσω πάντων ορώντων συνέκοψαν.

Καὶ ή μὲν ἐκκλησία θορυβηθεῖσα διελύετο οὔτε νόμων ούτε δικαστηρίων ούτε τινός αίδους έτι ύπούσης. ό δε δημος αγανακτών ες την επιούσαν ήμέραν μετ' ὀργῆς συνέτρεχεν ως κτενοῦντες τὸν Απουλήιον. ὁ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος άλίσας ἀπὸ τῶν αγρών μετά Γλαυκίου καὶ Γαΐου Σαυφηίου ταμίου

then proposed a decree of banishment against him CHAP. and directed the consuls to interdict him from fire, water, and shelter, and appointed a day for the rational fication of this decree. Great was the indignation of the city people, who constantly escorted Metellus, carrying daggers. He thanked them and praised them for their good intentions, but said that he could not allow any danger to befall the country on his account. After saying this he withdrew from the city. Apuleius got the decree ratified, and Marius made proclamation of the contents of the decree.

32. In this way was Metellus, a most admirable man, sent into banishment. Thereupon Apuleius was tribune a third time and had for a colleague one who was thought to be a fugitive slave, but who claimed to be a son of the elder Gracchus, and the multitude supported him in the election because they regretted Gracchus. When the election for consuls came on Marcus Antonius was chosen as one of them by common consent, while the aforesaid Glaucia and Memmius contended for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrous man by far, and Glaucia and Apuleius were anxious about the result. So they sent a gang of ruffians to attack him with clubs while the election was going on, who Murder of fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat Memmius

him to death in the sight of all.

The assembly was broken up in terror. Neither laws nor courts nor sense of shame remained. The people ran together in anger the following day intending to kill Apuleius, but he had collected another mob from the country and, with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius, the quaestor, seized the Capitol.

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CAP. τὸ Καπιτώλιου κατέλαβε. καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς βουλῆς 

Τὰ ἀναιρεθῆναι ψηφισαμένης ὁ Μάριος ἀχθόμενος 
ὅμως ὥπλιζέ τινας σὺν ὅκνῷ· καὶ βραδύνοντος 
ἔτεροι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπιρρέον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν διέτεμον. 
καὶ Σαυφήιος μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν νεών, ὑπὸ δίψης 
ἀπολλύμενος, ἡξίου, Γλαυκίας δὲ καὶ ᾿Απουλήιος 
ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσειν Μάριον παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, οἴδε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ὁ 
Σαυφήιος. Μάριος δ᾽, αὐτίκα πάντων αὐτοὺς 
ἀναιρεῖν κελευόντων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέκλεισεν ὡς ἐννομώτερον ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ 
πρόφασιν τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι νομίσαντες τὸν κέραμον 
ἐξέλυον τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν 
᾿Απουλήιον ἔβαλλον, ἔως ἀπέκτειναν, ταμίαν 
τε καὶ δήμαρχον καὶ στρατηγόν, ἔτι περικει-

μένους τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

33. Πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἐν τῆ στάσει διέφθαρτο καὶ δήμαρχος ἔτερος, ὁ τοῦ Γράκχου παῖς εἶναι νομιζόμενος, πρώτην δημαρχῶν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν, οὐδένα ἔτι ἀφελούσης οὔτε ἐλευθερίας οὔτε δημοκρατίας οὔτε νόμων οὔτε ἀξιώσεως οὔτε ἀρχῆς, ὅπου καὶ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἔς τε κώλυσιν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἐς ἐπικούρησιν τῶν δημοτῶν γενομένη, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὖσα, τοιάδε ὕβριζε καὶ τοιάδε ἔπασχεν. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ᾿Απουλήιον ἡ μὲν βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκεκράγεσαν κατακαλεῖν Μέτελλον, Πούπλιος δὲ Φούριος δήμαρχος, οὐδ᾽ ἐλευθέρου πατρός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξελευθέρου, θρασέως ἐνίστατο αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδὲ Μετέλλου τοῦ Μετέλλου παιδὸς ἱκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου καὶ δακρύοντος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ προσπίπτοντος ἐνεκλάο θη.

The Senate voted them public enemies. Marius was CHAP. vexed; nevertheless he armed some of his forces reluctantly, and, while he was delaying, some other of Appleius persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Saufeius was near perishing with thirst and proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Apuleius, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered first, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded that they should be put to death at once, Marius shut them up in the senatehouse as though he intended to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext, tore the tiles off the roof, and stoned them to death, including a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor, who were still wearing their insignia of office

33. Very many others were swept out of existence Reign of in this sedition. Among them was that other Terror tribune who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus. and who perished on the first day of his magistracy. Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the office of tribune, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers and the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now was guilty of such outrages and suffered such indignities. When the party of Apuleius was destroyed the Senate and people clamoured for the recall of Metellus, but Publius Furius, a tribune who was not the son of a free citizen but of a freedman, boldly resisted them. Not even Metellus, the son of Metellus, who besought him in the presence of the people with tears in his eyes, and threw himself at his feet, could move him. From this dramatic appearance the

CAP. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὅψεως Εὐσεβὴς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐκλήθη, τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Φούριον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐς δίκην Γαίος Κανουλήιος δήμαρχος ὑπῆγε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους ὑπομεινας διέσπασε τὸν Φούριον· οὕτως αἰεί τι μύσος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐγίγνετο· Μετέλλῳ δ' ἡ κάθοδος ἐδόθη, καί φασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀρκέσαι περὶ τὰς πύλας δεξιουμένω τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας.

#### V

CAP. Τρίτον μὲν δὴ τόδε ἔργον ἐμφύλιον ἢν τὸ ᾿Απουληίου, μετὰ δύο τὰ Γράκχεια, καὶ τοσάδε εἴργαστο ὙΡωμαίους 34. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ συμμαχικὸς καλούμενος πόλεμος ἐπιγίγνεται ἐθνῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῶν, ἀρξάμενός τε παραδόξως, καὶ ἀθρόως ἐπὶ μέγα προελθών, καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐν ὙΡώμη σβέσας ὑπὸ δέους ἐπὶ πολύ. λήγων δὲ καὶ ὅδε στάσεις τε ἄλλας καὶ στασιάρχους δυνατωτέρους ἀνέθρεψεν οὐ νόμων εἰσηγήσεσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ δημοκοπίαις, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόοις στρατεύμασι κατ' ἀλλήλων χρωμένους. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τάδε συνήγαγον ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφήν, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐν Ὑρώμη στάσεως ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐς πολὺ χείρονα στάσιν ἑτέραν ἐκπεσόντα. ἤρξατο δὲ ὧδε.

Φούλβιος Φλάκκος ύπατεύων μάλιστα δη πρώτος ὅδε ἐς τὸ φανερώτατον ηρέθιζε τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ὡς κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσομένους. εἰσηγούμενος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐπιμένων αὐτῆ καρτερῶς, ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπί τινα στρατείαν

son ever afterward bore the name of Metellus Pius. CHAP. The following year Furius was called to account for his obstinacy by the new tribune, Gaius Canuleius. The people did not wait for his excuses, but tore Furius in pieces. Thus every year some new abomination was committed in the forum. Metellus, however, was allowed to return, and it is said that a whole day was not sufficient for the greetings of those who went to meet him at the city gates.

#### V

Such was the third civil strife (that of Apuleius) CHAP. which succeeded those of the two Gracchi, and such the results it brought to the Romans. 34. While the Social they were thus occupied the so-called Social War, war in which many Italian peoples were engaged, broke out. It began unexpectedly, grew rapidly to great proportions and extinguished the Roman seditions for a long time by a new terror. When it was ended it also gave rise to new seditions under more powerful leaders, who did not work by introducing new laws, or by the tricks of the demagogue, but by matching whole armies against each other. I have treated it in this history because it had its origin in the sedition in Rome and resulted in another much worse. It began in this way.

Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship first and foremost B.C. 125 openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the empire instead of subjects. When he introduced this idea and strenuously persisted in it, the Senate, for that reason, sent him away to take command in a war, in

ΟΝΡ. ἐξεπέμφθη διὰ τόδε. ἐν ἢ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτῷ δεδαπανημένης, ὁ δὲ καὶ δημαρχεῖν εἴλετο μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπραξε γενέσθαι σὺν Γράκχῷ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοιάδε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσφέροντι κἀκείνῳ. ἀναιρεθέντοιν δὲ ἀμφοῖν, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἤρέθιστο ἡ Ἰταλία οὕτε γὰρ ἤξίουν ἐν ὑπηκόων ἀντὶ κοινωνῶν εἶναι μέρει οὕτε Φλάκκον καὶ Γράκχον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε παθεῖν.

35. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ Λίβιος Δροῦσος δημαρχων, ανήρ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐκ γένους, δεηθεῖσι τοῖς Ιταλιώταις νόμον αὖθις ἐσενεγκεῖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ύπέσχετο τούτου γάρ δη μάλιστα έπεθύμουν ώς ένὶ τῷδε αὐτίκα ἡγεμόνες ἀντὶ ύπηκόων ἐσόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο προθεραπεύων ὑπήγετο ἀποικίαις πολλαίς ές τε την Ιταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν έψηφισμέναις μέν έκ πολλού, γεγονυίαις δὲ οὔπω. τήν τε βουλήν καὶ τοὺς ίππέας, οὶ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὰ δικαστήρια διεφέροντο, ἐπὶ κοινῷ νόμω συναγαγεῖν έπειράτο, σαφώς μεν οὐ δυνάμενος ές την βουλήν έπανενεγκείν τὰ δικαστήρια, τεχνάζων δ' ές έκατέρους ώδε. των βουλευτών διά τας στάσεις τότε όντων μόλις άμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, έτέρους τοσούσδε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων εἰσηγεῖτο άριστίνδην προσκαταλεγήναι καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πάντων ές το μέλλον είναι τὰ δικαστήρια εὐθύνας τε έπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι δωροδοκίας προσέγραφεν. έγκλήματος ίσα δή καὶ ἀγνοουμένου διὰ τὸ ἔθος της δωροδοκίας ανέδην επιπολαζούσης.

the course of which his consulship expired; but he CHAP. obtained the tribuneship after that and contrived to have the younger Gracchus for a colleague, with B.C. 123 whose co-operation he brought forward other measures in favour of the Italians. When they were B.C. 121 both killed, as I have previously related, the Italians were still more excited. They could not bear to be considered subjects instead of equals, or to think that Flaccus and Gracchus should have suffered such calamities while working for their political advantage.

35. After them the tribune Livius Drusus, a man B.C. 91 of most illustrious birth, promised the Italians, at Measures of their urgent request, that he would bring forward a Drusus new law to give them citizenship. They especially desired this because by that one step they would become rulers instead of subjects. In order to conciliate the plebeians to this measure he led out to Italy and Sicily several colonies which had been voted some time before, but not yet planted. He endeavoured to bring together by an agreement the Senate and the equestrian order, who were then in sharp antagonism to each other, in reference to the law courts. As he was not able to restore the courts to the Senate openly, he tried the following artifice to reconcile them. As the senators had been reduced by the seditions to scarcely 300 in number. he brought forward a law that an equal number, chosen according to merit, should be added to their enrolment from the knights, and that the courts of justice should be made up thereafter from the whole number. He added a clause in the law that they should make investigations about bribery, as accusations of that kind were almost unknown, since the custom of bribe-taking prevailed without restraint.

CAP. 'Ο μεν δη τάδε προς εκατέρους επενόει, περιηλθε δε ές το εναντίον αυτώ. ή τε γαρ βουλή γαλεπώς έφερεν άθρόως αύτη τοσούσδε προσκαταλεγήναι καὶ ἐξ ἰππέων ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα μεταβηναι, ούκ αδόκητον ήγουμένη καὶ βουλευτάς γενομένους κατά σφάς έτι δυνατώτερον τοίς προτέροις βουλευταίς στασιάσειν οί τε ίππεις ύπώπτευον, ότι τήδε τή θεραπεία πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς τὴν βουλὴν μόνην τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων περιφέροιτο. γευσάμενοί τε κερδών μεγάλων καὶ έξουσίας οὐκ άλύπως την υπόνοιαν έφερον. τό τε πληθος αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπορία σφᾶς ἐποίει καὶ ὑποψία πρὸς άλλήλους, τίνες άξιώτεροι δοκούσιν ές τούς τριακοσίους καταλεγήναι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Φθόνος ές τούς κρείττονας έσήει ύπερ άπαντα δ' ήγανάκτουν ἀναφυομένου τοῦ τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐγκλήματος, δ τέως ήγουντο καρτερώς ύπερ αύτων πρόρριζον ἐσβέσθαι.

36. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή, καίπερ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις διαφόρως, ἐς τὸ Δρούσου μῖσος συνεφρόνουν, καὶ μόνος ὁ δῆμος ἔχαιρε ταῖς ἀποικίαις. οἱ Ἰταλιῶται δ᾽, ὑπὲρ ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτα ἐτέχνάζε, καὶ οίδε περὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς τῆς δημοσίας Ῥωμαίων γῆς, ἡν ἀνέμητον οὖσαν ἔτι οἱ μὲν ἐκ βίας, οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐγεώργουν, αὐτίκα σφῶν ἀφαιρεθησομένης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνοχλησόμενοι. Τυρρηνοί τε καὶ

This was the plan that he contrived for both of CHAP. them, but it turned out contrary to his expectations, for the senators were indignant that so large a number should be added to their enrolment at one time and be transferred from knighthood to the highest rank. They thought it not unlikely that they would form a faction in the Senate by themselves and contend against the old senators more powerfully than ever. The knights, on the other hand, suspected that, by this doctoring, the courts of justice would be transferred from their order to the Senate exclusively. Having acquired a relish for the great gains and power of the judicial office, this suspicion disturbed them. Most of them, too, fell into doubt and distrust toward each other, discussing which of them seemed more worthy than others to be enrolled among the 300; and envy against their betters filled the breasts of the remainder. Above all the knights were angry at the revival of the charge of bribery, which they thought had been ere this entirely suppressed, so far as they were concerned.

36. Thus it came to pass that both the Senate and B.C. 91 the knights, although opposed to each other, were united in hating Drusus. Only the plebeians were gratified with the colonies. Even the Italians, in whose especial interest Drusus was devising these plans, were apprehensive about the law providing for the colonies, because they thought that the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would at once be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings. The Etruscans

CAP. 'Ομβρικοί ταὐτὰ δειμαίνοντες τοῖς 'Ιταλιώταις καί, ὡς ἐδόκει, πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαχθέντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Δρούσου, λόγῳ δ' ἐς κατηγορίαν, τοῦ νόμου φανερῶς κατεβόων καὶ τὴν τῆς δοκιμασίας ἡμέραν ἀνέμενον. ὡν ὁ Δροῦσος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ οὐ θαμινὰ προϊών, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐν περιπάτῳ βραχὺ φῶς ἔχοντι χρηματίζων ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν τὸ πλῆθος ἀποπέμπων ἐξεβόησεν ἄφνω πεπλῆχθαι καὶ λέγων ἔτι κατέπεσεν. εὐρέθη δὲ ἐς τὸν μηρὸν αὐτῷ

σκυτοτόμου μαχαίριον έμπεπηγμένον.

37. Ούτω μεν δή καὶ Δροῦσος ἀνήρητο δημαρχων. και οι ίππεις επίβασιν ες συκοφαντίαν των έχθρων τὸ πολίτευμα αὐτοῦ τιθέμενοι, Κόιντον Ουράιον δήμαρχον έπεισαν είσηγήσασθαι κρίσεις είναι κατά των τοις Ίταλιώταις έπι τὰ κοινά φανερώς η κρύφα βοηθούντων, έλπίσαντες τούς δυνατούς απαντας αὐτίκα εἰς ἔγκλημα ἐπίφθονον ύπάξεσθαι καὶ δικάσειν μεν αὐτοί, γενομένων δ' έκείνων έκποδων δυνατώτερον έτι της πόλεως έπαρξειν. τον μεν δή νόμον απαγορευόντων των έτέρων δημάρχων μη τίθεσθαι, περιστάντες οί ίππεῖς σύν ξιφιδίοις γυμνοῖς ἐκύρωσαν ώς δ' έκεκύρωτο, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπεγράφοντο κατήγοροι. καὶ Βηστίας μὲν ούδ' ύπακούσας έκων έφευγεν ώς ούκ έκδώσων έαυτον είς χείρας έχθρων, καὶ Κόττας ἐπ' ἐκείνω

and the Umbrians had the same fears as the Italians. CHAP and when they were summoned to the city, as was thought, by the consuls, for the ostensible purpose of complaining against the law of Drusus, but actually to kill him, they cried down the law publicly and waited for the day of the comitia. Drusus learned of the plot against him and did not go out frequently, but transacted business from day to day in the atrium of his house, which was poorly lighted. One evening as he was sending the crowd away he Murder of exclaimed suddenly that he was wounded, and fell Drusus down while uttering the words. A shoemaker's

knife was found thrust into his hip.

37. Thus was Drusus also slain while serving as tribune. The knights, in order to make his policy a ground of vexatious accusation against their enemies, persuaded the tribune Quintus Varius to bring forward a law to prosecute those who should, either openly or secretly, aid the Italians to acquire citizenship, hoping thus to bring all the senators under an odious indictment, and themselves to sit in judgment on them, and that when they were out of the way they themselves would be more powerful than ever in the government of Rome. When the other tribunes interposed their veto the knights surrounded them with drawn daggers and enacted the measure, whereupon accusers at once brought actions against B.C. 90 the most illustrious of the senators. Of these Bestia did not respond, but went into exile voluntarily rather than surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. After him Cotta went before the court.

<sup>1</sup> Until the end of the third century B.c. the word "Italy" applied only to that part of the peninsula south of Etruria and Umbria.

CAP. παρῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, σεμνολογήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπεπολίτευτο, καὶ λοιδορησάμενος τοῖς ἱππεῦσι φανερῶς, ἐξήει τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅδε πρὸ τῆς ψήφου· Μούμμιος δ', ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλών, αἰσχρῶς ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ὑποσχομένων αὐτὸν ἀπολύσειν κατεκρίθη φεύγειν καὶ ἐν Δήλφ διεβίωσεν.

38. Ἐπιπολάζοντος δ' ές πολύ τοῦ κακοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, ὅ τε δῆμος ἤχθετο τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσάδε εἰργασμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ οἱ Ἰταλοὶ τοῦ τε Δρούσου πάθους πυνθανόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν τούτων προφάσεως, οἰκ ἀνασχετὸν σφίσιν ἔτι ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε πάσχειν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ μηχανὴν ἐλπίδος ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔτι ὁρῶντες, ἔγνωσαν ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων ἄντικρυς καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος. κρύφα τε διεπρεσβεύοντο συντιθέμενοι περὶ τῶνδε καὶ ὅμηρα διέπεμπον ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις.

\*Ων ἐς πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐπήσθοντο 'Ρωμαῖοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει κρίσεις τε καὶ στάσεις ώς δ΄ ἐπύθοντο, περιέπεμπον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπὸ σφῶν τοὺς ἑκάστοις μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους, ἀφανῶς τὰ γιγόμενα ἐξετάζειν. καί τις ἐκ τούτων μειράκιον ὅμηρον ἰδὼν ἐξ ᾿Ασκλου πόλεως ἐς ἑτέραν ἀγόμενον ἐμήνυσε τῷ περὶ τὰ χωρία ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουιλίῳ. ἡσαν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τότε καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄρχοντες ἀνθύπατοι κατὰ μέρη δ καὶ 'Αδριανὸς ἄρα μιμούμενος ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν 'Ρωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, ἀνεκαίνισε,

made an impressive defence of his administration of CHAP. public affairs, and openly reviled the knights. He. too, departed from the city before the vote of the judges was taken. Mummius, the conqueror of Greece, was basely ensnared by the knights, who promised to acquit him, but condemned him to banishment. He passed the remainder of his life at Delos.

38. As this malice against the aristocracy grew Continued more and more, the people were grieved because sedition they were deprived all at once of so many distinguished men who had rendered such great services. When the Italians learned of the murder of Drusus and of the reasons alleged for banishing the others, they considered it no longer tolerable that those who were labouring for their political advancement should suffer such outrages, and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether, and to make war against them with might and main. They sent envoys secretly to each other, formed a league, and exchanged hostages as a pledge of good faith.

The Romans were in ignorance of these facts for a long time, being busy with the trials and the seditions in the city. When they heard what was going on they sent men round to the towns, choosing those who were best acquainted with each, to collect information quietly. One of these agents saw a young man who was being taken as a hostage from the town of Asculum to another town, and informed Servilius, the practor, who was in those parts. (It appears that there were practors with consular power at that time governing the various parts of Italy; the emperor Hadrian revived the custom a long time afterward, but

ΟΑΡ. καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμεινεν ἐς βραχύ. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος Θερμότερον ἐσδραμῶν ἐς τὸ ᾿Ασκλον καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι τοῖς ᾿Ασκλαίοις χαλεπῶν ἀπειλῶν ἀνηρέθη ὡς ὑπὸ ἤδη πεφωραμένων. ἐπανηρέθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Φοντήιος, ὃς ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπομένους ἐς βοήθειαν. πεσόντων δὲ τῶνδε, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ὑρωμαίων τις ἦν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι πάντας οἱ ᾿Ασκλαῖοι συνεκέντουν ἐπιτρέχοντες καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς διήρπαζον.

39. Έκραγείσης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἄπαντα, όσα τοις 'Ασκλαίοις έθνη γείτονα ην, συνεξέφαινε την παρασκευήν, Μάρσοι τε καὶ Παιλιγνοί καὶ Ούηστίνοι καὶ Μαρρουκίνοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πικεντίνοι καὶ Φρεντανοί καὶ Ίρπίνοι καὶ Πομπηιανοί καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ Ἰάπυγες, Λευκανοί τε καὶ Σαυνίται, χαλεπά 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ πρὶν ἔθνη γενόμενα, όσα τε άλλα ἀπὸ Λίριος ποταμοῦ, ὃν νῦν μοι δοκοῦσι Λίτερνον ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τὸν μυχόν ἐστι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου πεζεύοντι καὶ περιπλέοντι. πέμψασι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς 'Ρώμην πρέσβεις αἰτιωμένους, ὅτι πάντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνεργασάμενοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται τῆς τῶν βεβοηθημένων πολιτείας, ή βουλή μάλα καρτερώς ἀπεκρίνατο, εί μεταγινώσκουσι τῶν γεγονότων, πρεσβεύειν ἐς αὐτήν, ἄλλως δὲ μή. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάντα ἀπογνόντες ἐς παρασκευὴν καθίσταντο· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ κατά πόλιν στρατώ κοινός ήν ίππέων τε καί πεζων έτερος ες δέκα μυριάδας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ίσον αὐτοῖς ἀντεξέπεμπον ἀπό τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔτι συμμαχούντων σφίσιν ἐθνῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας.

it did not long survive him.) Servilius hastened to CHAP. Asculum and indulged in very menacing language to the people, who were celebrating a festival, and they, supposing that the plot was discovered, put him to death. They also killed Fonteius, his legate (for so they call those of the senatorial order who accompany the governors of provinces as assistants). After these were slain none of the other Romans in Asculum were spared. The inhabitants fell upon them, slaughtered them all, and plundered their goods.

39. When the revolt broke out all the neighbour- B.C. 90 ing peoples declared war at the same time, the Revolt of Marsi, the Peligni, the Vestini, the Marrucini; and the Italians after them the Picentines, the Frentani, the Hirpini. the Pompeiians, the Venusini, the Apulians, the Lucanians, and the Samnites, all of whom had been hostile to the Romans before; also all the rest extending from the river Liris (which is now, I think, the Liternus) to the extremity of the Adriatic gulf, both inland and on the sea coast. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain that although they had cooperated in all ways with the Romans in building up the empire, the latter had not been willing to admit their helpers to citizenship. The Senate answered sternly that if they repented of what they had done they could send ambassadors, otherwise not. The Italians, in despair of any other remedy, went on with their mobilization. Besides the soldiers which were kept for guards at each town, they had forces in common amounting to about 100,000 foot and horse. The Romans sent an equal force against them, made up of their own citizens and of the Italian peoples who

were still in alliance with them.

Appian's geography is here inexact.

CAP. 40. Ἡγοῦντο δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὕπατοι Σέξστος τε Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ καὶ Πόπλιος 'Ρουτίλιος Λοῦπος άμφω γαρ ώς ές μέγαν τε καὶ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον έξήεσαν, έπει και τὰς πύλας οι ὑπόλοιποι και τὰ τείχη διὰ χειρὸς είχον ώς ἐπ' οἰκείω καὶ γείτονι μάλιστα έργω. τό τε ποικίλον τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πολυμερές ενθυμούμενοι ύποστρατήγους τοις ύπάτοις συνέπεμψαν τοὺς τότε ἀρίστους, ὑπὸ μὲν 'Ρουτιλίω Γναΐον τε Πομπήιον, τον πατέρα Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου παρονομασθέντος, καὶ Κόιντον Καιπίωνα καὶ Γάιον Περπένναν καὶ Γάιον Μάριον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Μεσσάλαν, ὑπὸ δὲ Σέξστω Καίσαρι Πούπλιον Λέντλον, ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Τίτον Δίδιον καὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον καὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Μάρκελλον έπὶ τοίσδε. τοσοίδε μεν δη τοίς υπάτοις διελόμενοι την χώραν ύπεστρατήγουν. καὶ πάντας έπεπορεύοντο οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ έτέρους ώς ἐς μέγαν ἀγῶνα ἔπεμπον ἑκάστοτε. 'Ιταλοίς δ' ήσαν μεν στρατηγοί και κατά πόλεις έτεροι, κοινοί δ' έπὶ τῷ κοινῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοκράτορες Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Γάιος Ποντίλιος καὶ Μάριος Έγνάτιος καὶ Κόιντος Ποπαίδιος καὶ Γάιος Πάπιος καὶ Μᾶρκος Λαμπώνιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ "Εριος 'Ασίνιος καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων, οὶ τὸν στρατὸν ὁμοίως μερισάμενοι τοις Ρωμαίων στρατηγοις άντεκαθέζοντο και πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρασαν, πολλὰ δ' ἔπαθον. ὧν ἐκατέρων, έν κεφαλαίω φράσαι, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἢν τοιάδε.

41. Οὐέττιος μὲν Σκάτων Σέξστον Ἰούλιον τρεψάμενος τε καὶ δισχιλίους κτείνας ἐπὶ Λἰσερνίαν ἤλασε ρωμαίζουσαν καὶ αὐτὴν οί μὲν

40. The Romans were led by the consuls Sextus CHAP. Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius Lupus, for in this The Social great civil war both consuls marched forth at once, War leaving the gates and walls in charge of others, as was customary in cases of danger arising at home and very near by. When the war was found to be complex and many-sided, they sent their most renowned men as lieutenant-generals to aid the consuls: to Rutilius, Gnaeus Pompeius, the father of Pompey Leaders on the Great, Quintus Caepio, Gaius Perpenna, Gaius Marius, and Valerius Messala; to Sextus Caesar, Publius Lentulus, a brother of Caesar himself, as well as Titus Didius, Licinius Crassus, Cornelius Sulla, and Marcellus. All these served under the consuls and the country was divided among them. The consuls visited all parts of the field of operations, and the Romans sent them additional forces continually. realizing that it was a serious conflict. The Italians had generals for their united forces besides those of the separate towns. The chief commanders were Titus Lafrenius, Gaius Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Quintus Pompaedius, Gaius Papius, Marcus Lamponius, Gaius Vidacilius, Herius Asinius, and Vettius Scaton. They divided their army in equal parts, took their positions against the Roman generals, performed many notable exploits, and suffered many disasters. The most B.C. 90 memorable events of either kind I shall here summarize

41. Vettius Scaton defeated Sextus Julius, killed Various 2000 of his men, and marched against Aesernia, which battles adhered to Rome. L. Scipio and L. Acilius, who

 CAP. συντάττοντες, Λεύκιός τε Σκιπίων καὶ Λεύκιος 'Ακίλιος θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, χρόνφ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ παρεστήσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι. Μάριος δὲ 'Εγνάτιος Οὐέναφρον ἑλὼν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔκτεινε δύο 'Ρωμαίων σπείρας ἐν αὐτῆ. Πρησενταῖος δὲ Πόπλιος Περπένναν μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἡγούμενον ἐτρέψατο καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ πλέονος μέρους τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβε· ἐφ' ὅτφ Περπένναν 'Ρουτίλιος ὕπατος παρέλυσε τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ Γαίφ Μαρίφ προσέθηκεν. Μᾶρκος δὲ Λαμπώνιος τῶν ἀμφὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον ἀνεῖλεν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς Γρούμεντον

πόλιν συνεδίωξε.

42. Γάιος δὲ Πάπιος Νῶλάν τε είλεν ἐκ προδοσίας καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῆ Ῥωμαίοις, δισχιλίοις οὖσιν, έκήρυξεν, εἰ μεταθοίντο, στρατεύσειν έαυτῶ. καὶ τούσδε μεν ο Πάπιος μεταθεμένους εστράτευεν οί δ' ήγεμόνες αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντες τῷ κηρύγματι ελήφθησαν αιχμάλωτοι και λιμώ προς του Παπίου διεφθάρησαν. Πάπιος δὲ καὶ Σταβίας είλε καὶ Μινέρουιον καὶ Σάλερνον, ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἄποικος ἡν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους τε καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Νουκερίας τὰ ἐν κύκλφ πάντα κατέπρησεν, αι πλησίον αὐτῷ πόλεις καταπλαγείσαι προσετίθεντο στρατιάν τε αἰτοῦντι παρέσχον ές μυρίους πεζούς καὶ ίππέας χιλίους. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πάπιος 'Αχέρραις παρεκάθητο. Σέξστου δὲ Καίσαρος Γαλατών πεζούς μυρίους καὶ Νομάδας Μαυρουσιους ίππέας καὶ πεζούς προσλαβόντος τε καὶ χωρούντος ἐπὶ τὰς ᾿Αχέρρας, ὁ Πάπιος

were in command here, escaped in the disguise of CHAP. slaves. The enemy, after a considerable time, reduced it by famine. Marius Egnatius captured Venafrum by treachery and slew two Roman cohorts there. Publius Presentaeus defeated Perpenna, who had 10,000 men under his command, killed 4000 and captured the arms of the greater part of the others, for which reason the consul Rutilius deprived Perpenna of his command and gave his division of the army to Gaius Marius. Marcus Lamponius destroyed some 800 of the forces under Licinius Crassus and drove the remainder into the town of Grumentum.

42. Gaius Papius captured Nola by treachery and offered to the 2000 Roman soldiers in it the privilege of serving under him if they would change their allegiance. They did so, but their officers refusing the proposal were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. He also captured Slabiae, Minervium 1 and Salernum, which was a Roman colony. The prisoners and the slaves from these places were taken into the military service. But when he also plundered the entire country around Nuceria, the towns in the vicinity were struck with terror and submitted to him, and when he demanded military assistance they furnished him about 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. With these Papius laid siege to Acerrae. When Sextus Caesar, with 10,000 Gallic foot and Numidian and Mauretanian horse and foot, advanced towards Acerrae, Papius took a son of Jugurtha, formerly king of

CAP. 'Οξύνταν, υίον 'Ιογόρθου τοῦ Νομάδων ποτè βασιλέως, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Οὐενουσία φυλαττόμενον, ήγαγεν έκ της Ούενουσίας καὶ περιθείς αὐτῶ πορφύραν βασιλικὴν ἐπεδείκνυ θαμινὰ τοῖς Νομάσι τοις σύν Καίσαρι, πολλών δ' ώς προς ίδιον βασιλέα αὐτομολούντων ἀθρόως, τοὺς μὲν λοιπούς των Νομάδων ως ύπόπτους ὁ Καΐσαρ ές Λιβύην ἀπέπεμψε, Πασίου δὲ πελάσαντος αὐτῶ σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ μέρος ήδη τοῦ χάρακος διασπώντος, τους ίππέας έκπέμψας κατ άλλας πύλας έκτεινε του Παπίου περί έξακισχιλίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξ ᾿Αχερρῶν ἀνεζεύγνυεν, Οὐιδακιλίω δ' ἐν Ἰαπυγία προσετίθεντο Κανύσιοι καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ έτεραι πόλεις πολλαί. τινάς δὲ καὶ ἀπειθούσας ἐξεπολιόρκει, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς 'Ρωμαίων τους μεν επιφανείς έκτεινε, τους δε δημότας καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευε.

43. 'Ρουτίλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Λίριος ποταμοῦ γεφύρας ἐς διάβασιν ἐξ οὐ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐπήγνυντο καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευε παρὰ τὴν Μαρίου μάλιστα γέφυραν ἔλαθέ τε νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν 'Ρουτίλιου γέφυραν λόχους ἐν φάραγξιν ἐνεδρεύσας. ἄμα δ' ἔφ τὸν 'Ρουτίλιον διελθεῖν ὑπεριδὼν ἀνέστησε τὰς ἐνέδρας καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατῶσεν ὅ τε 'Ρουτίλιος αὐτὸς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ βέλει τρωθεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν μετ' ὁλίγον ἀπέθανε. καὶ Μάριος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτέρας ὧν γεφύρας τὸ συμβὰν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα σωμάτων εἰκάσας τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ὤσατο

Numidia, named Oxynta, who was under charge of CHAP. a Roman guard at Venusia, led him out of that place, clothed him in royal purple, and showed him frequently to the Numidians who were in Caesar's army. Many of them deserted, as if to their own king, so that Caesar was obliged to send the rest back to Africa, as they were not trustworthy. But when Papius attacked him contemptuously, and had already made a breach in his palisaded camp. Caesar debouched with his horse through the other gates and slew about 6000 of his men, after which Caesar withdrew from Acerrae. Canusia and Venusia and B.C. 90 many other towns in Apulia sided with Vidacilius. Some that did not submit he besieged, and he put to death the principal Roman citizens in them, but the common people and the slaves he enrolled in his

43. The consul Rutilius and Gaius Marius built The Consul bridges over the river Liris 1 at no great distance Rutilius from each other. Vettius Scaton pitched his camp opposite them, but nearer to the bridge of Marius, and placed an ambush by night in some ravines near the bridge of Rutilius. Early in the morning, after he had allowed Rutilius to cross the bridge, he started up from ambush and killed a large number of the enemy on the dry land and drove many into the river. In this fight Rutilius himself was wounded in the head by a missile and died soon afterward. Marius was on the other bridge and when he guessed, from the bodies floating down stream, what had happened, he drove back those in his front, crossed the river, and captured the camp

1 Really the Tolenus.

ΟΔΡ. καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα περάσας τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Σκάτωνος νπ' ὀλίγων φυλαττόμενον εἶλεν, ὥστε τὸν Σκάτωνα νυκτερεῦσαί τε, ἔνθαπερ ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀποροῦντα ἀγορᾶς ἀναζεῦξαι περὶ τὴν ἔω. 'Ρουτιλίου δὲ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ ταφὴν ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐνεχθέντων ἥ τε ὄψις ἀηδὴς ἦν ὑπάτου καὶ τοσῶνδε ἄλλων ἀνηρημένων καὶ πολυήμερον ἐπὶ τῷδε πένθος ἤγέρθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔκρινεν, ἔνθαπερ ὰν θάνωσι, θάπτεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῶν στρατειῶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πυθόμενοι περὶ σφῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

#### VI

CAP. 44. 'Ρουτιλίφ μὲν δὴ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οὐκ ἐγένετο, Σέξστου Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀγαγόντος σχολὴν διαδραμεῖν ἐπὶ ἀρχαιρέσια ἐς 'Ρώμην' τῆς δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν ἄρχειν Γάιόν τε Μάριον καὶ Κόιντον Καιπίωνα. τούτφ τῷ Καιπίωνι Κόιντος Ποπαίδιος ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος οἶά τις αὐτόμολος προσέφυγεν, ἄγων καὶ διδοὺς ἐνέχυρον δύο βρέφη δοῦλα, καθάπερ υἱεῖς, ἐσκευασμένα ἐσθῆσι περιπορφύροις' ἐς δὲ πίστιν ἔφερε καὶ μάζας ἐκ μολύβδου, χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρω περιβεβλημένας καὶ ἐδεῖτο κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτῷ τὸν Καιπίωνα ἔπεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς καταληψόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔρημον ἔτι ἄρχοντος. Καιπίων μὲν δὴ πειθόμενος ἐιπετο, Ποπαίδιος δὲ πλησίον τῆς ἐσκευασμένης ἐνέδρας γενόμενος

of Scaton, which was guarded by only a small force, CHAP. so that Scaton was obliged to spend the night where he had won his victory, and to retreat in the morning for want of provisions. The body of Rutilius and those of many other patricians were brought to Rome for burial. The corpses of the consul and his numerous comrades made a piteous spectacle and the mourning lasted many days. The Senate decreed from this time on that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army. When the enemy heard of this they made a similar decree for themselves.

#### Vl

44. THERE was no successor to Rutilius in the CHAP. consulship for the remainder of the year, as Sextus Defeat and Caesar did not have leisure to go to the city and death of hold the comitia. The Senate appointed C. Marius Q. Caepio and Q. Caepio to command the forces of Rutilius in the field. The opposing general, Q. Popaedius, fled as a pretended deserter to this Caepio. He brought with him and gave as a pledge two slave babies, clad with the purple-bordered garments of free-born children, pretending that they were his own sons. As further confirmation of his good faith he brought masses of lead plated with gold and silver. He urged Caepio to follow him in all haste with his army and capture the hostile army while destitute of a leader, and Caepio was deceived and followed him. When they had arrived at a place where the ambush had been laid, Popaedius ran up to the top of a hill

CAP. ἀνέδραμεν ές τινα λόφον ώς κατοψόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σημείον αὐτοῖς ἐπῆρεν. οἱ δὲ έκφανέντες αὐτόν τε Καιπίωνα καὶ πολλούς σύν αὐτῶ κατέκοψαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς Καιπίωνος ή σύγκλητος Μαρίω προσέζευξεν.

45. Σέξστος δὲ Καΐσαρ μετὰ τρισμυρίων πεζών καὶ ίππέων πεντακισχιλίων διεξιών τινα φάραγγα καὶ κρημνούς, ἄφνω προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ Μαρίου Ἐγνατίου, ἐς τὴν φάραγγα περιωσθεὶς ἔφυγεν έπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον ἐπί τινα ποταμόν, οδ μία γέφυρα ήν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλέον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τὰ ὅπλα, μόλις ἐς Τεανον καταφυγών ωπλιζεν, οθς έτι είχεν, ως έδύνατο. έτέρου δὲ πλήθους αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν έπελθόντος, ἐπὶ ᾿Αχέρρας ἔτι πολιορκουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Παπίου μετήει.

Καὶ οίδε μεν άλλήλαις άντιστρατοπεδεύοντες ούκ ἐπεχείρουν οὐδέτερος οὐδετέρω διὰ φόβον. 46. Μάρσους δὲ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπιθεμένους σφίσι συντόνως ἐδίωκον, μέχρι θριγκοῖς ἀμπέλων ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτούς καὶ Μάρσοι μὲν τοὺς θριγκοὺς κακοπαθῶς ὑπερέβαινον, Μαρίω δὲ καὶ Σύλλα διώκειν ύπὲρ τούτους οὐκ έδοξεν. Κορνήλιος δε Σύλλας επί θάτερα τωνδε των άμπέλων στρατοπεδεύων, αἰσθόμενος τοῦ γεγονότος ὑπήντα τοῖς ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Μάρσων καὶ πολλούς καὶ όδε ἀπέκτεινεν, ώς τὸν φόνον ἐκείνης της ημέρας γενέσθαι περί πλείους έξακισχιλίων, όπλα δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ληφθῆναι πολύ πλείονα.

Μάρσοι μεν δη δίκην θηρίων, τῶ πταίσματι προσαγανακτούντες, αθθις ώπλίζοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι, προεπιχειρεῖν μή

as though he were searching for the enemy, and gave CHAP. his own men a signal. The latter sprang out of their concealment and cut Caepio and most of his force in pieces; so the Senate joined the rest of Caepio's army to that of Marius.

45. While Sextus Caesar was passing through a Defeat of rocky defile with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse Marius Caesar Egnatius suddenly fell upon him and drove him back into it. He retired, borne on a litter, as he was ill, to a certain stream where there was only one bridge, and there he lost the greater part of his force and the arms of the survivors, only escaping to Teanum with difficulty, where he armed the remainder of his men as best he could. Reinforcements were sent to him speedily and he marched to the relief of Acerrae, which was still besieged by Papius.

There, though their camps were pitched opposite sulla each other, neither dared to attack the other, 46. but defeats the Marsians

Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius defeated the Marsians, who had attacked them. They pursued the enemy vigorously as far as the walls enclosing their vineyards. The Marsians scaled these walls with heavy loss, but Marius and Sulla did not deem it wise to follow them farther. Cornelius Sulla was encamped on the other side of these enclosures, and when he knew what had happened he came out to meet the Marsians, as they tried to escape, and he also killed a great number. More than 6000 Marsians were slain that day, and the arms of a still greater number were captured by the Romans.

The Marsians were rendered as furious as wild beasts by this disaster. They armed their forces again and prepared to march against the enemy, but

CAP. θαρροῦσι μηδὲ ἄρχειν μάχης· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος
 Τολεμικώτατον, καί φασι κατ' αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον
 ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ πταίσματι γενέσθαι μόνῳ, λεγόμενον
 πρότερον οὕτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὕτε ἄνευ Μάρσων

γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.

47. Περί δέ τὸ Φάλερνον ὄρος Γναῖον Πομπήιον Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Οὐέττιος, ἐς ταὐτὸν ἀλλήλοις συνελθόντες, ἐτρέποντο καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς πόλιν Φίρμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἔτερα ἄχοντο, Λαφρήνιος δὲ παρεκάθητο Πομπηίω ἐς τὸ Φίρμον κατακεκλεισμένω. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν ὁπλίζων τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἤει, προσελθόντος δὲ ἐτέρου στρατοῦ Σουλπίκιον περιέπεμπεν ἐπίσω τοῦ Λαφρηνίου γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ μέτωπον ἐπήει. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ πονουμένοιν ἀμφοῦν, ὁ Σουλπίκιος περίμπρη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ πολέμιοι κατιδόντες ἐς "Ασκλον ἔφευγον, ἀκόσμως ἄμα καὶ ἀστρατηγήτως Λαφρήνιος γὰρ ἐπεπτώκει μαχόμενος. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ τὸ "Ασκλον ἐπελθῶν ἐπολιόρκει.

48. Πατρις δ' ην Οὐιδακιλίου τὸ "Ασκλου, καὶ δεδιὼς ὑπὲρ αὐτης ηπείγετο, σπείρας ἄγων ὀκτώ. προπέμψας τε τοῖς 'Ασκλαίοις ἐκέλευεν, ὅταν αὑτὸν ἴδωσι πόρρωθεν ἐπιόντα, ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς περικαθημένους, ὡς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν γενέσθαι ἀλλὰ 'Ασκλαῖοι μὲν ἀπώκνησαν, ὁ δὲ Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων ἐσδραμὼν μεθ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθη, ἀνείδισε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτολμίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν, οὐκ ἐλπίζων δ' ἔτι τὴν πόλιν περιέσεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθρούς, οὶ τέως

did not dare to take the offensive or to begin a battle. CHAP. They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, "No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians."

47. Near Mount Falernus, Vidacilius, T. Lafrenius and P. Vettius united their forces and defeated Gnaeus Pompeius, pursuing him to the city of Fir-Then they went their several ways, and Lafrenius besieged Pompeius, who had shut himself up in Firmum. The latter at once armed his remaining forces, but did not come to an engagement: when, however, he learned that another army was approaching, he sent Sulpicius round to take Lafrenius in the rear while he made a sally in front. Battle was joined and both sides were in much distress, when Sulpicius set fire to the enemy's camp. When the latter saw this they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general, for Lafrenius had fallen in the battle. Pompeius then advanced and laid siege to Asculum.

48. Asculum was the native town of Vidacilius, and Death of as he feared for its safety he hastened to its relief Vidacilius with eight cohorts. He sent word beforehand to the inhabitants that when they should see him advancing at a distance they should make a sally against the besiegers, so that the enemy should be attacked on both sides at once. The inhabitants were afraid to do so; nevertheless Vidacilius forced his way into the city through the midst of the enemy with what followers he could get, and upbraided the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience. As he despaired of saving the city he first put to death all

CAP. αὐτῷ διεφέροντο καὶ τότε διὰ φθόνον τὸ πλήθος ές à παρήγγελλεν ἀπέτρεψαν, ἔκτεινε πάντας έν δε ίερω πυράν νήσας καὶ κλίνην επιθείς επὶ τη πυρά, παρευωχήθη σύν τοίς φίλοις καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ πότου φάρμακον τε προσηνέγκατο καὶ κατακλίνας αύτον έπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐκέλευσε τοῖς φίλοις άψαι τὸ πῦρ. καὶ Οὐιδακίλιος μὲν ὧδε φιλοτιμηθείς πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανείν κατελύθη, Σέξστος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐξήκοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου της άρχης άνθύπατος ύπὸ της βουλης αίρεθείς έπέδραμεν ἀνδράσι δισμυρίοις μεταστρατοπεδεύουσί ποι καὶ έκτεινεν αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους όπλα τε πολύ πλειόνων έλαβε. χρονίου δ αὐτῷ της περί το "Ασκλον ούσης πολιορκίας, άποθνήσκων έκ νόσου άντιστράτηγον άπέφηνε Γάιον BaiBiov.

49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἢν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον αἰσθόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ῥωμης Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Ὁμβρικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔθνη γειτονεύοντα, πάντες ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἠρεθίζοντο. δείσασα οὖν ἡ βουλή, μὴ ἐν κύκλῳ γενόμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ὰφύλακτος ἢ, τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ δι ἀπελευθέρων, τότε πρῶτον ἐς στρατείαν δι ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν καταλεγέντων, Ἰταλιωτῶν δὲ τοὺς ἔτι ἐν τῆ συμμαχία παραμένοντας ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι πολίτας, οὖ δὴ μάλιστα μόνον οὐ πάντες ἐπεθύμουν. καὶ τάδε ἐς Τυρρηνοὺς περιέπεμπεν, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι τῆς πολιτείας μετελάμβανον. καὶ τῆδε τῆ χάριτι ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς μὲν εὔνους εὐνουστέρους ἐποίησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐβεβαιώσατο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμοῦντας ἐλπίδι τινὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πραοτέρους ἐποίησεν. Ῥωμαῖοι

of his enemies who had been at variance with him CHAP. before and who, out of jealousy, had prevented the people from obeying his recent orders. Then he erected a funeral pile in the temple and placed a couch upon it, and held a feast with his friends, and while the drinking-bout was at its height he swallowed poison, threw himself on the pile, and ordered his friends to set fire to it. Thus perished Vidacilius, a man who considered it glorious to die for his country, Sextus Caesar was invested with the consular power by the Senate after his term of office had expired. He attacked 20,000 of the enemy while they were changing camping-places. killed about 8000 of them, and captured the arms of a much larger number. He died of disease while pushing the long siege of Asculum; the Senate appointed Gaius Baebius his successor.

49. While these events were transpiring on the Etruscans Adriatic side of Italy, the inhabitants of Etruria and umbrians Umbria and other neighbouring peoples on the other admitted to side of Rome heard of them and all were excited to citizenship revolt. The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by war, and unable to protect themselves. garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumae to the city with freedmen, who were then for the first time enrolled in the army on account of the scarcity of soldiers. The Senate also voted that those Italians who had adhered to their alliance should be admitted to citizenship, which was the one thing they all desired most. They sent this decree around among the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the citizenship. By this favour the Senate made the faithful more faithful, confirmed the wavering, and mollified their enemies by the hope of similar treatment. The Romans did not enroll the new citizens in the

CAP. μèν δὴ τούσδε τοὺς νεοπολίτας οὐκ ἐς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλάς, αὶ τότε ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, κατέλεξαν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πλέονες ὄντες ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις ἐπικρατοῖεν, ἀλλὰ δεκατεύοντες ἀπέφηναν ἑτέρας, ἐν αἰς ἐχειροτόνουν ἔσχατοι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἡ ψῆφος ἀχρεῖος ἦν, ἄτε τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα προτέρων τε καλουμένων καὶ οὐσῶν ὑπὲρ ἤμισυ. ὅπερ ἢ λαθὸν αὐτίκα ἡ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸ ἀγαπησάντων τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν

ύστερον επιγνωσθέν ετέρας στάσεως ηρξεν.

50. Οί δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰονιον οὔπω τὴν Τυρρηνῶν μετάνοιαν έγνωκότες μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους όδον ἀτριβή καὶ μακράν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπὶ συμμαχία περιέπεμπον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσών Γυαίος Πομπήιος, ύπατος ων ήδη, διέφθειρεν ές πεντακισχιλίους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐς τὰ σφέτερα διὰ ἀπόρου χώρας καὶ χειμώνος ἐπιπόνου διατρεγόντων οι ημίσεις βαλανηφαγούντες διεφθάρησαν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Πόρκιος μὲν Κάτων, ὁ σύναρχος τοῦ Πομπηίου, Μάρσοις πολεμῶν ανηρέθη. Λεύκιος δε Κλοέντιος Σύλλα περί τα Πομπαΐα όρη στρατοπεδεύοντι μάλα καταφρονητικώς ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν παρεστρατοπέδευε. καὶ ο Σύλλας την ύβριν οὐκ ἐνεγκων οὐδὲ των ἰδίων τούς χορτολογοῦντας ἀναμείνας ἐπέδραμε τῷ Κλοεντίω. καὶ τότε μεν ήττώμενος έφευγε, προσλαβών δέ τους χορτολογούντας τρέπεται τὸν Κλοέντιον. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν πορρωτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευεν, ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν αὖθις ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Σύλλα. καὶ συνιόντων τῶν στρατών Γαλάτης άνηρ μεγέθει μέγας προδραμών

thirty-five existing tribes, lest they should outvote CHAP. the old ones in the elections, but incorporated them in ten new tribes, which voted last. So it often happened that their vote was useless, since a majority was obtained from the thirty-five tribes that voted first. This fact was either not noticed by the Italians at the time or they were satisfied with what they had gained, but it was observed later and became the source of a new conflict.

50. The insurgents along the Adriatic coast, before victories of they learned of the change of sentiment among the Sulla Etruscans, sent 15,000 men to their assistance by a B.C. SO long and difficult road. Gnaeus Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon them and killed 5000 of them. The rest made their way homeward through a trackless region, in a severe winter; and half of them after subsisting on acorns perished.1 The same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed while fighting with the Marsians. While Sulla was encamped near the Pompaean hills Lucius Cluentius pitched his camp in a contemptuous manner at a distance of only three stades from him. Sulla did not tolerate this insolence, but attacked Cluentius without waiting for his own foragers to come in. He was worsted and put to flight, but when he was reinforced by his foragers he turned and defeated Cluentius. The latter then moved his camp to a greater distance. Having received certain Gallic reinforcements he again drew near to Sulla and just as the two armies were coming to an engagement a Gaul of enormous size advanced and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is probably a gap in the text: "half, living on acorns, survived, but half perished."

CAP. προυκαλεῖτό τινα 'Ρωμαίων ἐς μάχην. ὡς δ' αὐτὸν ὑποστὰς Μαυρούσιος ἀνὴρ βραχὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ Γαλάται αὐτίκα ἔφευγον. παραλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὐδ' ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἔτι τοῦ Κλοεντίου παρέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγεν ἐς Νῶλαν ἀκόσμως. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ἑπόμενος ἔκτεινεν ἐς τρισμυρίους ἐν τῷ δρόμῷ καὶ τῶν Νωλαίων αὐτοὺς μιῷ πύλη δεχομένων, ἵνα μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι σφίσι συνεσπέσοιεν, ἑτέρους ἔκτεινεν ἀμφὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ σὺν τοῖσδε Κλοέντιος

άγωνιζόμενος έπεσε.

51. Σύλλας δ' ές έθνος έτερον, Ίρπίνους, μετεστρατοπέδευε καὶ προσέβαλεν Αἰκουλάνω. οἱ δὲ Λευκανούς προσδοκώντες αὐτης ημέρας σφίσιν έπὶ συμμαχίαν ἀφίξεσθαι, τὸν Σύλλαν καιρὸν ές σκέψιν ήτουν. ὁ δ' αἰσθανόμενος τοῦ τεγνάσματος ώραν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε κὰν τῆδε ξυλίνω ὄντι τῷ τείχει κληματίδας περιτιθείς μετὰ τὴν ώραν ύφηπτεν. οι δε δείσαντες την πόλιν παρεδίδουν. καὶ τήνδε μεν ὁ Σύλλας διήρπαζεν ώς οὐκ εὐνοία προσελθοῦσαν, άλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων έφείδετο προστιθεμένων, μέχρι τὸ Ἱρπίνων ἔθνος άπαν ύπηγάγετο, καὶ μετηλθεν ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας, οὐχ ή Μοτίλος, ὁ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, τὰς παρόδους εφύλαττεν, άλλ' ετέραν άδόκητον εκ περιόδου. προσπεσών δ' άφνω πολλούς τε εκτεινε, καὶ των ύπολοίπων σποράδην διαφυγόντων ο μέν Μοτίλος τραυματίας ές Αἰσερνίαν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον έξελων ές Βουάνον παρήλθεν, ή το κοινοβούλιον ην των ἀποστάντων. τρεῖς δ' ἄκρας τής πόλεως

challenged any Roman to single combat. A Maurusian soldier of short stature accepted the challenge and killed him, whereupon the Gauls became paniestricken and fled. Cluentius' line of battle was thus broken and the remainder of his troops did not stand their ground, but fled in disorder to Nola. Sulla followed them and killed 3000 in the pursuit, and as the inhabitants of Nola received them by only one gate, lest the enemy should rush in with them, he killed about 20,000 more outside the walls and among them Cluentius himself, who fell fighting

bravely.

51. Then Sulla moved against another tribe, the Hirpini, and attacked the town of Aeculanum. The inhabitants, who expected aid from the Lucanians that very day, asked Sulla to give them time for consideration. He understood the trick and gave them one hour, and meanwhile piled fagots around their walls, which were made of wood, and at the expiration of the hour set them on fire. They were terrified and surrendered the town. Sulla plundered it because it had not been delivered up voluntarily but under necessity. He spared the other towns that gave themselves up, and in this way the entire population of the Hirpini was brought under subjection. Then Sulla moved against the Samnites, not where Mutilus, the Samnite general, guarded the roads, but by another circuitous route where his coming was not expected. He fell upon them suddenly, killed many, and scattered the rest in disorderly flight. Mutilus was wounded and took refuge with a few followers in Aesernia. Sulla destroyed his camp and moved against Boyanum, where the common council of the rebels was held. The city had three citadels.

CAP. ἐχούσης καὶ τῶν Βουάνων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπεστραμμένων, περιπέμψας τινὰς ὁ Σύλλας ἐκέλευε καταλαβεῖν, ἥν τινα τῶν ἄλλων δυνηθεῖεν ἄκραν, καὶ καπνῷ τοῦτο σημῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ καπνοῦ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκ μετώπου καὶ μαχόμενος

ώραις τρισί καρτερώς είλε την πόλιν.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους εὐπραγήματα Σύλλα γειμώνος δ' επιόντος ό μεν ές 'Ρώμην ανέστρεφεν, ές ύπατείαν παραγγέλλων, 52. Γναίος δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπηγάγετο Μάρσους καὶ Μαρρουκίνους καὶ Οὐηστίνους, καὶ Γάιος Κοσκώνιος, έτερος 'Ρωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπελθών Σαλαπίαν τε ένέπρησε καὶ Κάννας παρέλαβε, καὶ Κανύσιον περικαθήμενος Σαυνίταις ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀντεμάχετο έγκρατως, μέχρι φόνος πολύς έκατέρων έγένετο καὶ ό Κοσκώνιος έλαττούμενος ές Κάννας ύπεχώρει. Τρεβάτιος δ' αὐτόν, ό τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, ποταμοῦ διείργοντος, ἐκέλευεν ἡ περάν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ές μάχην ἡ ἀναχωρεῖν, ἵνα περάσειεν. ὁ δ΄ ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ διαβάντι τῷ Τρεβατίφ προσπεσὼν μάχη τε κρείττων έγένετο καὶ φεύγοντος έπὶ τὸ ρεθμα αὐτοθ μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρεν· οί δὲ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦ Τρεβατίου διέφυγον ες Κανύσιον. καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος τὴν Λαριναίων καὶ ᾿Ασκλαίων γῆν ἐπιδραμὼν ές Ποιδίκλους έσέβαλε καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις τὸ ἔθνος παρέλαβε.

53. Καικίλιος δ' αὐτῷ Μέτελλος ἐπελθῶν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἐμβαλῶν ἐκράτει καὶ ὅδε μάχη τῶν Ἰαπύγων. καὶ Ποπαίδιος, ἄλλος τῶν ἀφεστώτων στρατηγός, ἐνταῦθα ἔπεσεν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδην ἐς τὸν Καικίλιον

While the inhabitants were intently watching Sulla CHAP. from one of these citadels, he ordered a detachment to capture whichever of the other two they could, and then to make a signal by means of smoke. When the smoke was seen he made an attack in front and, after

a severe fight of three hours, took the city.

52. These were the successes of Sulla during that summer. When winter came he returned to Rome to stand for the consulship, but Gnaeus Pompeius brought the Marsians, the Marrucini, and the Vestini under subjection. Gaius Cosconius, another Roman praetor, advanced against Salapia and burned it. He received the surrender of Cannae and laid siege to Canusium; then he had a severe fight with the Samnites, who came to its relief, and after great slaughter on both sides Cosconius was beaten and retreated to Cannae. A river separated the two armies, and Trebatius sent word to Cosconius either to come over to his side and fight him, or to withdraw and let him cross. Cosconius withdrew, and while Trebatius was crossing attacked him and got the better of him, and, while he was escaping toward the stream, killed 15,000 of his men. The remainder took refuge with Trebatius in Canusium. Cosconius overran the territory of Larinum, Venusia, and Asculum, and invaded that of the Poediculi, and within two days received their surrender.

53. Caecilius Metellus, his successor in the praetor- Fighting in ship, attacked the Apulians and overcame them in Apulia battle. Popaedius, one of the rebel generals, here lost his life, and the survivors joined Metellus in detachments. Such was the course of events through-

CAP διέφυγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ην περὶ την Ἰταλίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον, ἀκμάσαντα δη μάλιστα μέχρι τῶνδε, ἔως Ἰταλία πᾶσα προσεχώρησεν ἐς την Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν, χωρίς γε Λευκανῶν καὶ Σαυνιτῶν τότε δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ οἵδε τυχεῖν, ὧν ἔχρηζον, ὕστερον. ἐς δὲ τὰς φυλὰς ὅμοια τοῖς προτυχοῦσιν ἔκαστοι κατελέγοντο, τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι ἐπικρα-

τείν έν ταίς χειροτονίαις, πλέονες όντες.

54. Τοῦ δ΄ αὐτοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ οἱ χρῆσται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν, οἱ μὲν πράττοντες τὰ χρέα σὺν τόκοις, νόμου τινὸς παλαιοῦ διαγορεύοντος μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις ἡ ζημίαν τὸν οὕτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν. ἀποστραφῆναι γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ Ἑλληνες, τὸ δανείζειν ὡς καπηλικὸν καὶ βαρὺ τοῖς πένησι καὶ δύσερι καὶ ἐχθροποιόν, ῷ λόγῳ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ κίχρασθαι ὡς ἀπατηλόν τε καὶ φιλοψευδές. ἔθους δὲ χρονίου τοὺς τόκους βεβαιοῦντος, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἤτουν, οἱ δὲ οἷον ἐκ πολέμων τε καὶ στάσεων ἀνεβάλλοντο τὰς ἀποδόσεις εἰσὶ δ΄ οἱ καὶ τὴν ζημίαν τοὺς δανείσαντας ἐκτίσειν ἐπηπείλουν.

"Ο τε στρατηγὸς 'Ασελλίων, ῷ ταῦτα προσέκειτο, ἐπεὶ διαλύων αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐδίδου κατ ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς δικαστήρια, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔθους ἀπορίαν ἐς τοὺς δικαστὰς περιφέρων. οί

out Italy as regards the Social War, which had raged CHAP. with violence thus far, until the whole of Italy came into the Roman state except, for the present, the Social War Lucanians and the Samnites, who also seem to have obtained what they desired somewhat later. Each body of allies was enrolled in tribes of its own, like those who had been admitted to citizenship before, so that they might not, by being mingled with the old citizens, vote them down in the elections by force of numbers.

city between debtors and creditors, since the latter against usury exacted the money due to them with interest, although an old law distinctly forbade lending on interest and imposed a penalty upon any one doing so. It seems that the ancient Romans, like the Greeks, abhorred the taking of interest on loans as something knavish, and hard on the poor, and leading to contention and enmity; and by the same kind of reasoning the Persians considered lending as having itself a tendency to deceit and lying. But, since time had sanctioned the practice of taking interest, the creditors demanded it according to custom. The debtors, on the other hand, put off their payments on the plea of war and civil commotion. Some

54. About the same time dissensions arose in the Uprising

The praetor Asellio, who had charge of these matters, as he was not able to compose their differences by persuasion, allowed them to proceed against each other in the courts, thus bringing the deadlock due to the conflict of law and custom before the judges.

indeed threatened to exact the legal penalty from

the interest-takers.

<sup>\*</sup> χρησται in the Greek apparently includes both, unless καl Saveraral is to be inserted.

CAP. δανεισταὶ δὲ χαλεπήναντες, ὅτι τὸν νόμον παλαιὸν όντα άνεκαίνιζε, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν ὧδε· ὁ μὲν ἔθυε τοίς Διοσκούροις έν άγορα, του πλήθους ώς έπὶ θυσία περιστάντος ένὸς δὲ λίθου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντος, ἔρριψε τὴν φιάλην καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς Έστίας ίερον ίετο δρόμω, οί δὲ αὐτὸν προλαβόντες τε ἀπέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ίεροῦ καὶ καταφυγόντα ές τι πανδοχείον εσφαξαν. πολλοί τε των διωκόντων ές τὰς παρθένους αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καταφυγείν εσεδραμον, ένθα μη θέμις ην ανδράσιν. ούτω μέν καὶ 'Ασελλίων στρατηγών τε καὶ σπένδων καὶ ίεραν καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ἐσθῆτα ώς ἐν θυσία περικείμενος αμφί δευτέραν ώραν εσφάζετο εν άγορα μέση παρά ίεροις. και ή σύγκλητος έκήρυσσεν, εί τίς τι περί του 'Ασελλίωνος φόνον έλέγξειεν, έλευθέρω μεν άργύριον, δούλω δε έλευθερίαν, συνεγνωκότι δὲ ἄδειαν οὐ μὴν ἐμήνυσεν ούδείς, των δανειστών περικαλυψάντων.

## VII

CAP. 55. Τάδε μὲν δὴ φόνοι καὶ στάσεις ἔτι ἦσαν ἐμφύλιοι κατὰ μέρη· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο στρατοῖς μεγάλοις οἱ στασίαρχοι πολέμου νόμφ συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἡ πατρὶς ἄθλον ἔκειτο ἐν μέσφ. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐς ταῦτα καὶ πάροδος, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ, ἥδε ἐγίγνετο.

Έπειδη Μιθριδάτης ο του Πόντου καὶ άλλων

The lenders, exasperated that the now obsolete law CHAP was being revived, killed the practor in the following manner. He was offering sacrifice to Castor and a practor multiple of the control Pollux in the forum, with a crowd standing around as was usual at such a ceremony. In the first place somebody threw a stone at him, on which he dropped the libation-bowl and ran toward the temple of Vesta, They then got ahead of him and prevented him from reaching the temple, and after he had fled into a tavern they cut his throat. Many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge with the Vestal virgins, ran in there, where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus was Asellio, while serving as practor, and pouring out the libation, and wearing the sacred gilded vestments customary in such ceremonies, slain at the second hour of the day in the centre of the forum, in the midst of the sacrifice. The Senate offered a reward of money to any free citizen, freedom to any slave, impunity to any accomplice, who should give testimony leading to the conviction of the murderers of Asellio, but nobody gave any information. The money-lenders covered up everything.

## VII

55. HITHERTO the murders and seditions had been CHAP. internal and fragmentary. Afterward the chiefs of Civil Wars factions assailed each other with great armies, accord-of Marins ing to the usage of war, and their country lay as a and Sulla prize between them. The beginning and origin of these contentions came about directly after the Social War, in this wise.

When Mithridates, king of Pontus and of other

CAP. έθνων βασιλεύς ές Βιθυνίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ την ομορον αυταίς 'Ασίαν ενέβαλεν, ώς μοι κατά την βίβλου εἴρηται τὴυ πρὸ τῆσδε, Σύλλας μὲν ύπατεύων έλαχε στρατηγείν της 'Ασίας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου (καὶ ην ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμη), Μάριος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εὐχερῆ τε καὶ πολύχρυσον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς στρατηγίας ύπηγάγετό οι συμπράσσειν ές τοῦτο Πούπλιον Σουλπίκιον δήμαρχον ύποσχέσεσι πολλαίς καὶ τούς έκ της Ίταλίας νεοπολίτας, μειονεκτούντας έπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ἐπήλπιζεν ἐς τὰς φυλὰς άπάσας διαιρήσειν, οὐ προλέγων μέν τι περὶ τῆς έαυτοῦ χρείας, ώς δὲ ὑπηρέταις ἐς πάντα χρησόμενος εύνοις. καὶ νόμον αὐτίκα ὁ Σουλπίκιος έσέφερε περί τοῦδε οὖ κυρωθέντος ἔμελλε πᾶν ὅ τι βούλοιτο Μάριος η Σουλπίκιος ἔσεσθαι, των νεοπολιτών πολύ παρά τούς άρχαίους πλειόνων όντων. οί δ' άρχαιότεροι συνορώντες ταθτα έγκρατώς τοίς νεοπολίταις διεφέροντο. ξύλοις δὲ καὶ λίθοις χρωμένων αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ μείζονος αιεί γιγνομένου τοῦ κακοῦ, δείσαντες οι υπατοι περί τη δοκιμασία του νόμου πλησιαζούση προύγραψαν ήμερων άργίας πολλων, όποιον έν ταίς έορταις είωθε γίγνεσθαι, ίνα τις αναβολή γένοιτο της χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ.

56. Σουλπίκιος δὲ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀναμένων ἐκέλευε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥκειν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων καὶ δρᾶν, ὅ τι ἐπείγοι, μηδ' αὐτῶν φειδομένους τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ δέοι. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἔτοιμα ἦν, κατηγόρει τῶν ἀργιῶν ὡς παρανόμων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν

nations, invaded Bithynia and Phrygia and that part CHAP. of Asia adjacent to those countries, as I have related The in the preceding book, the consul Sulla was chosen by command lot to the command of Asia and the Mithridatic war, Mithridates but was still in Rome. Marius, for his part, thought that this would be an easy and lucrative war and desiring the command of it prevailed upon the tribune. Publius Sulpicius, by many promises, to help him to obtain it. He also encouraged the new Italian citizens, who had very little power in the elections. to hope that they should be distributed among all the tribes-not in any way openly suggesting his own advantage, but with the expectation of employing them as loyal servants for all his ends. Sulpicius B.C. 88 straightway brought forward a law for this purpose. If it were enacted Marius and Sulpicius would have everything they wanted, because the new citizens far outnumbered the old ones. The old citizens saw this and opposed the new ones with all their might. They fought each other with sticks and stones, and the evil increased continually, till the consuls, becoming apprehensive, as the day for voting on the law drew near, proclaimed a vacation 1 of several days, such as was customary on festal occasions, in order to postpone the voting and the danger.

56. Sulpicius would not wait for the end of the vacation, but ordered his faction to come to the forum with concealed daggers and to do whatever the exigency might require, sparing not even the consuls if need be. When everything was in readiness he denounced the vacations as illegal and ordered the consuls, Cornelius Sulla and Quintus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A cessation from all public business.

CAP, καὶ Κόιντον Πομπήιον ἐκέλευεν αὐτὰς αὐτίκα άναιρείν, ίνα προθείη την δοκιμασίαν των νόμων. θορύβου δ' ἀναστάντος οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπεσπάσαντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπά**τους ἀν**τιλέγοντας ήπείλουν κτενεῖν, μέχρι Πομπήιος μὲν λαθὼν διέφυγε, Σύλλας δ' ὡς βουλευσόμενος ύπεχώρει. κάν τῷδε Γομπηίου τὸν υίόν, κηδεύοντα τῷ Σύλλα, παρρησιαζομενόν τι καὶ λέγοντα κτείνουσιν οί τοῦ Σουλπικίου στασιώται, καὶ ό Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἐβάστασε τὴν ἀργίαν ἔς τε Καπύην έπὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ στρατόν, ὡς ἐκ Καπύης ἐς την Ασίαν έπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον διαβαλών, ηπείγετο οὐ γάρ πώ τινος τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πραττομένων ήσθετο. ὁ δὲ Σουλπίκιος, ἀναιρεθείσης τῆς άργίας καὶ Σύλλα τῆς πόλεως ἀποστάντος, ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον καί, οὖ χάριν ἄπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, Μάριον εὐθὺς ἐχειροτόνει τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγείν άντι Σύλλα.

57. Πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σύλλας καὶ πολέμω κρίνας διακριθηναι συνήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τόνδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην στρατείας ὀρεγόμενον τε ὡς ἐπικερδοῦς καὶ νομίζοντα Μάριον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐτέρους καταλέξειν ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. τὴν δ' ὕβριν ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν Σουλπικίου τε καὶ Μαρίου καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκών (οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμα πω λέγειν περὶ τοιοῦδε πολέμου), παρήνεσεν ἑτοίμοις ἐς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ συνιέντες τε ὧν ἐπενόει καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες, μὴ τῆς στρατείας ἀποτύχοιεν, ἀπεγύμνουν αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην σφᾶς ἄγειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς ἦγεν ἑξ τέλη στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα. καὶ

Pompeius, to put an end to them at once, in order to CHAP. proceed to the enactment of the laws. A tumult arose, and those who had been armed drew their daggers and threatened to kill the consuls, who refused to obey. Finally Pompeius escaped secretly and Sulla withdrew on the pretext of taking advice. In the meantime the son of Pompeius, who was the son-in-law of Sulla, and who was speaking his mind rather freely, was killed by the Sulpicians. Presently Sulla came on the scene and, having annulled the vacation, hurried away to Capua, where his army was stationed, as if to cross over to Asia to take command of the war against Mithridates, for he knew nothing as yet of the designs against himself. As the vacation was annulled and Sulla had left the city, Sulpicius enacted his law, and Marius, for whose sake it was done, was forthwith chosen commander of the war against Mithridates in place of Sulla.

57. When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war, and called the army together to a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this sort of war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they uttered boldly what Sulla had in mind, and Sulla told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to marches against the Rome. Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions city thither forthwith; but all his superior officers, except

CAP. αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοῦ στρατοῦ χωρὶς ένὸς ταμίου διέδρασαν ές 'Ρώμην, ούχ ύφιστάμενοι στρατον άγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρέσβεις δ' ἐν όδῷ καταλαβόντες ἡρώτων, τί μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλαύνοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, ἐλευθερώσων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννούντων.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὶς τρὶς έτέροις καὶ έτέροις πρέσβεσιν έλθουσιν είπων επήγγελλεν όμως, εί θέλοιεν τήν τε σύγκλητον αυτώ και Μάριον και Σουλπίκιον ές το "Αρειον πεδίον συναγαγείν, καὶ πράξειν, ο τι αν βουλευομένοις δοκη. πλησιάζοντι δε Πομπήιος μεν ο σύναρχος επαινών και άρεσκό-μενος τοις γιγνομένοις άφίκετο συμπράξων ες άπαντα, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἐς παρασκευὴν ολίγου διαστήματος δεόμενοι πρέσβεις έτέρους έπεμπον ώς δή καὶ τούσδε ύπὸ της βουλής ἀπεσταλμένους, δεόμενοι μη άγχοτέρω τεσσαράκουτα σταδίων τῆ 'Ρώμη παραστρατοπεδεύειν, μέχρι ἐπισκέψαιντο περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ ἐνθύμημα σαφῶς εἰδότες ὑπέσχοντο μεν ώδε πράξειν, εὐθὺς δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν άπιουσιν είποντο.

58. Καὶ Σύλλας μὲν τὰς Αἰσκυλείας πύλας καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτὰς τεῖχος ένὶ τέλει στρατιωτῶν κατελάμβανε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς Κολλίνας έτέρφ τέλει καὶ τρίτου ἐπὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ἐχώρει, καὶ τέταρτου πρὸ τῶυ τειχῶυ ἐς διαδοχὴυ ὑπέ-μενε. τοῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ὁ Σύλλας ἐς τὴυ πόλιν έχώρει δόξη καὶ ἔργω πολεμίου· ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἰ περιοικοῦντες ἄνωθεν ἢμύνοντο βάλλοντες, μέχρι τὰς οἰκίας ἢπείλησεν ἐμπρήσειν· τότε δ' οἱ μὲν άνέσχου, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἀπήντων περί

one quaestor, left him and fled to the city, because CHAP. they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her

from her tyrants," he replied.

He gave the same answer to a second and a third embassy that came to him, one after another, but he announced to them finally that the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius might meet him in the Campus Martius if they liked, and that he would do whatever might be agreed upon after consultation. As he was approaching, his colleague, Pompeius, came to meet and congratulate him, and to offer his whole-hearted help, for he was delighted with the steps he was taking. As Marius and Sulpicius needed some short interval for preparation, they sent other messengers, also in the guise of envoys from the Senate, directing him not to move his camp nearer than forty stades from the city until they could review the state of affairs. Sulla and Pompeius understood their motive perfectly and promised to comply, but as soon as the envoys withdrew they followed them.

58. Sulla took possession of the Esquiline gate Ho and of the adjoining wall with one legion of soldiers, captures it and Pompeius occupied the Colline gate with another. A third advanced to the Wooden bridge, and a fourth remained on guard in front of the walls. With the remainder Sulla entered the city, in appearance and in fact an enemy. Those in the neighbouring houses tried to keep him off by hurling missiles from the roofs until he threatened to burn the houses; then they desisted. Marius and Sulpicius went, with some forces they had hastily armed, to meet the invaders

CAP. τὴν Αἰσκύλειον ἀγορὰν μεθ' ὅσων ἐφθάκεσαν VII ὁπλίσαι. καὶ γίγνεταί τις ἀγὼν ἐχθρῶν, ὅδε πρῶτος ἐν 'Ρώμη, οὐχ ὑπὸ εἰκόνι στάσεως ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ἀπροφασίστως ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι καὶ σημείοις, πολέμου νόμω· ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς κακοῦ τὰ τῶν

στάσεων αμεληθέντα προέκοψε.

Τρεπομένων δὲ τῶν Σύλλα στρατιωτῶν, ὁ Σύλλας σημείον άρπάσας προεκινδύνευεν, ώς αίδοι τε του στρατηγού και δέει της έπι τῷ σημείφ εἰ ἀπέχοιντο, ἀτιμίας εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοὺς μετατίθεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐκάλει τε τούς νεαλείς έκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ έτέρους κατά την καλουμένην Σιβούραν όδον περιέπεμπεν, ή κατά νώτου των πολεμίων έμελλον έσεσθαι περιδραμόντες. οί δ' άμφὶ τὸν Μάριον πρός τε τοὺς έπελθόντας άκμητας άσθενως μαχόμενοι καί έπί τοίς περιοδεύουσι δείσαντες περικύκλωσιν τούς τε άλλους πολίτας έκ των οἰκιων ἔτι μαχομένους συνεκάλουν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις ἐκήρυττον ἐλευθερίαν εί μετάσχοιεν τοῦ πόνου. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσιόντος απογνόντες απάντων έφευγον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνεπεπράγεσαν.

59. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τότε μὲν ἐς τὴν λεγομένην Ἱερὰν ὁδὸν παρῆλθε καὶ τοὺς διαρπάζοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ποσὶν αὐτίκα ἐν μέσφ πάντων ἐφορώντων ἐκόλαζε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήσας τῆ πόλει διενυκτέρευεν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, περιθέοντες ἑκάστους, ἵνα μή τι δεινὸν ἢ παρὰ τῶν δεδιότων ἢ παρὰ τῶν νενικηκότων ἐπιγένοιτο. ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες ἀδύροντο περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ

near the Esquiline forum, and here a battle took place CHAP. between the contending parties, the first regularly fought in Rome with bugle and standards in full military fashion, no longer like a mere faction fight. To such extremity of evil had the recklessness of

party strife progressed among them.

Sulla's forces were beginning to waver when Sulla seized a standard and exposed himself to danger in the foremost ranks, so that from regard for their general and fear of ignominy, should they abandon their standard, they might rally at once. Then he ordered up the fresh troops from his camp and sent others around by the Suburran road to take the enemy in the rear. The Marians fought feebly Flight of against these new-comers, and as they feared lest the Marians they should be surrounded they called to their aid the other citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and proclaimed freedom to slaves who would share their dangers. As nobody came forward they fell into utter despair and fled at once out of the city, together with those of the nobility who had cooperated with them.

59. Sulla advanced to the Via Sacra, and there, in Changes sight of everybody, punished at once certain soldiers introduced by Sulla for looting things they had come across. stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius keeping watch by night. Each kept moving about his own command to see that no calamity was brought about either by the frightened people or by the victorious troops. At daybreak they summoned the people to an assembly and lamented the condition of the republic, which had been so long given over to demagogues, and said that they had

CAP. το**ι̂ς δημοκοπούσιν ἐκδεδομένης, καὶ αὐτοὶ τάδε** πράξαντες ύπ' ἀνάγκης. εἰσηγοῦντό τε μηδέν έτι ἀπροβούλευτον ές τὸν δημον ἐσφέρεσθαι, νενομισμένον μεν ούτω καὶ πάλαι, παραλελυμένον δ' έκ πολλού, και τὰς χειροτονίας μη κατὰ φυλάς, άλλα κατά λόγους, ώς Τύλλιος βασιλεύς έταξε, γίνεσθαι, νομίσαντες διά δυοίν τοινδε ούτε νόμον οὐδένα πρὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸ πληθος ἐσφερόμενον ούτε τὰς χειροτονίας ἐν τοῖς πένησι καὶ θρασυτάτοις αντί των έν περιουσία και ευβουλία γιγνομένας δώσειν έτι στάσεων άφορμάς. πολλά τε άλλα της των δημάρχων άρχης, τυραννικής μάλιστα γεγενημένης, περιελόντες κατέλεξαν ές τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὀλιγανθρωπότατον δὴ τότε μάλιστα ον και παρά τουτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον άθρόους έκ των άρίστων άνδρων τριακοσίους. όσα τε ύπὸ Σουλπικίου κεκύρωτο μετὰ τὴν κεκηρυγμένην ύπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀργίαν, ἄπαντα διελύετο ώς οὐκ ἔννομα.

60. Πδε μὲν αί στάσεις ἐξ ἔριδος καὶ φιλονικίας ἐπὶ φόνους καὶ ἐκ φόνων ἐς πολέμους ἐντελεῖς προέκοπτον, καὶ στρατὸς πολιτῶν ὅδε πρῶτος ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν. οὐδ' ἔληξαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε αἱ στάσεις ἔτι κρινόμεναι στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλὶ ἐσβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐγίνοντο καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολέμων ἔργα, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐς αἰδῶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις ἐμποδῶν ὅντος, ἢ νόμων ἢ πολιτείας ἢ πατρίδος. τότε δὲ Σουλπίκιον δημαρχοῦντα ἔτι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάριον, ἑξάκις

done what they had done as a matter of necessity. CHAP. They proposed that no question should ever again be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by the Senate, an ancient practice which had been abandoned long ago; also that the voting should not be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Servius Tullius had ordained. They thought that by these two measures-namely, that no law should be brought before the people unless it had been previously before the Senate, and that the voting should be controlled by the well-to-do and sober-minded rather than by the pauper and reckless classes—there would no longer be left any startingpoint for civil discord. They proposed many other measures for curtailing the power of the tribunes, which had become extremely tyrannical, and enrolled 300 of the best citizens at once in the list of the senators, who had been reduced at that time to a very small number and had fallen into contempt for that reason. They also annulled all the acts performed by Sulpicius after the vacation had been proclaimed by the consuls, as being illegal.

60. Thus the seditions proceeded from strife and Rome under contention to murder, and from murder to open war, martial law and now the first army of her own citizens had invaded Rome as a hostile country. From this time the seditions were decided only by the arbitrament of arms. There were frequent attacks upon the city and battles before the walls and other calamities incident to war. Henceforth there was no restraint upon violence either from the sense of shame, or regard for law, institutions, or country. This time Sulpicius, who still held the office of tribune, together with Marius, who had been consul six times,

CAP. ὑπατευκότα, καὶ τὸν Μαρίου παίδα καὶ Πούπλιον Κέθηγον καὶ Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γναῖον καὶ Κοίντον Γράνιον καὶ Πούπλιον ᾿Αλβινοουανὸν καὶ Μᾶρκον Λαιτώριον ἐτέρους τε, ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐς δώδεκα μάλιστα, ἐκ Ὑρώμης διεπεφεύγεσαν, ὡς στάσιν ἐγείραντας καὶ πολεμήσαντας ὑπάτοις καὶ δούλοις κηρύξαντας ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀπόστασιν πολεμίους Ὑρωμαίων ἐψήφιστο εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηποινεὶ κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ

τούς ύπάτους τά τε όντα αὐτοῖς δεδήμευτο. Καὶ ζητηταὶ διέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὶ Σουλπίκιον μεν καταλαβόντες εκτειναν 61. δ δε Μάριος αὐτούς ἐς Μιντούρνας διέφυγεν, ἔρημος ύπηρέτου τε καὶ θεράποντος. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς πόλεως άρχοντες αναπαυόμενον εν οίκω ζοφώδει δεδιότες μεν το κήρυγμα τοῦ δήμου, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὸς έξάκις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρά εἰργασμένου αὐθένται γενέσθαι, Γαλάτην άνδρα επιδημούντα μετά ξίφους εσέπεμψαν άνελείν. τὸν δὲ Γαλάτην φασίν ἐν τῶ σκότω προσιόντα τῶ στιβαδίω δείσαι, δόξαντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς τοῦ Μαρίου πυρός αὐγὴν καὶ Φλόγα ἀφιέναι. ώς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάριος αὐτὸς ὑπανιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐνεβόησε παμμέγεθες αὐτῷ· "σὺ τολμῆς κτεῖναι Γάιον Μάριον;" προτροπάδην ὁ Γαλάτης έφευγεν έξω διὰ θυρών μεμηνότι ἐοικώς καὶ Βοῶν "οὐ δύναμαι κτεῖναι Γάιον Μάριοι." όθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἄτε καὶ τέως ταῦτα σὺν όκνω κεκρικόσιν, ενέπιπτέ τι δαιμόνιον δέος καὶ μνήμη της έκ παιδὸς ἐπιφημισθείσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας παιδὶ γὰρ ὄντι φασὶν ἐς τὸν κόλπον άετοῦ νεοττούς έπτὰ καταρρυήναι καὶ

and his son Marius, also Publius Cethegus, Junius CHAP Brutus, Gnaeus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albinovanus, Marcus Laetorius, and others with them, about twelve in number, had been exiled from Rome, because they had stirred up the sedition, had borne arms against the consuls, had incited slaves to insurrection, and had been voted enemies of the Roman people; and anybody meeting them had been authorized to kill them with impunity or to drag them before the consuls, while their goods had been confiscated

Detectives, too, were hard on their tracks, who Narrow caught Sulpicius and killed him, but 61. Marius escape of Marius escaped them and fled to Minturnae without companion or servant. While he was resting in a darkened house the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul who was living there to kill him with a sword. The Gaul, it is said, was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk when he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes, and Marius rose from his bed and shouted to him in a thundering voice, "Do you dare to kill Gaius Marius?" He turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius." The magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, and now a kind of religious awe came over them as they remembered the prophecy uttered while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times. For it was said that while he was a boy seven eaglets alighted on his breast, and that

CAP. τοὺς μάντεις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπτάκις ἐπὶ τῆς μεγίστης

άρχης ἔσοιτο.

62. Ταθτ' οθν οι της Μιντούρνης άρχοντες ενθυμούμενοι καὶ τὸν Γαλάτην ένθουν κατά δαίμονα καὶ περιδεά νομίζοντες γεγονέναι, τὸν Μάριον αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμπον, ὅπη δύναιτο, σώζεσθαι. ό δὲ συγγιγνώσκων έαυτῷ ζητουμένω τε έκ Σύλλα καὶ πρὸς ἱππέων διωκομένω, όδους άτριβείς έπὶ θάλασσαν ήλατο καὶ καλύβης ἐπιτυχών ἀνεπαύετο, φυλλάδα ἐπιβαλόμενος τῷ σώματι. ψόφου δ΄ αἰσθόμενος ἐς τὴν φυλλάδα ὑπεκρύφθη καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι αίσθομενος ές σκάφος άλιέως πρεσβύτου παρορμοῦν, βιασάμενος τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἐσήλατο χειμώνος όντος καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα κόψας καὶ τὸ ίστίον πετάσας ἐπέτρεψε τῆ τύχη φέρειν. κατήχθη δὲ ἔς τινα νῆσον, ὅθεν νεως οἰκείων ἀνδρων παραπλεούσης έπιτυχών ές Λιβύην έπέρα. ειργόμενος δὲ καὶ Λιβύης ώς πολέμιος ὑπὸ Σεξστιλίου ήγουμένου, διεχείμαζεν εν τη θαλάσση, μικρον ύπερ Λιβύην ἄνω, έν τοις Νομάδων ὅροις. καὶ αὐτῷ θαλασσεύνοτι δεῦρο κατὰ πύστιν ἐπέπλευσαν τῶν συγκατεγνωσμένων Κέθηγός τε καὶ Γράνιος καὶ 'Αλβινοουανὸς καὶ Λαιτώριος καὶ ετεροι καὶ ὁ υίὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίου· οὶ ἐς μὲν Ἱεμ-ψάλαν τὸν Νομάδων δυνάστην ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διέφυγον, ύποψία δ' ἐκδόσεως ἐκείθεν ἀπέδρασαν.

Οί μὲν δή, καθὰ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπεπράχει, βιάσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα διανοούμενοι, στρατιὰν δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες, περιέβλεπον, εἴ τι συμβαίη· 63. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμη Σύλλας μέν, ὅπλοις τὴν πόλιν ὅδε πρῶτος καταλαβών τε καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἀν ἴσως ἤδη μοναρ-

the soothsayers predicted that he would attain CHAP.

the highest office seven times.

62. Bearing these things in mind and believing that the Gaul had been inspired with fear by divine influence, the magistrates of Minturnae sent Marius out of the town forthwith, to seek safety wherever he could. As he knew that Sulla was searching for him and that horsemen were pursuing him, he moved toward the sea by unfrequented roads and came to a hut where he rested, covering himself up with leaves, Hearing a slight noise, he concealed himself more carefully with the leaves, but becoming more sure he rushed to the boat of an old fisherman, which was on the beach, overpowered him, leaped into it, and, although a storm was raging, cut the painter, spread the sail, and committed himself to chance. He was He passes driven to an island where he found a ship navigated over to by his own friends, and sailed thence to Africa. He was prohibited from landing even there by the governor, Sextilius, because he was a public enemy, and he passed the winter in his ship a little beyond the province of Africa, in Numidia. While he was sailing thither he was joined by Cethegus, Granius, Albinovanus, Laetorius, and others, and his son Marius, who had gained tidings of his approach. They had fled from Rome to Hiempsal prince of Numidia, and now they had run away from him, fearing lest they should be delivered up.

They were ready to do just as Sulla had done, that is, to master their country by force, but as they had no army they waited for some opportunity; 63. but in Rome Sulla, who had been the first to seize the city by force of arms, and now perhaps could have

ΟΑΡ. χεῖν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἠμύνατο, τὴν βίαν ἐκὼν άπέθετο καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Καπύην προπέμψας αθθις ήρχεν ώς ύπατος οι δε των εξελαθέντων στασιώται, όσοι των πλουσίων, καὶ γύναια πολλά πολυγρήματα, τοῦ δέους τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπνεύσαντες ήρεθίζοντο ύπερ καθόδου τωνδε των άνδρων καὶ οὐδεν σπουδής ή δαπάνης ές τοῦτο απέλειπον, ἐπιβουλεύοντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάτων σώμασιν ώς οὐκ ἐνὸν τῶνδε περιόντων ἐκείνοις κατελθείν. Σύλλα μεν δή και παυσαμένω τής άρχης στρατός ην, ο εψηφισμένος επὶ Μιθριδάτην, ές σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ φύλαξ. Κόιντον δέ Πομπήιον, τον έτερον ύπατον, ο δήμος οἰκτείρων τοῦ δέους εψηφίσατο ἄρχειν Ίταλίας καὶ έτέρου τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατοῦ, τότε ὄντος ὑπὸ Γναίω Πομπηίω. τουθ' ό Γναίος πυθόμενός τε καὶ δυσχεράνας ήκοντα μεν τον Κοιντον ές το στρατόπεδον έσεδέξατο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τι χρηματίζοντος ύπεγώρησε μικρον οξα ίδιώτης, μέγρι τον ύπατον πολλοί καθ' ύπόκρισιν άκροάσεως περιστάντες έκτειναν. καὶ φυγής των λοιπών γενομένης ό Γναίος αὐτοίς ὑπήντα, χαλεπαίνων ώς ὑπάτου παρανόμως άνηρημένου δυσχεράνας δ' όμως εὐθὺς ήρχεν αὐτῶν.

wielded supreme power, having rid himself of his CHAP enemies, desisted from violence of his own accord. He sent his army forward to Capua and resumed consular authority. The supporters of the banished faction, especially the rich, and many wealthy women, who now found a respite from the terror of arms, bestirred themselves for the return of the exiles. They spared neither pains nor expense to this end, even conspiring against the persons of the consuls, since they thought they could not secure the recall of their friends while the consuls survived. For Sulla the army, which had been voted for the Mithridatic war, furnished ample protection even after he should cease to be consul; but the people com- Murder of miserated the perilous position of the other consul, Q. Pom-Quintus Pompeius, and gave him the command of Italy and of the army appertaining to it, which was then under Gnaeus Pompeius. When the latter learned this he was greatly displeased, but received Quintus in the camp, and, when next day Quintus began to take over his duties, he gave way to him for a time as if relieved of his command; but a little later a crowd that had collected around the consul under pretence of listening to him killed him. After the guilty ones had fled, Gnaeus came to the camp in a high state of indignation over the illegal killing of a consul, but despite his displeasure he forthwith resumed his command over them 1

<sup>1</sup> The Epitome of Livy (lxxvii.) says that Gnaeus Pompeius the pro-consul procured the murder of Quintus Pompeius the consul, when the latter came to supersede him.

#### VIII

CAP. 64. Έξαγγελθέντος δ' ες τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Πομπηίου φόνου, αὐτίκα μὲν ὁ Σύλλας περιδεὴς ἐφ' έαυτῷ γενόμενος τοὺς φίλους περιήγετο πανταχοῦ καὶ νυκτὸς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν, οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐπιμείνας ἐς Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν κὰκείθεν ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων φίλοι Κίννα, τῷ μετὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατεύοντι, θαρροῦντες τοὺς νεοπολίτας ἡρέθιζον ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Μαρίου, ταῖς φυλαῖς πάσαις ἀξιοῦν ἀναμιχθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ τελευταῖοι ψηφιζόμενοι πάντων τὰσιν ἄκυροι. τοῦτο δὴ προοίμιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τε Μαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καθόδου. ἀνθισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ κράτος, Κίννας μὲν τοῖς νεοπολίταις συνέπραττε, νομιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε τριακόσια δωροδοκῆσαι τάλαντα, τοῖς δ' ἀρχαίοις ὁ ἔτερος ὕπατος 'Οκτάουιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν προλαβόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων ἐβόων ἐς τὰς φυλὰς πάσας ἀναμιγῆναι· τὸ δὲ καθαρώτερον πλῆθος ἐς τὸν 'Οκτάουιος ἐχώρει, καὶ οίδε μετὰ ξιφιδίων.

Έτι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ μέλλον περιορωμένω ἐξαγγέλλεται τοὺς πλέονας δημάρχους κωλύειν τὰ γιγνόμενα, θόρυβον δὲ τῶν νεοπολιτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀπογύμνωσιν ἤδη τῶν ξιφιδίων περὶ ὁδὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας δημάρχους ἀναπηδώντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα. ὧν 'Οκτάουιος πυθόμενος κατέβαινε διὰ τῆς 'Ιερᾶς ὁδοῦ μετὰ πυκνοῦ πάνυ πλήθους καὶ οἰα χειμάρρους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμπεσῶν ὅσατο μὲν διὰ μέσων τῶν συνεστώτων καὶ

#### VIII

64. When the murder of Pompeius was reported CHAP. in the city, Sulla became apprehensive for his own vill safety and was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and had them with him even by night. He did not, however, remain long in the city, but went to the army at Capua and from thence to Asia, and the Attempted friends of the exiles, encouraged by Cinna, Sulla's revolution of Cinna successor in the consulship, excited the new citizens in favour of the scheme of Marius, that they should be distributed among all the old tribes, so that they should not be powerless by reason of voting last. This was preliminary to the recall of Marius and his friends. Although the old citizens resisted with all their might, Cinna co-operated with the new ones, the story being that he had been bribed with 300 talents to do this. The other consul, Octavius, sided with the old citizens. The partisans of Cinna took possession of the forum with concealed daggers, and with loud cries demanded that they should be distributed among all the tribes. The more reputable part of the plebeians adhered to Octavius, and they also carried daggers.

While Octavius was still at home awaiting the result, the news was brought to him that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proposed action, but that the new citizens had started a riot, drawn their daggers on the street, and assaulted the opposing tribunes on the rostra. When Octavius heard this he ran down through the Via Sacra with a very dense mass of men, burst into the forum like a torrent, pushed through the midst of the crowd.

CAP. διέστησεν αὐτούς ώς δὲ κατέπληξεν, ἐς τὸ τῶν VIII Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρῆλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκτρεπόμενος. ὅσοι δ΄ αὐτῷ συνῆσαν, χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος ἐμπεσόντες τοῖς νεοπολίταις ἔκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐτέρους φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐδίωκον.

65. Κίννας δὲ θαρρήσας μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεοπολιτῶν καὶ βιάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, παρὰ δόξαν δ' όρῶν τὸ τόλμημα τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων ἐπικρατοῦν, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔθει τοὺς θεράποντας ἐπ' ἐλευθερία συγκαλῶν. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσιόντος εξέδραμεν ἐς τὰς ἀγχοῦ πόλεις τὰς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πολίτιδας 'Ρωμαίων γενομένας, Τίβυρτόν τε καὶ Πραινεστὸν καὶ ὅσαι μέχρι Νώλης, ἐρεθίζων ἄπαντας ἐς ἀπόστασιν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συλλέγων. ταῦτα δ' ἐργαζομένω τε καὶ ἐπινοοῦντι τῷ Κίννα προσέφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρονουν, Γαιός τε Μιλώνιος καὶ Κόιντος Σερτώριος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἔτερος.

Ή μὲν δὴ βουλὴ τὸν Κίνναν, ὡς ἐν κινδύνω τε τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντα ὕπατον καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύξαντα, ἐψηφίσατο μήτε ὕπατον μήτε πολίτην ἔτι εἶναι καὶ Λεύκιον Μερόλαν ἐχειροτόνησαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός. λέγεται δ' οὖτος ὁ ἱερεὺς φλαμέντας καὶ πιλοφορεῖ μόνος αἰεί, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἐν μόναις πιλοφορούντων ταῖς ἱερουργίαις. Κίννας δ' ἐς Καπύην τραπόμενος, ἔνθα 'Ρωμαίων στρατὸς ἄλλος ἦν, τούς τε ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεδήμουν, ἐθεράπευε καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ὕπατος ἐς μέσους τάς τε ῥάβδους καθεῖλεν οἶα ἰδιώτης καὶ

and separated them. He struck terror into them, CHAP. went on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and driven off the new citizens without orders, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to

the city gates.

65. Cinna, who had been emboldened by the He raises numbers of the new citizens to think that he should conquer, seeing the victory won contrary to his expectation by the bravery of the few, hurried through the city calling the slaves to his assistance by an offer of freedom. As none responded he hastened to the towns near by, which had lately been admitted to Roman citizenship, Tibur, Praeneste, and the rest as far as Nola, inciting them all to revolution and collecting money for the purposes of war. While Cinna was making these preparations and plans certain senators of his party joined him, among them Gaius Milo, Quintus Sertorius, and Gaius Marius the younger.

The Senate decreed that since Cinna had left the city in danger while holding the office of consul, and had offered freedom to the slaves, he should no longer be consul, or even a citizen, and elected in his stead Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter. It is said that this priest alone wore the flamen's cap¹ at all times, the others wearing it only during sacrifices. Cinna proceeded to Capua, where there was another Roman army, whose officers together with the senators who were present, he tried to win over. He went to meet them as consul in an assembly, where he laid down the fasces as though he were a private

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The apex (in this case the apex Dialis), a conical hat or cap. See also § 74 below.

CAP. δακρύσας ἔφη· '' παρὰ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὅ πολίται, τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἔλαβον· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνησεν· ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἀφείλετό με χωρὶς ὑμῶν. καὶ τάδε παθὼν ἐν οἰκείοις κακοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅμως ἀγανακτῶ· τί γὰρ ἔτι τὰς φυλὰς ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις θεραπεύομεν, τί δὲ ὑμῶν δεόμεθα, ποῦ δὲ ἔσεσθε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ χειροτονιῶν ἢ τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἔτι κύριοι, εἰ μὴ βεβαιώσετε μέν, ἃ δίδοτε, ἀφαιρή-

σεσθε δ', όταν αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσητε."

66. Ταθτ' εἰπων ἐς ἐρέθισμα καὶ πολλά περὶ αύτου κατοικτισάμενος τήν τε έσθητα κατέρρηξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταθορών ἔρριψεν αύτὸν ές μέσους καὶ έκειτο ἐπὶ πλείστον, έως ἐπικλασθέντες ανέστησαν τε αυτον και καθίσαντες αυθις έπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τάς τε ράβδους ἀνέσχον καὶ θαρρείν οία ύπατον εκέλευον καὶ σφάς άγειν εφ' ο τι χρήζοι, της δ' άφορμης εύθυς οι άρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπέβαινον καὶ ὤμνυον τῷ Κίννα τὸν ὅρκον τὸν στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος έξωρκου. ὁ δ', ἐπεί οἱ ταῦτα εἶχεν ἀσφαλῶς, ἐπὶ τας συμμαχίδας πόλεις διέθει καὶ ἡρέθιζε κάκείνους, ώς διά τούσδε μάλιστα την συμφοράν αύτώ γενομένην οι δε χρήματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν συνετέλουν καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμη δυνατων έτεροι πρός αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο, οίς ἀπήρεσκεν ή της πολιτείας εὐστάθεια.

Καὶ Κίννας μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, 'Οκτάουιος δὲ καὶ Μερόλας οἱ ὕπατοι τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τάφροις καὶ τειχῶν ἐπισκευαῖς ὡχύρουν καὶ μηχανήματα ἐφίστανον, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατιὰν ἔς τε τὰς ἑτέρας

citizen, and shedding tears, said, "From you, citizens, CHAP. I received this authority. The people voted it to me; the Senate has taken it away from me without your consent. Although I am the sufferer by this wrong I grieve amid my own troubles equally for vour sakes. What need is there that we should solicit the favour of the tribes in the elections hereafter? What need have we of you? Where will after this be your power in the assemblies, in the elections, in the choice of consuls, if you fail to confirm what you bestow, and whenever you give your decision fail to secure it."

66. He said this to stir them up, and after exciting much pity for himself he rent his garments, leaped down from the rostra, and threw himself on the ground before them, where he lay a long time. Entirely overcome they raised him up; they restored him to the curule chair; they lifted up the fasces and bade him be of good cheer, as he was consul still, and lead them wherever he would. The tribunes, striking while the iron was hot, themselves took the military oath to support Cinna, and admin- The army istered it each to the soldiers under him. Now that Cinna this was all secure, Cinna traversed the allied cities and stirred them up also, alleging that it was on their account chiefly that this misfortune had happened to him. They furnished him both money and soldiers; and many others, even of the aristocratic party in Rome, to whom the stability of the government was irksome, came and joined him.

While Cinna was thus occupied, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them. To raise an army they sent round to the towns that

CAP. πόλεις τὰς ἔτι σφῶν κατηκόους καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγχοῦ ΥΙΙΙ Γαλατίαν περιέπεμπου Γναῖόν τε Πομπήιον, ἀνθύπατον ὄντα καὶ στρατευμάτων περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἡγούμενον, ἐκάλουν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικου-

ρείν τη πατρίδι.

67. 'Ο δ' ἡλθε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις έστρατοπέδευσε καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐπελθών αὐτῶ παρεστρατοπέδευε. Γάιος δὲ Μάριος τούτων πυθόμενος ές Τυρρηνίαν κατέπλευσεν άμα τοίς συνεξελαθείσι και θεράπουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπελθοῦσιν άπὸ Γώμης, ές πεντακοσίους μάλιστά που γεγονόσι. ρυπών δ' έτι καὶ κόμης έμπλεως έπήει τὰς πόλεις, οἰκτρὸς ὀφθῆναι· μάχας τε καὶ τρόπαια αύτοῦ Κιμβρικά καὶ ἐξ ὑπατείας ὑπερεπαίρων καὶ περί της χειροτονίας σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν έπαγγελλόμενός τε καὶ πιστὸς είναι δοκών, συνήγαγε Τυρρηνών έξακισχιλίους καὶ ές Κίνναν διηλθεν ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῶν παρόντων δεχόμενον. ώς δὲ ἀνεμίχθησαν, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐς τρία διαιρεθέντες, Κίννας μεν καὶ Κάρβων σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως άντικρύ, Σερτώριος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄνω καὶ Μάριος πρός τη θαλάσση, ζευγνύντες οίδε τὸν ποταμον και γεφυρούντες, ίνα την πόλιν αφέλοιντο την σιταγωγίαν. Μάριος δὲ καὶ "Οστια είλε καὶ διήρπαζε, καὶ Κίννας ἐπιπέμψας ᾿Αρίμινον κατέλαβε, τοῦ μή τινα στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπελθείν έκ της υπηκόου Γαλατίας.

68. Οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δεδιότες καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης δεόμενοι Σύλλαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καλεῖν ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἤδη πεπερακότα, Καικίλιον δὲ Μέτελλον,

were still faithful and also to Nearer Gaul, and CHAP. summoned Gnaeus Pompeius, the proconsul who commanded the army on the Adriatic, to hasten to the aid of his country.

67. So Pompeius came and encamped before the Colline gate. Cinna advanced against him and encamped near him. When Gaius Marius heard of all this he sailed to Etruria with his fellow-exiles Return of and about 500 slaves who had joined their masters Marius from Rome. Still squalid and long-haired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships; and what was extremely pleasing to them, promising, with all appearance of genuineness, to be faithful to their interests in the matter of the vote. In this way he collected 6000 Etruscans and reached Cinna, who received him gladly by reason of their common interest in the present enterprise. After joining Cinna and forces they encamped on the banks of the Tiber and Marius divided their army into three parts: Cinna and Carbo Rome and opposite the city, Sertorius above it, and Marius supplies toward the sea. The two latter threw bridges across the river in order to cut off the city's food-supply. Marius captured and plundered Ostia, while Cinna sent a force and captured Ariminum in order to prevent an army coming to the city from the subject Gauls.

68. The consuls were alarmed. They needed more troops, but they were unable to summon Sulla because he had already crossed over to Asia. They, however, ordered Caecilius Metellus, who was carrying on

CAP. τὰ λείψανα τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Σαυνίτας διατιθέμενον, εκέλευον όπη δύναιτο εὐπρεπώς διαλυσάμενον επικουρείν τη πατρίδι πολιορκουμένη. ού συμβαίνοντος δε Σαυνίταις ές à ήτουν τοῦ Μετέλλου, ο Μάριος αισθόμενος συνέθετο τοις Σαυνίταις έπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ήτουν παρὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου. ώδε μεν δη καὶ Σαυνίται Μαρίφ συνεμάχουν· Κλαύδιον δε Αππιον χιλίαρχον, τειχοφυλακοῦντα της 'Ρώμης του λόφου του καλούμενου 'Ιάνουκλου, εὖ ποτε παθόντα ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ, τῆς εὐεργεσίας άναμνήσας ὁ Μάριος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, ύπανοιχθείσης αὐτῷ πύλης περὶ έω, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἐσεδέξατο. ἀλλ' οὖτοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐξεώσθησαν 'Οκταουίου καὶ Πομπηίου σφίσιν ἐπιδραμόντων κεραυνών δὲ πολλών ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον καταρραγέντων άλλοι τε των έπιφανών καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπώλετο.

69. Μάριος δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἔκ τε θαλάσσης καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φερομένης κατέσχεν, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγχοῦ τῆς 'Ρώμης πόλεις διετρόχαζεν, ἔνθα σῖτος ῆν τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις προσεσωρευμένος. ἄφνω δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπιπίπτων εἰλε μὲν 'Αντιον καὶ 'Αρικίαν καὶ Λανούβιον καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προδιδύντων τινῶν· ὡς δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἐκράτησεν ἀγορᾶς, εὐθαρσῶς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην αὐτίκα διὰ τῆς όδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης 'Αππίας, πρίν τινα αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἄλλην ἑτέρωθεν ἀχθῆναι. τοῦ δ' ἄστεος ἑκατὸν σταδίους αὐτός τε καὶ Κίννας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς Κάρβων τε καὶ Σερτώριος ἀποσχύντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, 'Οκταουίου καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Μετέλλου περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ 'Αλβανὸν

what was left of the Social War against the Samnites, CHAP. to make peace on the best terms he could, and come to the rescue of his beleaguered country. But Metellus would not agree to the Samnites' demands, and when Marius heard of this he made an engagement with them to grant all that they asked from Metellus. In this way the Samnites also became allies of Marius. Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who had command of the defences of Rome at the Janiculum hill, had once received a favour from Marius of which the latter now reminded him, in consequence of which he admitted him into the city, opening a gate for him at about daybreak. Then Marius admitted Cinna. They were at once thrust out by Octavius and Pompeius, who attacked them together, but a severe thunder-storm broke upon the camp of Pompeius, and he was killed by lightning together with others of the nobility.

69. After Marius had stopped the passage of foodsupplies from the sea, or by way of the river from
above, he hastened to attack the neighbouring towns
where grain was stored for the Romans. He fell upon
their garrisons unexpectedly and captured Antium,
Aricia, Lanuvium, and others. There were some
also that were delivered up to him by treachery.
Having in this manner obtained command of their
supplies by land, he advanced boldly against Rome,
by the Appian Way, before any other supplies were
brought to them by another route. He and Cinna,
and their lieutenant-generals, Carbo and Sertorius,
halted at a distance of 100 stades from the city and
went into camp, but Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus
had taken position against them at the Alban

CAP. αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθημένων καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι VIII περιβλεπομένων, άρετη μεν έτι καὶ πλήθει νομιζομένων είναι κρειττόνων, οκνούντων δ' ύπερ όλης δξέως κινδυνεύσαι της πατρίδος διά μάχης μιας. ώς δὲ περιπέμψας ὁ Κίννας περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κήρυκας έδίδου τοῖς ές αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσι θεράπουσιν έλευθερίαν, κατά πλήθος ηὐτομόλουν αὐτίκα καὶ ή βουλή ταραττομένη καὶ πολλά καὶ δεινά, εἰ βραδύνειεν ή σιτοδεία, παρά τοῦ δήμου προσδοκῶσα μετέπιπτε τῆ γνώμη καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ διαλύσεων ές του Κίνναν έπεμπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτούς ήρετο, πότερον ώς προς υπατον έλθοιεν ή προς ίδιώτην. ἀπορησάντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ έπανελθόντων, πολλοί και των έλευθέρων ήδη κατὰ πλήθος πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν έξεπήδων, οἱ μὲν περί τῷ λιμῷ δεδιότες, οί δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ έκείνων αιρούμενοι καὶ την ροπην τῶν γιγνομένων περιμένοντες.

70. Κίννας δ' ήδη καταφρονητικώς τῷ τεἰχει ἐπλησίαζε καὶ ἀποσχὼν ὅσον βέλους ὁρμὴν ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ἀπορούντων ἔτι καὶ δεδιότων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἐπιχειρεῦν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας τε καὶ διαπρεσβεύσεις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάνυ μὲν ἀποροῦσα καὶ διονὸν ἡγουμένη Λεύκιον Μερόλαν, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διος, ὑπατεύοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἁμαρτόντα ἀφελέσθαι, ἄκουσα δ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν αὖθις ἐς τὸν Κίνναν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὡς πρὸς ὕπατον. οὐδέν τε χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶντες τοῦτο μόνον ἤτουν, ἐπομόσαι σφίσι τὸν Κίνναν φόνον οὐκ ἐργάσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὀμόσαι μὲν οὐκ ἤξίωσεν, ὑπέσχετο δὲ καὶ ὧδε ἐκὼν οὐδενὶ

Mount, where they watched eventualities. Although CHAP. they considered themselves superior in bravery and numbers, they hesitated to risk, through haste, their country's fate on the hazard of a single battle. Cinna sent heralds round the city to offer freedom to slaves who would desert to him, and forthwith a large number did desert. The Senate was alarmed, and, anticipating the most serious consequences from the people if the scarcity of corn should be protracted, changed its mind and sent envoys to Cinna to treat for peace. He asked them whether they came to him as a consul or as a private citizen. They were at a loss for an answer and went back to the city; and now a large number of citizens flocked to Cinna. some from fear of famine, and others because they had been previously favourable to his party and had been waiting to see which way the scales would turn.

70. Cinna now began to despise his enemies and The city drew near to the wall, halting out of range, and surrenders encamped. Octavius and his party were undecided and fearful, and hesitated to attack him on account of the desertions and the negotiations. The Senate was greatly perplexed and considered it a dreadful thing to depose Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who had been chosen consul in place of Cinna, and who had done nothing wrong in his office. Yet on account of the impending danger it reluctantly sent envoys to Cinna again, and this time as consul. They no longer expected favourable terms, so they only asked that Cinna should swear to them that he would abstain from bloodshed. He refused to take the oath, but he promised nevertheless that he would not willingly be the cause of

CAP. σφαγης αἴτιος ἔσεσθαι. 'Οκτάουιον δ' ἤδη περιοδεύσαντα καὶ κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντα ἐκέλευεν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ μέσου, μή τι καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάθοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, καθάπερ ὕπατος, τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἄνωθεν ἀπεκρίνατο· Μάριος δ' αὐτῷ παρεστὼς παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἡσύχαζε μέν, ἐδήλου δὲ τῆ δριμύτητι τοῦ προσώπου, πόσον ἐργάσεται φόνον. δεξαμένης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ καλούσης ἐσελθεῖν Κίνναν τε καὶ Μάριον (ἤσθοντο γὰρ δὴ Μαρίου μὲν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα τάδε πάντα, Κίνναν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφεσθαι), σὺν εἰρωνεία σφόδρα ὁ Μάριος ἐπιμειδιῶν εἶπεν οὐκ εἶναι φυγάσιν εἰσόδους. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ Σύλλαν ὕπατον ἐξελήλαντο, ἐψηφίσαντο λελύσθαι.

71. Οί μεν δή δεχομένων αὐτούς σὺν δέει πάντων ἐσήεσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντιπράξαι σφίσι δοκούντων άκωλύτως πάντα διηρπάζετο 'Οκταουίω δε Κίννας μεν καὶ Μάριος όρκους έπεπόμφεσαν, καὶ θύται καὶ μάντεις οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι προύλεγον, οί δὲ φίλοι φυγείν παρήνουν. ό δ' είπων ούποτε προλείψειν την πόλιν ύπατος ὢν ές τὸ Ἰάνουκλον, ἐκστὰς τοῦ μέσου, διήλθε μετά των ἐπιφανεστάτων καί τινος ἔτι καὶ στρατοῦ ἐπί τε τοῦ θρόνου προυκάθητο, τὴν τῆς άρχης έσθητα έπικείμενος, ράβδων καὶ πελέκεων ώς ὑπάτφ περικειμένων. ἐπιθέοντος δ' αὐτῷ μετά τινων ίππέων Κηνσωρίνου και πάλιν των φίλων αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς παρεστώσης στρατιᾶς φυγείν παρακαλούντων καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντων, ούκ άνασγόμενος ούδε ύπαναστήναι την σφαγήν

anybody's death. He directed, however, that Oc-CHAP tavius, who had gone round and entered the city VIII by another gate, should keep away from the forum lest anything should befall him against his own will. This answer he delivered to the envoys from a high platform in his character as consul. Marius stood in silence beside the curule chair, but showed by the asperity of his countenance the slaughter he contemplated. When the Senate had accepted these terms and had invited Cinna and Marius to enter (for it was understood that, while it was Cinna's name which appeared, the moving spirit was Marius), the latter said with a scornful smile that it was not lawful for men banished to enter. Forthwith the tribunes voted to repeal the decree of banishment against him and all the others who were expelled under the consulship of Sulla.

71. Accordingly Cinna and Marius entered the city Massacre and everybody received them with fear. Straight- of citizens away they began to plunder without hindrance all the goods of those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna and Marius had sworn to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers had predicted, that he would suffer no harm, yet his friends advised him to fly. He replied that he would never desert the city while he was consul. So he withdrew from the forum to the Janiculum with the nobility and what was left of his army, where he occupied the curule chair and wore the robes of office, attended as consul by lictors. Here he was attacked by Censorings with a body of horse, and again his friends and the soldiers who stood by him urged him to fly and brought him his horse, but he disdained even to

CAP. περιέμενεν. ὁ δὲ Κηνσωρῖνος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ΥΙΙΙ ἐκτεμων ἐκόμισεν ἐς Κίνναν, καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν ἀγορῷ πρώτου τοῦδε ὑπάτου. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρουμένων ἐκρήμναντο αἱ κεφαλαί, καὶ οὐ διέλιπεν ἔτι καὶ τόδε τὸ μύσος, ἀρξάμενόν τε ἀπὸ ᾿Οκταουίου καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρουμένους

περιιόν.

Ζητηταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτίκα ἐξέθεον τούς τε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἀναιρουμένων λόγος οὐδεὶς ἔτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐγίγνετο, αἱ δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν κεφαλαὶ πᾶσαι προυτίθεντο πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων. αἰδώς τε θεῶν ἢ νέμεσις ἀνδρῶν ἢ φθόνου φόβος οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπῆν, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἔργα ἀνήμερα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐς ὅψεις ἐτρέποντο ἀθεμίστους, κτιννύντες τε ἀνηλεῶς καὶ περιτέμνοντες αὐχένας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη τεθνεώτων καὶ προτιθέντες τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς φόβον ἢ κατάπληξιν ἢ θέαν ἀθέμιστον.

72. Γάιος μὲν δὴ Ἰούλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος, δύο ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφώ, καὶ ᾿Ατιλίος Σερρανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λέντλος καὶ Γάιος Νεμετώριος καὶ Μᾶρκος Βαίβιος ἐν ὁδῷ καταληφθέντες ἀνηρέθησαν, Κράσσος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν υίὸν ἔφθασε προανελεῖν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐπανηρέθη. τὸν δὲ ῥήτορα Μᾶρκον ᾿Αντώνιον ἔς τι χωρίον ἐκφυγόντα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπικρύπτων καὶ ξενίζων ἐς πανδοκεῖον ἔπεμψε τὸν θεράποντα σπουδαιότερον τοῦ συνήθους οἶνον πρίασθαι· καὶ τοῦ καπήλου, τί δὴ σπουδαιότερον αἰτοίη, πυθομένου, ὁ μὲν θεράπων ἐψιθύρισε τὴν

arise, and awaited death. Censorinus cut off his CHAP. head and carried it to Cinna, and it was suspended Heads in the forum in front of the rostra, the first head of exposed in a consul that was so exposed. After him the heads the forum of others who were slain were suspended there; and this shocking custom, which began with Octavius. was not discontinued, but was handed down to subsequent massacres.

Now the victors sent out spies to search for their enemies of the senatorial and equestrian orders. When any knights were killed no further attention was paid to them, but all the heads of senators were exposed in front of the rostra. Neither reverence for the gods, nor the indignation of men, nor the fear of odium for their acts existed any longer among them. After committing savage deeds they turned to godless sights. They killed remorselessly and severed the necks of men already dead, and they paraded these horrors before the public eve, either to inspire fear and terror, or for a godless spectacle.

72. The brothers Gaius Julius and Lucius Julius, Atilius Serranus, Publius Lentulus, Gaius Nemetorius, and Marcus Baebius were arrested in the street and killed. Crassus was pursued with his son. He anticipated the pursuers by killing his son, but was himself killed by them. Marcus Antonius, the Death of orator, fled to a country place, where he was con- ius the cealed and entertained by the farmer, who sent his orator slave to a tavern for wine of a better quality than he was in the habit of buying. When the innkeeper asked him why he wanted the better quality, the

CAP. αἰτίαν καὶ πριάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ κάπηλος αἰτίκα ἔθει Μαρίφ τοῦτο δηλώσων, καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἐπείτε ἤκουσεν, ὑφ' ήδονῆς ἀνέδραμεν ὡς αὐτὸς ὁρμήσων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπισχόντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων χιλίαρχος ἀποσταλεὶς στρατιώτας ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἀνέπεμψεν, οῦς ὁ Αντώνιος ήδὺς ῶν εἰπεῖν κατεκήλει λόγοις μακροῖς, οἰκτιζόμενος τε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διεξιών, ἔως ὁ χιλίαρχος ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ αὐτὸς ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ οἴκημα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐρὼν ἀκροωμένους ἔκτεινε τὸν ᾿Αντώνιον ἡητορεύοντα ἔτι καὶ τὴν

κεφαλην έπεμψε τῷ Μαρίφ.

73. Κορνούτον δε εν καλύβαις κρυπτόμενον οί θεράποντες εύμηχάνως περιέσωσαν νεκρώ γάρ περιτυχόντες σώματι πυράν τε ένησαν και των ζητητών ἐπιόντων ἄψαντες τὴν πυρὰν ἔφασαν τον δεσπότην καίειν απαγξάμενον. ό μεν δή πρὸς τῶν θεραπόντων περισέσωστο, Κύιντος δὲ 'Αγχάριος Μάριον ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ μέλλοντα θύσειν ἐφύλαττεν, ἐλπίζων οἱ τὸ ἱερὸν διαλλακτήριον ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δ' ἀρχόμενος τῆς θυσίας προσιόντα τὸν Αγχάριον καὶ προσαγορεύοντα αὐτίκα έν τῶ Καπιτωλίω τοῖς παρεστῶσι προσέταξεν άνελείν. καὶ ή κεφαλή καὶ τοῦδε καὶ 'Αντωνίου τοῦ ρήτορος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν γεγονότων ἐν ἀγορᾶ προυτέθησαν. ταφήν τε οὐδενὶ ἐξῆν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐς οὐδένα τῶν ἀναιρουμένων, άλλ' οίωνοι και κύνες άνδρας τοιούσδε διεσπάσαντο. πολύς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἡν τῶν στασιωτῶν φόνος ες άλλήλους ανεύθυνος και εξελάσεις ετέρων καὶ δημεύσεις περιουσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ ἀνατροπαὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα τεθέντων νόμων. slave whispered the reason to him, bought the wine, CHAP. and went back. The innkeeper ran and told Marius, who sprang up with joy as though he would rush to do the deed himself, but was restrained by his friends. A tribune despatched to the house sent some soldiers upstairs, whom Antonius, a speaker of much charm, tried to soften with a long discourse, appealing to their pity by recalling many and various subjects, until the tribune, who was at a loss to know what had happened, rushed into the house and, finding his soldiers listening to Antonius, killed him while he

was still declaiming, and sent his head to Marius. 73. Cornutus concealed himself in a hut and was saved by his slaves in an ingenious way, for finding a dead body they placed it on a funeral pyre, and when the spies came set fire to it and said they were burning the body of their master, who had hanged himself. In this way he was saved by his slaves. As for Quintus Ancharius, he watched his opportunity till Marius was about to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, hoping that the temple would be a propitious place for reconciliation. But when he approached and saluted Marius, the latter, who was just beginning the sacrifice, ordered the guards to kill him in the Capitol forthwith; and his head, with that of the orator Antonius, and those of others who had been consuls and praetors, was exposed in the forum. Burial was not permitted to any of the slain, but the bodies of men like these were torn in pieces by birds and dogs. There was, too, much private and irresponsible murder committed by the factions upon each other. There were banishments, and confiscations of property, and depositions from office, and a repeal of the laws enacted during Sulla's

CAP. αὐτοῦ τε Σύλλα φίλοι πάντες ἀνηροῦντο, καὶ ἡ οἰκία κατεσκάπτετο, καὶ ἡ περιουσία δεδήμευτο, καὶ πολέμιος ἐψηφίζετο· τὸ δὲ γύναιον καὶ ἡ γενεὰ ζητούμενοι διέφυγον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀπῆν ἀθρόων τε καὶ ποικίλων κακῶν.

74. Έπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ἀρχῆς ἐννόμου μετά τοσούσδε φόνους άκρίτους, ύπεβλήθησαν κατήγοροι τῶ τε ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς Μερόλα, κατ' όργην ἄρα της άρχης, ην Κίνναν οὐδεν άδικων διεδέδεκτο, καὶ Λουτατίω Κάτλω, τῷ Μαρίου περί τὰ Κιμβρικὰ συνάρχω, περισωθέντι μὲν ἐκ Μαρίου πάλαι, άχαρίστω δ' ές αὐτὸν καὶ πικροτάτω περί την έξέλασιν γενομένω. οδτοι μέν δη φυλλασσόμενοί τε άφανως και της κυρίας ημέρας έπελθούσης ές την δίκην ἀνακαλούμενοι (τετράκις δὲ ἐχρῆν κηρυττομένους ἐν ὡρισμένοις ὡρῶν διαστήμασιν άλωναι), Μερόλας μέν τὰς φλέβας ένέτεμεν έαυτοῦ, καὶ πινάκιον αὐτῶ παρακείμενον έδήλου, ὅτι κόπτων τὰς Φλέβας τὸν πίλον άποθοῖτο (οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἱερέα περικείμενον τελευτάν), Κάτλος δ' έν οἰκήματι νεοχρίστω τε καὶ ἔτι ύγρω καίων ἄνθρακας έκων ἀπεπνίγη. καὶ οῦτοι μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, θεράποντες δ' ὅσοι κατά τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς Κίνναν ἐκδραμόντες ἐλεύθεροι γεγένηντο καὶ αὐτῷ Κίννα τότε ἐστρατεύοντο, ταίς οἰκίαις ἐπέτρεχον καὶ διήρπαζον, ἀναιροῦντες άμα οίς περιτύχοιεν οί δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς 136

consulship. All Sulla's friends were put to death, CHAP. his house was razed to the ground, his property VIII confiscated, and himself voted a public enemy. Sulla's friends Search was made for his wife and children, but they killed and his property escaped. Altogether nothing was wanted to complete confiscated these wide-spread miseries.

74. To crown all, under the similitude of legal Death of authority after so many had been put to death Catulus without trial, accusers were suborned to make false charges against Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who was hated because he had been the successor of Cinna in the consulship, although he had committed no other fault. Accusation was also brought against Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and whose life Marius once saved. It was alleged that he had been very ungrateful to Marius and had been very bitter against him when he was banished. These men were put under secret surveillance, and when the day for holding court arrived were summoned to trial (the proper way was to put the accused under arrest after they had been cited four times at certain fixed intervals), but Merula had opened his veins, and a tablet lying at his side showed that when he cut his veins he had removed his flamen's cap, for it was accounted a sin for the priest to wear it at his death. Catulus of free will suffocated himself with burning charcoal in a chamber newly plastered and still moist. So these two men perished. The slaves who had joined Cinna in answer to his proclamation and had thereupon been freed and were at this time enrolled in the army by Cinna himself,

broke into and plundered houses, and killed persons whom they met in the street, some of them attacking

CAP. σφετέροις δεσπόταις μάλιστα ἐπεχείρουν. Κίννας
 δ' ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύων οὐκ ἔπειθε,
 Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀναπαυο-

μένοις περιστήσας διέφθειρε πάντας.

Οι μεν δη θεράποντες δίκην ἀξίαν ἔδοσαν της ες δεσπότας πολλάκις ἀπιστίας. 75. τοῦ δ' ἐπισντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μεν ήρηντο Κίννας τε αὖθις καὶ Μάριος ἔβδομον, ῷ μετὰ φυγην καὶ ἐπικήρυξιν, εἴ τις ὡς πολέμιον ἀνέλοι, τὸ μάντευμα ὅμως ἀπήντα τὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ νεογνῶν ἀετῶν. ἀλλ' οὖτος μεν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπινοῶν τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέθανε, καὶ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον ὁ Κίννας ἐλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἐξέπεμψεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ Φλάκκου Κάρβωνα εἵλετο συνάρχειν ἑαυτῶ.

### IX

CAP. 76. Σύλλας δ' ἐπείξει τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπανόδου τὰ ἐς Μιθριδάτην πάντ' ἐπιταχύνας, ὅς μοι προείρηται, καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐδ' ὅλοις τρισὶν ἐκκαίδεκα μὲν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας κατακανών, τῆν δὲ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ ᾿Ασίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτης προειλήφει, ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀναλαβὼν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα τὰς ναῦς ἀφελόμενος καὶ ἐς μόνην τῆν πατρώαν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοσῶνδε κατακλείσας, ἐπανήει στρατὸν ἄγων εὔνουν οἱ καὶ γεγυμνασμένον καὶ πολὺν καὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπηρμένον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ νεῶν πλῆθος καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς ἄπαντα ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν

their own masters particularly. After Cinna had CHAP. forbidden this several times, but without avail. he surrounded them with his Gallic soldiery one night while they were taking their rest, and killed them all.

Thus did the slaves receive fit punishment for B.C. 86 their repeated treachery to their masters. 75. The Death of following year Cinna was chosen consul for the Marius second time, and Marius for the seventh; so that, notwithstanding his banishment and the price on his head, the augury of the seven eaglets proved true for him. But he died in the first month of his consulship, while forming all sorts of terrible designs against Sulla. Cinna caused Valerius Flaccus to be chosen in his place and sent him to Asia, and when Flaceus lost his life he chose Carbo as his fellowconsul.

#### IX

76. Sulla now hastened his return to meet his CHAP. enemies, having quickly finished the war with Mithridates, as I have already related. Within less than Sulla ends three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered the Mithridatic War Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone. He returned with a large and welldisciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits. He had an abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was

CAP. ἐπίφοβος, ὅστε δειμαίνοντες αὐτὸν ὅ τε Κάρβων καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλιαν τινὰς περιέπεμπον, χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἀθροίζειν, τούς τε δυνατοὺς συνουσίαις ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἠρέθιζον μάλιστα τὰς νεοπολιτίδας, ὡς δι' αὐτὰς ὅντες ἐν τοσῷδε κινδύνου. τάς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζον ἀθρόως καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελία μετεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐφύλασσον καὶ οὐδὲν ὀξείας οὐδὲ οἵδε παρασκευῆς

μετὰ δέους ἄμα καὶ σπουδῆς ἐξέλιπον.

77. Σύλλας δ' ἐπὶ φρονήματος ἐπέστέλλε τῆ βουλή περί τε αύτου καταλέγων, όσα περί Λιβύην ες Ἰογόρθαν τὸν Νομάδα ἔτι ταμιεύων ή έπὶ τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς πρεσβεύων ή Κιλικίας ήγούμενος ή έν τοίς συμμαχικοίς ή ύπατεύων έπραξε, τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ἐς Μιθριδάτην ὑπερεπαίρων τε μάλιστα καὶ καταλογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτου γενόμενα Ῥωμαιοις άναλάβοι, καὶ οὐδενὸς ήττον, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξελαθέντας ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κίννα καταφυγόντας ἐς αύτον ύποδέξαιτο απορουμένους καὶ ἐπικουφίζοι τὰς συμφοράς αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὧν ἔφη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολέμιον αύτον αναγράψαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ανασκάψαι καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελεῖν, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα μόλις πρὸς έαυτὸν διαφυγείν. άλλ' αὐτίκα καὶ τοῖσδε καὶ τῆ πόλει πάση τιμωρὸς ήξειν έπὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πολίταις τε καὶ νεοπολίταις προύλεγεν οὐδενὶ μέμψεσθαι περί οὐδενός.

an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna CHAP. were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies. They took the leading citizens into friendly intercourse and appealed especially to the newly created citizens of the towns. pretending that it was on their account that they were threatened with the present danger. They began at once to repair the ships, recalled those that were in Sicily, guarded the coast, and with fear and haste they, for their part, made preparations of

every kind.

77. Sulla wrote to the Senate in a tone of He prepares superiority recounting what he had done in Africa Rome in the war against Jugurtha the Numidian while still quaestor, as lieutenant in the Cimbric war, as praetor in Cilicia and in the Social war, and as consul. Most of all he dwelt upon his recent victories in the Mithridatic war, enumerating to them the many nations which had been under Mithridates and which he had recovered for the Romans. Of nothing did he make more account than that those who had been banished from Rome by Cinna had fled to him, and that he had received them in their helplessness and supported them in their affliction. In return for this, he said, he had been declared a public enemy by his foes, his house had been destroyed, his friends put to death, and his wife and children had with difficulty made their escape to him. He would be there presently to take vengeance, on behalf of themselves and of the entire city, upon the guilty ones. He assured the other citizens, and the new citizens, that he would make no complaint against them.

CAP. ΥΩν ἀναγινωσκομένων δέος ἄπαντας ἐπείχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οὶ συναλλάξειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔμελλον καὶ προερεῖν, εἴ τινος ἀσφαλείας δέοιτο, τῆ βουλῆ τάχιστα ἐπιστεῖλαι· τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν εἴρητο μὴ στρατολογεῖν, ἔστε ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίνασθαι· οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράξειν, οἰχομένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεῖπον ὑπάτους αὐτίκα, τοῦ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια θᾶττον ἐπανήκειν, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιιόντες στρατιὰν συνῆγον, ἡν ἐς Λιβυρνίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαντήσοντες τῷ Σύλλα, κατὰ μέρος ἐπὶ

νεών διεβίβαζον.

78. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον μέρος εὐσταθῶς διέ-πλευσε τῷ δ' έξῆς χειμὼν ἐπέπεσε, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γης έλαμβάνοντο, εὐθὺς ές τὰς πατρίδας διεδίδρασκον ώς οὐ στρατεύσοντες έκόντες κατά πολιτών οί τε λοιποί πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ περάσειν ἔτι ἔλεγον ἐς τὴν Λιβυρνίαν. Κίννας δ' άγανακτων ές έκκλησίαν αὐτους ώς έπιπλήξων συνεκάλει καὶ οί σύν όργη παρήεσαν ώς αμυνούμενοι. των δε ραβδοφόρων τινός όδοποιούντος τῷ Κίννα καί τινα τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πατάξαντος, έτερος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸν ραβδοῦχον έπάταξε. καὶ Κίννα κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν συλλαβεῖν βοὴ παρὰ πάντων ἀνέστη, καὶ λίθων ἦσαν έπ' αὐτὸν ἀφέσεις οἱ δ' ἐγγὺς καὶ τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπισπάσαντες συνεκέντησαν αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Κίννας ὑπατεύων ἀπέθανε Κάρβων δ' ἔκ τε Λιβυρνίας τους διαπεπλευκότας ές αυτήν μετεκάλει καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα δεδιώς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐ

When the letters were read fear fell upon all, and CHAP. they began sending messengers to reconcile him with his enemies and to tell him in advance that, if he wanted any security, he should write to the Senate at once. They ordered Cinna and Carbo to cease recruiting soldiers until Sulla's answer should be received. They promised to do so, but as soon as the messengers had gone they proclaimed themselves consuls for the ensuing year so that they need not come back to the city earlier to hold the election. They traversed Italy, collecting soldiers whom they carried across by detachments on shipboard to Liburnia, which was to act as their base against Sulla.

78. The first detachment had a prosperous voyage. B.C. 84 The next encountered a storm, and those who reached land again escaped home immediately, as they did not relish the prospect of fighting their fellow-citizens. When the rest learned this they too refused to cross to Liburnia. Cinna was indignant and called them to an assembly in order to terrify them, and they assembled, angry also and ready to defend themselves. One of the lictors, who was clearing the road for Cinna, struck somebody who was in the way and one of the soldiers struck the lictor. Cinna ordered the arrest of the offender, whereupon a clamour rose on all sides, stones were thrown at him, and those who were near him drew their dirks and stabbed him. So Cinna also perished during his consulship. Carbo recalled those who had been sent over by ship to Liburnia, and, through fear of what was taking place, did not go back to the city, although the tribunes summoned him with

<sup>1</sup> On the northern coast of Illyria.

CAP. κατήει, καὶ πάνυ τῶν δημάρχων αὐτὸν καλούντων τὰν ἐπὶ συνάρχου χειροτονίαν. ἀπειλησάντων δὲ ἰδιώτην ἀποφανεῖν, ἐπανῆλθε μὲν καὶ χειροτονίαν προύθηκεν ὑπάτου, ἀπαισίου δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης ἐτέραν προύγραφε· κἀν ταύτη κεραυνοῦ πεσόντος ἐς τὸ τῆς Σελήνης καὶ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν οἱ μάντεις ὑπὲρ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς ἀνετίθεντο τὰς γειροτονίας, καὶ μόνος ἦρχεν ὁ Κάρβων.

79. Σύλλας δὲ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ήκουσιν ἀπὸ της βουλης άπεκρίνατο αὐτὸς μεν ούποτε ἀνδράσι τοιάδε έργασαμένοις έσεσθαι φίλος, τη πόλει δ' ού φθονήσειν χαριζομένη την σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς. ασφάλειαν δὲ αὐτὸς μαλλον αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ές αύτον καταφυγοῦσιν ές ἀεὶ παρέξειν, στρατον ἔχων εὔνουν. ῷ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δηλος ἐγένετο, ἐνὶ ἡήματι τῷδε, οὐ διαλύσων τον στρατον, ἀλλὰ την τυραννίδα ήδη διανοούμενος. ήτει δ' αὐτούς τήν τε άξίωσιν και περιουσίαν και ίερωσύνην και εί τι άλλο γέρας είχεν, έντελη πάντα αποδοθηναι καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐροῦντας συνέπεμπε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, Κίνναν τε πυθόμενοι τεθνάναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν άδιοίκητον είναι, πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀνέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας πέντε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ ίππέας έξακισχιλίους, ἄλλους τέ τινας έκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Μακεδονίας προσλαβών, ἄπαντας ἄγων ἐς μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τέσσαρας, ἐπί τε Πάτρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἐς Βρεντέσιον χιλίαις καὶ έξακοσίαις ναυσὶ διέπλει. δεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχεὶ τῶν Βρεντεσίων, τοίσδε μεν ύστερον έδωκεν ατέλειαν, ην και νύν

urgency to hold an election for the choice of a CHAP. colleague. However, when they threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private citizen he came back and ordered the holding of the consular election, but as the omens were unfavourable he postponed it to another day. On that day lightning struck the temples of Luna and of Ceres; so the augurs prorogued the comitia beyond the summer

solstice, and Carbo remained sole consul.

79. Sulla answered those who came to him from Negotithe Senate, saying that he would never be on friendly sulla terms with the men who had committed such crimes, but would not prevent the city from extending clemency to them. As for security he said that he, with a devoted army, could better furnish lasting security to them, and to those who had fled to his camp, than they to him; whereby it was made plain in a single sentence that he would not disband his army, but was now contemplating supreme power. He demanded of them his former dignity, his property, and the priesthood, and that they should restore to him in full measure whatever other honours he had previously held. He sent some of his own men with the Senate's messengers to confer about these matters, but they, learning at Brundusium that Cinna was dead and that Rome was in an unsettled state, went back to Sulla without transacting their business. He then started with five legions of Italian troops and sulla in 6000 horse, to whom he added some other forces Italy from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all about B.C. 88 40,000 men, from the Piraeus to Patrae, and then sailed from Patrae to Brundusium in 1600 ships. The Brundusians received him without a fight, for which favour he afterward gave them exemption

CAP. ἔχουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω.

80. Καὶ αὐτῶ Μέτελλος Καικίλιος ὁ Εὐσεβής, έκ πολλοῦ τε ήρημένος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου καὶ διὰ Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσελθών, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῆ Λιβυστίδι τὸ μέλλον περιορών, αὐτόκλητος σύμμαχος ἀπήντα μεθ' ής είχε συμμαχίας, ανθύπατος έτι ών έστι γαρ είναι τοις αίρεθείσιν, έστε έπανέλθοιεν ές 'Ρώμην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Μετέλλω καὶ Γναίος Πομπήιος, ό μετ' οὐ πολύ Μέγας παρουομασθείς, Πομπηίου μεν ών παις του διεφθαρμένου τώ κεραυνώ, ούκ εύνου τῷ Σύλλα νομισθέντος, τὴν δ' ὑποψίαν διαλυόμενος, ήλθε και τέλος ήγαγεν, έκ της Πικηνίτιδος κατά κλέος τοῦ πατρὸς ἰσχύσαντος ἐν αὐτῆ μάλιστα ἀγείρας. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολύ καὶ δύο ἄλλα συνέλεξε καὶ χρησιμώτατος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο τῷ Σύλλᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι νεώτατον ὄντα ῆγεν ἐν τιμῆ καὶ έπιόντος, φασίν, ύπανίστατο μόνω. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἔπεμψεν ἐξελάσαι τε τοὺς Κάρβωνος φίλους καὶ Ἱεμψάλαν ἐκπεσόντα ύπο Νομάδων ες την βασιλείαν καταγαγείν. εφ' ώ δή καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι κατὰ τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῷ παρέσχεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἔτι ὄντι νέφ καὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῶν ίππέων. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπαρθεὶς ἐς μέγα ὁ Πομπήιος έπὶ Σερτώριον ές Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμφθη καὶ ές του Πόντον έπὶ Μιθριδάτην ὕστερον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν, χαλεπώτατος αντιστασιώτης αὐτῷ μετὰ Κίννα καὶ Μαρίου γενόμενος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσών,

from customs-duties, which they enjoy to this day. CHAP. Then he put his army in motion and went forward.

80. He was met on the road by Caecilius Metellus Pius, who had been chosen some time before to finish the Social War, but did not return to the city for fear of Cinna and Marius. He had been awaiting in Libya the turn of events, and now offered himself as a volunteer ally with the force under his command, as he was still a proconsul; for those who have been chosen to this office may retain it till they come back to Rome. After Metellus came Gnaeus Pompeius, who not long afterward was surnamed the Great, son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning and who was supposed to be unfriendly to Sulla. The son removed this suspicion by coming with a legion which he had collected from the territory of Picenum owing to the reputation of his father, who had been very influential there. A little later he recruited two more legions and became Sulla's right-hand man in these affairs. So Sulla held him in honour, though still very young; and they say he never rose at the entrance of any other than this youth. When the war was nearly finished Sulla sent him to Africa to drive out the party of Carbo and to restore Hiempsal (who had been expelled by the Numidians) to his kingdom. For this service Sulla allowed him a triumph over the Numidians, although he was under age, and was still in the equestrian order. From this beginning Pompeius achieved greatness, being sent against Sertorius in Spain and later against Mithridates in Pontus. Cethegus also joined Sulla, although with Cinna and Marius he had been violently hostile to him and had been driven out of the city with them.

CAP. ίκέτης τε γιγνόμενος καὶ έαυτὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐς ὅ τι

βούλοιτο παρέχων.

81. 'Ο δὲ καὶ στρατιᾶς πολύ πληθος ἔχων ἤδη καὶ φίλους πολλούς των ἐπιφανών, τοῖσδε μὲν ύποστρατήγοις έχρητο, αύτὸς δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ανθυπάτω όντε ές το πρόσθεν έχώρουν έδόκει γαρ δή καὶ ὁ Σύλλας, ανθύπατος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτη γενόμενος, οὐκ ἀποθέσθαι πω την ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο Κίννας. ὁ μὲν δὴ κατά των έχθρων ή ει βαρυτάτη καὶ άφανεῖ έχθρα. οί δ' εν άστει της τε φύσεως αύτοῦ καλώς τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ την προτέραν ές την πόλιν έσβολην αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάληψιν ἔτι ἔγοντες ἐν ὄψει τά τε Ψηφίσματα, α έπεκήρυξαν αυτώ, λογιζόμενοι καὶ την οικίαν δρώντες άνεσκαμμένην και περιουσίαν δεδημευμένην καὶ φίλους ἀνηρημένους καὶ γενεὰν μόλις έκφυγουσαν έδείμαινον. καὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι νίκης η πανωλεθρίας μέσον είναι νομίζοντες συνίσταντο τοις υπάτοις έπι τον Σύλλαν μετά δέους. ές τε την Ίταλίαν περιπέμποντες στρατιάν καὶ τροφάς καὶ χρήματα συνήγον, οὐδὲν ώς περὶ έσχάτων σφίσιν ἀπολείποντες οὔτε σπουδης οὔτε προθυμίας.

82. Γάιός τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων, τὼ τότε ὅντε ὑπάτω, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Κάρβων, ὃς πέρυσιν ἦρχεν, ἔχθρα μὲν ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ὁμοία χρώμενοι, δέει δὲ καὶ συνειδότι ὧν ἔπραξαν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χείρονι, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως στρατόν, ὅσον εὐπόρουν, κατέλεγον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν κατὰ μέρος ἐχώρουν, σπείραις ἐκ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν διακοσίαις

He now turned suppliant, and offered his services to CHAP.

Sulla in any capacity he might desire.

81. Sulla now had plenty of soldiers and plenty of friends of the higher orders, whom he used as lieutenants. He and Metellus marched in advance, being both proconsuls, for it seems that Sulla, who had been appointed proconsul against Mithridates. had at no time hitherto laid down his command. although he had been voted a public enemy at the instance of Cinna. Now Sulla moved against his enemies with a most intense yet concealed hatred. The people in the city, who formed a pretty fair judgment of the character of the man, and who remembered his former attack and capture of the city, and who took into account the decrees they had proclaimed against him, and who had witnessed the destruction of his house, the confiscation of his property, the killing of his friends, and the narrow escape of his family, were in a state of terror. Conceiving that there was no middle ground between victory and utter destruction, they united with the consuls to resist Sulla, but with trepidation. They despatched messengers throughout Italy to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, and, as in cases of extreme peril, they omitted nothing that zeal and earnestness could suggest.

82. Gaius Norbanus and Lucius Scipio, who were Marshalling then the consuls, and with them Carbo, who had the forces against been consul the previous year (all of them moved by Sulla equal hatred of Sulla and more alarmed than others because they knew that they were more to blame for what had been done), levied the best possible army from the city, joined with it the Italian army, and marched against Sulla in detachments. They

CAP. τότε πρώτον· ύστερον γὰρ καὶ πλέοσι τούτων. ή γαρ εύνοια των ανδρών ές τους υπάτους παρά πολύ ἐποίει, ώς τὸ μὲν ἔργον τὸ Σύλλα, χωροῦντος έπὶ τὴν πατρίδα, δόξαν ἔχον πολεμίου, τὸ δὲ τῶν ύπάτων, εί και περί σφών έπραττον, πρόσχημα τής πατρίδος. των τε άμαρτηθέντων αύτοις οί πολλοί συνεγνωκότες καὶ τοῦ φόβου μετέχειν ήγούμενοι συνέπρασσον, εὖ τὸν Σύλλαν εἰδότες οὐ κόλασιν ή διόρθωσιν ή φόβον ἐπὶ σφίσιν, άλλὰ λύμας καὶ θανάτους καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ἀναίρεσιν όλως άθρόαν επινοούντα. ων οὐκ εψεύσθησαν της δόξης. ὅ τε γὰρ πόλεμος ἔφθειρε πάντας, ὧν γε καὶ μύριοι καὶ δισμύριοι πολλάκις ἐν μάχη μιᾶ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄστυ πέντε μυριάδες ἀμφοῖν ἀπέθανον και ές τους υπολοίπους ο Σύλλας ουδέν δεινον και καθ' ένα και κατά πόλεις έξέλιπε δρών. μέχρι καὶ μόναρχον έαυτον ἀπέφηνε τῆς 'Ρωμαίων άρχης όλης, έφ' όσον έχρηζέ τε καὶ έβούλετο.

83. Καὶ τάδε αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμω προσημῆναι. δείματά τε γὰρ ἄλογα πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδία καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνέπιπτε περὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ μαντευμάτων παλαιοῦν ἐπιφοβωτέρων ἐμνημόνευον, τέρατά τε πολλὰ ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἡμίονος ἔτεκε, καὶ γυνὴ κύουσα ἔχιν ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐξέδωκε, τήν τε γῆν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ μέγα ἔσεισε καὶ νεώς τινας ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατήνεγκε, καὶ πάνυ Ῥωμαίων ὄντων ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαρυεργῶν. τό τε Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τετρακοσίοις που πρόσθεν ἔτεσι γενόμενον ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ

had 200 cohorts of 500 men at first, and their CHAP. forces were considerably augmented afterward. For the sympathies of the people were much in favour of the consuls, because the action of Sulla, who was marching against his country, seemed to be that of an enemy, while that of the consuls, even if they were working for themselves, was ostensibly the cause of the republic. Many persons, too, who knew that they had shared the guilt, and who believed that they could not despise the fears, of the consuls, co-operated with them. They knew very well that Sulla was not meditating merely punishment, correction, and alarm for them, but destruction, death, confiscation, and wholesale extermination. In this they were not mistaken, for the war ruined everyone. From 10,000 to 20,000 men were slain in a single battle more than once. Fifty thousand on both sides lost their lives round the city, and to the survivors Sulla was unsparing in severity, both to individuals and to communities, until, finally, he made himself the undisputed master of the whole Roman government, so far as he wished or cared to be.

83. It seems, too, that divine providence foretold omens and to them the results of this war. Mysterious terrors prodigies came upon many, both in public and in private, throughout all Italy. Ancient, awe-inspiring oracles were remembered. Many monstrous things happened. A mule foaled, a woman gave birth to a viper instead of a child. There was a severe earthquake divinely sent and some of the temples in Rome were thrown down (the Romans being in any case very seriously disposed towards such things). The Capitol, that had been built by the kings 400 years before, was burned down, and nobody could dis-

CAP. τὴν αἰτίαν οὐδεὶς ἐπενόει. πάντα δ' ἔδοξεν ἐς τὸ Τὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολουμένων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ 'Ρωμαίων αὐτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως κατάληνιν καὶ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν προσημῆναι.

84. "Ηρξατο μὲν οὖν ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος, ἐξ οὖ Σύλλας ἐς Βρεντέσιον παρῆλθεν, ὁλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων μῆκος δ' αὐτοῦ, διά τε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων, σὺν ἐπείξει ὡς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς ἰδίους ταχυνόντων, οὐ πολὺ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐγένετο. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς τὰ παθήματα ἐπειγομένοις ἐν βραχεῖ μείζω καὶ ὀξύτερα συνέβη γενέσθαι. ἐς δὲ τριετὲς ὅμως προῆλθε, κατά γε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, μέχρι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδήσατο Σύλλας ἐν γὰρ Ἰβηρία καὶ μετὰ Σύλλαν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ πλείον. μάχαι δὲ καὶ ἀκροβολίαι καὶ πολιορκίαι καὶ πολέμων ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀθρόαι τε καὶ κατὰ μέρη τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐγένοντο πολλαί, καὶ πᾶσαι διαφανεῖς. ὧν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἐν κεφαλαίω φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

### X

CAP. Πρώτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις κπρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίγνετο μάχη· καὶ θυήσκουσι Νωρβανοῦ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἑβδομήκοντα, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοί· καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐς Καπύην ἀνέζευξε. 85. Σύλλα δὲ καὶ Μετέλλω περὶ τὸ Τεανὸν οὖσι Λεύκιος Σκιπίων ἐπήει μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ,

cover the cause of the fire. All things seemed to CHAP. point to the multitude of coming slaughters, to the Conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and to constitutional change.

84. This war began as soon as Sulla arrived at Brundusium, which was in the 174th Olympiad, B.C. 88 Considering the magnitude of the operations, 1 its length was not great, compared with wars of this size in general, since the combatants rushed upon each other with the fury of private enemies. For this special reason greater and more distressing calamities than usual befell those who took part in it in a short space of time, because they rushed to meet their troubles. Nevertheless the war lasted three years in Italy alone, until Sulla had secured the supreme power, but in Spain it continued even after Sulla's death. Battles, skirmishes, sieges, and fighting of all kinds were numerous throughout Italy, and the generals had both regular battles and partial engagements, and all were noteworthy. The greatest and most remarkable of them I shall mention in brief.

### X

First of all Sulla and Metellus fought a battle CHAP. against Norbanus at Canusium and killed 6000 of his men, while Sulla's loss was seventy, but many of his canusium men were wounded. Norbanus retreated to Capua. 85. Next, while Sulla and Metellus were near Teanum, L. Scipio advanced against them with another army which was very downhearted and

<sup>1</sup> The text is certainly corrupt here, and cannot adequately be rendered as it stands.

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CAP. πάνυ άθύμως έχοντος καὶ ποθούντος εἰρήνην γενέσθαι αισθόμενοι δ' οί περί τον Σύλλαν προς τον Σκιπίωνα περί συμβάσεων ἐπρέσβευον, οὐχ οὕτως έλπίζοντες ή χρήζοντες, ώς στασιάσειν προσδοκῶντες αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀθύμως ἔχοντα. ὁ καὶ συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Σκιπίων μεν γάρ όμηρα της συνόδου λαβών ές τὸ πεδίον κατήει, καὶ συνήεσαν τρείς έκατέρωθεν, όθεν οὐδὲ γνῶναι τὰ λεχθέντα συνέβη· έδόκει δ' αναθέμενος ο Σκιπίων ές Νωρβανον τον σύναρχον περί των λελεγμένων πέμψαι Σερτώριον άπαγγελούντα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ έκατέρων ήσύχαζε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένοντες. Σερτωρίου δ' ἐν παρόδω Σύεσσαν, ἡ τὰ Σύλλεια ήρητο, καταλαβόντος ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἠτιᾶτο πέμπων ές του Σκιπίωνα, ο δέ, είτε τω γενομένω συνεγνωκώς είτε αποκρίσεως απορών ώς έπὶ άλλοκότω δή τῷ Σερτωρίου ἔργω, τὰ ὅμηρα ἀπέπεμπε τῶ Σύλλα. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τῆ τε της Συέσσης εν σπονδαίς αλόγω καταλήψει καί τη των ομήρων ουκ απαιτουμένων αποπέμψει τους υπάτους έχοντες εν αιτίαις, κρύφα τῷ Σύλλα συνετίθεντο μεταθήσεσθαι προς αὐτόν, εἰ πελάσειε. καὶ προσιόντος αὐτίκα πάντες ἀθρόως μετέστησαν, ώς του ύπατου Σκιπίωνα καὶ του υίον αὐτοῦ Λεύκιον μόνους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντος έν τη σκηνή διηπορημένους Σύλλαν καταλαβείν. καί μοι δοκεί τόδε οὐ στρατηγοῦ παθείν ὁ Σκιπίων, άγνοήσας όλου στρατού τοσήνδε συνθήκην.

86. Σκιπίωνα μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐ μεταπείθων ὁ Σύλλας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπαθῆ. καὶ πρὸς
Νωρβανὸν ἐς Καπύην περὶ συμβάσεων ἔπεμπεν
ἔτέρους, εἴτε δείσας τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι τοῖς

longed for peace. The Sullan faction knew this and CHAP. sent envoys to Scipio to negotiate, not because they hoped or desired to come to an agreement, but beto Sulla cause they expected to create dissensions in Scipio's army, which was in a state of dejection. In this they succeeded. Scipio took hostages for the conference and marched down to the plain. Only three from each side conferred, so that what passed between them is not known. It seems, however, that during the armistice Scipio sent Sertorius to his colleague, Norbanus, to communicate with him concerning the negotiation, and there was a cessation of hostilities while they were waiting for the answers. Sertorius on his way took possession of Suessa, which had espoused the side of Sulla, and Sulla made complaint of this to Scipio. The latter, either because he was privy to the affair or because he did not know what answer to make concerning the strange act of Sertorius, sent back Sulla's hostages. His army blamed the consuls for the unjustifiable seizure of Suessa during the armistice and for the surrender of the hostages, who were not demanded back, and made a secret agreement with Sulla to go over to him if he would draw nearer. This he did, and straightway they all went over en masse, so that the consul, Scipio, and his son Lucius, alone of the whole army, were left, not knowing what to do, in their tent, where they were captured by Sulla. Scipio's ignorance of a conspiracy of this kind, embracing his whole army, seems to me inexcusable in a general.

86. When Sulla was unable to induce Scipio to change, he sent him away with his son unharmed. He also sent other envoys to Norbanus at Capua to open negotiations, either because he was apprehensive

CAP. ὑπάτοις συνισταμένης εἴτε καὶ ἐς τόνδε καθάπερ ές του Σκιπίωνα τεχνάζων. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῶ προιόντος οὐδ' ἐς ἀπόκρισιν (ὁ γάρ τοι Νωρβανός, ὡς ἔοικε, μη διαβληθείη τὰ ὅμοια ἐς τὸν στρατὸν έδεισεν) ἀναστήσας Σύλλας ἐχώρει πρόσω τὰ πολέμια πάντα δηών τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νωρβανὸς έπραττε κατ' άλλας όδούς. Κάρβων δὲ ές τὸ άστυ προδραμών Μέτελλόν τε καὶ τους άλλους. όσοι όντες άπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ Σύλλα συνῆσαν, έψηφίζετο είναι πολεμίους. αίς ήμέραις καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ένεπίμπρατο και το έργον τινές έλογοποίουν Κάρβωνος ή των ύπάτων ή Σύλλα πέμψαντος είναι, τὸ δ' ἀκριβες ἄδηλον ἢν, καὶ οὐκ έχω την αιτίαν έγω συμβαλείν, δι' ην αν ούτως έγένετο. Σερτώριος δ' έκ πολλοῦ στρατηγείν ήρημένος 'Ιβηρίας μετά την Συέσσης κατάληψιν έφευγεν ές την Ίβηρίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν προτέρων στρατηγών οὐ δεχομένων, πολλούς ἐνταῦθα καὶ όδε Ρωμαίοις ανεκίνησε πόνους. πλέονος δ' αεί τοῖς ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπό τε τῆς πλέονος Ίταλίας έτι σφίσι συνεστώσης καὶ ἀπὸ της όμόρου περί τον 'Ηριδανόν Γαλατίας, ούδ' ό Σύλλας ημέλει, περιπέμπων ές όσα δύναιτο της Ίταλίας, φιλία τε καὶ φόβω καὶ χρήμασι καὶ έλπίσιν ἀγείρων, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους έκατέροις ές ταῦτα ἀνηλώθη.

87. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μὲν ἐγενέσθην Παπίριός τε Κάρβων αὖθις καὶ Μάριος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Μαρίου τοῦ περιφανοῦς, ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς χειμων δὲ καὶ κρύος πολὺ γενόμενου ἄπαντας ἀλλήλων διέστησεν. ἀρχομένου δ

of the result (since the greater part of Italy still CHAP adhered to the consuls), or in order to play the same game on him that he had played on Scipio. As nobody came forward and no answer was returned (for it seems that Norbanus feared lest he should be accused by his army in the same way that Scipio had been). Sulla again advanced, devastating all hostile territory, while Norbanus did the same thing on other roads. Carbo hastened to the city and caused Metellus, and all the other senators who had joined Sulla, to be decreed public enemies. It was at this time that the Capitol was burned. Some attributed this deed to Carbo, others to the consuls, others to somebody sent by Sulla; but of the exact fact there was no evidence, nor am I able now to conjecture what caused the fire. Sertorius, who had been some sertorius time previously chosen practor for Spain, after the goes to Spain taking of Suessa fled to his province, and as the former practor refused to recognize his authority, he stirred up a great deal of trouble for the Romans there. In the meantime the forces of the consuls were constantly increasing from the major part of Italy, which still adhered to them, and also from the neighbouring Gauls on the Po. Nor was Sulla idle. He sent messengers to all parts of Italy that he could reach, to collect troops by friendship, by fear, by money, and by promises. In this way the remainder of the summer was consumed on both sides

87. The consuls for the following year were Papirius B.C. 82 Carbo for the second time and Marius, the nephew of Success of Sulla's the great Marius, then twenty-seven years of age. generals At first the winter and severe frost kept the combatants apart. At the beginning of spring, on the

CAP. ήρος περί του Αισίνου ποταμου έξ ήους έπι μεσημβρίαν άγων καρτερός έγενετο Μετέλλω τε καὶ Καρρίνα, Κάρβωνος στρατηγώ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φεύγει μεν ὁ Καρρίνας πολλούς άποβαλών, τὰ δὲ περίοικα πάντα ἐς τὸν Μέτελλον άπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων μετετίθετο. Μέτελλον δὲ Κάρβων καταλαβών έφρούρει περικαθήμενος, έστε Μάριον τον έτερον ύπατον μεγάλη μάχη περί Πραινεστὸν ήττησθαι πυθόμενος ανεστρατοπέδευεν ές 'Αρίμινον. καὶ τοῦδε μὲν Πομπήιος τῆς οὐραγίας έξαπτόμενος ήνωχλει, ή δὲ περὶ Πραινεστὸν ήσσα ώδε εγένετο. Σύλλα Σήτιον καταλαβόντος, ό Μάριος άγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπεχώρει κατ' ολίγον, ως δ' ήλθεν έπὶ τὸν καλούμενον [ερὸν λιμένα, εξέτασσεν ες μάχην και ήγωνίζετο προθύμως. άρχομένου δ' ενδιδόναι τοῦ λαιοῦ μέρους, σπειραι πέντε πεζών και δύο ίππέων οὐκ ἀναμείνασαι την τροπην έκφανηναι τά τε σημεία έρριψαν όμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. καὶ τόδ' εὐθὺς ήρχε τῷ Μαρίω δυσχεροῦς ήττης. κοπτόμενοι γάρ ές Πραινεστον έφευγον άπαντες, έπομένου τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν δρόμφ, καὶ οἱ Πραινέστιοι τους μεν πρώτους αὐτῶν εἶσεδέξαντο, Σύλλα δ' ἐπικειμένου τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ Μάριον καλωδίοις άνιμήσαντο. πολύς δ' άλλος έκ τούδε περί τοις τείχεσιν έγίγνετο φόνος, και πλήθος αίγμαλώτων ο Σύλλας έλαβεν, ων τους Σαυνίτας έκτεινε πάντας ώς αίεὶ χαλεπούς 'Ρωμαίοις γενομένους.

88. Ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Μέτελλος ἐνίκα ἔτερον Κάρβωνος στρατόν, πέντε κἀνταῦθα σπειρῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ σεσωσμένων ἐς Μέτελλον.

banks of the river Aesis, there was a severe engage- CHAP. ment lasting from early morning till noon between Metellus and Carinas, Carbo's lieutenant. Carinas was put to flight after heavy loss, whereupon all the country thereabout seceded from the consuls to Metellus. Carbo came up with Metellus and besieged him until he heard that Marius, the other consul, had been defeated in a great battle near Praeneste, when he led his forces back to Ariminum, while Pompey hung on his rear doing damage. The defeat at Praeneste was in this wise. Sulla having captured the town of Setia, Marius, who was encamped near by, drew a little farther away. But when he arrived at the Sacred Lake he gave battle and fought bravely. When his left wing began to give way five cohorts of foot and two of horse decided not to wait for open defeat, but threw away their standards in a body and went over to Sulla. This was the beginning of a terrible disaster to Marius. His shattered army fled to Praeneste with Sulla in hot pursuit. The continued Praenestines gave shelter to those who arrived first, victories of but when Sulla pressed upon them the gates were closed, and Marius was hauled up by ropes. There was another great slaughter round the walls by reason of the closing of the gates. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners, and killed all the Samnites among them, because they had all along been illaffected toward the Romans.

88. About the same time Metellus gained a victory over another army of Carbo, and here again five cohorts, for safety's sake, deserted to Metellus

CAP. Πομπήιός τε Μάρκιον ένίκα περί πόλιν Σήνας καί την πόλιν διήρπαζεν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Μάριον ές Πραινεστον κατακλείσας την πόλιν απετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείγιζεν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος καὶ Λουκρήτιον 'Οφέλλαν ἐπέστησε τῷ ἔργω, ὡς οὐκέτι μάχη παραστησόμενος Μάριον, ἀλλὰ λιμῷ. Μάριος δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ἠπείγετο προανελεῖν καὶ Βρούτῷ στρατηγούντι της πόλεως ἐπέστελλε την σύγκλητον ώς έπὶ άλλο συναγαγείν καὶ κτείναι Πόπλιον Αντίστιον καὶ Παπίριον Κάρβωνα έτερον καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον καὶ Μούκιον Σκαιόλαν, τον την μεγίστην Ρωμαίοις ίερωσύνην ίερωμένον. οί μεν δη δύο τωνδε ανηρέθησαν εν τη βουλή, καθά Μάριος προσέταξε, των σφαγέων ές τὸ βουλευτήριον έσαχθέντων Δομίτιος δ' έκτρέχων παρά την έξοδον ανηρέθη, καὶ μικρον προ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου Σκαιόλας. τά τε σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς τον ποταμον ἐρρίφη· ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ ἤδη μη καταθάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους. Σύλλας δὲ στρατον ές 'Ρώμην κατά μέρη δι' έτέρων καὶ έτέρων όδων περιέπεμπεν, έντελλόμενος τὰς πύλας καταλαβείν, εί δὲ ἀποκρουσθείεν, ἐπὶ 'Οστια χωρείν. τους δε αί τε πόλεις παροδεύοντας ξυν φόβφ προσεδέχοντο, καὶ τὸ ἄστυ προσιοῦσι τὰς πύλας ἀνέφξαν, ὑπό τε λιμοῦ πιεζούμενοι καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακών άρα ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπικρατούντα φέρειν εθιζόμενοι.

89. Σύλλας δ' ώς ἔμαθεν, αὐτίκα ἐπελθὼν τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἵδρυσε πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν τῷ ᾿Αρείῳ πεδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ' εἴσω παρῆλθεν, ἐκφυγόντων τῶν

during the battle. Pompey overcame Marcius near CHAP. Senae and plundered the town. Sulla, having shut The Marius up in Praeneste, drew a line of circumvalla-younger tion round the town a considerable distance from it besieged in and left the work in charge of Lucretius Ofella, Praeneste as he intended to reduce Marius by famine, not by fighting. When Marius saw that his condition was hopeless he hastened to put his private enemies out of the way. He wrote to Brutus, the city practor, to call the Senate together on some pretext or other and to kill Publius Antistius, the other Papirius, Lucius Domitius, and Mucius Scaevola, the pontifex maximus. Of these the two first were slain in their Murders in seats as Marius had ordered, assassins having been Rome introduced into the senate-house for this purpose. Domitius ran out, but was killed at the door, and Scaevola was killed a little farther away. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, for it was now the custom not to bury the slain. Sulla sent an army to Rome in detachments by different roads with orders to seize the gates, and if they were repulsed to rendezvous at Ostia. The towns on the way received them with fear and trembling, and the city opened its gates to them because the people were oppressed by hunger, and because, of present evils, men always nerve themselves to bear the worse.1

89. When Sulla learned this he came on immediately and established his army before the gates in the Campus Martius. He went inside himself, all of

<sup>1</sup> The famine, that is, being the lighter evil of the two.

CAP. ἀντιστασιωτών άπάντων. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων αὐτίκα ἐδημεύετο καὶ διεπιπράσκετο, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ές ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγών τήν τε ἀνάγκην τών παρόντων ώλοφύρετο καὶ θαρρείν προσέταξεν ώς αὐτίκα τῶνδε παυσομένων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐς τὸ δέον έλευσομένης. διοικησάμενος δ' όσα ήπειγε καὶ τη πόλει τινὰς ἐπιστήσας τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἐξώρμησεν ές Κλούσιον, ένθα τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ήκμαζεν. ἐν δὲ τούτω τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσεγένοντο ίππεις Κελτίβηρες, ύπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρία στρατηγῶν άπεσταλμένοι, καὶ γενομένης παρά τὸν Γλάνιν ποταμον ίππομαχίας ο μεν Σύλλας έκτεινεν ές πεντήκοντα των πολεμίων, διακόσιοι δε καὶ έβδομήκοντα τωνδε των Κελτιβήρων ηὐτομόλησαν ές Σύλλαν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Κάρβων ἀνείλεν, είτε χαλεπήνας της των όμοεθνων αυτομολίας είτε δείσας περί όμοίου. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περί Σατουρνίαν έτέρω μέρει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Σύλλας ένίκα, καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν περιπλέων τὴν Οὐριτανὴν χώραν, πεδιάδα καὶ πυροφόρον οὖσαν, προκατελάμβανεν. ές τε Νέαν πόλιν έκ προδοσίας νυκτός έτεροι των Συλλείων έσελθόντες εκτειναν άπαντας χωρίς ολίγων διαφυγόντων καὶ τας τριήρεις της πόλεως έλαβον. αὐτῷ δὲ Σύλλα καὶ Κάρβωνι περὶ Κλούσιον έξ ήους ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν γίγνεται μάχη καρτερά· καὶ φανέντες άλλήλοις ισόμαχοι μετά σκότους διεκρίθησαν.

90. Έν δὲ τῷ Σπωλητίῳ πεδίῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος, ἄμφω Σύλλα στρατηγοί, κτείνουσι τῶν Καρβωνείων εἰς τρισχιλίους καὶ Καρρίναν τὸν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντα σφίσιν ἐπολιόρκουν, ἔστε Κάρ-

the opposite faction having fled. Their property was CHAP. at once confiscated and exposed to public sale. Sulla summoned the people to an assembly, where he lamented the necessity of his present doings and told them to cheer up, as the troubles would soon be over and the government go on as it ought. Having arranged such matters as were pressing and put some of his own men in charge of the city, he set out for Clusium, where the war was still raging. In the meantime a body of Celtiberian horse, sent by the praetors in Spain, had joined the consuls, and there was a cavalry fight on the banks of the river Glanis. Sulla killed about fifty of the enemy, and then 270 of the Celtiberian horse deserted to him, and Carbo himself killed the rest of them, either because he was angry at the desertion of their countrymen or because he feared similar action on their own part. About the same time Sulla overcame another detachment of his enemies near Saturnia, and Metellus sailed around toward Ravenna and took possession of the level wheat-growing country of Uritanus.1 Another Sullan division effected an entrance into Neapolis by treachery in the night, killed all the inhabitants except a few who had made their escape, and seized the triremes belonging to the city. A severe battle was fought near Clusium between Sulla himself and Carbo, lasting all day. Neither party had the advantage when darkness put an end to the conflict.

90. In the plain of Spoletium, Pompey and Crassus, Sullan both Sulla's officers, killed some 3000 of Carbo's men and besieged Carinas, the opposing general. Carbo sent reinforcements to Carinas, but Sulla learned of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Viereck; but it may be "ager viritanus," "qui viritim distribuitur" according to Festus.

CAP. βων μεν έτερον τῷ Καρρίνα στρατον ἔπεμψεν· ό δε Σύλλας αισθόμενος και εφεδρεύσας έκτεινεν αὐτῶν παροδευόντων ές δισχιλίους, καὶ Καρρίνας δὲ νυκτός, ὕδατός τε ὄντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ σκότους, αἰσθομένων μέν τι τῶν περικαθημένων, διὰ δὲ τὸν ὄμβρον ἀμελούντων, διέφυγε. Κάρβων ές Πραινεστον Μαρίω τω συνάρχω Μάρκιον ἔπεμπεν, ὀκτὼ τέλη στρατιᾶς ἄγοντα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ κακοπαθείν οἰς ό Πομπήιος έξ ένέδρας έν στενώ προσπεσών τρέπεταί τε καὶ πολλούς διαφθείρας ές λόφον συνέκλεισε τους λοιπούς. έξ οῦ Μάρκιος μεν ου σβέσας το πυρ απεδίδρασκεν, ο δέ στρατός αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνέδρας προστιθεὶς ἐστασίασε χαλεπώς, καὶ τέλος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς σημείοις ὅλον άνευ παραγγέλματος έπανηλθεν ές 'Αρίμινου, οί λοιποί δ' ές τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθησαν, ώς έπτα σπείρας τω στρατηγώ μόνας παραμείναι.

Καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ὧδε πράξας κακῶς ἐς Κάρβωνα ἐπανήει, Μᾶρκον δὲ Λαμπώνιον ἐκ Λευκανίας καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσῖνον ἐκ τῆς Σαυνίτιδος καὶ τὸν Καπυαῖον Γοῦτταν, μεθ' ἐπτὰ μυριάδων ἐπειγομένους Μάριον ἐξελέσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἢ μόνη διαβατὸν ἢν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου. καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας, φρούριον ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίω μεγάλῳ ὄντι ἤγειρεν, ἐς ὁ καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι τὸν Λουκρήτιον. πολυημέρου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ποικίλης τῆς πείρας γενομένης, οὐδὲν ἀνύων ἐς Πραινεστὸν

αθθις συνεκλείετο.

91. Καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Φαυεντία

their movement, laid an ambush for them, and killed CHAP. about 2000 of them on the road. Carinas escaped by night during a heavy rain-storm and thick darkness, since although the besiegers were aware of some movement, they made no opposition on account of the storm. Carbo sent Marcius with eight legions to the relief of his colleague, Marius, at Praeneste, having heard that he was suffering from hunger. Pompey fell upon them from ambush in a defile. defeated them, killed a large number, and surrounded the remainder on a hill Marcius indeed made his escape, leaving his fires burning, but the army blamed him for being caught in an ambush and there was a serious mutiny. One whole legion marched off under their standards to Ariminum without orders. The rest separated and went home in driblets, so that only seven cohorts remained with their general.

Marcius, having made a failure of it in this way, returned to Carbo. However, Marcus Lamponius from Lucania, Pontius Telesinus from Samnium, and Gutta the Capuan, with 70,000 men, hastened to deliver Marius from the siege, but Sulla occupied a pass which was the only approach to the place, and blocked the road. Marius now despaired of aid from without, and built a raised fort in the wide space between himself and the enemy, within which he collected his soldiers and his engines, and from which he attempted to force his way through the besieging army of Lucretius. The attempt was renewed several days in different ways, but he accomplished nothing and was again shut up in Praeneste.

91. About the same time Carbo and Norbanus

CAP. Κάρβων καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐξ ὁδοῦ βραχὺ πρὸ έσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ Μετέλλου στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες, λοιπής ούσης ώρας μιας και άμπέλων πυκνών περικειμένων, ανοήτως μάλα ύπο δργής ές μάχην έξέταττον, έλπίσαντες Μέτελλον τῷ παραλόγω καταπλήξειν. ήττώμενοι δε ώς εν άφυει χωρίφ τε καὶ ώρα καὶ ές τὰ φυτὰ έμπίπτοντες έφθείροντο κατά πλήθος, ώς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἀμφὶ τούς μυρίους, αὐτομολησαι δ' ές έξακισχιλίους καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς διαρριφήναι, μόνων έν τάξει χιλίων έπανελθόντων ές 'Αρίμινον. τέλος δ' άλλο Λευκανών αγόμενον ύπὸ 'Αλβενουανού, της ήττης πυθόμενον, μετεχώρει προς Μέτελλον δυσχεραίνοντος 'Αλβενουανού. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐ κατασχών της όρμης αύτον ές Νωρβανον έπανηλθεν, οὐ πολλαις δὲ ημέραις ὕστερον κρύφα τῷ Σύλλα κοινολογησάμενος καὶ λαβων ἄδειαν, εἴ τι πράξειεν άξιόλογον, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει Νωρβανόν τε καὶ τούς συνόντας αὐτῷ στρατηγούς, Γάιον 'Αντίπατρον καὶ Φλάυιον Φιμβρίαν, άδελφὸν τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, ὅσοι τε άλλοι τῶν Καρβωνείων στρατηγοί τότε παρῆσαν. ώς δ' ἀφίκοντο χωρίς γε Νωρβανοῦ (μόνος γὰρ ούκ ἀφίκετο), πάντας αὐτούς ὁ ᾿Αλβενουανὸς έκτεινεν έπὶ της διαίτης καὶ ές τὸν Σύλλαν διέφυγε. Νωρβανός δὲ καὶ 'Αρίμινον ἐπὶ τῆδε τῆ συμφορά καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πλησίον στρατοπέδων ές του Σύλλαν μεταχωρεῖν πυνθανόμενος τῶν τε παρόντων οἱ φίλων οὐδένα ἔτι πιστον οὐδὲ βέβαιον ώς ἐν συμφοραῖς τιθέμενος, ἰδιωτικοῦ σκάφους επιβάς ες 'Ρόδον διέπλευσεν' όθεν ύστε-

went by a short road to attack the camp of Metellus CHAP. in Faventia just before nightfall. There was only one hour of daylight left, and there were thick vinevards thereabout. They made their plans for battle with more temper than judgment, hoping to take Metellus unawares and to stampede him. But they were beaten, both the place and the time being unfavourable for them. They became entangled in the vines, and suffered a heavy slaughter, losing some 10,000 men. About 6000 more deserted, and the rest were dispersed, only 1000 getting back to Ariminum in good order. Another legion of Lucanians under Albinovanus, when they heard of this defeat, went over to Metellus to the great chagrin of their leader. As the latter was not able to restrain this impulse of his men, he, for the time, returned to Norbanus. Not many days later he sent secretly to Sulla, and having obtained a promise of safety from him, if he should accomplish anything important, he invited Norbanus and his lieutenants, Gaius Antipater and Flavius Fimbria (brother of the one who committed suicide in Asia), together with such of Carbo's lieutenants as were then present, to a feast. When they had all assembled except Norbanus (he was the only one who did not come), Albinovanus murdered them all at the banquet and then fled to Sulla. Norbanus, having learned that, in consequence of this disaster, Ariminum and many More other camps in the vicinity were going over to Sulla, desertions to Sulla and being unable to rely on the good faith and firm support of many of his friends on the spot, now that he found himself in adversity, took passage on a private ship, and sailed to Rhodes. When, at a later period, Sulla demanded his surrender, and while the

ρον έξαιτούμενος ύπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα, 'Ροδίων ἔτι ἀμφιγνοούντων, έαυτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾳ μέση διέφθειρε.

92. Κάρβων δὲ ἔτερα δύο τέλη στρατιωτών ές Πραινεστον άγειν έπεμπε Δαμάσιππον, υπερεπειγόμενος Μάριον ἐκλῦσαι τῆς πολιορκίας ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὖτοι τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσόμενα ύπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα. Γαλάται τε ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ῥαβέννης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια παρήκουσιν, ἀθρόως ἐς Μέτελλον μετετίθεντο καὶ Λεύκολλος έτέρους τῶν Καρβωνείων ἐνίκα περὶ Πλακεντίαν. ὧν ο Κάρβων πυνθανόμενος, τρισμυρίους όμως έτι έγων περί τὸ Κλούσιον καὶ δύο τέλη τὰ Δαμασίππου καὶ ἕτερα περὶ Καρρίναν καὶ Μάρκιον Σαυνιτῶν τε αὐτῷ χειρὶ πολλῆ προθύμως περὶ τὰ στενὰ κακοπαθούντων, ἀπογνοὺς ἀπάντων ἀσθενῶς έφευγε σύν τοις φίλοις ές Λιβύην έξ Ίταλίας ύπατος έτι ών, ως Λιβύην παραστησόμενος αντί τῆς Ίταλίας. των δ' υπολειφθέντων οι μεν άμφι το Κλούσιον Πομπηίω συνενεχθέντες ές μάχην απέβαλον ές δισμυρίους, καὶ ώς έπὶ συμφορά μεγίστη καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθη. Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Δαμάσιππος οἷς εἶχον ἄπασιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ έχώρουν ώς όμου τοις Σαυνίταις βιασόμενοι πάντως αὐτὰ περᾶσαι. οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ώς, ἐφέροντο ές Ῥώμην ώς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ τροφῶν ἄμα καταληψόμενοι τὸ ἄστυ καὶ πρὸ σταδίων έκατὸν ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ τὴν 'Αλβανῶν γῆν.

93. Δείσας οὖν ὁ Σύλλας περὶ τἢ πόλει τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας προύπεμψε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπειχθεὶς ἀθρόφ τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις περὶ μεσημ-

Rhodians were deliberating on it, he killed himself CHAP.

in the middle of the market-place.

92. Carbo sent Damasippus in haste with two other legions to Praeneste to relieve Marius, who was still besieged, but not even these could force their way through the pass that was guarded by Sulla. The Gauls who inhabited the country lying between Ravenna and the Alps went over to Metellus en masse and Lucullus won a victory over another body of Carbo's forces near Placentia. When Carbo learned these facts, although he still had 30,000 men around Clusium, and the two legions of Damasippus, and others under Carinas and Marcius, besides a large force of Samnites, who were courageously enduring hardships at the pass, he fell into despair and weakly fled to Africa with his friends, Carbo flees although he was still consul, hoping to win over to Africa Africa instead of Italy. Of those whom he left behind, the army around Clusium had a battle with Pompey in which they lost 20,000 men. Naturally, after this greatest disaster of all, the remainder of the army broke into fragments and each man went to his own home. Carinas, Marcius, and Damasippus went with all the forces they had to the pass in order to force their way through it in conjunction with the Samnites. Failing in the attempt they marched to Rome, thinking that the city might be easily taken, as it was bereft of men and provisions, and they encamped in the Alban territory at a distance of 100 stades from it.

93. Sulla feared for the safety of the city, and sent Sulla's his cavalry forward with all speed to hinder their the Colline march, and then hastened in person with his whole Gate army and encamped beside the Colline gate near

CAP. βρίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ίερου, ήδη καὶ τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδευόντων. μάχης δ' εὐθύς αὐτοῖς περί δείλην έσπέραν γενομένης τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Σύλλας έκράτει, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἡττώμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέφυγεν. οί δὲ γέροντες, ὄντες ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ώς είδον αὐτοῖς συνεστρέχοντας τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς πύλας καθήκαν ἀπὸ μηχανής αί δ' ἐμπίπτουσαι πολλούς μεν άπο τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθειραν, πολλούς δ' άπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀνάγκης ἀνέστρεφον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ νυκτὸς όλης ἀγωνισάμενοι πολύ πλήθος έκτειναν έκτειναν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Τελεσίνόν τε καὶ 'Αλβίνον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν έλαβον. Λαμπώνιός τε ο Λευκανός καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῆς Καρβωνείου στάσεως αὐτοῖς συνήσαν, διέφυγον. καὶ θάνατος έκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου πέντε μυριάδων ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τά τε αἰχμάλωτα οκτακισχιλίων πλείω γενόμενα Σύλλας, ότι Σαυνίται το πλέον ην, κατηκόντισε. μετά δὲ μίαν ήμέραν αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας άλοντες προσήγοντο καὶ οὐδὲ τῶνδε φειδόμενος οἶα 'Ρωμαίων έκτεινεν άμφω καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ές Πραινεστου Λουκρητίω περί τὰ τείχη περιενεγκείν ἔπεμψεν.

94. Πραινέστιοι δὲ καὶ τάδε θεώμενοι καὶ τὸν Κάρβωνος στρατὸν ἀπολωλέναι πάντα πυνθανόμενοι αὐτόν τε Νωρβανὸν ἤδη φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ 'Ρώμην ἐπ' αὐτῆ Σύλλαν ἐκτενῶς κεχειρῶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδοσαν, Μαρίου καταδύντος ἐς

the temple of Venus about noon, the enemy being CHAP. already encamped around the city. A battle was fought at once, late in the afternoon. On the right wing Sulla was victorious, but his left was vanquished and fled to the gates. The old soldiers on the walls, when they saw the enemy rushing in with their own men, dropped the portcullis, which fell upon and killed many soldiers and many senators. But the majority, impelled by fear and necessity, turned and fought the enemy. The fighting continued through the night and a great many were slain. generals, Telesinus and Albinus, were slain also and their camp was taken. Lamponius the Lucanian, Marcius, and Carinas, and the other generals of the faction of Carbo, fled. It was estimated that 50,000 men on both sides lost their lives in this engagement. Prisoners, to the number of more than 8,000, were shot down with darts by Sulla because they were mostly Samnites. The next day Marcius and Carinas were captured and brought in. Sulla did not spare them because they were Romans, but killed them both and sent their heads to Lucretius at Praeneste to be displayed round the walls.

94. When the Praenestians saw them and knew Surrender of Praeneste that Carbo's army was completely destroyed, and that Norbanus himself had fled from Italy, and that Rome and all the rest of Italy were entirely in the power of Sulla, they surrendered their city to Lucretius. Marius hid himself in an underground

CAP. τάφρους ύπονόμους καὶ μετὰ βραχύ καὶ ἀνελόντος έαυτόν. Λουκρήτιος μεν δη Μαρίου την κεφαλην έκτεμων έπεμπεν ές Σύλλαν και αὐτην ο Σύλλας έν ἀγορᾳ μέση προ των ἐμβόλων θέμενος ἐπιγελάσαι λέγεται τῆ νεότητι τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ εἰπεῖν: " ἐρέτην δεί πρώτα γενέσθαι, πρὶν πηδαλίοις έπιχειρείν." Λουκρήτιος δ' έπεὶ Πραινεστον είλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρίω στρατηγούντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνήρει, τοὺς δ' ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν· οὺς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀνεῖλε. καὶ τούς ἐν Πραινεστῷ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὅπλων προελθείν άπαντας ές το πεδίον και προελθόντων τούς μεν έαυτώ τι χρησίμους γενομένους, όλίγους πάμπαν, έξείλετο, τους δε λοιπούς εκέλευσεν ές τρία ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστήναι, 'Ρωμαίους τε καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Πραινεστίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοις μεν 'Ρωμαίοις επεκήρυξεν, ότι και οίδε άξια θανάτου δεδράκασι, καὶ συγγνώμην έδωκεν όμως, τούς δὲ ἐτέρους κατηκόντισεν ἄπαντας γύναια δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παιδία μεθηκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι. καὶ την πόλιν διήρπαζε, πολυχρήματον έν τοις μάλιστα τότε οῦσαν.

\* Ωδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Πραινεστὸς ἐάλω, Νῶρβα δ', ἐτέρα πόλις, ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι ἐγκρατῶς, ἔστε Λἰμιλίου Λεπίδου νυκτὸς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐσελθόντος διαγανακτήσαντες οἱ ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆ προδοσία, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνήρουν, οἱ δ' ἀλλήλους ἑκόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βρόχοις συνεπλέκοντο· καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐνέφραττον ἔτεροι καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν . . . ἄνεμός τε πολὺς ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λάφυρον γενέσθαι.

tunnel and shortly afterward committed suicide. CHAP. Lucretius cut off his head and sent it to Sulla, who exposed it in the forum in front of the rostra. It is Suicide of said that he indulged in a jest at the youth of the Marius consul, saying "First learn to row, before you try to steer." 1 When Lucretius took Praeneste he seized the senators who had held commands under Marius. and put some of them to death and cast the others into prison. The latter were put to death by Sulla when he came that way. All the others who were taken in Praeneste he ordered to march out to the plain without arms, and when they had done so he chose out a very few who had been in any way serviceable to him. The remainder he ordered to be divided into three sections, consisting of Romans, Samnites, and Praenestians respectively. When this had been done he announced to the Romans by herald that they had merited death, but nevertheless he would pardon them. The others he shot down to the last man, but their wives and children he allowed to go unharmed. The town, which was extremely rich at that time, he gave over to plunder.

In this way was Praeneste taken. Norba, another town, still resisted with all its might until Aemilius Lepidus was admitted to it in the night by treachery. The inhabitants, maddened by this treason, killed themselves, or fell on each other's swords, or strangled themselves with ropes. Others closed the gates and set fire to the town. A strong wind fanned the flames, which so far consumed the place that no

plunder was gained from it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A quotation from Aristophanes (Knights 542).

## XI

CAP. 95. Καὶ οίδε μὲν ούτως ἐγκρατῶς ἀπέθανον· ηνυσμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ φόνω πολλώ, οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σύλλα στρατηγοί τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες τὰ ὕποπτα ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Πομπήιος ές τε Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κάρβωνα καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ Κάρβωνος φίλους έστέλλετο αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σύλλας Ῥωμαίους ἐς έκκλησίαν συναγαγών πολλά έμεγαληγόρησεν έφ' έαυτῷ καὶ φοβερὰ ές κατάπληξιν εἶπεν ἕτερα καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν δημον ἐς χρηστὴν ἄξει μεταβολήν, εἰ πείθοιντό οἱ, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδενὸς ές ἔσχατον κακοῦ φείσεται, άλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ή ταμίας ή χιλιάρχους ή όσοι τι συνέπραξαν άλλοι τοις πολεμίοις, μεθ' ην ημέραν Σκιπίων ό ύπατος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ώμολογημένοις, μετελεύσεσθαι κατά κράτος. ταῦτα δ' είπων αυτίκα βουλευτάς ές τεσσαράκοντα καὶ των καλουμένων ίππέων άμφὶ χιλίους καὶ έξακοσίους έπὶ θανάτω προύγραφεν. οὖτος γὰρ δοκεῖ πρώτος, οὺς ἐκόλασε θανάτω, προγράψαι καὶ γέρα τοίς αναιρούσι καὶ μήνυτρα τοίς ελέγγουσι καὶ κολάσεις τοις κρύπτουσιν ἐπιγράψαι. μετ' οὐ πολύ δὲ βουλευτὰς ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. καὶ τῶνδε οἱ μὲν ἀδοκήτως καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἔνθα συνελαμβάνοντο, ἐν οἰκίαις ή στενωποίς ή ίεροίς, οί δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν

#### XI

95. So perished the stout-hearted men of Norba; CHAP. and now, after thus crushing Italy by war, fire, and murder, Sulla's generals visited the several cities tions and and established garrisons at the suspected places. massacres by Sulla Pompey was despatched to Africa against Carbo and to Sicily against Carbo's friends who had taken refuge there. Sulla himself called the Roman people together in an assembly and made them a speech, vaunting his own exploits and making other menacing statements in order to inspire terror. He finished by saying that he would bring about a change which would be beneficial to the people if they would obey him, but of his enemies he would spare none, but would visit them with the utmost severity. He would take vengeance by strong measures on the practors, quaestors, military tribunes, and everybody else who had committed any hostile act after the day when the consul Scipio violated the agreement made with him. After saying this he forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first to make a formal list 1 of those whom he punished, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed. Shortly afterward he added the names of other senators to the proscription. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, in the streets, or in the temples. Others were hurled

<sup>1</sup> Latin proscribere, whence "proscription."

CAP. Σύλλαν φερόμενοί τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ριπτούμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσύροντο καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι τῶν θεωμένων οὐδενὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε κακοῖς ἔχοντος ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως. ἐξέλασίς τε ἐτέρων ἦν καὶ δήμευσις τῶν ἑτέροις ὄντων. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐκφυγόντας ζητηταὶ πάντα μαστεύοντες διέθεον καὶ ὅσους αὐτῶν λάβοιεν ἀνήρουν.

96. Πολλή δέ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀναίρεσίς τε καὶ έξέλασις καὶ δήμευσις ήν, όσοι τι Κάρβωνος η Νωρβανού η Μαρίου η των ύπ' εκείνοις στρατηγούντων υπήκουσαν. κρίσεις τε ήσαν έπὶ τούτοις άνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πικραὶ καὶ ἐγκλήματα ποικίλα, στρατηγίας ή στρατείας ή έσφορας χρημάτων ή άλλης ύπηρεσίας ή βουλεύσεως όλως κατά Σύλλα. έγκλήματα δ' ην καὶ ξενία καὶ φιλία και δάνεισμα, λαβόντος η δόντος, ήδη δέ τις καὶ προθυμίας ή μόνης συνοδίας ήλίσκετο. καὶ ταῦτ' ἤκμαζε μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων. ώς δ' έξέλιπε τὰ καθ' ένα ἄνδρα ἐγκλήματα, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ο Σύλλας μετήει καὶ ἐκόλαζε καὶ τάσδε. των μεν ακροπόλεις κατασκάπτων ή τείχη καθαιρων ή κοινας ζημίας επιτιθείς ή είσφοραις έκτρύχων βαρυτάταις ταίς δὲ πλείοσι τοὺς έαυτῶ στρατευσαμένους επώκιζεν ώς έξων φρούρια κατά της Ίταλίας τήν τε γην αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ές τούσδε μεταφέρων διεμέριζεν δ καὶ μάλιστ' αύτους εύνους αύτω και τελευτήσαντι εποίησεν. ώς γάρ ούχ έξοντες αὐτὰ βεβαίως, εἰ μὴ πάντ'

through mid-air 1 and thrown at Sulla's feet. Others CHAP. were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against these horrors. Banishment was inflicted upon some and confiscation upon others. Spies were searching everywhere for those who had fled from the city, and those whom they

caught they killed.

96. There was much massacre, banishment, and Confiscation confiscation also among those Italians who had in the obeyed Carbo, or Marius, or Norbanus, or their provinces lieutenants Severe judgments of the courts were rendered against them throughout all Italy on various charges-for exercising military command, for serving in the army, for contributing money, for rendering other service, or even giving counsel against Sulla. Hospitality, private friendship, the borrowing or lending of money, were alike accounted crimes. Now and then one would be arrested for doing a kindness to a suspect, or merely for being his companion on a journey. These accusations abounded mostly against the rich. When charges against individuals failed Sulla took vengeance on whole communities. He punished some of them by demolishing their citadels, or destroying their walls, or by imposing fines and crushing them by heavy contributions. Among most of them he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons, sequestrating their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all Sulla's

<sup>1</sup> Probably from windows or roofs; but the Greek may merely mean "carried" as opposed to "dragged."

CAP. εἴη τὰ Σύλλα βέβαια, ὑπερηγωνίζοντο αὐτοῦ και μεταστάντος.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κάρβωνα δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Σικελίαν μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Κοσσύραν νῆσον ὑποφεύγοντα πέμψας τινὰς ὁ Πομπήιος συνέλαβε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἄγουσιν ἐκέλευσεν οὐδ' ἐς ὄψιν οἱ προσαχθέντας ἀνελεῖν, Κάρβωνα δὲ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶ δεσμώτην τρὶς ὕπατον ἐπεδημηγόρησε καὶ κατέκανε καὶ τὴν

κεφαλήν ές Σύλλαν έπεμψεν.

97. 'Ο δ', ἐπεί οἱ πάντα, ὡς ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ τοῖς έχθροῖς διώκητο καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἢν ἔτι πλὴν Σερτωρίου μακράν όντος, Μέτελλον μέν έπὶ τοῦτον έξέπεμπεν ές Ἰβηρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῆ πόλει καθίστατο ἄπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐβούλετο τρόπον. νόμου γὰρ ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ κλήρου λόγος οὐκ ἦν ἔτι, πεφρικότων ύπο δέους πάντων καὶ κρυπτομένων ή σιωπώντων οὶ καὶ πάντα, όσα διώκησεν ό Σύλλας ύπατεύων τε καὶ ἀνθυπατεύων, βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα έψηφίζοντο είναι είκόνα τε αὐτοῦ έπίχρυσον έπὶ ίππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν καὶ ὑπέγραψαν "Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς." ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κόλακες, διευτυχούντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἀνόμαζον καὶ προῆλθεν ές βέβαιον ὄιομα ή κολακεία. ήδη δέ που γραφή περιέτυχον ήγουμένη του Σύλλαν Έπαφρόδιτον έν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι ἀναγραφῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἐφαίνετό μοι καὶ τόδε, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐπωνομάζετο· δύναται δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου καὶ ἐπαφροδίτου άγχοτάτω μάλιστα είναι τὸ ὄνομα. ἔστι δ' ὅπου

system were on a firm foundation, they were his CHAP.

stoutest champions even after he died.

While the affairs of Italy were in this state, Pompey sent a force and captured Carbo, who had fled with many persons of distinction from Africa to Sicily and thence to the island of Cossyra. He ordered his officers to kill all of the others without bringing them into his presence; but Carbo, "the three times consul," he caused to be brought before his feet in chains, and after making a public harangue at him, murdered him and sent his head to Sulla.

97. When everything had been accomplished sulla against his enemies as he desired, and there was triumphant no longer any hostile force except that of Sertorius, who was far distant, Sulla sent Metellus into Spain against him and seized upon everything in the city to suit himself. There was no longer any occasion for laws, or elections, or for casting lots, because everybody was shivering with fear and in hiding, or dumb. Everything that Sulla had done as consul, or as proconsul, was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription, "Cornelius Sulla, the ever Fortunate," for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies. And this flattering title still attaches to him. I have come across a document which relates that Sulla was styled Epaphroditus 1 by a decree of the Senate itself. This does not seem to me to be inappropriate for one of his names was Faustus (lucky), which name seems to have very nearly the same significa-tion as Epaphroditus. There was also an oracle given to him somewhere which, in response to his

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;The favourite of Venus."

CAP. καὶ χρησμὸς αὐτῷ δοθεὶς ἐβεβαίου τάδε σκεπτομένφ τὰ μέλλοντα.

> πείθεο μοι, 'Ρωμαΐε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις έδωκεν

> Αἰνείου γενεῆ μεμελημένη. ἀλλὰ σὰ πᾶσιν ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε· Δελφοῖς δῶρα κόμιζε. καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσι Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἄστυ Καρῶν, οὶ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἐξ ᾿Αφροδίτης· ἡ πέλεκυν θέμενος λήψη κράτος ἀμφιλαφές σοι.

όπότερα δ' αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσαντο 'Ρωμαῖοι τὴν εἰκόνα τιθέντες, δοκοῦσί μοι παρασκώπτοντες ἡ ἐκμειλισσόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιγράψαι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στέφανον χρύσεον καὶ πέλεκυν, ἐπιγράψας τάδε·

τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', 'Αφροδίτη,

δ σ' είδον κατ' όνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσαν τεύχεσι τοις "Αρεος μαρναμένην ἔνοπλον.

98. 'Ο δὲ ἔργφ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἢ τύραννος, οὐχ αίρετός, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ βία, δεόμενος δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ προσποιήματος αίρετὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὧδε καὶ τόδε ἐμηχανήσατο. 'Ρωμαίοις πάλαι κατ' ἀρετὴν ἣσαν οἱ βασιλέες· καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνοι, βουλευτὴς ἔτερος παρ' ἔτερον ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἣρχεν, ἕως τινὰ ἄλλον ὁ δῆμος δοκιμάσειε βασιλεύειν. καὶ τόνδε τὸν πενθήμερον ἄρχοντα ἰντέρρηγα ἐκάλουν· εἴη δ' ἂν ἐν τοσῷδε βασιλεύς. ἀρχαιρέσια δ' ὑπάτων οἱ λήγοντες τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀεὶ προυτίθεσαν· καὶ εἴ ποτε κατὰ συντυχίαν ὕπατος

question concerning the future, assured his prosperous CHAP. career as follows:—

"Roman, believe me! On Aeneas' line
Cypris, its patron, sheddeth power divine;
To all the Immortals bring thy yearly gifts;
And chief to Delphi. But where Taurus lifts
His snowy side, and Carian men have walled
A far-spread town, from Aphrodite called,
There bring an Axe, and power supreme is
thine!"

Whichever inscription the Romans voted when they erected the statue, they seem to me to have inscribed it either by way of jest or cajolery. However, Sulla did actually send a golden crown and axe to Venus with this inscription:—

This Axe to Aphrodite Sulla brought,
For in a dream he saw her as she fought
Queen of his host, full armed, and deeds of
knighthood wrought.

98. Thus Sulla became king, or tyrant, de facto, not elected, but holding power by force and violence. As, however, he needed the pretence of being elected this too was managed in this way. The kings of the Romans in the olden time were chosen for their bravery, and whenever one of them died the senators held the royal power in succession for five days each, until the people should decide who should be the new king. This five-day ruler was called the Interrex, which means king for the time being. The retiring consuls always presided over the election of their successors in office, and if there

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Aphrodisias in Caria.

CAP. οὐκ εἴη, ὅδε ὁ ἐν τοσῷδε βασιλεὺς καὶ τότε ἐγίγνετο XI ἐς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων χειροτονίαν. τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἔθους ἐπιβαίνων ὁ Σύλλας, ὑπάτων οὐκ ὄντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάρβων ἐν Σικελία καὶ Μάριος κατὰ Πραινεστὸν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, αὐτὸς μέν που τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, τῆ δὲ βουλῆ προσέταξεν ἐλέσθαι

τὸν καλούμενον μεταξὺ βασιλέα.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον εἴλετο, ἐλπίσασα ὑπάτων προτεθήσεσθαι χειροτονίαν ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐπέστελλε τῷ Φλάκκῳ γνώμην ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεγκεῖν, ὅτι χρήσιμον ἡγοῖτο Σύλλας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔσεσθαι τῆ πόλει τὴν ἀρχήν, οὺς ἐκάλουν δικτάτορας, παυσάμενον ἔθος ἐκ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν ὁν δὲ ἔλοιντο, ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐς χρόνον ἡητόν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην στάσεσι καὶ πολέμοις σεσαλευμένην στηρίσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τὴν γνώμην ἐς αὐτὸν ἔφερε τὸν Σύλλαν, καὶ οὐδὶ ἀμφίβολον ἦν ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ κατασχὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτὶ ἐν τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνεκάλυπτεν, ὅτι οἱ δοκοίη μάλιστὶ ἀν αὐτὸς τῆ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῷδε γενέσθαι χρήσιμος.

99. Ό μὲν δὴ τάδε ἐπέστελλε, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' οὐχ ἐκόντες μὲν οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον ἔτι χειροτονοῦντες οὐδὲν οὐδὶ ἀπὶ σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὅλως, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάντων ἀπορία τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῆς χειροτονίας ὡς ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα καὶ πρόσχημα ἀσπασάμενοι χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Σύλλαν, ἐς ὅσον θέλοι, τύραννον αὐτοκράτορα. τυραννὶς μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν δικτατόρων ἀρχὴ καὶ πάλαι, ὀλίγω χρόνω δ' ὁριζομένη τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἐς ἀόριστον ἐλθοῦσα

chanced to be no consul at such a time an Interrex CHAP was appointed for the purpose of holding the Consular comitia. Sulla took advantage of this custom. There were no consuls at this time, Carbo having lost his life in Sicily and Marius in Praeneste. So Sulla went out of the city for a time and ordered the Senate to choose an Interrex.

They chose Valerius Flaccus, expecting that he would soon hold the consular comitia. But Sulla wrote ordering Flaccus to represent to the people his own strong opinion that it was to the immediate interest of the city to revive the dictatorship, an office which had now been in abeyance 400 years. He told them not to appoint the dictator for a fixed period, but until such time as he should firmly re-establish the city and Italy and the government generally, shattered as it was by factions and wars. That this proposal referred to himself was not at all doubtful, and Sulla made no concealment of it, declaring openly at the conclusion of the letter that, in his judgment, he could be most serviceable to the city in that capacity.

99. Such was Sulla's message. The Romans did not He is made like it, but they had no more opportunities for dictator elections according to law, and they considered that this matter was not altogether in their own power. So, in the general deadlock, they welcomed this pretence of an election as an image and semblance of freedom, and chose Sulla their absolute master for as long a time as he pleased. There had been autocratic rule of the dictators before, but it was limited to short periods. But under Sulla it first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some slip of text or memory is probable; 120 years is correct.

CAP. τυραννὶς ἐγίγνετο ἐντελής. τοσόνδε μέντοι προσέθεσαν είς εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ρήματος, ὅτι αὐτὸν αίροιντο δικτάτορα έπὶ θέσει νόμων, ών αὐτὸς ἐφ' έαυτοῦ δοκιμάσειε, καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. ούτω μέν δη 'Ρωμαΐοι βασιλευσιν υπέρ τὰς έξήκουτα όλυμπιάδας χρησάμενοι, έπι δ' έκείνοις δημοκρατία τε καὶ ὑπάτοις ἐτησίοις προστάταις ές άλλας έκατον ολυμπιάδας, αῦθις ἐπειρώντο βασιλείας, όλυμπιάδων οὐσων ἐν Έλλησιν ἐκατὸν έβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν 'Ολυμπία τότε άγωνίσματος πλήν σταδίου δρόμου γιγνομένου. τούς γάρ άθλητας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θεάματα πάντα ο Σύλλας ες 'Ρώμην μετεκέκλητο επὶ δόξη τῶν Μιθριδατείων έργων ή των Ίταλικών. πρόφασις δ' ην άναπνευσαι καὶ ψυχαγωγήσαι τὸ πλήθος ἐκ καμάτων.

100. 'Ο δ' ες μεν πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ὑπάτους αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποφῆναι, καὶ ἐγένοντο Μᾶρκος Τύλλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας αὐτὸς δ' οἶα δὴ βασιλεύων δικτάτωρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἣν πελέκεις τε γὰρ ἐφέροντο πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἶα δικτάτορος, εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, ὅσοι καὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἡγοῦντο, καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος περιέθετο πολλήν. νόμους τε ἐξέλυε καὶ ἐτέρους ἐτίθετο καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀπεῖπε, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι, καὶ ὑπατεύειν, πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ἄρχειν ἐκώλυσε, πρὶν ἔτη δέκα διαγενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφήνας καὶ νόμω κωλύσας μηδεμίαν ἄλλην τὸν δήμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἄρχειν διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ δόξης ἡ

became unlimited and so an absolute tyranny. All CHAP. the same they added, for propriety's sake, that they chose him dictator for the enactment of such laws as he himself might deem best and for the regulation of the commonwealth. Thus the Romans, after having government by kings for above sixty Olympiads, and a democracy, under consuls chosen yearly, for 100 Olympiads, resorted to kingly government again. This was in the 175th Olympiad, according to the Greek calendar, but there were no Olympic games then except races in the stadium, since Sulla had carried away the athletes and all the sights and shows to Rome to celebrate his victories in the Mithridatic and Italian wars, under the pretext that the masses needed a breathing-spell and recreation after their toils.

100. Nevertheless, by way of keeping up the form The Sullan of the republic he allowed them to appoint consuls. constitution Marcus Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella were chosen. But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls. Twenty-four axes were borne in front of him as dictator, the same number that were borne before the ancient kings, and he had a large body-guard also. He repealed laws and enacted others. He forbade anybody to hold the office of praetor until after he had held that of quaestor, or to be consul before he had been practor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office; for which reason all men of reputation or family, who

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CAP. γένους ἀντιποιούμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ μέλλον έξετρέποντο. καὶ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰ Σύλλας αὐτήν, καθὰ νῦν ἐστιν, εἰς τὴν βουλὴν άπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετήνεγκεν. αὐτη δὲ τη βουλη διά τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους πάμπαν όλιγανδρούση προσκατέλεξεν άμφι τους τριακοσίους έκ των αρίστων ίππέων, ταις φυλαις αναδούς ψήφον περὶ ἐκάστου. τῷ δὲ δήμω τοὺς δούλους τῶν άνηρημένων τους νεωτάτους τε καὶ ευρώστους, μυρίων πλείους, έλευθερώσας έγκατέλεξε καὶ πολίτας ἀπέφηνε 'Ρωμαίων καὶ Κορνηλίους ἀφ' έαυτοῦ προσείπεν, ὅπως ἐτοίμοις ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα μυρίοις χρώτο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν τέλεσι τοῖς ύπερ εαυτού στρατευσαμένοις τρισί και είκοσιν έπένειμεν, ώς μοι προείρηται, πολλήν έν ταίς πόλεσι γην, την μεν έτι οδσαν ανέμητον, την δε τας πόλεις άφαιρούμενος έπὶ ζημία.

101. Ές ἄπαντα δ' ην οὕτω φοβερὸς καὶ ἄκρος ὀργήν, ὡς καὶ Κόιντον Λουκρήτιον 'Οφέλλαν τὸν Πραινεστὸν αὐτῷ λαβόντα καὶ Μάριον τὸν ὕπατον ἐκπεπολιορκηκότα καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης συναγαγόντα, ὑπατεύειν ἔτι ἱππέα ὄντα, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι καὶ στρατηγήσαι, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἀξιοῦντα καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ κωλύων καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος οὐ μετέπειθεν, ἐν ἀγορῷ μέση κτεῖναι. καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πλήθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν "ἴστε μέν, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀκούσατε, ὅτι Λουκρήτιον ἐγὼ κατέκανον ἀπειθοῦντά μοι." καὶ λόγον

formerly contended for this office, shunned it there-CHAP. after. I am not able to say positively whether Sulla transferred this office from the people to the Senate. where it is now lodged, or not. To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the vote of the tribes on each one. To the plebeians he added more than 10.000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the voungest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Cornelii after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10.000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands. In order to provide the same kind of safeguard throughout Italy he distributed to the twenty-three legions that had served under him a great deal of land in the various communities, as I have already related, some of which was public property and some taken from the communities by way of fine.

101. So terrible in all ways was he and so uncon- Lucretius trollable in anger that finding it vain to check and Ofella slain hinder by persuasive means Q. Lucretius Ofella, who had besieged and captured Praeneste together with the consul Marius, and had won the final victory for him, and who now, despite the new law, presumed to be a candidate for the consulship while still in the equestrian order and before he had been quaestor and praetor, counting on the greatness of his services, according to the traditional custom, and appealing to the populace, he slew him in the middle of the forum. Then Sulla assembled the people and said to them, "Know, citizens, and learn from me, that I put to death Lucretius because he disobeyed me." And then he

CAP. εἶπε· "φθεῖρες γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον ΧΙ ὁ δὲ δὶς μέν," ἔφη, "τὸ ἄροτρον μεθεὶς τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάθηρεν· ὡς δ' αὖθις ἐδάκνετο, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀργοίη, τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἔκαυσεν. κἀγὼ τοῖς δὶς ἡττημένοις παραινῶ τρίτου πυρὸς μὴ δεηθῆναι." Σύλλας μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖσδε καταπληξάμενος αὐτούς, καθὰ ἐβούλετο, ἡρχε. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ. καί τινες αὐτοῦ τῆν ἀρχὴν ἀρνουμένην βασιλείαν ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα μόνον ἐπικρύπτοι· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων μετέφερον καὶ τυραννίδα ὁμολογοῦσαν ἔλεγον.

102. Ές τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τε 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ 'Ιταλοῖς ἄπασιν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε προύβη κακοῦ, προύβη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν ἔθνεσιν ἄπασιν, ἄρτι μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ Μιθριδάτου καὶ Σύλλα πεπολεμημένοις, ἄρτι δ' ἀποροῦντος τοῦ ταμείου διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐκτετρυχωμένοις εἰσφοραῖς πολλαῖς. ἔθνη τε γὰρ πάντα καὶ βασιλέες, ὅσοι σύμμαχοι, καὶ πόλεις, οὐχ ὅσαι μόνον ὑποτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἐαυτὰς ἐγκεχειρίκεσαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἔνορκοι καὶ ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν ἤ τινα ἀρετὴν ἄλλην αὐτόνομοί τε καὶ φόρων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς, τότε πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν, χώρας τε ἔνιαι καὶ λιμένων κατὰ συνθήκας σφίσι δεδομένων ἀφηροῦντο.

Σύλλας δὲ καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρον τὸν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῷ βασιλεύσαντος υίόν, ἀνατραφέντα μὲν ἐν Κῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Κῷων ἐκδοθέντα Μιθριδάτη, διαφυγόντα δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καὶ συνήθη γενόμενον, ἐψηφίσατο

told a parable: "A husbandman was bitten by fleas CHAP. while ploughing. He stopped his ploughing twice in order to shake them out of his shirt. When they bit him again he burned his shirt, to avoid interruption in his work. And I tell you, who have felt my hand twice, to take warning lest the third time you need fire." With these words he terrified them and thereafter ruled as he pleased. He had a triumph on account of the Mithridatic war, during which some of the scoffers called his government "the official denial of royalty" because he kept back only the name of king. Others took the contrary view, judging from his acts, and called it "the official avowal of tyranny."

102. Into such evils were the Romans and all the Distress Italians plunged by this war; and so likewise were and exhausall the countries beyond Italy by the recent piracies, Italy or by the Mithridatic war, or by the many exhausting taxes levied to meet the deficit in the public treasury due to the seditions. All the allied nations and kings, and not only the tributary cities, but those which had delivered themselves to the Romans voluntarily under sworn agreements, and those which by virtue of their furnishing aid in war or for some other merit were autonomous and not subject to tribute, all were now required to pay and to obey, while some were deprived of the territory and harbours that had been conceded to them under treaties.

Sulla decreed that Alexander (the son of Alexander the former sovereign of Egypt), who had been reared in Cos and given up to Mithridates by the inhabitants of that island, and had fled to Sulla and become intimate with him, should be king of Alexandria.

CAP. βασιλεύειν 'Αλεξανδρέων, ἐρήμου τῆς 'Αλεξαιδρέων άρχης ανδρός ούσης και των γυναικών, όσαι βασιλείου γένους, ανδρός συγγενούς δεομένων, έλπίσας χρηματιεῖσθαι πολλά έκ βασιλείας πολυχρύσου. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν οἱ ᾿Αλεξαν-δρεῖς ἐννεακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἔχοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀτοπώτερον σφῶν, οἶα Σύλλα πεποιθότα, έξηγούμενον, ές το γυμνάσιον έκ του βασιλείου προαγαγόντες έκτειναν, ούτως έτι καὶ οίδε διά τε μέγεθος άρχης ίδίας και των έξωθεν κακών έτι όντες ἀπαθείς ἀφόβως είγον έτέρων.

#### XII

103. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Σύλλας, καίπερ ῶν CAP. δικτάτωρ, ες υπόκρισιν όμως και σχήμα δημοκρατικής άρχης υπέστη καὶ υπατος αθθις γενέσθαι σύν Μετέλλω τῶ Εὐσεβεί. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἴσως έτι νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέες, ὑπάτους ἀποφαίνοντες τη πατρίδι, έστιν ότε καὶ έαυτους αποδεικυύουσιν, έν καλώ τιθέμενοι μετά της μεγίστης άργης καὶ ύπατεῦσαι.

Τῷ δ' έξης ἔτει ὁ μὲν δημος καὶ τότε τὸν Σύλλαν θεραπεύων ήρειτο ύπατεύειν, ο δε ούκ άνασχόμενος ύπάτους μεν αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηνε Σερου-ίλιον Ίσαυρικον καὶ Κλαύδιον Ποῦλχρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἑκών άπέθετο. καί μοι θαθμα μέν καὶ τόδε αὐτοῦ καταφαίνεται τοσήνδε άρχην πρώτον άνδρών καὶ μόνου ές τότε Σύλλαν ουδενός επείγοντος άπο-

He did this because the government of Alexandria CHAP. was destitute of a sovereign in the male line, and the women of the royal house wanted a man of the same lineage, and because he expected to reap a large reward from a rich kingdom. As, however, Alexander relying upon Sulla behaved himself in a very offensive manner toward them, the Alexandrians, on the nineteenth day of his reign, dragged him from the palace to the gymnasium and put him to death; for they too were still without fear of foreigners, either by reason of the magnitude of their own government or their inexperience as vet of external dangers.

### XII

103. THE following year Sulla, although he was CHAP. dictator, undertook the consulship a second time, with Metellus Pius for his colleague, in order to preserve the pretence and form of democratic government. It is perhaps from this example that the Roman emperors appoint consuls for the country and even sometimes nominate themselves, considering it not unbecoming to hold the office of consul in connection with the supreme power.

The next year the people, in order to pay court to B.C. 79 Sulla, chose him consul again, but he refused the office and nominated Servilius Isauricus and Claudius Pulcher, and voluntarily laid down the supreme power, although nobody interfered with him. This sulla's act seems wonderful to me-that Sulla should have abdication been the first, and till then the only one, to abdicate such vast power without compulsion, not to sons (like

CAP. θέσθαι, οὐ παισίν, ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ἐν Αἰγύπτω καὶ 'Αριοβαρζάνης ἐν Καππαδοκία καὶ Σέλευκος έν Συρία, άλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τυραννουμένοις ἄλογον δ' ήδη καὶ τὸ βιασάμενον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ριψοκινδύνως, επείτε εγκρατής εγένετο, εκόντα αποθέσθαι καὶ παράδοξον, οἶον οὔπω τι ἔτερον, τὸ μὴ δεῖσαι νεότητος εν τώδε τω πολέμω πλέον μυριάδων δέκα άνηρημένης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτὸν ἀνελόντα Βουλευτάς μεν ένενήκοντα, υπάτους δ' ές πεντεκαίδεκα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων δισχιλίους καὶ έξακοσίους σὺν τοῖς έξεληλαμένοις. ών της τε περιουσίας δεδημευμένης καὶ πολλών ατάφων εκριφέντων, ούτε τους οίκοι ο Σύλλας ούτε τούς φεύγοντας καταπλαγείς οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὧν ἀκροπόλεις τε καὶ τείχη καὶ γῆν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀτελείας ἀφήρητο, έαυτον ἀπέφηνεν ιδιώτην.

104. Τοσοῦτον ἡν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τόλμης καὶ τύχης· ὅν γέ φασιν ἐπειπεῖν ἐν ἀγορᾳ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτιθέμενον, ὅτι καὶ λόγον, εἴ τις αἰτοίη, τῶν γεγονότων ὑφέξει, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθελόντα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπώσασθαι καὶ μόνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς πολὺ ἐν μέσῷ βαδίσαι θεωμένου τοῦ πλήθους καὶ καταπεπληγότος αὐτὸν καὶ τότε. ἀναχωροῦντα δ' ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μόλις ποτὲ μειράκιον ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὸ ἀπερύκοντος ἐθάρρησε καὶ λοιδορούμενον αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ἄκρος ὀργὴν γενόμενος εὐσταθῶς τὸ μειράκιον ἤνεγκε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσιὼν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε ἀπὸ ξυνέσεως εἴτε καὶ τύχη καταμαντευόμενος τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι κωλύσει τὸ μειρά-

Ptolemy in Egypt, or Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, or CHAP. Seleucus in Syria), but to the very people over whom he had tyrannized. Almost incredible is it that after incurring so many dangers in forcing his way to this power he should have laid it down of his own free will after he had acquired it. Paradoxical beyond anything is the fact that he was afraid of nothing, although more than 100,000 young men had perished in this war, and he had destroyed of his enemies 90 senators, 15 consulars, and 2600 knights, including the banished. The property of these men had been confiscated and the bodies of many cast out unburied. Undaunted by the relatives of these persons at home, or by the banished abroad, or by the cities whose towers and walls he had thrown down and whose lands, money, and privileges he had swept away, Sulla now proclaimed himself a citizen.

104. So great was this man's boldness and good Character of fortune. It is said that he made a speech in the Sulla forum when he laid down his power in which he offered to give the reasons for what he had done to anybody who should ask them. He dismissed the lictors with their axes and discontinued his bodyguard, and for a long time walked to the forum with only a few friends, the multitude looking upon him with awe even then. Once only when he was going home he was reviled by a boy. As nobody restrained this boy he made bold to follow Sulla to his house, railing at him; and Sulla, who had opposed the greatest men and states with towering rage, endured his reproaches with calmness, and as he went into the house said, divining the future either by his intelligence or by chance, "This young man will

CAP. κιου τόδε ετερου ἄνδρα ἀρχὴυ τοιάνδε εχουτα XII ἀποθέσθαι.

Καὶ 'Ρωμαίοις μεν ούτω γενέσθαι συνηνέχθη μετ' ολίγον, Γαΐου Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι μεθέντος· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας μοι δοκεί, ἐς πάντα σφοδρός όμου και δυνατός γενόμενος, επιθυμήσαι τύραννος έξ ιδιώτου γενέσθαι και ιδιώτης έκ τυράννου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἀγροίκου διαγενέσθαι. διήλθε γαρ ές χωρία ίδια ές Κύμην της Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' ἐρημίας θαλάσση τε καὶ κυνηγεσίοις ἐχρῆτο, οὐ φυλασσόμενος ἄρα τον κατά άστυ ίδιώτην βίον οὐδ' ἀσθενής ὧν αθθις ές ο τι ορμήσειεν & δυνατή μεν έτι ή ήλικία καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὔρωστον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Ίταλίαν δυώδεκα μυριάδες άνδρων ήσαν έναγγος ύπεστρατευμένων καὶ δωρεάς μεγάλας καὶ γῆν πολλην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, ἔτοιμοι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ μύριοι Κορνήλιοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος αὐτοῦ στασιώτης λεώς, εύνους αὐτῷ καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν ἔτι τοις έτέροις και τὸ σφέτερον άδεές, ὧν τῶ Σύλλα συνεπεπράχεσαν, εν τῷ Σύλλαν περιείναι τιθέμενοι άλλά μοι δοκεί κόρον τε πολέμων καί κόρον άρχης καὶ κόρον ἄστεος λαβών ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ ἀγροικίας ἐρασθῆναι.

105. "Αρτι δ' ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ, 'Ρωμαῖοι φόνου καὶ τυραινίδος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἡσυχῆ πάλιν ἐπὶ στάσεις ὑπερριπίζοντο ἐτέρας. καὶ ὕπατοι αὐτοῖς καθίστανται Κόιντός τε Κάτλος ἀπὸ τῶν Συλλείων καὶ Λέπιδος Αἰμίλιος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐχθίστω τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένω διαφέρεσθαι. δῆλόν τε ἦν τι κακὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦδε

γενησόμενον.

prevent any future holder of such power from laying CHAP. it down."

This saying was shortly confirmed to the Romans, Reflections for Gaius Caesar never laid down his power, on his retirement but Sulla seems to me, having shewn himself the same masterful and able man in all respects, to have desired to reach supreme power from private life. and to change back to private life from supreme power. and then to pass his time in rural solitude; for he retired to his own estate at Cumae in Italy and there occupied his leisure in hunting and fishing. He did this not because he was afraid to live a private life in the city, nor because he had not sufficient bodily strength for whatever he might be eager to do, for he was still of virile age and sound constitution, and there were 120,000 men throughout Italy who had recently served under him in war and had received large gifts of money and land from him, and there were the 10,000 Cornelii ready in the city, besides other people of his party devoted to him and still formidable to his opponents, all of whom rested upon Sulla's safety their hopes of impunity for what they had done in co-operation with him. But I think that because he was weary of war, weary of power, weary of Rome, he finally fell in love with rural life.

105. Directly after his retirement the Romans, although delivered from slaughter and tyranny, began gradually to feed the flames of new seditions. Quintus Catulus and Aemilius Lepidus were chosen RC 78 consuls, the former of the Sullan faction and the latter of the opposite party. They hated each other bitterly and began to quarrel immediately, from which it was plain that fresh troubles were

imminent.

CAP. Σύλλας δ' έν τοις άγροις ενύπνιον έδοξεν ίδειν. XII ότι αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων ήδη καλοίη καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μεθ' ήμέραν τοις φίλοις το όναρ έξειπων διαθήκας συνέγραφεν επειγόμενος καὶ αὐτης ημέρας συνετέλει σφραγισαμένω δ' αὐτὰς περὶ ἐσπέραν πυρετός έμπίπτει καὶ νυκτός έτελεύτησεν, έξήκοντα μεν έτη βιώσας, εὐτυχέστατος δ' ἀνδρῶν ές τε τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ καὶ ές τάλλα πάντα, ώσπερ καὶ ωνομάζετο, γενέσθαι δοκών, εί δή τις εὐτυχίαν ήγοιτο τυχείν όσων αν έθέλη. γίνεται δ' εὐθύς έν άστει στάσις έπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν άγειν ἀξιούντων τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῆ καὶ ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐν ἀγορᾶ προτιθέναι καὶ ταφής δημοσίας άξιοῦν, Λεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Λέπιδον ἐνισταμένων. έξενίκα δ' ο Κάτλος καὶ οι Σύλλειοι, καὶ έφέρετο ὁ νέκυς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς το ἄστυ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ, σαλπιγκταί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἰππέες καὶ άλλος ὅμιλος ἐκ ποδὸς ὡπλισμένος είπετο. οί τε ύποστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῶ πανταγόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν παραπομπην ώπλισμένοι συνέθεον καί, ώς έκαστος άφικνοῖτο, εὐθὺς ές κόσμον καθίσταντο άλλο τε πληθος, όσον επ' οὐδενὶ έργω, συνέτρεχεν. ήγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ σημεία καὶ πελέκεις, ὅσοις περιών ἔτι καὶ ἄρχων ἐκοσμεῖτο.

106. 'Ως δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἠνέχθη, ἐσεφέρετο μετὰ πομπῆς ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ὑπερόγκου. στέφανοί τε γὰρ δισχιλίων πλείους ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν γενόμενοι παρεφέροντο, δῶρα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένων τελῶν καὶ καθ' ἔνα τῶν φίλων, ἄλλη τε τῶν ἐς τῆν ταφὴν πεμφθέντων οὐ δυνατὴ φράσαι πολυτέλεισ.

While he was living in the country Sulla had a CHA?. dream in which he thought he saw his Genius XII already calling him. Early in the morning he told His death the dream to his friends and in haste began writing and funeral his will, which he finished that day. After sealing it he was taken with a fever towards evening and died the same night. He was sixty years of age and was I think, as his name suggests, the "most fortunate" of men in life and in death itself: that is, if the fortunate man is he who obtains all that he desires. Immediately a dissension sprang up in the city over his remains, some proposing to bring them in a procession through Italy and exhibit them in the forum and give him a public funeral. Lepidus and his faction opposed this, but Catulus and the Sullan party prevailed. Sulla's body was borne through Italy on a golden litter with royal splendour. Trumpeters and horsemen in great numbers went in advance and a great multitude of armed men followed on foot. His soldiers flocked from all directions under arms to join the procession, and each one was assigned his place in due order as he came, while the crowd of common people that came together was unprecedented, and in front of all were borne the

106. When the remains reached the city then indeed they were borne through the streets with an enormous procession. More than 2000 golden crowns which had been made in haste were carried in it, the gifts of cities and of the legions that he had commanded and of individual friends. It would be impossible to describe all the costly things contributed to this funeral. From fear of the assembled soldiery all the

standards and the fasces that he had used while

living and ruling.

CAP. καὶ τὸ σῶμα δέει τοῦ συνδραμόντος στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ίερέες τε άμα πάντες καὶ ίέρειαι. κατά σφας αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, τὰ σφέτερα σημεῖα ἐπικείμενοι. κόσμω δ' άλλω τὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων πλήθος είπετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν μέρει πᾶς, ὅσος ὑπεστράτευτο αὐτῶ· συνέδραμον γὰρ σπουδῆ, τὸ ἔργον άπαντες έπειγόμενοι καταλαβείν, σημείά τε φέροντες ἐπίχρυσα καὶ ὅπλα ἐπὶ σφίσι περιάργυρα, οίς έτι νῦν ές τὰς πομπὰς εἰώθασι χρησθαι. σαλπιγκτών τε ἄπειρον ἢν πληθος, παρὰ μέρος ύγρότατα καὶ πένθιμα μελωδούντων. Βοῦ δ' έπευφήμουν ή τε βουλή πρώτη και οι ίππέες έν μέρει, είθ' ὁ στρατός, είθ' ὁ δῆμος, οἱ μὲν τῷ ὄντι τον Σύλλαν επιποθούντες, οι δε δειμαίνοντες αὐτού καὶ τότε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν νέκυν οὐν ήττον ἡ περιόντος ές τε γάρ την όψιν των γιγνομένων άποβλέποντες καὶ ές την μνήμην ών έδρασεν ό άνήρ, έξεπλήττοντο καὶ ώμολόγουν τοῖς έναντίοις εὐτυχέστατον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι καὶ σφίσι καὶ τεθνεῶτα φοβερώτατον. ώς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ένθα δημηγορούσιν έν άγορα, προυτέθη, τούς μεν επιταφίους λόγους είπεν ο κράτιστος είπειν των τότε, έπει Φαῦστος ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα νεώτατος ην έτι, τὸ δὲ λέχος ύποδύντες ἀπὸ της Βουλής ἄνδρες εύρωστοι διεκόμιζον ές τὸ πεδίον τὸ "Αρειον, ἔνθα βασιλέες θάπτονται μόνοι καὶ τὸ πῦρ οί τε ίππέες καὶ ή στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.

priests and priestesses escorted the remains, each CHAP in proper costume. The entire Senate and the whole body of magistrates attended with their insignia of office. A multitude of knights followed with their peculiar decorations, and, in their turn, all the legions that had fought under him. They came together with eagerness, all hastening to join in the task, carrying gilded standards and silver-plated shields, such as are still used on such occasions. There was a countless number of trumpeters who in turns played the most melting and dirge-like strains. Loud cries of farewell were raised, first by the Senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and his dead body, as they had been of himself when living. As they looked at the present spectacle and remembered what this man had accomplished they were amazed, and agreed with their opponents that he had been most fortunate for his own party and most formidable to themselves even in death. The body was shown in the forum on the rostra, where public speeches are usually made, and the most eloquent of the Romans then living delivered the funeral oration, as Sulla's son, Faustus, was still very young. Then strong men of the senators took up the bier and carried it to Campus Martius, where only kings were buried, and the knights and the army marched past the funeral fire.

#### XIII

CAP: 107. Καὶ Σύλλα μὲν τοῦτο τέλος ἦν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πυράς χωρούντες εὐθὺς οἱ ὕπατοι λόγοις βλασφήμοις ές άλλήλους διεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ άστικὸν ές αὐτοὺς διήρητο. Λέπιδος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς προσποιούμενος έλεγεν, ότι την γην αὐτοῖς, ην ό Σύλλας ἀφήρητο, ἀποδώσει. ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ή βουλή δείσασα ώρκωσε μή πολέμω διακριθήναι, κληρωσάμενος δ' ὁ Λέπιδος τὴν ὑπὲρ 'Αλπεις Γαλατίαν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια οὐ κατήει ώς πολεμήσων τοις Συλλείοις του επιόντος έτους ύπερ τον όρκον άδεως έδόκουν γάρ ές τὸ της άρχης έτος ώρκωσθαι. οὐ λανθάνων δ', ἐφ' οἰς ἐβούλευεν, έκαλείτο ύπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶν, έφ' οίς έκαλειτο, ήει μετά τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ώς ές την πόλιν έσελευσόμενος σύν αὐτῷ. κωλυόμενος δὲ ἐκήρυξεν ἐς τὰ ὅπλα χωρείν, καὶ ἀντεκήρυττε Κάτλος. μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ Αρείου πεδίου μάχης αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ήττώμενος ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ οὐκ ές πολύ έτι άντισγών ές Σαρδώ διέπλευσεν, ένθα νόσω τηκεδόνι χρώμενος ἀπέθανε· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ μικρὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνοχλήσας διελύθη, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον Περπέννας ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ήγαγε Σερτωρίω.

108. Λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Συλλείων ἔργων τὸ Σερτωρίου, γενόμενον μὲν ὀκτάετες, οὐκ εὐμαρὲς δὲ οὐδαμὰ 'Ρωμαίοις, ἄτε μὴ πρὸς 'Ίβηρας αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς

#### XIII

107. This was Sulla's end, but directly after their CHAP. return from the funeral the consuls fell into a wordy quarrel and the citizens began to take sides with sensions in them. Lepidus, in order to curry favour with the Rome Italians, said that he would restore the land which Sulla had taken from them. The Senate was afraid of both factions and made them take an oath that they would not carry their differences to the point of To Lepidus the province of transalpine Gaul was assigned by lot, and he did not come back to the comitia because he realised he would be released in the following year from his oath not to make war on the Sullans; for it was considered that the oath was binding only during the term of office. As his designs did not escape observation he was recalled by the Senate, and as he knew why he was recalled he came with his whole army, intending to bring them into the city with him. As he was prevented from doing this, he ordered his men under arms, and Catulus did the same thing on the other side. A battle was fought not far from the Campus Martius. Lepidus was defeated, and, soon giving up the struggle, sailed shortly afterwards to Sardinia, where he died of a wasting disease. His army was frittered away little by little and dissolved; the greater part of it was conducted by Perpenna to Sertorius in Spain.

108. There remained of the Sullan troubles the war with war with Sertorius, which had been going on for Sertorius eight years, and was not an easy war to the Romans since it was waged not merely against Spaniards, but against other Romans and Sertorius. He had been

CAP. Σερτώριου, δς ήρητο μεν Ίβηρίας ἄρχειυ, Κάρβωνι δ' έπὶ Σύλλα συμμαχών Σύεσσαν πόλιν έν σπουδαίς κατέλαβε καὶ φεύγων ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ώχετο. καὶ στρατὸν έχων έκ τε Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς καί τινα ἄλλον ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἀγείρας τούς τε πρὸ έαυτοῦ στρατηγούς, οὐ παραδιδόντας οί την άρχην ές χάριν Σύλλα, της Ίβηρίας έξέβαλε καὶ πρὸς Μέτελλον ἐπιπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα άπεμάχετο γενναίως. περιώνυμος δὲ ὢν ἐπὶ τόλμη, βουλήν κατέλεξεν έκ των συνόντων οι φίλων τριακοσίους καὶ τήνδε έλεγεν είναι την 'Ρωμαίων Βουλήν καὶ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκείνης σύγκλητον ἐκάλει. Σύλλα δ' ἀποθανόντος καὶ Λεπίδου μετά Σύλλαν, στρατον έχων ἄλλον Ἰταλών, όσον αὐτώ Περπέννας ό του Λεπίδου στρατηγός ήγαγεν, ἐπίδοξος ἡν στρατεύσειν έπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ δείσασα ή βουλή στρατόν τε άλλον καὶ στρατηγον έτερον έπὶ τῶ προτέρω Πομπήιον ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. νέον μεν έτι όντα, περιφανή δ' έξ ων έπὶ Σύλλα περί τε Λιβύην καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ Ἰταλία κατείργαστο.

109. 'Ο δὲ ἐς τὰ 'Αλπεια ὅρη μετὰ φρονήματος ἀνήει, οὐ κατὰ τὴν 'Αννίβου μεγαλουργίαν, ἑτέραν δ' ἐχάρασσεν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ τε 'Ροδανοῦ καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ, οἱ ἀνίσχουσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν 'Αλπείων ὀρῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ῥεῖ δ' ὁ μὲν διὰ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ 'Αλπεις εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ ἔνδοθεν τῶν 'Αλπείων ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ιόνιον, Πάδος ἀντὶ 'Ηριδανοῦ μετονομασθείς. ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς 'Ιβηρίαν αὐτίκα ὁ Σερτώριος τέλος ὅλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν ἐξιόν, αὐτοῖς ὑπο-

chosen governor of Spain while he was co-operating CHAP. with Carbo against Sulla; and after taking the city XIII of Suessa during the armistice he fled and assumed his governorship. He had an army from Italy itself and he raised another from the Celtiberians, and drove out of Spain the former practors, who, in order to favour Sulla, refused to surrender the government to him. He had also fought nobly against Metellus. who had been sent against him by Sulla. Having acquired a reputation for bravery he enrolled a council of 300 members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman Senate in derision of the real one. After Sulla died, and Lepidus later, B.O. 77 he obtained another army of Italians which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought to him and it was supposed he intended to march against Italy itself. and would have done so had not the Senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former ones. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits in the time of Sulla, in Africa and in Italy itself.

109. Pompey courageously crossed the Alps, not Pompey with the expenditure of labour of Hannibal, but by sent against opening another passage around the sources of the Rhone and the Eridanus. These issue from the Alpine mountains not far from each other. One of them runs through Transalpine Gaul and empties into the Tyrrhenian sea; the other from the interior of the Alps to the Adriatic, its name having been changed from the Eridanus to the Po. Directly Pompey arrived in Spain Sertorius cut in pieces a whole legion of his army, which had been sent out foraging, together with its animals and servants.

CAP. ζυγίοις καὶ θεράπουσι συνέκοψε καὶ Λαύρωνα πόλιν ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γυνή τις ἐνυβρίζοντος αὐτῆ τοῦ λαβόντος παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐξέτεμε τὰς ὄψεις· καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος τοῦ πάθους πυθόμενος τὴν σπεῖραν ὅλην, ἀγέρωχον ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἶναι νομιζομένην, καίπερ

οὖσαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν κατέκανε.

110. Καὶ τότε μὲν χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος διέστησαν, ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ἐπήεσαν ἀλλήλοις, Μέτελλος μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, ἔνθα διεχείμαζον, Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας ἐκ Λυσιτανίας. καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις περὶ πόλιν, ἢ ὄνομα Σούκρων. κτύπου δ' ἐν αἰθρία φοβεροῦ καὶ ἀστραπῶν παραλόγων γενομένων, τάδε μὲν ὡς ἐμπειροπόλεμοι διέφερον ἀκαταπλήκτως, πολὺν δ' ἀλλήλων φόνον ἐξειργάζοντο, μέχρι Μέτελλος μὲν Περπένναν ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ διήρπαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐνίκα Πομπήιον, καὶ ἐτρώθη δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπικινδύνως ὁ Πομπήιος. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο τῆς τότε μάχης.

Έλαφος δ΄ ήν λευκή χειροήθης τῷ Σερτωρίω καὶ ἄνετος ής ἀφανοῦς γενομένης ὁ Σερτωρίως οὐκ αἴσιον ἑαυτῷ τιθέμενος ἐβαρυθύμει τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀργίας ἡν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιτωθαζόμενος ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δ' ὤφθη διὰ δρυμῶν δρόμῷ φερομένη, ἀνά τε ἔδραμεν ὁ Σερτώριος καὶ εὐθύς, ὥσπερ αὐτῆ προκαταρχόμενος, ἡκροβολίσατο ἐς

τούς πολεμίους.

Οὐ πολύ δὲ ὕστερον ἀγῶνα μέγαν ἠγωνίσατο περὶ Σεγοντίαν ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ ἄστρα. καὶ

He also plundered and destroyed the Roman town of CHAP. Lauro before the very eyes of Pompey. In this xiii siege a woman tore out with her fingers the eyes of a soldier who had insulted her and was trying to commit an outrage upon her. When Sertorius heard of this he put to death the whole cohort that was supposed to be addicted to such brutality, although it was composed of Romans. 110. Then the armies were separated by the advent of winter.

B. C. 75

When spring came they resumed hostilities, Metellus and Pompey coming from the Pyrenees, where they had wintered, and Sertorius and Perpenna from Lusitania. They met near the town of Sucro. While the fight was going on flashes of lightning came unexpectedly from a clear sky, but these trained soldiers stood it all without being in the least dismayed. They continued the fight, with heavy slaughter on both sides, until Metellus defeated Perpenna and plundered his camp. On the Sertorius other hand, Sertorius defeated Pompey, who re-defeats Pompey ceived a dangerous wound from a spear in the thigh,

and this put an end to that battle.

Sertorius had a white fawn that was tame and allowed to move about freely. When this fawn was not in sight Sertorius considered it a bad omen. He became low-spirited and abstained from fighting: nor did he mind the enemy's scoffing at him about the fawn. When she made her appearance running through the woods Sertorius would run to meet her, and, as though he were consecrating the first-fruits of a sacrifice to her, he would at once direct a hail of javelins at the enemy.

Not long afterward Sertorius fought a great battle near Seguntia, lasting from noon till night. Sertorius

CAP. αὐτὸς μὲν ἱππομαχῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς έξακισχιλίους ἀποβαλῶν ἐς ἡμίσεας: Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ τότε Περπέννα περὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρε. καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος μετὰ τὴν μάχην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας πολλοὺς βαρβάρους προσλαβῶν ἐπέδραμεν ἀδοκήτως τῷ Μετέλλου στρατοπέδω περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ὡς ἀποταφρεύσων αὐτὸ σὺν τόλμη, Πομπηίου δ' ἐπιδραμόντος

ἐπαύσατο τῆς καταφρονήσεως.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους ἔργα, καὶ πάλιν ἐς χειμασίαν διεκρίθησαν· 111. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἔκτης ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος οὔσης, δύο μὲν ἐκ διαθηκῶν ἔθνη 'Ρωμαίοις προσεγίγνετο, Βιθυνία τε Νικομήδους ἀπολιπόντος καὶ Κυρήνη Πτολεμαίου, τοῦ Λαγίδου βασιλέως, ὸς ἐπίκλησιν ἡν 'Απίων, πόλεμοι δ' ἤκμαζον οὖτός τε ὁ Σερτωρίου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτου περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ὁ τῶν ληστῶν ἐν ὅλη τῆ θαλάσση καὶ σερὶ Κρήτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κρῆτας ἕτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν μονομάχων ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅδε καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ γενόμενος. διαιρούμενοι δ' ἐς τοσαῦτα, ὅμως καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψαν ἄλλα στρατοῦ δύο τέλη, μεθ' ὧν ἄμα τῷ ἄλλφ παντὶ Μέτελλός τε καὶ Πομπήιος αὖθις ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα κατέβαινον. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας αὐτοῖς ἀπήντων ἀπὸ Λυσιτανίας.

112. Καὶ τότε μάλιστα πολλοὶ Σερτωρίου πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον ηὐτομόλουν, ἐφ' ὧ χαλεπαίνων ὁ Σερτώριος ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ελυμαίνετο πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ μίσους ἐγίγνετο.

fought on horseback and vanquished Pompey, killing CHAP. nearly 6000 of his men and losing about half that number himself. Metellus at the same time destroved about 5000 of Perpenna's army. The day after this battle Sertorius, with a large reinforcement of barbarians, attacked the camp of Metellus unexpectedly towards evening with the intention of boldly cutting it off with a trench, but Pompey hastened up and caused Sertorius to desist from his contemptuous enterprise.

In this way they passed the summer, and again they separated to winter quarters. 111. The following B.C. 74 year, which was in the 176th Olympiad, two countries were acquired by the Romans by bequest. Bithynia was left to them by Nicomedes, and Cyrene by Ptolemy surnamed Apion, of the house of the Lagidae. There Wars were wars and wars; the Sertorian was raging in Spain, the Mithridatic in the East, that of the pirates on the entire sea, and another around Crete against the Cretans themselves, besides the gladiatorial war in Italy, which started suddenly and became very serious. Although distracted by so many conflicts the Romans sent another army of two legions into Spain. With these and the other forces in their hands Metellus and Pompey again descended from the Pyrenees to the Ebro; and Sertorius and Perpenna advanced from Lusitania to meet them.

112. At this juncture many of the soldiers of Sertorius deserted to Metellus, at which Sertorius was so exasperated that he visited savage and barbarous punishment upon many of his men and became unpopular in consequence. The soldiers blamed him

CAP. μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δορυφόρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ Κελτίβηρας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος, 'Ρωμαίους ἀπελάσας, τοῖσδε ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐπέτρεπεν. ου γάρ έφερον ές απιστίαν ονειδιζόμενοι, εί καὶ πολεμίω 'Ρωμαίων ἐστρατεύοντο' ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὰ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ὑπέδακνεν αὐτούς, τὸ άπίστους ές την πατρίδα διὰ τὸν Σερτώριον γενομένους απιστείσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἡξίουν διά τούς αὐτομολήσαντας οἱ παραμένοντες κατεγνῶσθαι. πολλά δὲ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοῖς, άφορμης λαβόμενοι, ενύβριζον ώς απιστουμένοις. οί δ' οὐ τελέως ὅμως τὸν Σερτώριον ἀπεστρέφοντο διὰ τὰς χρείας οὐ γὰρ ἢν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πολεμικώτερος ἄλλος οὔτ' ἐπιτυχέστερος. ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν έκάλουν 'Αννίβαν, δυ θρασύτατόν τε και άπατηλότατον στρατηγον παρὰ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ στρατὸς ὧδε εἶχε Σερτωρίω, πόλεις δ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἐπέτρεχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰ ὑπήκοα σφίσι μετήγου. Παλαντίαν δὲ Πομπηίου περικαθημένου καὶ τὰ τείχη ξύλων κορμοῖς ὑποκρεμάσαντος, έπιφανείς ο Σερτώριος την μέν πολιορκίαν έξέλυσε, τὰ τείχη δ' ἔφθασεν ὑποκαύσας ὁ Πομ-πήιος καὶ ἐς Μέτελλον ἀνεχώρει. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ τὰ πεσόντα ἤγειρε, καὶ τοῖς περί τι χωρίον Καλάγυρον στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐπιδραμὼν ἔκτεινε τρισχιλίους. καὶ τάδε ην καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔτους ἐν Ιβηρία.

particularly because wherever he went he surrounded CHAP. himself with a body-guard of Celtiberian spearmen instead of Romans, and gave the care of his person to the former in place of the latter. Nor could they bear to be reproached with treachery by him while they were serving under an enemy of the Roman people. That they should be charged with bad faith by Sertorius while they were acting in bad faith to their country on his account was the very thing that vexed them most. Nor did they consider it just that those who remained with the standards should be condemned because others deserted. Moreover, the Celtiberians took this occasion to insult them as men under suspicion. Still they did not wholly break with Sertorius since they derived advantages from his service, for there was no other man of that period more skilled in the art of war or more successful in it. For this reason, and on account of the rapidity of his movements, the Celtiberians gave him the name of Hannibal, whom they considered the boldest and most crafty general ever known in their country. In this way the army stood affected toward Sertorius, and on this account the forces of Metellus overran many of his towns and brought the men belonging to them under subjection. While Pompey was laying siege to Palantia and slinging logs of wood along the foot of the walls 1 Sertorius suddenly appeared on the Sertorius scene and raised the siege. Pompey hastily set fire Pompey to the walls and retreated to Metellus. Sertorius flight at rebuilt the part of the wall which had fallen and then attacked his enemies who were encamped around the castle of Calagurris and killed 3000 of them. And so this year went by in Spain.

1 To these he would have set fire by means of faggots.

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CAP 113. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος οἱ στρατηγοὶ 'Ρωμαίων μᾶλλόν τι θαρρήσαντες ἐπήεσαν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ύπο Σερτωρίω σύν καταφρονήσει καὶ πολλά αὐτοῦ περιέσπων καὶ ετέροις ἐπέβαινον, ἐπαιρόμενοι τοις άπαντωμένοις. ου μέντοι μεγάλη γε μάχη συνηνέχθησαν, άλλ' αὖθις . . ., μέχρι τοῦ έξης έτους αὐτοὶ μὲν αῦθις ἐπήεσαν σὺν πλέονι μάλλον καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος βλάπτοντος ήδη θεοῦ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πόνον ἐκὼν μεθίει, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τρυφῆς, γυναιξὶ καὶ κώμοις καὶ πότοις σχολάζων. ὅθεν ήττᾶτο συνεχώς. και γεγένητο οργήν τε άκρος δι' ύπονοίας ποικίλας καὶ ωμότατος ές κόλασιν καὶ ὑπόπτης ές άπαντας, ώστε καὶ Περπένναν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Αλμιλίου στάσεως έκόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, δεῖσαι περὶ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ προεπιβουλεύσαι μετά ανδρών δέκα. ώς δὲ καὶ τωνδέ τινες των ανδρων ενδειχθέντες οί μεν έκολάσθησαν, οί δ' ἀπέφυγον, ὁ Περπέννας παρά δόξαν λαθων έτι μαλλον έπὶ τὸ έργον ήπείγετο καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Σερτώριον μεθιέντα τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει, μεθύσας δ' αὐτόν τε και την περιεστώσαν του άνδρωνα φυλακην έκτεινεν ἀπὸ τῆς διαίτης.

114. Καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Περπένναν ἀνίστατο σὺν θορύβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐς εὔνοιαν αὐτίκα τοῦ Σερτωρίου μεταβαλόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μίσους, ὥσπερ ἄπαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν μεθιᾶσιν, οὐκ ἐμποδὼν ἔτι τοῦ λυποῦντος ὄντος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν μετ' ἐλέου καὶ μνήμης ἐπανίασι. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ

113. In the following year the Roman generals CHAP. plucked up rather more courage and advanced in an XIII audacious manner against the towns that adhered to B.C. 73 Sertorius, drew many away from him, assaulted others, and were much elated by their success. No great battle was fought, but [skirmishes continued 1] until the following year, when they advanced again B.C. 72 even more audaciously. Sertorius was now evidently Change in smitten by some heaven-sent madness, for he relaxed character his labours, fell into habits of luxury, and gave himself up to women, carousing and drinking, and as a result was defeated continually. He became hot-tempered, from various suspicions, extremely cruel in punishment, and distrustful of everybody, so much so that Perpenna, who had belonged to the faction of Lepidus and had come to him as a volunteer with a considerable army, began to fear for his own safety and formed a conspiracy with ten other men against him. The conspiracy was betrayed, some of the guilty ones were punished and others fled, but Perpenna escaped detection in some unaccountable manner and applied himself all the more to carry out the design. As Sertorius was never without his He is guard of spearmen, Perpenna invited him to a assassinated banquet, plied him and the guards who surrounded Perpenna the banqueting room with wine, and assassinated him after the feast.

114. The soldiers straightway rose in tumult and anger against Perpenna, their hatred of Sertorius being suddenly turned to affection for him, as people generally mollify their anger toward the dead, and when he who has injured them is no longer before their eyes recall his virtues with tender memory.

<sup>1</sup> There is a gap in the text.

ΦΑΡ. παρόντα σφίσιν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, Περπέννα μὲν ὡς ΧΙΙΙ ἰδιώτου κατεφρόνουν, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν Σερτωρίου μόνην ἄν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι σωτήριον, χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν Περπένναν διετίθεντο αὐτοί τε καὶ οί βάρβαροι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Λυσιτανοί, ὅσφ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὁ Σερτώριος

έχρητο.

'Ως δὲ καὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν τῶν Σερτωρίου ὁ Περπέννας αὐταῖς ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐπὶ τῶ κλήρω, μᾶλλόν τι πάντας ὀργή καὶ μίσος ἐς τον Περπένναν έσήει, ώς οὐκ ές ἄρχοντα μόνον ή στρατηγόν, άλλα και ές φίλον και εθεργέτην τοσόνδε μύσος έργασάμενον. καὶ οὐκ αν οὐδὲ χειρών ἀπέσχουτο, εἰ μὴ περιθέων αὐτοὺς ὁ Περπέννας τους μεν δώροις υπηγάγετο, τους δ' ύποσχέσεσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπειλαῖς ἐξεφόβησε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διεχρήσατο ές κατάπληξιν έτέρων. ἐπί τε τὰ πλήθη παρερχόμενος έδημαγώγει καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας αὐτῶν ἐξέλυεν, οὺς ὁ Σερτώριος κατέδησεν, καὶ τοῖς "Ιβηρσι τὰ ὅμηρα ἀπέλυεν. οῖς ύπαχθέντες ύπήκουον μέν ώς στρατηγώ (τὸ γὰρ δή μετά Σερτώριον είχεν άξίωμα), οὐ μέντοι χωρίς δυσμενείας οὐδὲ τότε ἐγίγνοντο καὶ γὰρ ὡμότατος αὐτίκα ἐς κολάσεις θαρρήσας ἐφαίνετο καὶ τῶν ἐκ 'Ρώμης αὐτῶ συμφυγόντων ἐπιφανῶν ἔκτεινε τρείς και του άδελφιδούν έαυτού.

115. 'Ως δὲ ἐφ' ἔτερα τῆς 'Ιβηρίας ὁ Μέτελλος ὅχετο (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δυσχερὲς ἐδόκει Περπένναν ἐπιτρέψαι μόνφ Πομπηίφ), ἐπὶ μέν τινας ἡμέρας ἐγίγνοντο άψιμαχίαι καὶ ἀπόπειραι Πομπηίου καὶ Περπέννα, μὴ σαλευόντων ἄθρουν τὸν

Reflecting on their present situation they despised CHAP. Perpenna too as a private individual, for they considered that the bravery of Sertorius had been their only salvation. They were angry with Perpenna, and the barbarians were no less so; and above all the Lusitanians, of whose services Sertorius had especially availed himself.

When the will of Sertorius was opened a bequest to Perpenna was found in it, and thereupon still greater anger and hatred of him entered into the minds of all, since he had committed such an abominable crime, not merely against his ruler and commanding general, but against his friend and benefactor. And they would not have abstained from violence had not Perpenna bestirred himself, making gifts to some and promises to others. Some he terrified with threats and some he killed in order to strike terror into the rest. He came forward and made a speech to the multitude, and released from confinement some whom Sertorius had imprisoned, and dismissed some of the Spanish hostages. Reduced in this way to submission they Perpenna obeyed him as general (for he held the next rank to command Sertorius), yet they were not without bitterness toward him even then. As he grew bolder he became very cruel in punishments, and put to death three of the nobility who had fled together from Rome to him, and also his own nephew.

115. As Metellus had gone to other parts of Spain—for he considered it no longer a difficult task for Pompey alone to vanquish Perpenna—these two skirmished and made tests of each other for several days, but did not bring their whole strength into the field. On the tenth day, however, a great

CAP. στρατόν, τῆ δεκάτη δὲ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς μέγιστος XIII στρατον, τη οεκατη οε αγων αυτοις μεγιοτος εξερράγη. ένὶ γὰρ ἔργω κρίναντες διακριθήναι, Πομπήιος μεν της Περπέννα στρατηγίας κατεφρόνει, Περπέννας δ΄ ώς οὐ πιστῷ χρησόμενος ἐς πολὺ τῷ στρατῷ, πάση σχεδὸν τῆ δυνάμει συνεπλέκετο. ταχὺ δ΄ ὁ Πομπήιος περιῆν ώς οὔτε στρατηγοῦ διαφέροντος οὔτε προθύμου στρατοῦ. καὶ τροπής πάντων όμαλοῦς γενομένης ὁ μὲν Περπέννας ὑπὸ θάμνω πόας ἐκρύφθη, δεδιὼς τοὺς οἰκείους μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν ἱππέες τινες εἶλκον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, έπιβλασφημούμενον ύπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ώς αὐθέντην Σερτωρίου καὶ βοώντα πολλά μηνύσειν τῶ Πομπηίω περί της Ρώμη στάσεως έλεγε δὲ εἴτε άληθεύων εἴθ' ΐνα σῶος ἀχθείη πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, δείσας ἄρα, μή τι μηνύσειεν ἀδόκητον καὶ έτέρων ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐν Ῥώμη γένοιτο. καὶ ἔδοξεν ἐμφούνως πάνυ τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος πρᾶξαι καὶ συνετέλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε εἰς δόξαν ἀγαθήν. τέλος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῷ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν πολέμῳ, τὸ καὶ Σερτωρίω τοῦ βίου γενόμενον δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὕτε ὀξέως οὕτε εἰμαρῶς οὕτως, ἔτι Σερτωρίου περιόντος, συντελεσθήναι.

#### XIV

CAP. 116. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κονομάχων ἐς θέας ἐν Καπύη τρεφομένων, Σπάρτακος Θρὰξ ἀνήρ, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονο-

battle was fought between them. They resolved to CHAP. decide the contest by one engagement—Pompey He is defeated Perpenna because he did not believe that his army would long remain faithful to him, and he was now engaging with nearly his maximum strength. Pompey, as might have been expected, soon got the better of this inferior general and disaffectedarmy. Perpenna was defeated all along the line and concealed himself in a thicket, more fearful of his own troops than of the enemy's. He was seized by some horsemen and dragged towards Pompey's headquarters, loaded with the execrations of his own men, as the murderer of Sertorius, and crying out that he would give Pompey information about the factions in Rome. This he said either because it was true, or in order to be brought safe to Pompey's presence, but the latter sent orders and put him to death before he came into his presence, fearing, it seemed, lest some startling revelation might be the source of new troubles at Rome. Pompey seems to have behaved very prudently in this matter, and his action added to his high reputation. So ended the war in Spain with the life of Sertorius. I think that if he had lived longer the war would not have ended so soon or so easily.

# XIV

116. At the same time Spartacus, a Thracian by CHAP. birth, who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, but had since been a prisoner and sold for a gladiator, and was in the gladiatorial training-school Spartacus

CAP. μάχοις ὤν, ἔπεισεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας μάλιστα κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἡ θέας ἐπιδείξεως καὶ βιασάμενος σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε· καὶ τινων ὁδοιπόρων ξύλοις καὶ ξιφιδίοις ὁπλισάμενος ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὅρος ἀνέφυγεν, ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας καὶ τινας ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποδεχόμενος ἐλήστευε τὰ ἐγγύς, ὑποστρατήγους ἔχων Οἰνόμαόν τε καὶ Κρίξον μονομάχους. μεριζομένω δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἡν ἀνδρῶν· καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθεὶς Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐν σπουδῆ καὶ παρόδω συνέλεξαν (οὐ γάρ πω 'Ρωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομήν τινα καὶ ληστηρίω τὸ ἔργον ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι), συμβαλόντες ἡττῶντο. Οὐαρινίου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸς Σπάρτακος περιέσπασεν· παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἡλθε κινδύνου 'Ρωμαίων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς αἰχοις

μάλωτος ύπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι.
Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτάκφ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον πολλοὶ συνέθεον, καὶ ἐπτὰ μυριάδες ἦσαν ἤδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅπλα ἐχάλκευε καὶ παρασκευὴν συνέλεγεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελῶν. 117. καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν θατέρου Κρίξος, ἡγούμενος τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν, περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἡττᾶτο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς: Σπάρτακον δὲ διὰ τῶν ᾿Απεννίνων ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἅλπεια καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἦλπείων ἐπειγόμενον ὁ ἔτερος ὑπατος προλαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς ψυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν

at Capua, persuaded about seventy of his comrades CHAP. to strike for their own freedom rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away, arming themselves with clubs and daggers that they took from people on the roads, and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There many fugitive slaves and even some freemen from the fields joined Spartacus, and he plundered the neighbouring country, having for subordinate officers two gladiators named Oenomaus and Crixus. As he divided the plunder impartially he soon had plenty of men. Varinius Glaber was first sent against him and afterwards Publius Valerius, not with regular armies, but with forces picked up in haste and at random, for the Romans did not consider this a war as vet, but a raid, something like an outbreak of robbery. They attacked Spartacus and were beaten. Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius; so narrowly did the very general of the Romans escape being captured by a gladiator.

After this still greater numbers flocked to Spartacus till his army numbered 70,000 men. For these he manufactured weapons and collected equipment, whereas Rome now sent out the consuls with two legions. 117. One of them overcame Crixus with B.C. 72 30,000 men near Mount Garganus, two-thirds of He defeats whom perished together with himself. Spartacus in several endeavoured to make his way through the Apennines engageto the Alps and the Gallic country, but one of the consuls anticipated him and hindered his flight while the other hung upon his rear. He turned upon them one after the other and beat them in detail. They

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ἐπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν θορύβῳ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὑπεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος τριακοσίους 'Ρωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἐναγίσας Κρίξῳ, δυώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν ἐς 'Ρώμην ἤπείγετο, τὰ ἄχρηστα τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀνελῶν καὶ ἐπισφάξας τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἵνα κοῦφος εἴη· αὐτομόλων τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσιόντων οὐδένα προσίετο. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτὸν αὖθις περὶ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα γῆν ὑποστάντων, μέγας ἀγὼν ἕτερος ὅδε γίγνεται

καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ήσσα 'Ρωμαίων.

Ό δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ μετέγνω, ὡς οἴπω γεγονὼς ἀξιόμαχος οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον ἔχων στρατιωτικῶς ὡπλισμένον (οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε πόλις, ἀλλὰ θεράποντες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ σύγκλυδες), τὰ δ΄ ὄρη τὰ περὶ Θουρίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβε, καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἄργυρον τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν ἐκώλυε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ὡνοῦντο πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἤδίκουν. ὅθεν ἀθρόας ὕλης εὐπορήσαντες εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ λεηλασίας ἐξήεσαν. Ῥωμαίοις τε πάλιν συνενεχθέντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐκράτουν καὶ τότε καὶ λείας πολλῆς γέμουτες ἐπανήεσαν.

118. Τριέτης τε ην ήδη και φοβερος αὐτοις ό πόλεμος, γελώμενος εν άρχη και καταφρονούμενος ώς μονομάχων. προτεθείσης τε στρατηγών άλλων χειροτονίας ὅκνος ἐπείχεν ἄπαντας και παρήγγελλεν οὐδείς, μέχρι Λικίνιος Κράσσος, γένει και πλούτω 'Ρωμαίων διαφανής, ἀνεδέξατο στρατηγήσειν και τέλεσιν εξ άλλοις ήλαυνεν ἐπὶ

retreated in confusion in different directions. Spar- CHAP. tacus sacrificed 300 Roman prisoners to the shade of Crixus, and marched on Rome with 120,000 foot. having burned all his useless material, killed all his prisoners, and butchered his pack-animals in order to expedite his movement. Many deserters offered themselves to him, but he would not accept them. The consuls again met him in the country of Picenum. Here there was fought another great battle and there was, too, another great defeat for the Romans.

Spartacus changed his intention of marching on Rome. He did not consider himself ready as yet for that kind of a fight, as his whole force was not suitably armed, for no city had joined him, but only slaves, deserters, and riff-raff. However, he occupied the mountains around Thurii and took the city itself. He prohibited the bringing in of gold or silver by merchants, and would not allow his own men to acquire any, but he bought largely of iron and brass and did not interfere with those who dealt in these articles. Supplied with abundant material from this source his men provided themselves with plenty of arms and made frequent forays for the time being. When they next came to an engagement with the Romans they were again victorious, and returned laden with spoils.

118. This war, so formidable to the Romans (although ridiculed and despised in the beginning, as being merely the work of gladiators), had now lasted three years. When the election of new practors B.O. 71 came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered him-Crassus self as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man to the distinguished among the Romans for birth and command wealth, assumed the practorship and marched against

CAP. του Σπάρτακου· ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶι ύπάτων δύο προσέλαβε. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν αὐτίκα διακληρώσας ώς πολλάκις ήττημένων έπὶ θανάτω μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν. οί δ' ούχ ούτω νομίζουσιν, άλλὰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ συμβαλόντα καὶ τόνδε καὶ ήττημένου, πάντων διακληρώσαι τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πληθος ἐνδοιάσαντα, ὁποτέρως δ' ἔπραξε, φοβερώτερος αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ήττης φανείς αὐτίκα μυρίων Σπαρτακείων έφ' έαυτων που στρατοπεδευόντων εκράτει και δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακανών ἐπ' αὐτὸν ήλαυνε τὸν Σπάρτακον σύν καταφρονήσει. νικήσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε λαμπρως εδίωκε φεύγοντα επί την θάλασσαν ως διαπλευσούμενον ές Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβών ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε καὶ ἀπεσταύρου.

119. Βιαζομένου δ' ές την Σαυνίτιδα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου διαδραμεῖν, ἔκτεινεν ὁ Κράσσος ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἄλλους περὶ ἔω καὶ περὶ δείλην ἐς τοσούσδε ἐτέρους, τριῶν ἐκ τοῦ 'Ρωμαίων στρατοῦ μόνων ἀποθανόντων καὶ ἐπτὰ τρωθέντων' τοσήδε ἢν αὐτίκα διὰ τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τὸ τῆς νίκης θάρσος μεταβολή. Σπάρτακος δὲ ἱππέας ποθὲν προσιόντας αὐτῷ περιμένων οὐκέτι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἤει τῷ στρατῷ παντί, πολλὰ δ' ἠνώχλει τοῖς περικαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἄφνω τε καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτων, φακέλους τε ξύλων ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων κατέκαιε καὶ τὸν πόνον αὐτοῖς δύσεργον ἐποίει. αἰχμάλωτόν τε 'Ρωμαῖον ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ, δεικιὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις τὴν ὄψιν ὧν πείσονται, μὴ κρατοῦντες. οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει 'Ρωμαῖοι

Spartacus with six new legions. When he arrived CHAP. at his destination he received also the two legions of XIV the consuls, whom he decimated by lot for their bad conduct in several battles. Some say that Crassus, too, having engaged in battle with his whole army. and having been defeated, decimated the whole army and was not deterred by their numbers, but destroyed about 4000 of them. Whichever way it was, when he had once demonstrated to them that he was more dangerous to them than the enemy, he overcame immediately 10,000 of the Spartacans, who were encamped somewhere in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them. He then marched boldly against Spartacus himself, vanquished him in a brilliant engagement, and pursued his fleeing forces to the sea, where they tried to pass over to Sicily. He overtook them and enclosed them with a line of circumvallation consisting of ditch, wall, and paling.

119. Spartacus tried to break through and make an incursion into the Samnite country, but Crassus slew about 6000 of his men in the morning and as many more towards evening. Only three of the Roman army were killed and seven wounded, so great was the improvement in their moral inspired by the recent punishment. Spartacus, who was expecting a reinforcement of horse from somewhere, no longer went into battle with his whole army, but harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies here and there. He fell upon them unexpectedly and continually, threw bundles of fagots into the ditch and set them on fire and made their labour difficult. He also crucified a Roman prisoner in the space between the two armies to show his own men what fate awaited them if they did not conquer. But when the Romans in

CAP. τῆς πολιορκίας πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀδοξοῦντες, εἰ χρόνιος αὐτοῖς ἔσται πόλεμος μονομάχων, προσκατέλεγον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν Πομπήιον ἄρτι ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πιστεύοντες ἤδη δυσχερὲς εἶναι καὶ μέγα τὸ Σπαρτάκειον ἔργον.

120. Διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τήνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ίνα μη τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο Πομπηίου, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεγείρει τῶ Σπαρτάκω, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβείν ἀξιῶν, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προυκαλείτο. ὑπερορώμενος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύειν τε έγνω καί, παρόντων οί τῶν ίππέων ἤδη, ώσατο παντί τῶ στρατῶ διὰ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, Κράσσου διώκοντος. ώς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν ὁ Σπάρτακος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτη νίκης ἐπανιόντα, είναι, πάντων ἀπογνούς ές χείρας ήει τω Κράσσω μετά πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακράς το καὶ καρτεράς ώς ἐν άπογνώσει τοσῶνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκεται ές τὸν μηρον ο Σπάρτακος δορατίω καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλών την ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς έπιόντας ἀπεμάχετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλήθος άμφ' αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες έπεσον. ὅ τε λοιπὸς αὐτοῦ στρατὸς ἀκόσμως ἤδη κατεκόπτοντο κατὰ πληθος, ώς φόνον γενέσθαι τῶν μὲν οὐδ' εὐαρίθμητον, 'Ρωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ τον Σπαρτάκου νέκυν ούχ εύρεθηναι. πολύ δ' έτι πληθος ήν εν τοις όρεσιν, εκ της μάχης διαφυγόν έφ' ους ο Κράσσος ανέβαινεν. οί δε διελόντες έαυτούς ές τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο, μέχρι

the city heard of the siege they thought it would be CHAP. disgraceful if this war against gladiators should be prolonged. Believing also that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe they ordered up the army of Pompey, which had just

arrived from Spain, as a reinforcement.

120. On account of this vote Crassus tried in every He defeats way to come to an engagement with Spartacus so and kills Spartacus that Pompey might not reap the glory of the war. Spartacus himself, thinking to anticipate Pompey, invited Crassus to come to terms with him. When his proposals were rejected with scorn he resolved to risk a battle, and as his cavalry had arrived he made a dash with his whole army through the lines of the besieging force and pushed on to Brundusium with Crassus in pursuit. When Spartacus learned that Lucullus had just arrived in Brundusium from his victory over Mithridates he despaired of everything and brought his forces, which were even then very numerous, to close quarters with Crassus. battle was long and bloody, as might have been expected with so many thousands of desperate men. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear and sank upon his knee, holding his shield in front of him and contending in this way against his assailants until he and the great mass of those with him were surrounded and slain. The remainder of his army was thrown into confusion and butchered in crowds. So great was the slaughter that it was impossible to count them. The Roman loss was about 1000. The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field End of to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither, the war

They divided themselves in four parts, and continued

CAP. πάντες ἀπώλοντο πλην έξακισχιλίων, οι ληφ-ΧΙΥ θέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὅλην την ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ

Καπύης όδόν.

121. Καὶ τάδε Κράσσος εξ μησὶν ἐργασάμενος ἀμφήριστος ἐκ τοῦδε αὐτίκα μάλα τῆ δόξη τῆ Πομπήιου γίνεται. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν οὐ μεθίει, διότι μηδὲ Πομπήιος. ἐς δὲ ὑπατείαν ἄμφω παρήγγελλον, ὁ μὲν ἐστρατηγηκὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σύλλα, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὔτε στρατηγήσας οὔτε ταμιεύσας ἔτος τε ἔχων τέταρτον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα· τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὑπέσχητο πολλὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανάξειν. αἰρεθέντες δὲ ὕπατοι οὐδ' ὡς μεθίεσαν τὸν στρατόν, ἔχοντες ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἑκάτερος πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν θρίαμβον περιμένειν ἐπανιόντα Μέτελλον, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος, ὡς Πομπήιον δέον προδιαλῦσαι.

Καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν στάσεως ὁρῶν καὶ φοβούμενος δύο στρατοὺς περικαθημένους, ἐδέοντο τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν ἀγορᾳ προκαθημένων συναλλαγηναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκάτερος ἀπεκρούετο· ὡς δὲ καὶ θεύληπτοί τινες προύλεγον πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, εἰ μὴ συναλλαγεῖεν οἱ ὕπατοι, ὁ δῆμος αὐθις αὐτοὺς μετ' οἰμωγῆς παρεκάλει πάνυ ταπεινῶς, ἔτι τῶν Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν ἀναφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Κράσσος πρότερος ἐνδοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κατέβαινε καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρει, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων

to fight until they all perished except 6000, who CHAP. were captured and crucified along the whole road XIV

from Capua to Rome.

121. Crassus accomplished his task within six months, whence arose a contention for honours Rivalry of between himself and Pompey. Crassus did not Pompey and Crassus dismiss his army, for Pompey did not dismiss his. Both were candidates for the consulship. Crassus had been practor as the law of Sulla required. Pompey had been neither practor nor quaestor, and was only thirty-four years old, but he had promised the tribunes of the people that much of their former power should be restored. When they were chosen consuls they did not even then dismiss their armies, which were stationed near the city. Each one offered an excuse. Pompey said that he was waiting the return of Metellus for his Spanish triumph; Crassus said that Pompey ought to dismiss his army first.

The people, seeing fresh seditions brewing and fearing two armies encamped round about, besought the consuls, while they were occupying the curule chairs in the forum, to be reconciled to each other; but at first both of them repelled these solicitations. When, however, certain persons, who seemed prophetically inspired, predicted many direful consequences if the consuls did not come to an agreement, the people again implored them with lamentations and the greatest dejection, reminding them of the evils produced by the contentions of Marius and Sulla. Crassus yielded first. He came down from his chair, advanced to Pompey, and offered him his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Soothsayers, presumably; a recognized class at Rome, of which an example is given by Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar*.

CAP. ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς· ὁ δ' ὑπανίστατο καὶ προσέτρεχε καὶ δεξιωσαμένων ἀλλήλους εὐφημίαι τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ποικίλαι, καὶ οὐ πρὶν ὁ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ προγράψαι τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰς ἀφέσεις τῶν στρατοπέδων. οὕτω μὲν δὴ δόξασα καὶ ἥδε μεγάλη στάσις ἔσεσθαι κατελύετο εὐσταθῶς· καὶ ἔτος ἦν τῷδε τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑξήκοντα μάλιστ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως Τιβερίου Γράκχου.

hand in the way of reconciliation. Pompey rose CHAP. and hastened to meet him. They shook hands amid general acclamations and the people did not leave Their the assembly until the consuls had given orders in ciliation writing to disband the armies. Thus was the well-grounded fear of another great dissension happily dispelled. This was about the sixtieth year in the course of the civil convulsions, reckoning from the death of Tiberius Gracchus.



# BOOK II

#### I

CAP. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σύλλα μοναρχίαν καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτῆ Σερτώριός τε καὶ Περπέννας περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔδρασαν, ἔτερα ἐμφύλια Ῥωμαίοις τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν καθείλεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τινὲς ὡς βασιλιζόμενον κατέκανον. ταῦτα δὲ ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ ὅπως ἀνηρέθησαν ὅ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γάιος,

ή δευτέρα των έμφυλίων ήδε δηλοί.

'Ο μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ἄρτι τὴν θάλασσαν καθήρας ἀπὸ τῶν ληστηρίων τότε μάλιστα πανταχοῦ πλεονασάντων Μιθριδάτην ἐπὶ τοῦς λησταῖς καθηρήκει, Πόντου βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη προσέλαβεν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἕω, διετάσσετο ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἢν ἔτι νέος, δεινὸς εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πρᾶξαι, τολμῆσαί τε ἐς πάντα καὶ ἐλπίσαι περὶ ἀπάντων, ἐς δὲ δὴ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφειδὴς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ὡς ἀγορανομῶν ἔτι καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶναι κατάχρεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει δαιμονίως ὑπεραρέσκειν, τῶν δήμων αἰεὶ τοὺς δαψιλεῖς ἐπαινούντων.

2. Γάιος δὲ Κατιλίνας, μεγέθει τε δόξης καὶ

# BOOK II

1. AFTER the sole rule of Sulla, and the operations, CHAP. later on, of Sertorius and Perpenna in Spain, other internal commotions of a similar nature took place among the Romans until Gaius Caesar and Pompey the Great waged war against each other, and Caesar made an end of Pompey and was himself killed in the senate-chamber because he was accused of behaving after the fashion of royalty. How these things came about and how both Pompey and Caesar lost their lives, this second book of the Civil Wars will show.

Pompey had lately cleared the sea of pirates, who B.C. 64 were then more numerous than ever before, and afterwards had overthrown Mithridates, king of Pontus, and regulated his kingdom and the other nations that he had subdued in the East. Caesar was still a young man, but powerful in speech and action, audacious in every way, sanguine in everything, and profuse beyond his means in the pursuit of honours. While yet aedile and praetor he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditure.

2. Gaius 1 Catiline was a person of note, by reason

An error of Appian's. "Lucius" is correct.

CAP. γένους λαμπρότητι περιώνυμος, έμπληκτος άνήρ, δόξας ποτέ καὶ υίον ἀνελεῖν δι' Αὐρηλίας 'Ορεστίλλης έρωτα, οὐχ ὑφισταμένης τῆς 'Ορεστίλλης παίδα έχουτι γήμασθαι, Σύλλα φίλος τε καὶ στασιώτης καὶ ζηλωτής μάλιστα γεγονώς, ἐκ δὲ φιλοτιμίας καὶ όδε ές πενίαν ύπενηνεγμένος καὶ θεραπευόμενος έτι πρὸς δυνατῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικών, ες ύπατείαν παρήγγελλεν ώς τήδε παροδεύσων ές τυραννίδα. πάγχυ δ' έλπίσας αίρεθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τήνδε ἀπεκρούσθη, καὶ Κικέρων μεν ήρχεν άντ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἡητορεῦσαι, Κατιλίνας δ' αὐτὸν ἐς ὕβριν των έλομένων επέσκωπτεν, ες μεν άγνωσίαν γένους καινον ονομάζων (καλουσι δ' ούτω τους ἀφ' έαυτων, άλλ' οὐ τῶν προγόνων γνωρίμους), ἐς δ' ξενίαν της πόλεως ιγκουιλίνον, ώ ρήματι καλούσι τούς ένοικοῦντας έν άλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις. αὐτὸς δὲ πολιτείαν μεν όλως έτι ἀπεστρέφετο έκ τοῦδε, ώς οὐδὲν μοναρχίαν ταχὺ καὶ μέγα φέρουσαν, ἀλλ' ἔριδος καὶ φθόνου μεστήν· χρήματα δ' ἀγεί-ρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αὶ τοὺς άνδρας ήλπιζον έν τη έπαναστάσει διαφθερείν, συνώμνυτό τισιν από της βουλης και των καλουμένων ίππέων, συνηγε δε καὶ δημότας καὶ ξένους καὶ θεράποντας. καὶ πάντων ήγεμόνες ήσαν αὐτῷ Κορνήλιος Λέντλος καὶ Κέθηγος, οὶ τότε τῆς πόλεως έστρατήγουν. ἀνά τε την Ίταλίαν περιέπεμπεν ές των Συλλείων τούς τὰ κέρδη της τότε Βίας αναλωκότας καὶ ορεγομένους έργων όμοίων,

of his great celebrity, and high birth, but a mad- CHAP. man, for it was believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, of Catiline who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to poverty in order to gratify his ambition, but still he was courted by the powerful, both men and women, and he became a candidate for the consulship as a step leading to absolute power. He confidently expected to be elected; but the suspicion of his ulterior designs defeated him, and Cicero, the most eloquent orator and rhetorician of the period, was chosen instead. Catiline, by way of raillery and contempt for those B.C. 68 who voted for him, called him a "New Man," on account of his obscure birth (for so they call those who achieve distinction by their own merits and not by those of their ancestors); and because he was not born in the city he called him "The Lodger," 1 by which term they designate those who occupy houses belonging to others. From this time Catiline abstained wholly from politics as not leading quickly and surely to absolute power, but as full of the spirit of contention and malice. He procured much money from many women who hoped that they would get their husbands killed in the rising, and he formed a conspiracy with a number of senators and knights, and collected together a body of plebeians, foreign residents, and slaves. His leading fellow-conspirators were Cornelius Lentulus and Cethegus, who were then the city praetors. He sent emissaries throughout Italy to those of Sulla's soldiers who had squandered the gains of their former life of

1 Latin Inquilinus, correctly explained by Appian above.

CAP ές μεν Φαισούλας της Τυρρηνίας Γάιον Μάλλιον, ές δὲ τῆν Πικηνίτιδα καὶ τὴν 'Απουλίαν ἐτέρους,

οί στρατον αὐτῶ συνέλεγον ἀφανῶς.

3. Καὶ τάδε πάντα ἔτι ἀγνοούμενα Φουλβία γύναιον οὐκ ἀφανὲς ἐμήνυε τῷ Κικέρωνι ἡς ἐρῶν Κόιντος Κούριος, άνηρ δι' ονείδη πολλά της βουλής άπεωσμένος καὶ τησδε της Κατιλίνα συνθήκης ηξιωμένος, κούφως μάλα καὶ φιλοτίμως έξέφερεν οία προς έρωμένην, ως αὐτίκα δυναστεύσων. ήδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία γιγιομένων λόγος έφοίτα. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τήν τε πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων Φρουραίς διελάμβανε και των ἐπιφανων έξέπεμπε πολλούς ές πάντα τὰ ύποπτα τοῖς γιγνομένοις έφεδρεύειν. Κατιλίνας δ', οὐδενὸς μέν πω θαρρούντος αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἔτι τοῦ άκριβους άγνωσίαν, δεδιώς δὲ όμως καὶ τὸ χρόνιον ήγούμενος υποπτον, έν δὲ τῷ τάχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τιθέμενος, τά τε χρήματα προύπεμπεν ές Φαισούλας καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐντειλάμενος κτείναι Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων πολλών υυκτός έμπρησαι μιας έξήει προς Γάιον Μάλλιον ώς αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀθροίσων καὶ ἐς τὸν έμπρησμον της πόλεως ἐπιδραμούμενος. ὁ μὲν δή ράβδους τε καὶ πελέκεας ώς τις ανθύπατος κούφως μάλα ἀνέσχε πρὸ έαυτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Μάλλιον έχώρει στρατολογῶν Λέντλω δὲ καὶ τοίς συνωμόταις έδοξεν, ότε Κατιλίναν έν Φαισούλαις πυνθάνοιντο γεγενήσθαι, Λέντλον μέν αὐτὸν καὶ Κέθηγον ἐφεδρεῦσαι ταῖς Κικέρωνος θύραις περί έω μετά κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων, έσδεχθέντας τε δια την άξίωσιν και λαλούντας ότιδη

plunder and who longed for similar doings. For CHAP, this purpose he sent Gaius Mallius to Faesulae in Etruria and others to Picenum and Apulia, who enlisted soldiers for him secretly.

3. All these facts, while they were still secret, It is were communicated to Cicero by Fulvia, a woman of by Cicero quality. Her lover, Quintus Curius, who had been expelled from the Senate for many deeds of shame and was thought fit to share in this plot of Catiline's, told his mistress in a vain and boastful way that he would soon be in a position of great power. By now, too, a rumour of what was transpiring in Italy was getting about. Accordingly Cicero stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, and sent many of the nobility to the suspected places to watch what was going on. Catiline, although nobody had ventured to lav hands on him, because the facts were not vet accurately known, was nevertheless timid lest, with delay, suspicion also should increase. Trusting to rapidity of movement he forwarded money to Faesulae and directed his fellow-conspirators to kill Cicero and set the city on fire at a number of different places during the same night. Then he departed to join Gaius Mallius, intending to collect additional forces and invade the city while burning. So extremely vain was he that he had the rods and axes borne before him as though he were a proconsul, and he proceeded on his journey to Mallius, enlisting soldiers as he went. Lentulus and his fellow-conspirators decided that when they should learn that Catiline had arrived at Faesulae, Lentulus and Cethegus should present themselves at Cicero's door early in the morning with concealed daggers, and when their rank gained them admission, enter into

CAP. μηκθυαι τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐν περιπάτφ καὶ κτεθναι περισπάσαντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Λεύκιον δὲ Βηστίαν τὸν δήμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν καὶ κατηγορεῦν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς ἀεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράττοντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ Βηστίου δημηγορία, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα τῆς ἐπιούσης, ἑτέρους ἐν δυώδεκα τόποις ἐμπιπράναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ διαρπάτειν καὶ κατακτείνειν τοὺς ἀρίστους.

4. \* Ωδε μεν Λέντλω καὶ Κεθήγω καὶ Στατιλίω καὶ Κασσίω, τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, έδέδοκτο, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν 'Αλλοβρίγων δὲ πρέσβεις, αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν, . . . ές την Λέντλου συνωμοσίαν ἐπήχθησαν ώς άναστήσοντες έπὶ Ῥωμαίους τὴν Γαλατίαν. καὶ Λέντλος μεν αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπεν ές Κατιλίναν Βουλτούρκιον, ἄνδρα Κροτωνιάτην, γράμματα χωρίς ονομάτων γεγραμμένα φέροντα· οί δ' 'Αλλόβριγες ενδοιάσαντες εκοινώσαντο Φαβίω Σάγγα, δς ην των Αλλοβρίγων προστάτης, ώσπερ άπάσαις πόλεσιν έστι τις έν 'Ρώμη προστάτης. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Σάγγα μαθὼν ὁ Κικέρων συνέλαβεν απιόντας τους 'Αλλόβριγάς τε καί Βουλτούρκιον καὶ ές την βουλην εὐθέως ἐπήγαγεν οί δ' ώμολόγουν, όσα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λέντλον συνήδεσαν, άχθέντας τε ήλεγχον, ώς ο Κορνήλιος Λέντλος είποι πολλάκις είμάρθαι τρείς Κορνηλίους γενέσθαι 'Ρωμαίων μονάρχους, ών ήδη Κίνναν καὶ Σύλλαν γεγονέναι.

conversation with him in the vestibule on some CHAP. subject, no matter what; draw him away from his own people, and kill him; that Lucius Bestia, the tribune, should at once call an assembly of the people by heralds and accuse Cicero as always timorous, a stirrer up of war and ready to disturb the city without cause; and that on the night following Bestia's speech the city should be set on fire by others in twelve places and looted, and the leading citizens killed.

4. Such were the designs of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, the chiefs of the conspiracy, and they waited for their time. Meanwhile ambassadors of the Allobroges, who were making complaint against their magistrates, were solicited to join the conspiracy of Lentulus in order to cause an uprising against the Romans in Gaul. Lentulus sent in company with them, to Catiline, a man of Croton named Vulturcius, who carried letters without signatures. The Allobroges being in doubt communicated the matter to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state: for it was the custom of all the subject states to have patrons at Rome. Sanga communicated the facts to Cicero, who arrested the Allobroges and Vulturcius on their journey and brought them straightway before the Senate. They confessed to their understanding with Lentulus' agents, and when confronted with them testified that Cornelius Lentulus had often said that it was written in the book of fate that three Cornelii should be monarchs of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had already been such.

<sup>1</sup> Probably there is a gap in the text: e.g. "were in Rome, and . . ."

CAP. 5. Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ή μὲν βουλή Λέντλον παρέλυσε της άρχης, ο δε Κικέρων έκαστον ές τὰς οἰκίας τῶν στρατηγῶν διαθεὶς ἐπανηλθεν αὐτίκα καὶ ψηφον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐδίδου. θόρυβος δ' ην αμφί το βουλευτήριον, αγνοουμένου έτι του άκριβους, και δέος των συνεγνωκότων. αὐτοῦ δὲ Λέντλου καὶ Κεθήγου θεράποντές τε καὶ έξελεύθεροι, χειροτέχνας πολλούς προσλαβόντες. κατ' όπισθίας όδους περιήεσαν έπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγών οικίας ώς τούς δεσπότας έξαρπασόμενοι. ὧν ὁ Κικέρων πυθόμενος ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου και διαθείς ές τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φύλακας έπανηλθε και την γνώμην έπετάχυνε. Σιλανός μέν δή πρώτος έλεγεν, ος ές το μέλλον ήρητο ύπατεύειν ώδε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ μέλλων ὑπατεύσειν πρώτος εσφέρει γνώμην, ώς αὐτός, οίμαι, πολλά των κυρουμένων έργασόμενος καὶ έκ τοῦδε εὐβουλότερόν τε καὶ εὐλαβέστερον ἐνθυμησόμενος περί έκάστου. άξιοθντι δὲ τῷ Σιλανῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας έσχάτη κολάσει μετιέναι πολλοί συνετίθεντο, έως, έπὶ Νέρωνα τῆς γνώμης περιιούσης, ὁ Νέρων έδικαίου φυλάττειν αὐτούς, μέχρι Κατιλίναν έξέλωσι πολέμω καὶ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μάθωσι,

6. Γάιός τε Καΐσαρ οὐ καθαρεύων μὲν ὑπονοίας μὴ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κικέρωνος δ' οὐ θαρροῦντος καὶ τόνδε, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμω, ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα προβαλέσθαι, προσετίθει διαθέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας Κικέρωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν πόλεσιν αἶς ἃν αὐτὸς δοκιμάση, μέχρι Κατιλίνα

5. When they had so testified the Senate deprived CHAP. Lentulus of his office. Cicero put each of the Conspirators under arrest at the houses of the praetors, spirators and returned directly to take the vote of the Senate arrested concerning them. In the meantime there was a to death great tumult around the senate-house, the affair being as vet little understood, and a good deal of alarm among the conspirators. The slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, reinforced by numerous artisans, made a circuit by back streets and assaulted the houses of the practors in order to rescue their masters. When Cicero heard of this he hurried out of the senate-house and stationed the necessary guards and then came back and hastened the taking of the vote. Silanus, the consul-elect, spoke first, as it was the custom among the Romans for the man who was about to assume that office to deliver his opinion first, because, as I think, he would have most to do with the execution of the decrees, and hence would give more careful consideration and use more circumspection in each case. It was the opinion of Silanus that the culprits should suffer the extreme penalty, and many senators agreed with him until it came to Nero's turn to deliver his opinion. Nero judged that it would be best to keep them under guard until Catiline should be beaten in the field and they could obtain the most accurate knowledge of the facts.

6. Gaius Caesar was not free from the suspicion of complicity with these men, but Cicero did not venture to bring into the controversy one so popular with the masses. Caesar proposed that Cicero should distribute the culprits among the towns of Italy, according to his own discretion, to be kept until

CAP. καταπολεμηθέντος ές δικαστήριον ύπαχθώσι, καὶ μηδεν ανήκεστον ες ανδρας επιφανείς ή προ λόγου καὶ δίκης έξειργασμένος. δικαίου δέ της γνώμης φανείσης καὶ δεχθείσης, ἀκρατώς οἱ πολλοὶ μετετίθεντο, μέχρι Κάτων ήδη σαφώς ἀνακαλύπτων την ές τον Καίσαρα υποψίαν και ό Κικέρων δεδιώς άμφὶ τῆ νυκτὶ προσιούση, μὴ τὸ συνεγνωκὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσι πλήθος αἰωρούμενον ἔτι κατ' άγορὰν καὶ δεδιὸς περί τε σφών αὐτών καὶ περὶ έκείνων έργάσηταί τι ἄτοπον, ἔπεισαν ώς αὐτοφώρων άνευ κρίσεως καταγνώναι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ των οἰκιων, ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς συνεστώσης, ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεταγαγών, τοῦ πλήθους άγνοοῦντος, ἐπείδεν ἀποθνήσκοντας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾶ παροδεύων ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι τεθνᾶσιν. οί δὲ διελύοντο πεφρικότες τε καὶ περὶ σφῶν άγαπωντες ώς διαλαθόντες.

Οὕτω μὲν ἡ πόλις ἀνέπνευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους πολλοῦ σφίσιν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιστάντος·
7. Κατιλίναν δὲ ἐς δισμυρίους τε ἀγείραντα καὶ τούτων τεταρτημόριον ὁπλίσαντα ἤδη καὶ ἐς Γαλατίαν ἐπὶ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπιόντα ᾿Αντώνιος ὁ ἔτερος ὕπατος ὑπ᾽ ᾿Αλπείοις καταλαβών, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς ἐμπλήκτως ἀλλόκοτον ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν λαβόντος τε καὶ ἐς πεῖραν ἔτι ἐμπληκτότερον ἀπαρασκεύως προαγα-

Catiline should be beaten in fight, and that then CHAP. they should be regularly tried, instead of inflicting an irremediable punishment upon members of the nobility without argument and trial. As this opinion appeared to be just and acceptable, most of the senators changed completely, until Cato openly manifested his suspicion of Caesar; and Cicero, who had apprehensions concerning the coming night (lest the crowd who were concerned with the conspiracy and were still in the forum in a state of suspense, fearful for themselves and the conspirators, might do something desperate), persuaded the Senate to give judgment against them without trial as persons caught in the act. Cicero immediately, while the Senate was still in session, conducted each of the conspirators from the houses where they were in custody to the prison, without the knowledge of the crowd, and saw them put to death. Then he went back to the forum and signified that they were dead. The crowd dispersed in alarm, congratulating themselves that they had not been found out.

Thus the city breathed freely once more after B.C. 62 the great fear that had weighed upon it that day, Pistoria and 7. but Catiline had assembled about 20,000 troops, death of of whom one-fourth part were already armed, and Catiline was moving toward Gaul in order to complete his preparations, when Antonius, the other consul, overtook him at the foot of the Alps 1 and easily defeated the madly-conceived adventure of the man. which was still more madly put to the test without

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The battle was fought at Pistoria, at the southern base of the Apennines. The Roman army was commanded, not by the consul Antonius, but by his lieutenant Petreius.

ΟΑΡ. γόντος. οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Κατιλίνας οὐδο ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν συνόντων ἐπιφανῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ

έσδραμόντες ές τους πολεμίους ἀπώλοντο.

\*Ωδε μὲν ἡ Κατιλίνα ἐπανάστασις, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐς ἔσχατον ἐλθοῦσα κινδύνου τῆ πόλει, διελύετο. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, ἄπασιν ἐπὶ λόγου δυνάμει μόνη γνώριμος ὤν, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ διὰ στόματος ἡν καὶ σωτὴρ ἐδόκει περιφανῶς ἀπολλυμένη τῆ πατρίδι γενέσθαι, χάριτές τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εὐφημίαι ποικίλαι. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορεύσαντος ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν ήδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξαμένη περιελθεῖν ἐς τῶν νῦν αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς φαινομένους ἀξίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦσδε, καίπερ οὖσι βασιλεῦσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπωνυμίαις, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μόλις ήδε, ὡς ἐντελὴς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ μαρτυρία, ψηφίζεται.

#### H

CAP. 8. 'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ στρατηγὸς ἐς 'Ιβηρίαν αἰρεθεὶς ἐπὶ μέν τι πρὸς τῶν χρήστων διεκρατεῖτο ἐν 'Ρώμη, πολὺ πλέονα τῆς περιουσίας ὀφλὼν διὰ τὰς φιλοτιμίας ὅτε φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δέοιτο δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων, ἵνα ἔχοι μηδέν· διαθέμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας, ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τῆς 'Ιβηρίας ἐπιβὰς χρηματίζειν μὲν

preparation. Neither Catiline nor any of the nobility CHAP, who were associated with him deigned to fly, but all flung themselves upon their enemies and perished.

Such was the end of the rising of Catiline, which almost brought the city to the extreme of peril. Cicero, who had been hitherto distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction, for which reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him, amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him as the Father of his country. Some think that this honourable appellation, which is now bestowed upon those emperors who are deemed worthy of it, had its beginning with Cicero, for although they are in fact kings, it is not given even to them with their other titles immediately upon their accession, but is decreed to them in the progress of time, not as a matter of course, but as a final testimonial of the greatest services.

#### II

8. Caesar, who had been chosen practor for Spain, Chap, was detained in the city by his creditors, as he owed much more than he could pay, by reason of his political expenses. He was reported as saying that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces in order to have nothing at all. However, he arranged with those who were detaining him as best he could and proceeded to Spain. Here he neglected the transaction

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> About £250,000.

CAP. ταίς πόλεσιν ή διαιτάν δίκας ή όσα ομοιότροπα τούτοις, άπαντα ύπερείδεν ώς οὐδεν οίς επενόει γρήσιμα, στρατιάν δε άγείρας επετίθετο τοίς έτι λοιποις Ίβήρων ανα μέρος, μέχρι την Ίβηρίαν ές τὸ ὁλόκληρον ἀπέφηνε 'Ρωμαίοις ὑποτελή, καὶ χρήματα πολλά ες 'Ρώμην ἔπεμψεν ες τὸ κοινὸν ταμιεῖον. εφ' οῖς ἡ μεν βουλὴ θριαμβεῦσαι παρέσχεν αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ τῆς πομπῆς τὴν παρασκευὴν ες το λαμπρότατον έν τοις της Ρώμης προαστείοις διεκόσμει, εν αίς ημέραις υπατείας ήσαν παραγγελίαι, καὶ έδει τὸν παραγγέλλοντα παρείναι, έσελθόντι δε οὐκ ἡν ἔτι ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐπανελθείν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς πολλὰ τυχείν έπειγόμενος καὶ την πομπην ούχ έτοιμον έχων εσέπεμπε τη βουλή δεόμενος επιτρέψαι οί την παραγγελίαν ἀπόντι ποιήσασθαι διὰ τῶν φίλων, είδως μεν παράνομον, γεγονός δε ήδη και ετέροις. Κάτωνος δ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τελευταίαν οὖσαν τῶν παραγγελιῶν ἀναλοῦντος έπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐσέδραμεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπεριδων τοῦ θριάμβου καὶ παραγγείλας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέμενε την χειροτονίαν.

9. Έν δὲ τούτφ Πομπήιος, ἐκ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐλθών, ἠξίου πολλά, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδεδώκει, τὴν βουλὴν βεβαιῶσαι. φθόνφ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα Λεύκολλος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὡς ἀσθενέστατον αὐτὸν ἀπολιπὼν τῷ Πομπηίφ, διεκώλυεν, ἴδιον ἔργον ἀποφαίνων τὸ Μιθριδάτειον. καὶ Λευκόλλφ συνελάμβανε Κράσσος. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προσεταιρίζεται Καίσαρα,

of public business, the administration of justice, and CHAP. all matters of that kind because he considered them 11 of no use to his purposes, but he raised an army and Spain attacked the independent Spanish tribes one by one until he made the whole country tributary to the Romans. He also sent much money to the public treasury at Rome. For these reasons the Senate awarded him a triumph. He was making prepara- B.C. 60 tions outside the walls for a most splendid procession, during the days when candidates for the consulshin were required to present themselves. It was not lawful for one who was going to have a triumph to enter the city and then go back again for the triumph. As Caesar was very anxious to secure the office, and his procession was not yet ready, he sent to the Senate and asked permission to go through the forms of standing for the consulship while absent, through the instrumentalities of friends, for although he knew it was against the law it had been done by others. Cato opposed his proposition and used up the last day for the presentation of candidates, in speech-making. Thereupon Caesar abandoned his triumph, entered the city, offered himself as a candidate, and waited for the comitia.

9. In the meantime Pompey, who had acquired The triumgreat glory and power by his Mithridatic war, was Caesar, asking the Senate to ratify numerous concessions that Pompey. he had granted to kings, princes, and cities. Most and Crassu Senators, however, moved by envy, made opposition. and especially Lucullus, who had held the command against Mithridates before Pompey, and who considered that the victory was his, since he had left the king for Pompey in a state of extreme weakness. Crassus co-operated with Lucullus in this matter.

CAP. συμπράξειν ές τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπομόσας ὁ δ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ Κράσσον διήλλασσε. καὶ τρεῖς οἴδε τὸ μέγιστον ἐπὶ πᾶσι κράτος ἔχοντες τὰς χρείας ἀλλήλοις συνηράνιζον. καί τις αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν συμφροσύνην συγγραφεύς, Οὐάρρων, ἐνὶ βιβλίφ

περιλαβών ἐπέγραψε Τρικάρανου.

'Υφορωμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ή βουλή Λεύκιον Βύβλον ές έναντίωσιν του Καίσαρος έχειροτόνησεν αυτώ συνάρχειν 10. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἔριδές τε καὶ ὅπλων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰδία παρασκευαί. δεινὸς δ' ων ο Καίσαρ υποκρίνεσθαι, λόγους έν τη βουλή περί όμονοίας διέθετο πρὸς Βύβλον, ώς τὰ κοινὰ λυπήσοντες, εί διαφέροιντο. πιστευθείς δ' ούτω φρονείν, απερίσκεπτον ήδη και απαράσκευον και οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπονοοῦντα τὸν Βύβλον έγων, γείρά τε πολλήν ἀφανῶς ήτοιμάζετο καὶ νόμους ύπερ των πενήτων ές το βουλευτήριον έσέφερε καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διένεμε, καὶ τὴν ἀριστεύουσαν αὐτῆς μάλιστα περὶ Καπύην, ἡ ἐς τὰ κοινα διεμισθούτο, τοίς ούσι πατράσι παίδων τριών, ἔμμισθον έαυτῷ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος πλήθος τοσόνδε ποιούμενος δισμύριοι γάρ άθρόως έφάνησαν οί τὰ τρία τρέφοντες μόνοι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τη γνώμη πολλών, υποκρινάμενος δυσχεραίνειν, ώς οὐ δίκαια ποιούντων, ἐξέδραμε καὶ Βουλήν μὲν οὐκέτι συνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν έμβόλων έδημηγόρει Πομπήιόν τε έν μέσφ καὶ Κράσσον ηρώτα περί τῶν νόμων οί δὲ αὐτοὺς

Pompey was indignant and made friends with Caesar CHAP. and promised under oath to support him for the consulship. The latter thereupon brought Crassus into friendly relations with Pompey. So these three most powerful men pooled their interests. This coalition the Roman writer Varro treated of in a book entitled Tricaranus (the three-headed monster).

The Senate had its suspicions of them and elected Lucius Bibulus as Caesar's colleague to hold him in check; 10. and strife sprang up between them im- B.C. 59 mediately and they proceeded to arm themselves secretly against each other. Caesar, who was a master of dissimulation, made speeches in the Senate in the interest of concord to Bibulus, insinuating that any differences between them might have serious results for the state. As he was believed to be sincere, Bibulus was thrown off his guard, and while he was unprepared and unsuspecting Caesar secretly got a large band of soldiers in readiness and brought before the Senate measures for the relief of the poor by the distribution of the public land to them. The Caesar's best part of this land especially round Capua, which Law was leased for the public benefit, he proposed to bestow upon those who were the fathers of at least three children, by which means he bought for himself the favour of a multitude of men, for twenty thousand, being those only who had three children each, came forward at once. As many senators opposed his motion he pretended to be indignant at their injustice, and rushed out of the Senate and did not convene it again for the remainder of the year, but harangued the people from the rostra. In a public assembly he asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought about his proposed laws.

CAP. ἐπήνουν, καὶ ὁ δημος ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἤει σὺν

κεκρυμμένοις ξιφιδίοις.

11. Η βουλή δέ (οὐ γάρ τις αὐτήν συνήγεν, ούδ' έξην τω έτέρω των ύπάτων συναγαγείν αὐτήν) ές την οικίαν του Βύβλου συνελθόντες ούδεν μεν αντάξιον της Καίσαρος ἰσχύος τε καὶ παρασκευής έποίουν, έπενόουν δ' όμως Βύβλον ένίστασθαι τοῖς νόμοις καὶ μὴ δόξαν ἀμελείας, ἀλλὰ ήσσης ἐνέγκασθαι, πεισθείς ούν ο Βύβλος ενέβαλεν ές την άγορὰν δημηγορούντος ἔτι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἀταξίας γενομένης πληγαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ οί μετά των ξιφιδίων τὰς ράβδους καὶ τὰ σημεία τοῦ Βύβλου περιέκλων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἔστιν ούς περί αὐτὸν ὄντας ἔτρωσαν. Βύβλος δ' οὐ καταπλαγείς ἀπεγύμνου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ μετὰ βοής ἐκάλει τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. " εί γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι πεῖσαι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν," ἔφη, " Καίσαρα, τό γε άγος αὐτῷ καὶ μύσος οὕτως ἀποθανών ἐπιβαλω." ἀλλά τὸν μὲν ἄκοντα ύπεξήγαγον οι φίλοι ές τὸ πλησίον ιερὸν τοῦ Στησίου Διός, Κάτων δ' ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὤσατο μὲν ώς νέος ές μέσους καὶ δημηγορεῖν ήρχετο, μετέωρος δ' ύπο των Καίσαρος άρθεις έξεφέρετο. και λαθών κατ' άλλας όδοὺς αὖθις ἀνέδραμεν ές τὸ βημα καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἔτι οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος άπεγίνωσκε, τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος άγροίκως κατεβόα, μέχρι καὶ τότε μετέωρος έξερρίφη καὶ τους νόμους ο Καίσαρ ἐκύρωσε.

12. Καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τόν τε δῆμον ὥρκωσεν ἐς ἀεὶ κυρίους νομιεῖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκέλευεν ὁμνύναι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ Κάτωνος,

Both gave their approval, and the people came to the CHAP. voting-place carrying concealed daggers.

11. The Senate (since no one called it together Tumult in and it was not lawful for one consul to do so without the city the consent of the other) assembled at the house of Bibulus, but did nothing to counteract the force and preparation of Caesar. They planned, however, that Bibulus should oppose Caesar's laws, so that they should seem to be overcome by force rather than to suffer by their own negligence. Accordingly, Bibulus burst into the forum while Caesar was still speaking. Strife and tumult arose, blows were given, and those who had daggers broke the fasces and insignia of Bibulus and wounded some of the tribunes who stood around him. Bibulus was in no wise terrified. but bared his neck to Caesar's partisans and loudly called on them to strike. "If I cannot persuade Caesar to do right," he said, "I will affix upon him the guilt and stigma of my death." His friends, however, led him, against his will, out of the crowd and into the neighbouring temple of Jupiter Stator.

Then Cato was summoned to the spot, and being a Cato ejected young man, forced his way to the midst of the crowd forum and began to make a speech, but was lifted up and carried out by Caesar's partisans. Then he went around secretly by another street and again mounted the rostra; but as he despaired of making a speech, since nobody would listen to him, he abused Caesar roundly until he was again lifted up and ejected by the Caesarians, and Caesar secured the enactment of

his laws.

12. The plebeians swore to observe these laws for ever, and Caesar directed the Senate to do the same. Many of them, including Cato, refused, and Caesar

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CAP. εἰσηγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ θάνατον τῷ μὴ ὀμόσαντι, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐπεκύρου· ὤμνυον δ' αὐτίκα δείσαντες οί τε άλλοι καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χρήσιμον άντιλέγειν ήν κυρουμένου διά τους άλλους του νόμου. Οὐέττιος δ' ἀνὴρ δημότης, ἐς τὸ μέσου έσδραμών μετά ξιφιδίου γυμνοῦ, ἐπιπεμφθήναι έφη πρός τε Βύβλου καὶ Κικέρωνος καὶ Κάτωνος ές αναίρεσιν Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον αύτῷ Βύβλου ραβδούχον ἐπιδούναι Ποστούμιον. ὑπόπτου δ' ὄντος ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ πράγματος ὁ μὲν Καΐσαρ ἐξετράχυνε τὸ πλήθος, την δ' έπιουσαν έξετάσειν τον Ουέττιον ανεβάλλουτο. καὶ ὁ Οὐέττιος φυλασσόμενος ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίω νυκτὸς ἀνηρέθη. εἰκαζομένου δ' ές ποικίλα του συμβεβηκότος ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἀνίει καὶ τούτο δράσαι λέγων τούς δεδιότας, έως ό δημος αὐτῷ συνεχώρησεν ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευμένοις καὶ Βύβλος μεν ἐκ χειρῶν ἄπαντα μεθείς οδά τις ίδιώτης οὐ προήει τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπον της άρχης άπαν, ο δέ Καίσαρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς έτι έζήτει περί τοῦ Οὐεττίου, μόνος έχων τὸ κράτος ἐπὶ τῆ πολιτεία.

13. Νόμους δ' ἐσέφερεν, ἐκθεραπεύων τὸ πληθος, ἐτέρους καὶ τὰ Πομπηίω πεπραγμένα ἄπαντα ἐκύρου, καθάπερ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ. οἱ δ' ἱππέες λεγόμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὄντες ἐν μέσω, δυνατώτατοι δὲ ἐς ἄπαντα περιουσίας τε οὕνεκα καὶ μισθώσεως τελῶν καὶ

proposed and the people enacted the death penalty CHAP. to the recusants. Then they became alarmed and took the oath, including the tribunes, for it was no longer of any use to speak against it after the law had been confirmed by the others. And now Vettius, The affair a plebeian, ran into the forum with a drawn dagger of Vettius and said that he had been sent by Bibulus, Cicero, and Cato to kill Caesar and Pompey, and that the dagger had been given to him by Postumius, the lictor of Bibulus. Although this affair was open to suspicion from either point of view, Caesar made use of it to inflame the multitude and postponed till the morrow the examination of the assailant. Vettius was thrown into prison and killed the same night. As this transaction was variously commented on, Caesar did not let it pass unnoticed, but said that it had been done by the opposite party, who were afraid of exposure. Finally, the people furnished him a guard to protect him against conspirators, and Bibulus abstained from public business altogether, as though he were a private citizen, and did not go out of his house for the remainder of his official term, while Caesar, having now sole administration of public affairs, did not make any further inquiry concerning Vettius.

13. He brought forward new laws to win the favour of the multitude, and caused all of Pompev's acts to be ratified, as he had promised him. The Caesar knights, who held the middle place in rank between the knighte the Senate and the plebeians, and were extremely powerful in all ways by reason of their wealth, and of

<sup>1</sup> τους δεδιότας, "those who were afraid." Mendelssohn suggests the addition of ἀντιστασιώτας, "the opposite party," to complete the sense.

CAP. φόρων, οὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τελουμένους ἐξεμισθούντο, καὶ πλήθους βεβαιοτάτων ές ταῦτα θεραπόντων, έκ πολλοῦ τὴν βουλὴν ἤτουν ἄφεσίν τινα μέρους τῶν φόρων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. καὶ ἀποδιέτριβεν ἡ βουλή. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς οὐδὲν τότε της βουλης δεόμενος, άλλα μόνω τω δήμω χρώμενος τὰ τρίτα τῶν μισθώσεων αὐτοῖς παρῆκεν. οί δέ, ύπερ την σφετέραν αξίωσιν αδοκήτου της χάριτος αὐτοῖς γενομένης, έξεθειαζον αὐτόν, καὶ στίφος άλλο καρτερώτερον τοῦ δήμου τόδε τῷ Καίσαρι προσγεγένητο δι' ένος πολιτεύματος. ό δὲ καὶ θέας ἐπεδίδου καὶ κυνηγέσια θηρίων ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, δανειζόμενος ές ἄπαντα καὶ τὰ πρότερα πάνθ' ύπερβάλλων παρασκευή καὶ χορηγία καὶ δόσεσι λαμπραίς· ἐφ' οἰς αὐτὸν είλοντο Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς "Αλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ "Αλπεις ἐπὶ πενταετές άρχειν καὶ ές την άρχην έδοσαν τέλη στρατοῦ τέσσαρα.

14. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν οἱ χρόνιον ὁρῶν ἐσομένην καὶ τὸν φθόνον ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ τοῖς δεδομένοις μείζονα, Πομπηίω μὲν ἐζεύγνυ τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ἐνηγγυημένην Καιπίωνι, δεδιώς, μὴ καὶ φίλος ὢν ἐπιφθονήσειε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, τοὺς δὲ θρασυτάτους τῶν στασιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους παρῆγε. καὶ ὕπατον μὲν ἀπέφηνεν Αῦλον Γαβίνιον, φίλον ἑαυτοῦ Λευκίου δὲ Πείσωνος τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντος ὑπατεύσειν τὴν θυγατέρα Καλπουρνίαν αὐτὸς ἤγετο, βοῶντος Κάτωνος διαμαστροπεύ-

the farming of the provincial revenues which they CHAP. contracted for, and who kept for this purpose multitudes of very trusty servants, had been asking the Senate for a long time to release them from a part of what they owed to the treasury. The Senate regularly shelved the question. As Caesar did not want anything of the Senate then, but was employing the people only, he released the publicans from the third part of their obligations. For this unexpected favour, which was far beyond their deserts, the knights extolled Caesar to the skies. Thus a more powerful body of defenders than that of the plebeians was added to Caesar's support through one political act. He gave spectacles and combats of He is wild beasts beyond his means, borrowing money on appointed appointed governor all sides, and surpassing all former exhibitions in of Gaul lavish display and splendid gifts, in consequence of which he was appointed governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for five years, with the command of four legions.

14. As Caesar saw that he would be away from He gives home a long time, and that envy would be greater in daughter proportion to the greatness of the benefits conferred, in marriage he gave his daughter in marriage to Pompey, although she was betrothed to Caepio, because he feared that even afriend might become envious of his great success. He also promoted the boldest of his partisans to the principal offices for the ensuing year. He designated his friend Aulus Gabinius as consul, with Lucius Piso as his colleague, whose daughter, Calpurnia, Caesar married, although Cato cried out that the empire

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Appian apparently means not that envy would increase with Caesar's honours, but that his royal bounties themselves would be a danger to him.

ΟΑΡ. εσθαι γάμοις την ήγεμονίαν. δημάρχους δὲ ήρειτο Οὐατίνιόν τε καὶ Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπίκλην, ὅν τινα αἰσχρὰν ἐν ἱερουργία γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλία τῆ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμω, καίπερ ἀποπεμψάμενος τῆν γυναῖκα, ἔτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσέβειαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, διαβάλλοντος ἤδη τὴν συμφροσύνην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὕτω καὶ λύπης ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐηργέτουν ἐς ἄμυναν ἑτέρου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχήν.

### Ш

CAP. 15. Τοσάδε μεν δη Καΐσαρ ύπατεύων ἔπραξε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν εὐθὺς ἐξήει· Κικέρωνα δὲ γράφεται Κλώδιος παρανόμων, ὅτι πρὸ δικαστηρίου τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνέλοι. ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖνο γενναιστάτω λήματι κεχρημένος ἀσθενέστατος ἐς τὴν δίκην ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος γέμων τε αὐχμοῦ καὶ ῥύπου προσέπιπτεν οἶς ἐντύχοι κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγνῶσιν ἐνοχλεῖν αἰδούμενος, ὥστε αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον διὰ τὴν

was become a mere matrimonial agency. For CHAP. tribunes he chose Vatinius and Clodius Pulcher. although the latter had been suspected of an intrigue with the wife 1 of Caesar himself during a religious ceremony of women. Caesar, however, did not bring him to trial owing to his popularity with the masses, but divorced his wife. Others prosecuted Clodius for impiety at the sacred rites, and Cicero was the counsel for the prosecution. When Caesar was called as a witness he refused to testify against Clodius, but even raised him to the tribuneship as a foil to Cicero, who was already decrying the triumvirate as tending toward monarchy. Thus Caesar turned a private grievance to useful account and benefited one enemy in order to revenge himself on another. It appears, however, that Clodius had previously requited Caesar by helping him to secure the governorship of Gaul.

### III

15. Such were the acts of Caesar's consulship. CHAP. He then laid down his magistracy and proceeded directly to his new government. Clodius now brought an accusation against Cicero for putting Lentulus and Cethegus and their followers to death without trial. Cicero, who had exhibited the highest courage in that transaction, became utterly unnerved at his trial. He put on humble raiment and, defiled with trial squalor and dirt, supplicated those whom he met in the streets, not being ashamed to annoy people who knew nothing about the business, so that his doings

<sup>1</sup> Pompeia,

CAP. ἀπρέπειαν ἀπὸ οἴκτου μεταπίπτειν ἐς γέλωτα.
 111 ἐς τοσοῦτο δειλίας περὶ μίαν οἰκείαν δίκην κατέπεσεν, ὃς τὸν ὅλον βίον ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ἐξήταστο λαμπρῶς, οἰόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένη φασὶ τὸν ᾿Αθηναῖον οὐδ᾽ ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος φυγεῖν. Κλωδίου δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις αὐτῷ σὺν ὕβρει διακόπτοντος ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς, ἀπέγνω πάνθ᾽ ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ἔφευγεν ἐκούσιον καὶ ὅδε φυγήν, καὶ φίλων αὐτῷ πλῆθος συνεξήει, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίστη τὸν ἄνδρα πόλεσι τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις. Κλώδιος δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπικατέσκαπτεν ἐπαιρόμενός τε καὶ τῷδε ἀντιπαρεβάλλετο ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίω τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῷ πόλει κράτος ἔχοντι.

16. Ὁ δὲ Μίλωνα, τὸν σὺν τῷ Κλωδίω τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδεδεγμένον, θρασύτερον ὄντα τοῦ Κλωδίου, ἐς ὑπατείαν ἐπήλπιζε καὶ ἤλειφεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλώδιον καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τῷ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ἐκέλευεν, ἐλπίσας τὸν Κικέρωνα ἐλθόντα περὶ μὲν τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας οὐκέτι φθέγξεσθαι μεμνημένον, οἶα ἔπαθε, δίκας δὲ καὶ

πράγματα ἐποίσειν τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

Κικέρων μὲν δὴ διὰ Πομπήιον ἐκπεσων διὰ Πομπήιον κατήει, ἑκκαιδεκάτω μάλιστα μηνὶ τῆς ἐξελάσεως καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἀνίστη τέλεσι κοινοῖς. λαμπρῶς δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑποδεχομένων πάντων, φασὶ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην, οἶόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένει συνέβη κατιόντι, ἀναλῶσαι.

17. 'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔν τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς

excited laughter rather than pity by reason of his CHAP. unseemly aspect. Into such trepidation did he fall at this single trial of his own, although he had been managing other people's causes successfully all his life. In like manner they say that Demosthenes the Athenian did not stand his ground when himself accused, but fled before the trial. When Clodius Cheero interrupted Cicero's supplications on the streets with banished contumely, he gave way to despair and, like Demosthenes, went into voluntary exile. A multitude of his friends went out of the city with him, and the Senate gave him introductions to cities, kings, and princes. Clodius demolished his house and his villas, and was so much elated by this affair that he compared himself with Pompey, who was then the most powerful man in Rome.

16. Accordingly, Pompey held out to Milo, who was Clodius' colleague in office and a bolder spirit than himself, the hope of the consulship, and incited him against Clodius, and directed him to procure a vote for the recall of Cicero. He hoped that when Cicero should come back he would no longer speak against the existing status (the triumvirate), remembering what he had suffered, but would make trouble for Clodius and bring punishment upon him.

Thus Cicero, who had been exiled by means of Pompey, was recalled by means of Pompey about sixteen months after his banishment, and the Senate B.C. 57 rebuilt his house and his villas at the public expense. He was received magnificently at the city gates, and it is said that a whole day was consumed by the greetings extended to him, as was the case with Demos-

thenes when he returned.

17. In the meantime Caesar, who had performed

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ΟΑΡ. πολλά καὶ λαμπρά εἰργασμένος, ὅσα μοι περὶ Κελτών λέγουτι εἴρηται, πλούτου γέμων ές την ομορον τη Ἰταλία Γαλατίαν, την άμφὶ τὸν Ἡριδανον ποταμόν, ήκεν, έκ συνεχούς πολέμου τον στρατον αναπαύσων έπ' ολίγον. όθεν αὐτῶ περιπέμποντι ές 'Ρώμην πολλά πολλοίς χρήματα αί τε ετήσιοι άρχαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀπήντων καὶ οί άλλως επιφανείς όσοι τε ές ήγεμονίας εθνών ή στρατοπέδων έξήεσαν, ώς έκατον μέν ποτε καί είκοσι ράβδους άμφ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, βουλευτάς δε πλείους διακοσίων, τούς μεν αμειβομένους ύπὲρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων, τοὺς δὲ χρηματιουμένους, τους δ' άλλο τι τοιουτότροπον αύτοις έξεργασομένους. πάντα γὰρ ἤδη διὰ τούτου έπράσσετο στρατιάς τε πολλής ούνεκα καὶ δυνάμεως χρημάτων καὶ σπουδής ές απαντας φιλανθρώπου. ἀφίκουτο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος, οί κοινωνοί της δυναστείας. καὶ αὐτοῖς Βουλευομένοις έδοξε Πομπήιον μεν καὶ Κράσσον αδθις ύπατεθσαι, Καίσαρι δ' ές την ήγεμονίαν ών είχεν έθνων, άλλην έπιψηφισθήναι πενταετίαν.

Τοδε μεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεκρίθησαν, Πομπηίω δ' ες τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀντιπαρήγγελλε Δομίτιος Αἰνόβαρβος καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἄμφω κατήσσαν ἔτι νυκτὸς ες τὸ πεδίον ες τὴν χειροτονίαν. τῶν δ' ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἔριδες ἦσαν καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, μέχρι τις τὸν Δομιτίου δαδοῦχον ἐπάταξε ξίφει. καὶ φυγὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦν, Δομίτιός τε αὐτὸς ες

the many brilliant exploits in Gaul and Britain which CHAP. have been described in my Celtic history, had <sup>111</sup> returned with vast riches to Cisalpine Gaul on the <sup>B.C. 56</sup> river Po to give his army a short respite from continuous fighting. From this district he sent large sums of money to many persons in Rome, to those who were holding the yearly offices and to persons otherwise distinguished as governors and generals. and they went thither by turns to meet him.1 So many of them came that 120 lictors could be seen around him at one time, and more than 200 senators, some returning thanks for what they had already received, others asking for money or seeking some other advantage for themselves from the same quarter. All things were now possible to Caesar by reason of his large army, his great riches, and his readiness to oblige everybody. Pompey and Crassus, his partners in the triumvirate, came also. In their Caesar's conference it was decided that Pompey and Crassus at Juca should be elected consuls again and that Caesar's governorship over his provinces should be extended for five years more.

Thereupon they separated and Domitius Ahenobarbus offered himself as a candidate for the consulship against Pompey. When the appointed day came, both went down to the Campus Martius before daylight to attend the comitia. Their followers got into an altercation and came to blows, and finally somebody assaulted the torchbearer of Domitius with a sword. There was a scattering after this, and Domitius escaped with difficulty to his own

<sup>1</sup> There are textual difficulties; the Greek as it stands means "and those who were going out to governorships . . . also went to meet him,"

σαρ. τὴν οἰκίαν διεσφζετο μόλις, καὶ Πομπηίου τὴν ἐσθῆτά τινες ήμαγμένην ἔφερον οἴκαδε. παρὰ

τοσοῦτον ἐκάτερος ἢλθε κινδύνου.

18. Αίρεθέντες δ' οῦν ὕπατοι Κράσσος τε καὶ Πομπήιος Καίσαρι μέν, ώσπερ υπέστησαν, την έτέραν πενταετίαν προσεψηφίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη διακληρούμενοι καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος είλετο 'Ιβηρίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ές τάσδε τους φίλους περιπέμπων αυτός υπέμεινεν έν 'Ρώμη, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ Συρίας πλησίον ἐπιθυμία πολέμου πρὸς Παρθυαίους ὡς εύχερους δη καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ ἐπικερδους. ἀλλά τῶδε μὲν ἐξιόντι τῆς πόλεως πολλά τε ἄλλα άπαίσια εγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι προηγόρευον μη πολεμείν Παρθυαίοις οὐδεν ἀδικοῦσιν, οὐ πειθομένω δὲ δημοσίας άρὰς ἐπηρῶντο, ὧν ὁ Κράσσος οὐ φροντίσας ἀπώλετο ἐν τῆ Παρθυηνῆ σύν τε παιδί όμωνύμω καὶ αὐτῶ στρατῶ· μύριοι γὰρ ούδ' έντελείς έκ δέκα μυριάδων ές Συρίαν διέφυγον. άλλα την μεν Κράσσου συμφοράν ή Παρθική δηλώσει γραφή, 'Ρωμαΐοι δε λιμώ πιεζόμενοι Πομπήιον είλοντο της αγοράς αὐτοκράτορα είναι καί οἱ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ληστηρίων εἴκοσιν ἀπὸ της βουλης ύπηρέτας έδωκαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ές τὰ έθνη διαθείς ἐπέτρεχε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ένέπλησεν άγορας δαψιλούς, όθεν έτι μαλλον ές μέγα δόξης ἐπῆρτο καὶ δυνάμεως.

19. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ ή Καίσαρος

house. Even Pompey's clothing was carried home CHAP. stained with blood, 1 so great was the danger incurred III

by both candidates.

18. Accordingly, Pompey and Crassus were chosen B.C. 55 consuls and Caesar's governorship was extended for The triumfive years according to the agreement. The provinces the governwere allotted with an army to each consul in the ment following manner: Pompey chose Spain and Africa. but sent friends to take charge of them, he himself remaining in Rome. Crassus took Syria and the adjacent country because he wanted a war with the Parthians, which he thought would be easy as well as glorious and profitable. But when he took his departure from the city there were many unfavourable omens, and the tribunes forbade the war against the Parthians, who had done no wrong to the Romans. As he would not obey, they invoked public imprecations on him, which Crassus disregarded; wherefore he perished in Parthia, together B.C. 58 with his son of the same name and his army, not quite 10,000 of whom, out of 100,000, escaped to Syria. The disaster to Crassus will be described in my Parthian history. As the Romans were suffering from scarcity, they appointed Pompey the sole manager of the grain supply and gave him, as in his operations against the pirates, twenty assistants from the Senate. These he distributed in like manner among the provinces while he superintended the whole, and thus Rome was very soon provided with abundant supplies, by which means Pompey again gained great reputation and power.

19. About this time the daughter of Caesar, who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This apparently meaningless incident is borrowed from another context. See Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 52, 53.

CAP. θυγάτηρ κύουσα τῷ Πομπηίφ θνήσκει. καὶ δέος άπασιν ενέπιπτεν ανηρημένης της επιγαμίας, ώς αὐτίκα μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίου διοισομένων ές άλλήλους, ασυντάκτου μάλιστα καὶ χαλεπης ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγενημένης της πολιτείας αί τε γὰρ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἡ δωροδοκίαν σπουδή τε άδίκω καὶ λίθοις ή ξίφεσι καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ δεκάζειν ἡ δωροδοκείν ἀναισχύντως τότε μάλιστα ἐπλεόνασεν, ὅ τε δημος αὐτὸς ἔμμισθος ἐπὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἤει. ἄφθη δέ που καὶ μεσεγγύημα ταλάντων οκτακοσίων ύπερ της επωνύμου γενόμενον άρχης. οί τε άνὰ έτος εκαστον ύπατοι στρατεύειν μέν που καὶ πολεμείν άπεγίνωσκου, διακλειόμενοι τη δυναστεία τωνδε των τριων ανδρων όσοι δ' ήσαν αὐτων ατοπώτεροι, κέρδος αντί των στρατειών ετίθεντο τά κοινα της πόλεως και τας των ιδίων διαδόχων γειροτονίας. οι δ' άγαθοι διὰ ταῦτα και πάμπαν έξέλιπον τὸ ἄρχειν, ώστε ποτὲ καὶ μῆνας ὀκτω τὴν πόλιν ἄναρχον ἐκ τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἀσυνταξίας γενέσθαι, Πομπηίου πάνθ' ὑπερορῶντος ἐπίτηδες, ίνα ἐν χρεία γένοιντο δικτάτορος.

20. Καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἀλλήλους διελάλουν, ὅτι μόνον ἃν γένοιτο φάρμακον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἡ μόναρχος ἐξουσία, χρῆναι δ' ἐλέσθαι δυνατὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἤπιον, ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον, στρατιᾶς τε ἄρχοντα ἰκανῆς καὶ φιλόδημον εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἄγοντα διὰ τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν βίον ἐγκρατῆ καὶ σώφρονα, περί τε τὰς ἐντεύξεις εὐπρόσιτον ἡ ὄντα ἡ νομιζόμενον

was married to Pompey, died in childbirth, and fear CHAP. fell upon all lest, with the termination of this marriage connection Caesar and Pompoy with their great armies B.C. 54 should come into conflict with each other, especially as Caesar's the commonwealth had been for a long time disorderly daughter and unmanageable. The magistrates were chosen by means of money, and faction fights, with dishonest zeal, with the aid of stones and even swords. Bribery and corruption prevailed in the most scandalous manner. The people themselves went already bought to the elections. A case was found shocking where a deposit of 800 talents had been made to state of Roman obtain the consulship. The consuls holding office political yearly could not hope to lead armies or to command life in war because they were shut out by the power of the triumvirate. The baser among them strove for gain, instead of military commands, at the expense of the public treasury or from the election of their own successors. For these reasons good men abstained from office altogether, and the disorder was such that B.C. 53 at one time the republic was without consuls for eight months, Pompey conniving at the state of affairs in order that there might be need of a dictator.

20. Many citizens began to talk to each other about this, saying that the only remedy for existing evils was the authority of a single ruler, but that there was need of a man who combined strength of character and mildness of temper, thereby indicating Pompey, who had a sufficient army under his command and who appeared to be both a friend of the people and a leader of the Senate by virtue of his rank, a man of temperance and self-control and easy of access, or at all events so considered.

CAP. είναι. ο δε την προσδοκίαν τηνδε λόγω μεν έδυσχέραινεν, έργω δ' ές αὐτὴν πάντα έπραττεν άφανως καὶ τὴν ἀσυνταξίαν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ άναρχίαν έπὶ τη άσυνταξία έκων ύπερεώρα. Μίλωνός τε τὰ ές Κλώδιον ὑπηρετήσαντος αὐτῶ καὶ ἀρεσκομένου τῷ δήμω διὰ τὴν Κικέρωνος κάθοδον, ὑπατείαν ὡς ἐν καιρῷ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν άναρχίαν μετιόντος άποδιέτριβε τὰς γειροτονίας. μέχρι βαρυθυμών ὁ Μίλων, ώς καὶ περὶ αύτὸν άπίστου γιγνομένου τοῦ Πομπηίου, ές την πατρίδα Λανούβιον έξήει, ην Διομήδη φασίν άλώμενον έξ Ίλίου πρώτην έν τη Ἰταλία πόλιν οικίσαι, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς αὐτὴν στάδιοι

πεντήκοντα καὶ έκατόν.

21. Κλωδίου δ' έξ ιδίων χωρίων έπανιόντος έπὶ ίππου καὶ περὶ Βοίλλας ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῶ, οί μέν κατά την έχθραν υπείδοντο μόνον άλλήλους καὶ παρώδευσαν, θεράπων δὲ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐπιδραμών τώ Κλωδίω, εἴτε κεκελευσμένος εἴθ' ώς έχθρον δεσπότου κτείνων, επάταξεν ες το μετάφρενον ξιφιδίω. καὶ τὸν μὲν αίματι ρεύμενον ἐς το πλησίον πανδοκείον ο ίπποκόμος εσέφερεν, ο δὲ Μίλων μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιστὰς ἔτι έμπνουν ή καὶ νεκρον ἐπανείλεν, ὑποκρινόμενος μέν οὐ βουλεῦσαι τὸν φόνον οὐδὲ προστάξαι ώς δὲ κινδυνεύσων ἐξ ἄπαντος, ἢξίου τὸ ἔργον ούκ άτελες καταλιπείν. περιαγγελθέντος δ' ές 'Ρώμην τοῦ πάθους ὁ μὲν δημος ἐκπλαγείς ἐν άγορα διενυκτέρευε, καὶ τὸ σῶμά τινες τοῦ Κλωδίου μεθ' ἡμέραν προύθεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων.

The expectation of a dictatorship Pompey dis-CHAP. countenanced in words, but in fact he did III everything secretly to promote it, and went out of his way to overlook the prevailing disorder and the anarchy consequent upon the disorder. Milo, who had assisted him in his controversy with Clodius, and had acquired great popularity by the recall of Cicero, now sought the consulship, as he considered it a favourable time in view of the present anarchy; but Pompey kept postponing the comitia Pompey until Milo, believing that Pompey was false and Milo to him, became disgusted, and withdrew to his s.c. 52 native town of Lanuvium, which they say was the first city founded in Italy by Diomedes on his return from Troy, and which is situated about 150 stades from Rome

21. Clodius happened to be coming from his own country-seat on horseback and he met Milo at Bovillae. They merely exchanged hostile scowls and passed along; but one of Milo's servants attacked Clodius, either because he was ordered to do so or because he wanted to kill his master's enemy, and stabbed him through the back with a dagger. Clodius' groom carried him bleeding into a neighbouring inn. Milo followed with his servants and Assassinfinished him,—whether he was still alive, or already ation of dead, is not known-for, although he claimed that he had neither advised nor ordered the murder, he was not willing to leave the deed unfinished because he knew that he would be accused in any event. When the news of this affair was circulated in Rome, the people were thunderstruck, and they passed the night in the forum. When daylight came, the corpse of Clodius was displayed on the

CAP. άρπάσαντες δ' αὐτὸ τῶν τε δημάρχων ἔνιοι καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ πληθος ἄλλο σὺν ἐκείνοις, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκόμισαν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τιμῆ, βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὅντα, εἴτε ἐς ὄνειδος τῆς βουλῆς τοιάδε περιορώσης. καὶ τῶν παρόντων οἱ προπετέστεροι τὰ βάθρα καὶ τοὺς θρόνους τῶν βουλευτῶν συμφορήσαντες ἦψαν αὐτῷ πυράν, ὑφ΄ ἡς το τε βουλευτήριον καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πλησίον

οἰκίαι τῷ Κλωδίφ συγκατεφλέγησαν.

22. Μίλωνι δὲ θράσος τοσόνδε περιῆν, ώς οὐ δεδιέναι περί τῷ φόνω μᾶλλον ἡ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τη Κλωδίου περί την ταφην τιμή. θεραπόντων ούν και ανδρών αγροίκων πλήθος αθροίσας και ές τον δήμον περιπέμψας χρήματα τῶν τε δημάργων Μάρκον Καίλιον πριάμενος ές την πόλιν κατήει θρασύτατα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καίλιος εὐθὺς έσιόντα είλκεν ές την άγοραν έπι τους παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδωροδοκηκότας ώσπερ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαν, ὑποκρινόμενος μεν αγανακτείν και ου διδόναι της δίκης αναβολήν, έλπίζων δέ, εἰ αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες μεθείεν, εκλύσειν την δίκην την άληθεστέραν. καὶ Μίλων μεν οὐ βουλεῦσαι τὸ ἔργον εἰπών (οὐ γαρ αν μετά σκευης και γυναικός έπι ταῦτα όρμησαι), του λοιπου λόγου κατά του Κλωδίου διετίθετο ώς θρασυτάτου δή καὶ φίλου θρασυτάτων, οὶ καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπικατέπρησαν αὐτῶ ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οί τε λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀδιάφθορον ὁπλισάμενοι ἐνέβαλον ές την άγοράν. Καίλιος μεν δη καὶ Μίλων

rostra. Some of the tribunes and the friends of CHAP. Clodius and a great crowd with them seized it and carried it to the senate-house, either to confer honour upon it, as he was of senatorial birth, or as an act of contumely to the Senate for conniving at such deeds. There the more reckless ones collected the benches and chairs of the senators and made a funeral pyre for him, which they lighted and from which the senate-house and many buildings in the neighbourhood caught fire and were consumed

along with the corpse of Clodius.

22. Such was the superabundant hardihood of Milo Disorders that he was moved less by fear of punishment for the consequent murder than by indignation at the honour bestowed upon Clodius at his funeral. He collected a crowd of slaves and rustics, and, after sending some money to be distributed among the people and buying Marcus Caelius, one of the tribunes, he came back to the city with the greatest boldness. Directly he entered, Caelius dragged him to the forum to be tried by those whom he had bribed, as though by an assembly of the people, pretending to be very indignant and not willing to grant any delay, but really hoping that if those present should acquit him he would escape a more regular trial. Milo said that the deed was not premeditated, since nobody would set out with such intentions encumbered with his luggage and his wife. The remainder of his speech was directed against Clodius as a desperado and a friend of desperadoes, who had set fire to the senate-house and burned it to ashes over his body. While he was still speaking the other tribunes, with the unbribed portion of the people, burst into the forum armed. Caelius and Milo escaped disguised as

CAP. δούλων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, πολὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ τοὺς Μίλωνος ἔτι φίλους ἐρευνώντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα ἀναιρούντων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἢ σφραγῖσιν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ διέφερον. ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἀσυντάκτῳ πολιτεία σὺν ὀργῆ καὶ προφάσει τοῦδε τοῦ θορύβου προσπεσόντος θεράποντές τε ὄντες οἵ πλείους καὶ ὡπλισμένοι κατὰ ἀνόπλων ἐς άρπαγὰς ἐτράποντο· ἔργον τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας ἐφέροντο καὶ περιιόντες ἡρεύνων ἔργῳ μὲν τὰ εὔληπτα σφίσιν ἄπαντα, λόγῳ δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Μίλωνος· πρόφασίς τε ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πυρὸς

καὶ λίθων καὶ παντὸς ἔργου Μίλων.

23. Ἡ βουλὴ δὲ συνήει μετὰ δέους καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφεώρων ὡς αὐτίκα σφῶν ἐσόμενον δικτάτορα· χρήζειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο τὰ παρόντα τοιᾶσδε θεραπείας. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτοὺς μεταδιδάξαντος ὕπατον εἴλοντο χωρὶς συνάρχου ὡς ἀν ἔχοι τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν δικτάτορος, ἄρχων μόνος, τὴν δ' εὕθυναν ὑπάτου. καὶ πρῶτος ὑπάτων ὅδε ἔθνη τε δύο μέγιστα καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχων καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως μοναρχίαν διὰ τὸ μόνος ὑπατος εἰναι Κάτωνα μὲν ἐψηφίσατο, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ἐνοχλοίη, Κύπρον ἀφελέσθαι Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως, νενομοθετημένον ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπὸ Κλωδίου, ὅτι οἴ ποτε ἀλόντι ὑπὸ ληστῶν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐς λύτρα ὑπὸ σμικρολογίας δύο τάλαντα ἐπεπόμφει. Κάτων μὲν δὴ καθίστατο Κύπρον Πτολεμαίου τὰ χρήματα ῥίψαντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος, ἐπεὶ τῶν

slaves, but there was a great slaughter of the others. CHAP. Search was not made for the friends of Milo, but all who were met with, whether citizens or strangers, were killed, and especially those who wore fine clothes and gold rings. As the government was without order, these ruffians, who were for the most part slaves and were armed men against unarmed, indulged their rage and, making an excuse of the tumult that had broken out, they turned to pillage. They abstained from no crime, but broke into houses, looking for any kind of portable property, while pretending to be searching for the friends of Milo. For several days Milo was their excuse for burning,

stoning, and every sort of outrage.

23. The Senate assembled in consternation and Pompey looked to Pompey, intending to make him dictator made solv at once, for they considered this necessary as a remedy for the present evils; but at the suggestion of Cato they appointed him consul without a colleague, so that by ruling alone he might have the power of a dictator with the responsibility of a consul. He was the first of consuls who had two of the greatest provinces, and an army, and the public money, and autocratic power in the city, by virtue of being sole In order that Cato might not cause obstruction by his presence, he framed a decree that he should go to Cyprus and take the island away from King Ptolemy 1-a law to that effect having been enacted by Clodius because once, when he was captured by pirates, the avaricious Ptolemy had contributed only two talents for his ransom. When Ptolemy heard of the decree he threw his money into the sea and killed himself, and Cato settled the government of Cyprus.

An error of date. Cato went in 58 and returned in 56.

CAP. εψηφισμένων επύθετο· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος δίκας προυτίθει των τε άλλων άμαρτημάτων καὶ μάλιστα δωροδοκίας καὶ δεκασμοῦ (ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ νοσείν τὰ κοινὰ ἀρξάμενα ἐν τούτω καὶ τὴν ζασιν έξειν ταγείαν), νόμω τε ώριζεν άπὸ τῆς έαυτοῦ τὸ πρώτον ὑπατείας ἐς τὸ παρὸν εὐθύνειν τον εθέλοντα. καὶ ην ο χρόνος ολίγω μείων ετών εἴκοσιν, ἐν ὧ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ γεγένητο ὕπατος. τῶν οῦν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπονοούντων ἐς ὕβριν ή ές επήρειαν αὐτὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὧδε πολύ τοῦ χρόνου προλαβείν καὶ παραινούντων τὸ παρὸν διορθούσθαι μάλλον ή τὸ παρελθὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπ' ανδράσι τοσοίσδε άξιολόγοις, έπονομαζόντων δέ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀμφὶ μέν τοῦ Καίσαρος ηγανάκτει, ὡς ἀμείνονος ὄντος ύποψίας, έπει και την έαυτοῦ δευτέραν ύπατείαν τῶ γρόνω περιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολύ δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν έλεγεν ές ακριβή διόρθωσιν έπιτετριμμένης έκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας.

### IV

CAP. 24. Τοιαῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν αὐτίκα δικῶν ποικίλων. ἵνα τε μὴ δείσειαν οἱ δικασταί, αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπώπτευε στρατιὰν περιστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπόντες ἑάλωσαν Μίλων τε ἐπὶ τῷ Κλωδίου φόνῳ καὶ Γαβίνιος παρανομίας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσεβείας, ὅτι χωρὶς ψηφίσματος ἐς Λίγυπτον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐσέβαλεν 270

Pompey then proposed the prosecution of offenders CHAP. and especially of those guilty of bribery and corruption, for he thought that the seat of the public disorder was against there, and that by beginning there he should effect bribery a speedy cure. He brought forward a law, that any citizen who chose to do so might call for an account from anybody who had held office from the time of his own first consulship to the present. This embraced a period of a little less than twenty years, during which Caesar also had been consul; wherefore Caesar's friends suspected that he included so long a time in order to cast reproach and contumely on Caesar, and urged him to straighten out the present situation rather than stir up the past to the annovance of so many distinguished men, among whom they named Caesar. Pompey pretended to be indignant at the mention of Caesar's name, as though he were above suspicion, and said that his own second consulship was embraced in the period, and that he had gone back a considerable time in order to effect a complete cure of the evils from which the republic had been so long wasting away.

### IV

24. After making this answer he passed his law, CHAP, and straightway there ensued a great number and variety of prosecutions. In order that the jurors tious for might act without fear Pompey superintended bribery them in person, and stationed soldiers around them.

The first defendants convicted were absentees: Milo for the murder of Clodius; Gabinius both for violation of law and for impiety, because he had invaded

CAP. ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν Σιβυλλείων, Ύψαῖος δὲ καὶ Μέμμιος καὶ Σέξστος καὶ έτεροι πλείονες ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις ή πλήθους δεκασμώ. Σκαύρον δέ τοῦ πλήθους παραιτουμένου ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Πομπήιος ύπακοῦσαι τῆ δίκη· καὶ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς κατηγόρους ένοχλοῦντος, σφαγή τις έκ των Πομπηίου στρατιωτών ἐπιδραμόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ ο μεν δήμος κατεσιώπησεν, ο δε Σκαθρος εάλω. καὶ πάντων φυγή κατέγνωστο, Γαβινίου δὲ καὶ δήμευσις ἡν ἐπὶ τῆ φυγῆ. καὶ τάδε ἡ βουλὴ λαμπρῶς ἐπαινοῦσα δύο τε ἄλλα τέλη καὶ χρόνον ές την άρχην των έθνων έτερον τω Πομπηίω προσεψηφίσαντο. Μέμμιος δε άλους επὶ δεκασμώ, τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Πομπηίου διδόντος αὐτῷ φήναντι έτερον ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς καταδίκης, τὸν πενθερὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα προεκαλέσατο ές ομοίαν δεκασμοῦ δίκην. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶδε τοῦ Πομπηίου την των κρινομένων έσθητα μεταλαβόντος πολλοί και των δικαστών μετελάμβανον, όλοφυράμενος οὖν ὁ Μέμμιος τὴν πολιτείαν διέλυσε τὴν δίκην.

25. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς ἤδη τὰ χρήζοντα τῆς μοναρχίας διωρθωμένος τὸν Σκιπίωνα σύναρχον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἔτέρων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένων οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐφεώρα καὶ ἐδυνάστευε, καὶ πάντ' ἦν ἐν Ῥώμη τότε Πομπήιος· ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια τῆς βουλῆς μάλιστα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποίει, ζήλφ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῆ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπατείαν κεχρημένου καὶ ὅτι νοσοῦσαν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν πολιτείαν ὀξέως ἀναλάβοι καὶ οὐδενὶ σφῶν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φορτικὸς ἡ ἐπαχθὴς γένοιτο.

Egypt without a decree of the Senate and contrary CHAP. to the Sibylline books; Hypsaeus, Memmius, Sextius, and many others for taking bribes and for corrupting the populace. The people interceded for Scaurus, but Pompey made proclamation that they should submit to the decision of the court. When the crowd again interrupted the accusers, Pompey's soldiers made a charge and killed several. Then the people held their tongues and Scaurus was convicted. All the accused were banished, and Gabinius was fined in addition. The Senate praised Pompey highly for these proceedings, voted him two more legions, and extended the term of his provincial government. As Pompey's law offered impunity to any one who should turn state evidence, Memmius, who had been convicted of bribery, called Lucius Scipio, the fatherin-law of Pompey himself, to trial for like participa-tion in bribery. Thereupon Pompey put on mourning and many of the jurors did the same. Memmius took pity on the republic and withdrew the accusation.

25. Pompey, as though he had completed the reforms that made autocratic power necessary, now made Scipio his colleague in the consulship for the remainder of the year. At the expiration of his term, however, although others were invested with the consulship, he was none the less the supervisor, and ruler, and all-in-all in Rome. He enjoyed the good-will of the Senate, particularly because they were jealous of Caesar, who did not consult the Senate during his consulship, and because Pompey had so speedily restored the sick commonweath, and had not made himself offensive or troublesome to any of them during his term of office.

Των δε φυγάδων ες τον Καίσαρα ίοντων άθροων CAP. καὶ παραινούντων φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Πομπήιον ώς τον νόμον του δεκασμού μάλιστα θέμενον έπ' έκείνω, τούσδε μέν ο Καΐσαρ παρηγόρει καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐφήμει, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἔπεισεν είσηγήσασθαι νόμον έξειναι Καίσαρι δευτέραν ύπατείαν απόντι μετιέναι. καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπατεύοντος έτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντος ἐκεκύρωτο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀντιπράξειν τὴν βουλὴν ύπονοων έδεδοίκει μεν ύπο τοις έχθροις ίδιώτης γενέσθαι, ἐτέχναζε δὲ ἐπὶ δυνάμεως είναι, μέχρι ύπατος αποδειχθείη, καὶ την βουλην ήτει χρόνον άλλον ολίγον ές την παροθσάν οι της Γαλατίας ήγεμονίαν ή ές μέρος αυτής έπιλαβείν. διακωλύσαντος δὲ Μαρκέλλου, δς ἐπὶ τῷ Πομπηίω ὕπατος ην, φασί τὸν Καίσαρα τῶ μηνύοντι ἀποκρίνασθαι. κόπτοντα την λαβην του ξίφους. "ήδε μοι

26. Πόλιν δὲ Νεόκωμον ὁ Καΐσαρ ἐς Λατίου δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν ᾿Αλπεων ἀκίκει, ὧν ὅσοι κατ᾽ ἔτος ἢρχον, ἐγίγνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τόδε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον. τῶν οὖν Νεοκώμων τινά, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς γενόμενον καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι νομιζόμενον, ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξηνε ῥάβδοις ἐφ᾽ ὁτῳδή, οὐ πασχόντων τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων· καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀνεκάλυπτε, τὰς πληγὰς εἶναι ξενίας σύμβολον. καὶ φέρειν αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ δεικνύναι τῷ Καίσαρι. οὕτω μὲν ὑβριστικῶς ὁ Μάρκελλος, εἰσηγεῖτο δὲ ἤδη καὶ διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, προαφαιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου· ἀλλὰ διεκώλυ-

δώσει.

All who were banished went to Caesar in crowds CHAP. and advised him to beware of Pompey, saying that his law about bribery was especially directed against himself. Caesar cheered them up and spoke well of Pompey. He also induced the tribunes to Caesar bring in a law to enable himself to stand for the authorized to stand for consulship a second time while absent, and this was the consulenacted while Pompey was still consul and without ship while absent opposition from him. Caesar suspected that the B.C. 51 Senate would resist this project and feared lest he should be reduced to the condition of a private citizen and exposed to his enemies. So he tried to retain his power until he should be elected consul. and asked the Senate to grant him a little more time in his present command of Gaul, or of a part of it. Marcellus, who succeeded Pompey as consul, forbade it. They say that when this was announced to Caesar, he clapped his hand on his sword-hilt and exclaimed, "This shall give it to me."

26. Caesar built the town of Novum Comum at the foot of the Alps and gave it the Latin rights, which included a provision that those who had exercised year by year the chief magistracy should become Roman citizens. One of these men, who had been in office and was consequently considered a Roman citizen, was beaten with rods for some reason by order of Marcellus in defiance of Caesar-a punishment that was never inflicted on Roman citizens. Marcellus in his passion revealed his real intention Enmity of that the blows should be the brand of the alien, Marcellus and he told the man to carry his scars and show them to Caesar. So insulting was Marcellus. Moreover, he proposed to send successors to take command of Caesar's provinces before his time had expired;

CAP. σεν ό Πομπήιος εὐπρεπεία τε λόγου καὶ εὐνοίας ὑποκρίσει, μὴ δεῖν ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐς πολλὰ χρήσιμον τῷ πατρίδι γενόμενον ὑβρίζειν βραχεῖ διαστήματι χρόνου, καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησεν, ὅτι χρὴ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραλύειν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τὸν

Καίσαρα.

Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ μάλιστα ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοὐπιὸν ἡρέθησαν ὕπατοι, Αἰμίλιός τε Παῦλος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ προτέρου Μαρκέλλου, δήμαρχός τε Κουρίων, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ ὅδε τῷ Καίσαρι καρτερὸς καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον εὐχαριτώτατος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατος. τούτων ὁ Καίσαρ Κλαύδιον μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ὑπαγαγέσθαι χρήμασι, Παῦλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπρίατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ μήτε συμπράττειν μήτε ἐνοχλεῖν, Κουρίωνα δὲ καὶ συμπράττειν ἕτι πλειόνων, εἰδὼς ἐνοχλούμενον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολλῶν.

Παῦλος μὲν δὴ τὴν Παύλου λεγομένην βασιλικὴν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέθηκε Ῥωμαίοις, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλές. 27. ὁ δὲ Κουρίων, ἵνα μὴ ἄφνω μετατιθέμενος γίγνοιτο κατάφωρος, εἰσηγεῖτο βαρυτάτας ὁδῶν πολλῶν ἐπισκευάς τε καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς εἶναι, εἰδῶς μὲν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐσόμενον, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἀντιλέξειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἔξειν τι τοῦτο πρόσκρουμα. καὶ γενομένων τῶνδε, ὡς προσεδόκησεν, ὁ μὲν εἶχε τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, Κλαύδιος δ' εἰσηγεῖτο πέμπειν Καίσαρι διαδόχους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ γὰρ ἔληγεν ὁ χρόνος. καὶ Παῦλος ἐσιώπα. Κουρίων δὲ νομιζόμενος ἀμφοτέροις διαφέρεσθαι, ἐπήνει τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου γνώμην, ὡς δὲ ἐνδέον αὐτῆ

but Pompey interfered, making a pretence of fairness CHAP. and good-will, saying that they ought not to put an IV indignity on a distinguished man who had been so to deprive extremely useful to his country, merely on account Caesarofhis of a short interval of time; but he made it plain that command Caesar's command must come to an end immediately

on its expiration.

For this reason the bitterest enemies of Caesar were chosen consuls for the ensuing year: Aemilius Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the Marcellus before mentioned. Curio, who was also a bitter enemy of Caesar, but extremely popular with the masses and a most accomplished speaker, was chosen tribune. Caesar was not able to influence Claudius with money, but he bought the neutrality of Paulus for 1500 talents and the assistance of Curio with a still larger sum, because he knew that

the latter was heavily burdened with debt.

With the money thus obtained Paulus built and dedicated to the Roman people the Basilica that bears his name, a very beautiful structure, 27. while Curio, in order that he might not be detected changing sides too suddenly, brought forward vast plans for repairing and building roads, of which he was to be superintendent for five years. He knew that he could not carry any such measure, but he hoped that Pompey's friends would oppose him. so that he might have that as a grievance against Pompey. Things turned out as he had anticipated. so that he had a pretext for disagreement. Claudius proposed the sending of successors to take command of Caesar's provinces, as his term was now expiring. Paulus was silent. Curio, who was thought to differ from both, seconded the motion of Claudius, but

CAP. προσετίθει τὸ καὶ Πομπήιον ὁμοίως Καίσαρι ἀποθεσθαι τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν στρατόν ὧδε γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τη πόλει καθαράν καὶ πανταχόθεν άδεη την πολιτείαν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλών ώς οὐκ ἴσον διὰ τὸ μήπω τὸν γρόνον ἐξήκειν τῶ Πομπηίω. σαφέστερον ο Κουρίων ήδη καὶ τραχύτερον ἀπεγύμνου μή χρήναι μηδέ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους, εί μη και Πομπηίω δοίεν όντων γάρ αὐτών ές άλλήλους ύπόπτων ούπω τη πόλει την ειρήνην έσεσθαι βεβαίαν, εί μη πάντες ίδιωτεύσειαν. έλενε δὲ ταῦτ' εἰδως οὐ μεθήσοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν δημον ὁρῶν ήδη τι προσκοπτόμενον αὐτῶ διὰ τὰς τοῦ δεκασμοῦ δίκας. εὐπρεπους δέ της γνώμης ούσης ό δημος επήνει τον Κουρίωνα ώς μόνον άξίως της πόλεως την πρός άμφοτέρους αἰρόμενον ἔχθραν, καί ποτε καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχερούς ἀγώνος οὐδὲν γὰρ εδόκει τότε είναι φοβερώτερον της Πομπηίου διαφοράς.

28. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος νοσηλευόμενος περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέστελλε τῆ βουλῆ σὺν τέχνη, τά τε ἔργα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλέγων ὅτι τε τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας καὶ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆ καὶ στρατοῦ δοθέντος οὐ μετιών, ἀλλ' ἐς θεραπείαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπικληθεὶς ἀξιω θείη ὰ δὲ ἄκων ἔφη λαβεῖν, "ἐκὼν ἀποθήσομαι τοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θέλουσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένων τοὺς 278

added that Pompey ought to resign his provinces CHAP. and army just like Caesar, for in this way he said the commonwealth would be made free and be relieved from fear in all directions. Many opposed this as unjust, because Pompey's term had not yet expired. Then Curio came out more openly and Curlo harshly against sending successors to Caesar unless Pompey Pompey also should lay down his command; for since shall lay they were both suspicious of each other, he con-command tended that there could be no lasting peace to the also commonwealth unless they should all be reduced to the character of private citizens. He said this because he knew that Pompey would not give up his command and because he saw that the people were incensed against Pompey on account of his prosecutions for bribery. As Curio's position was plausible, the plebeians praised him as the only one who was willing to incur the enmity of both Pompey and Caesar in order to fulfil worthily his duties as a citizen; and once they escorted him home, scattering flowers, as though he were an athlete and had won the prize in some great and difficult contest; for nothing was considered more perilous then than to have a difference with Pompey.

28. Pompey, while lying sick in Italy, wrote an artful letter to the Senate, praising Caesar's exploits and also recounting his own from the beginning, saying that he had been invested with a third consulship, and with provinces and an army afterward; these he had not solicited, but he had received them on being called upon to serve the state. As for the powers which he had accepted unwillingly, "I will gladly yield them," said he, "to those who wish to take them back, and will not wait the

CAP. χρόνους τοὺς ὡρισμένους." ή μὲν δὴ τέχνη τῶν γεγραμμένων είχεν εὐπρέπειάν τε τῶ Πομπηίω καὶ ἐρέθισμα κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐκ ἀποδιδόντος την άρχην οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νεμομισμένω χρόνω· ἀφικόμενος δ' άλλα τε τούτοις όμοια έλεγε καὶ τὴν άρχην καὶ τότε ύπισχνεῖτο ἀποθήσεσθαι. ώς δὲ δή φίλος καὶ κηδεστής γενόμενος Καίσαρι, κάκεινον έλεγε μάλα χαίροντα ἀποθήσεσθαι· χρόνιόν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἐπίπονον κατὰ έθνων μαχιμωτάτων γεγονέναι καὶ πολλά τῆ πατρίδι προσλαβόντα έπὶ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας ήξειν καὶ ἀναπαύσεις. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦθ' ὡς Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα δοθησομένων διαδόχων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐσόμενος έν ύποσχέσει μόνη. Κουρίων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σόφισμα διελέγχων ούχ ύπισχνείσθαι δείν έφη μαλλον η αυτίκα αποθέσθαι ουδ' εξοπλίζειν Καίσαρα της στρατιάς, πρίν καὶ αὐτὸν ίδιωτεῦσαι ούτε γάρ ές την ιδίαν έχθραν έκείνω λυσυτελείν οὔτε 'Ρωμαίοις, ὑφ' ἐνὶ τηλικαύτην άρχην γενέσθαι μάλλον ή τὸν έτερον αὐτῶν έχειν έπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, εἴ τι τὴν πόλιν καταβιάζοιτο. οὐδέν τε ἐπικρύπτων ἔτι ἀφειδῶς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον έβλασφήμει ώς τυραννίδος έφιέμενον καί, εὶ μὴ νῦν σὺν φόβω τῷ Καίσαρος ἀποθοῖτο τὴν άρχήν, οὔποτε μεθήσοντα. ήξίου δ', αν ἀπειθῶσιν, ἄμφω ψηφίζεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ στρατὸν 280

time fixed for their expiration." The artfulness of CHAP. this communication consisted in showing the fairness of Pompey and in exciting prejudice against Caesar, hostility to who did not seem likely to give up his command Classar in even at the appointed time. When Pompey came back to the city, he spoke to the senators in the same way and then, also, promised to lay down his command. In virtue, of course, of his friendship and marriage connection with Caesar he said that the latter would very cheerfully do the same, for his had been a long and laborious contest against very warlike peoples; he had added much to the Roman power, and now he would come back to his honours, his sacrificial duties, and his relaxations. He said these things in order that successors to Caesar might be sent at once, while he himself should merely rest content with his promise. Curio exposed his artifice, saying that promises were not sufficient, and insisting that Pompey should lay down his command now and that Caesar should not be disarmed until Pompey himself had returned to private life. On account of private enmity, he said. it would not be advisable either for Caesar or for the Romans that such great authority should be held by one man. Rather should each of them have power against the other, in case one should attempt violence against the commonwealth. Now at last throwing off all disguise, he denounced Pompey unsparingly as one aiming at supreme power, and said that unless he would lay down his command now, when he had the fear of Caesar before his eyes, he would never lav it down at all. He moved that, unless they both obeyed, both should be voted public enemies and military forces be levied against them.

CAP. ἀγείρειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· ῷ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔλαθεν

ύπὸ Καίσαρος ἐωνημένος.

29. Πομπήιος δ' αὐτῶ χαλεψάμενός τε καὶ άπειλήσας εὐθὺς ές τὰ προάστεια άγανακτῶν ύπεξήει. καὶ ή βουλή ύπόπτως μὲν είγεν ήδη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, δημοτικώτερον δ' ὅμως ἡγοῦντο Πομπήιον καὶ τῶ Καίσαρι έδυσχέραινον τῆς παρά την ύπατείαν ύπεροψίας σφών οι δε καί τω όντι ούκ ασφαλές ήγουντο διαλύειν την ύπο τῶ Πομπηίω δύναμιν, μέχρι πρότερον ἐκείνον ἀποθέσθαι, έξω τε της πόλεως όντα καὶ μεγαλοπραγμονέστερον. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Κουρίων άνέστρεφεν, ώς δέον υπάρχειν συτοίς έπι τον Πομπήιον Καίσαρα, ή όμοῦ πάντας καταλύειν. οὐ πείθων δὲ διέλυε τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ ἀτελέσι πασι δύναται δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ δήμαρχος ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίω μετεμέλησε τὴν δημαρχίαν, ές ἀσθενέστατον ὑπὸ Σύλλα καθηρημένην, ἀναγαγόντι αθθις έπι το άρχαιον. διαλυόμενοι δε όμως τοσόνδε μόνον έψηφίσαντο, Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον τέλος εν στρατιωτών ές Συρίαν εκάτερον πέμψαι φυλακής ούνεκα διὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφοράν, καὶ τεχνάζων ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπήτει τὸ τέλος, δ έναγχος έπὶ συμφορά στρατηγών δύο Καίσαρος, Τιτυρίου τε καὶ Κόττα, Καίσαρι κε-χρήκει. ὁ δ' αὐτό, τιμήσας ἕκαστον ἄνδρα δραχμαίς πεντήκοντα και διακοσίαις, απέπεμπεν ές Ρώμην καὶ συνέπεμπεν άλλο παρ' έαυτοῦ.

30. Οὐδενὸς δὲ δεινοῦ περὶ Συρίαν φανέντος τάδε μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καπύη οι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ

In this way he concealed the fact that he had been CHAP.

bought by Caesar.

29. Pompey was angry with him and threatened Pompey's him and at once withdrew indignantly to the en-preparation virons. The Senate now had suspicions of both, but for war it considered Pompey the better republican of the two, and it hated Caesar because he had not shown it proper respect during his consulship. Some of the senators really thought that it would not be safe to the commonwealth to deprive Pompey of his power until after Caesar should lay down his, since the latter was outside of the city and was the man of more magnificent designs. Curio held the contrary opinion, that they had need of Caesar against the power of Pompey, or otherwise that both armies should be disbanded at the same time. As the Senate would not agree with him he dismissed it, leaving the whole business still unfinished, having the power to do so as tribune. Thus Pompey had occasion to regret that he had restored the tribunician power to its pristine vigour after it had been reduced to a mere shadow by Sulla. Nevertheless, one decree was voted before the session was ended, and that was that Caesar and Pompey should each send one legion of soldiers to Syria to defend the province on account of the disaster to Crassus. Pompey artfully recalled the legion that he had lately lent to Caesar on account of the disaster to Caesar's two generals. Titurius and Cotta. Caesar awarded to each soldier 250 drachmas and sent the legion to Rome together with another of his own.

30. As the expected danger did not show itself in Syria, these legions were sent into winter quarters at Capua. The persons who had been sent by

CAP. πεμφθέντες ύπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα άλλα τε πολλά δυσχερή κατά τοῦ Καίσαρος διεθρόουν καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν στρατιάν Καίσαρος, τετρυμένην τε πόνω καὶ χρόνω καὶ τὰ οἴκοι ποθοῦσαν, μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτε τὰ "Αλπεια διέλθοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ούτως έλεγον, είθ' ύπὸ ἀγνοίας είτε διεφθαρμένοι. Καίσαρι δ' έρρωτο πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς προθυμίαν καὶ πόνους ύπό τε έθους των στοατειών και ύπο κερδών, όσα πόλεμος τοίς νικώσιν έργάζεται καὶ όσα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλα ἐλάμβανον ἐδίδου γὰρ άφειδως, θεραπεύων είς α εβούλευεν οι δε και αύτοι συνιέντες αύτων όμως ύπέμενον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τοις ήγγελμένοις πίσυνος ούτε στρατιάν ούτε παρασκευήν ώς ές τοσούτον έργον ήγειρεν. ή βουλή δε γνώμην έκαστον ήτει καί ο Κλαύδιος πανούργως διήρει καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτῶν παρά μέρος, εί δοκεί Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους καὶ εἰ Πομπήιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μεν ἀνένευον οι πλείους, Καίσαρι δ' ἐπεψήφιζον τούς διαδόχους. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος, εὶ ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἀποθέσθαι, δύο μεν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν ἀπήρεσκε. τριακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐς τὸ συμφέρον από της έριδος έπὶ την τοῦ Κουρίωνος γνώμην άπέκλινον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὴν βουλὴν διέλυσε βοῶν " νικᾶτε δεσπότην ἔχειν Καίσαρα."

31. Λόγου δ' ἄφνω ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος, ὅτι τὰς Αλπεις ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπερελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνοι, θόρυβός τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ φόβος ἀπάντων, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος εἰσηγεῖτο τὴν ἐν Καπύη στρατιὰν

Pompey to Caesar to bring these legions spread CHAP. many reports derogatory to Caesar and repeated them to Pompey. They affirmed that Caesar's army was wasted by protracted service, that the soldiers longed for their homes and would change to the side of Pompey as soon as they should cross the Alps. They spoke in this way either from ignorance or because they were corrupted. In fact, every soldier was strongly attached to Caesar and laboured zealously for him, under the force of discipline and the influence of the gain which war usually brings to victors and which they received from Caesar also; for he gave with a lavish hand in order to mould them to his designs. They knew what his designs were, but they stood by him nevertheless. Pompey, however, believed what was reported to him and collected neither soldiers nor apparatus suitable for so great a contest. In the Senate the opinion of each member was asked and Claudius craftily divided the question and took the votes separately, thus: "Shall successors be sent to Caesar?" and again, "Shall Pompey be deprived of his command?" The majority voted against the latter proposition, and it was decreed that successors to Caesar should be sent. Then Curio put the question whether both should lay down their commands, and 22 senators voted in the negative while 370 went back to the opinion of Curio in order to avoid civil discord. Then Claudius dismissed the Senate, exclaiming, "Enjoy your victory and have Caesar for a master."

31. Suddenly a false rumour came that Caesar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city, whereupon there was a great tumult and consternation on all sides. Claudius moved that the army at

CAP. ἀπαντᾶν ώς πολεμίω Καίσαρι. ἐνισταμένου δὲ ώς έπὶ ψευδέσι τοῦ Κουρίωνος είπεν "εί κωλύομαι ψήφω κοινή τὰ συμφέροντα διοικείν κατ' έμαυτον ώς ύπατος διοικήσω." και τάδε είπων έξέδραμε της βουλης ές τὰ προάστεια μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχου είφος τε ὀρέγων τῶ Πομπηίω "κελεύω σοι," έφη, "κάγω καὶ ὅδε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ της πατρίδος καὶ στρατιάν ές τοῦτό σοι δίδομεν, ή τε νῦν ἀμφὶ Καπύην ἡ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ όσην αὐτὸς ἐθέλοις ἄλλην καταλέγειν." ὁ δ' ύπήκουε μεν ώς κελευόμενος προς ύπάτων, έπετίθει δ' όμως "εί μή τι κρείσσον," άπατων ή τεχνάζων καὶ τότε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν. Κουρίωνι δ' οὐκ ἢν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξουσία τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ προϊέναι των τειχών τοις δημάρχοις έφίεται), ώλοφύρετο δ' έν τῷ δήμφ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τοὺς ύπάτους ηξίου κηρύσσειν μηδένα πω καταλέγοντι πείθεσθαι Πομπηίω. οὐδεν δε ανύων, επεί οί καὶ ό της δημαρχίας χρόνος έληγε, δείσας ύπερ έαυτοῦ καὶ ἀπογνούς ἔτι δύνασθαι βοηθείν τῶ Καίσαρι, κατά σπουδήν έχώρει πρὸς αὐτόν.

### V

 CAP. 32. 'Ο δ' άρτι τὸν ὡκεανὸν ἐκ Βρεττανῶν διεπεπλεύκει καὶ ἀπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν 'Ρῆνον τὰ ὅρη τὰ 'Αλπεια διελθῶν σὰν πεντακισχιλίοις 286

Capua be turned against Caesar as a public enemy, CHAP. When Curio opposed him on the ground that the rumour was false he exclaimed, "If I am prevented by the vote of the Senate from taking steps for the public safety, I will take such steps on my own responsibility as consul." After saving this he darted out of the Senate and proceeded to the environs with his colleague, where he presented a sword to Pompey, and said, "I and my colleague The consult command you to march against Caesar in behalf of Pompey your country, and we give you for this purpose the with the army now at Capua, or in any other part of Italy, Italy, Italy, and whatever additional forces you yourself choose to levy." Pompey promised to obey the orders of the consuls, but he added, "unless we can do better," thus dealing in trickery and still making a pretence of fairness. Curio had no power outside the city (for it was not permitted to the tribunes to go beyond the walls), but he publicly deplored the state of affairs and demanded that the consuls should make proclamation that nobody need obey the conscription ordered by Pompey. As he could accomplish nothing, and as his term of office as tribune was about expiring, and he feared for his safety and despaired of being able to render any further assistance to Caesar, he hastily departed to join him.

V

32. CAESAR had lately recrossed the straits from CHAP. Britain and, after traversing the Gallic country along the Rhine, had passed the Alps with 5000 foot and

CAP. πεζοίς καὶ iππεῦσι τριακοσίοις κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ 'Ραβέννης, ή συναφής τε ήν τη Ίταλία καὶ της Καίσαρος άρχης τελευταία. φιλοφρονησάμενος δέ του Κουρίωνα και χάριν ύπερ των γεγονότων όμολογήσας ἐσκόπει περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Κουρίωνι μέν δη συγκαλείν εδόκει τον στρατον άπαντα ήδη καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, Καίσαρι δ' ἔτι πειρασθαι διαλύσεων. τους ούν φίλους εκέλευεν ύπερ αύτου συμβήναι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα ἀποθήσεσθαι, μόνα δ' έξειν δύο τέλη και τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα μετὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίας, έως υπατος ἀποδειχθείη. καὶ Πομπηίω μεν άρκειν εδόκει, κατακωλυόντων δε των υπάτων ό Καΐσαρ ἐπέστελλε τῆ βουλῆ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ό Κουρίων, τρισίν ήμέραις τριακοσίους έπὶ δισχιλίοις σταδίους διαδραμών, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς νέοις ύπάτοις έσιουσιν ές τὸ βουλευτήριον τη νουμηνία τοῦ ἔτους. περιείχε δ' ή γραφή κατάλογόν τε σεμνον ων έξ άρχης ο Καίσαρ έπεπράχει, καὶ πρόκλησιν, ὅτι θέλοι Πομπηίω συναποθέσθαι, άρχουτος δ' έτι εκείνου ούτε αποθήσεσθαι καὶ τιμωρὸς αὐτίκα τῆ τε πατρίδι καὶ ἐπυτῷ κατὰ τάχος ἀφίξεσθαι. ἐφ' ὧ δὴ σφόδρα πάντες άνέκραγον, ώς έπὶ πολέμου καταγγελία, διάδοχον είναι Λεύκιον Δομίτιον. καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος εὐθὺς έξήει μετά τετρακισχιλίων έκ καταλόγου.

33. 'Αντωνίου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου δημαρχούντοιν μετὰ Κουρίωνα καὶ τὴν Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἐπαινούντοιν, ἡ βουλὴ φιλονικότερον ἔτι τὴν Πομπηίου στρατιὰν φύλακα σφῶν ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος πολεμίαν. καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι,

300 horse and arrived at Ravenna, which was con-CHAP. tiguous to Italy and the last town in his government. After embracing Curio and returning thanks for what he had done for him, he reviewed the situation. Curio advised him to bring his whole army together now and lead it to Rome, but Caesar thought it best still to try to come to terms. So he directed his friends to make an agreement in his behalf, that he should deliver up all his provinces and soldiers, except that he should retain two legions and Illyria with Cisalpine Gaul until he should be elected consul. This was satisfactory to Pompey, but the consuls refused. Caesar then wrote a letter to the Senate, which Curio carried a distance of 1300 stades in three days and delivered to the newly-elected consuls as they entered the senate-house on the first B.C. 49 of January.1 The letter embraced a calm recital of Caesar all that Caesar had done from the beginning of his lay down career and a proposal that he would lay down his his arms command at the same time with Pompey, but that if time as Pompey should retain his command he would not lay Pompey down his own, but would come quickly and avenge his country's wrongs and his own. When this letter was read, as it was considered a declaration of war, a vehement shout was raised on all sides that Lucius Domitius be Caesar's successor. Domitius took the field immediately with 4000 men from the active

list.

33. Since Antony and Cassius, who succeeded Curio as tribunes, agreed with him in opinion, the Senate became more bitter than ever and declared Pompey's army the protector of Rome, and that of Caesar a public enemy. The consuls, Marcellus and

<sup>1</sup> Literally: "On the day of the new moon of the year."

CAP. Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντλος, ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τον 'Αντώνιον εκστήναι του συνεδρίου, μή τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὅμως πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον. ἔνθα δὴ μέγα βοήσας ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος ἀνά τε ἔδραμε τῆς ἔδρας σὺν ὀργῆ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεθείαζεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὖσα ὑβρίζοιτο, καὶ περί σφων, ὅτι γνώμην ἐσφέροντες, ἡν δοκοῦσι συνοίσειν, έξαλαύνοιντο σύν ύβρει, μήτε τινά σφαγην μήτε μύσος έργασάμενοι. ταθτα δ' είπων έξέτρεχεν ώσπερ ενθους, πολέμους καὶ σφαγάς καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὅσα άλλα αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, προθεσπίζων ἀράς τε βαρείας τοίς τούτων αιτίοις επαρώμενος. συνεξέθεον δ' αὐτῶ Κουρίων τε καὶ Κάσσιος καὶ γάρ τις ήδη στρατός έωρατο έκ Πομπηίου περιιστάμενος τὸ βουλευτήριον. οίδε μεν δη τάχει πολλώ πρὸς Καίσαρα, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα, λαθόντες έχώρουν έπὶ οχήματος μισθωτοῦ, θεραπόντων έσθητας ενδύντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔτι ὧδε ἔχοντας ό Καίσαρ ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἡρέθιζε λέγων, ότι καὶ σφάς τοσάδε ἐργασαμένους ἡγοῦνται πολεμίους καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τι φθεγξαμένους ούτως έξελαύνουσιν αισχρώς.

34. Ό μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνέωκτο καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἤδη σαφῶς, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ νομίζουσα Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν σὺν χρόνω παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὔποτε αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον σὺν ὀλίγοις προσέτασσε Πομπηίω τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας Ἰταλῶν ἀγείρειν, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὡς ἐμπειροπολέμους, ξενολογεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθνῶν ὅσα ἄλκιμα. χρήματα δ' ἐς τὸν

Lentulus, ordered Antony and his friends out of the CHAP. Senate lest they should suffer some harm, tribunes though they were. Then Antony sprang from his declares chair in anger and with a loud voice called gods and Caesara men to witness the indignity put upon the sacred enemy and inviolable office of tribune, saving that while they were expressing the opinion which they deemed best for the public interest, they were driven out with contumely though they had wrought no murder or outrage. Having spoken thus he rushed out like one possessed, predicting war, slaughter, proscription, banishment, confiscation, and various other impending evils, and invoking direful curses on the authors of them. Curio and Cassius rushed out with him, for a detachment of Pompey's army was already observed standing around the senate-house. The tribunes made their way to Caesar the next night with the utmost speed, concealing themselves in a hired carriage, and disguised as slaves. Caesar Caesar showed them in this condition to his army, whom his soldiers he excited by saying that his soldiers, after all their great deeds, had been stigmatized as public enemies and that distinguished men like these, who had dared to say a word for them, had been thus driven out with ignominy.

34. The war had now been begun on both sides and War openly was already openly declared; but the Senate, thinking declared that Caesar's army would be slow in arriving from Gaul and that he would not rush into so great an adventure with a small force, directed Pompey to assemble 130,000 Italian soldiers, chiefly veterans who had had experience in war, and to recruit as many able-bodied men as possible from the neighbouring provinces. They voted him for the war all

Ο Ν. πόλεμον αὐτῷ τά τε κοινὰ πάντα αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ σφῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, εἰ δεήσειεν, εἶναι στρατιωτικά ἔς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐφ ἔτερα περιέπεμπον σύν τε ὀργῆ καὶ φιλονικία, σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες ὀξυτάτης. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν περιεπεπόμφει, χαίρων δ' ἀεὶ ταχυεργίας τε ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ τόλμης μᾶλλον ἡ παρασκευῆς δυνάμει, μετὰ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν τοσῷδε πολέμῳ καὶ φθάσαι τὰ εὔκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας.

35. Τοὺς οὖν λοχαγοὺς αὐτῶν σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτοις, εἰρηνικῶς ἐσταλμένοις, προύπεμπεν έσελθείν ές 'Αρίμινον καὶ τὴν πόλιν άφνω καταλαβείν ή δ' έστιν Ίταλίας πρώτη μετά την Γαλατίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ἐσπέραν, ὡς δη τὸ σῶμα ἐνοχλούμενος, ὑπεχώρησε τοῦ συμποσίου, τοὺς φίλους ἀπολιπων ἔτι ἐστιᾶσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἐπιβὰς ἤλαυνεν ἐς τὸ ᾿Αρίμινον, έπομένων οί των ίππέων έκ διαστήματος. δρόμω δ' έλθων έπὶ τὸν 'Ρουβίκωνα ποταμόν, ὸς ὁρίζει την Ίταλίαν, έστη τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ές τὸ ρεῦμα άφορῶν περιεφέρετο τῆ γνώμη, λογιζόμενος έκαστα των έσομένων κακών, εί τόνδε τον ποταμον σύν ὅπλοις περάσειε. καὶ πρὸς τούς παρόντας είπεν άνενεγκών "ή μεν έπίσχεσις, ώ φίλοι, τησδε της διαβάσεως έμοι κακών ἄρξει, ή δὲ διάβασις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις." καὶ εἰπων ολά τις ἔνθους ἐπέρα σὺν ὁρμῆ, τὸ κοινὸν τόδε ἐπειπών· "ὁ κύβος ἀνερρίφθω." δρόμφ δ' ἐντεῦθεν έπιων 'Αρίμινον τε αίρει περί εω και ές τὸ

the money in the public treasury at once, and their CHAP. own private fortunes in addition if they should be needed for the pay of the soldiers. With the fury of party rage they levied additional contributions on the allied cities, which they collected with the greatest possible haste. Caesar had sent messengers to bring his own army, but as he was accustomed to rely upon the terror caused by the celerity and audacity of his movements, rather than on the magnitude of his preparations, he decided to take the aggressive in this great war with his 5000 men and to anticipate the enemy by seizing the advan-

tageous positions in Italy.

35. Accordingly, he sent forward the centurions with a few of their bravest troops in peaceful garb to go inside the walls of Ariminum and take it by surprise. This was the first town in Italy after leaving Cisalpine Gaul. Toward evening Caesar himself rose from a banquet on a plea of indisposition, leaving his friends who were still feasting. He mounted his chariot and drove toward Ariminum, his cavalry following at a short distance. When his Caesar course brought him to the river Rubicon, which the Rubicon forms the boundary line of Italy, he stopped and, while gazing at the stream, revolved in his mind the evils that would result, should he cross the river in arms. Recovering himself, he said to those who were present, "My friends, to leave this stream uncrossed will breed manifold distress for me; to cross it, for all mankind." Thereupon, he crossed with a rush like one inspired, uttering the familiar phrase, "The die is cast: so let it be!" Then he resumed his He seizes hasty journey and took possession of Ariminum Ariminum about daybreak, advanced beyond it, stationed guards

CAP. πρόσθεν ἐχώρει, φρούρια τοῖς ἐπικαίροις ἐφιστὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἢ βία χειρούμενος ἢ φιλανθρωπία.
 φυγαί τε καὶ μεταναστάσεις ἢσαν ἐκ πάντων χωρίων ὡς ἐν ἐκπλήξει καὶ δρόμος ἀσύντακτος μετ' οἰμωγῆς, τό τε ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδότες καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νομίζοντες μετ' ἀπείρου στρατοῦ κατὰ

κράτος έλαύνειν.

36. Ων οί υπατοι πυνθανόμενοι τον Πομπήιον ούκ είων έπὶ της έαυτοῦ γνώμης έμπειροπολέμως εύσταθείν, άλλ' έξωτρυνον έκπηδαν ές την 'Ιταλίαν καὶ στρατολογείν ώς της πόλεως καταληφθησομένης αὐτίκα. ή τε ἄλλη βουλή, παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὀξείας τῆς ἐσβολῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος γενομένης, εδεδοίκεσαν έτι όντες άπαράσκευοι καὶ σύν έκπλήξει μετενόουν οὐ δεξάμενοι τὰς Καίσαρος προκλήσεις, τότε νομίζοντες είναι δικαίας, ότε σφας ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸ εὔβουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλονίκου μετέφερε. τέρατά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπιπτε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα οὐράνια αἶμά τε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ό θεὸς ὖσαι καὶ ξόανα ίδρῶσαι καὶ κεραυνοὶ πεσείν ἐπὶ νεώς πολλούς καὶ ἡμίονος τεκείν άλλα τε πολλά δυσχερή προεσήμαινε την ές άεὶ της πολειτείας ἀναίρεσίν τε καὶ μεταβολήν. εύχαι δε ως επι φοβεροίς προυγράφοντο, και ό δημος εν μνήμη των Μαρίου και Σύλλα κακων γιγνόμενος εκεκράγει Καίσαρα και Πομπήιον ἀποθέσθαι τὰς δυναστείας ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνω τοῦ πολέμου λυθησομένου, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πέμπειν ές Καίσαρα διαλλακτάς.

37. 'Αντιπραττόντων δ' ές ἄπαντα τῶν ὑπάτων, Φαώνιος μὲν Πομπήιον ἐπισκώπτων τοῦ ποτὲ λεχθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὴν γῆν πατάξαι

at the commanding positions, and, either by force or CHAP. by kindness, mastered all whom he fell in with. As is usual in cases of panic, there was flight and migration from all the country-side in disorder and tears, the people having no exact knowledge, but thinking that Caesar was pushing on with all his

might and with an immense army.

36. When the consuls learned the facts they did not allow Pompey to act according to his own judgment, experienced as he was in military affairs, but urged him to traverse Italy and raise troops, as though the city were on the point of being captured. The Senate also was alarmed at Caesar's Panio and unexpectedly swift advance, for which it was still in Italy unprepared, and in its panic repented that it had not accepted Caesar's proposals, which it at last considered fair, after fear had turned it from the rage of party to the counsels of prudence. Many portents and signs in the sky took place. It rained blood. Sweat issued from the statues of the gods. Lightning struck several temples. A mule foaled. were many other prodigies which betokened the overturn and change for all time in the form of government. Prayers were offered up in public as was customary in times of danger, and the people who remembered the evil times of Marius and Sulla, clamoured that both Caesar and Pompey ought to lay down their commands as the only means of averting war. Cicero proposed to send messengers to Caesar in order to come to an arrangement.

37. As the consuls opposed all accommodation, Favonius, in ridicule of Pompey for something he had said a little before, advised him to stamp on the

CAP. τῷ ποδὶ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναγαγεῖν ό δὲ "ἔξετε," εἶπεν, "ἂν ἐπακολουθῆτέ μοι καὶ μη δεινον ήγησθε την 'Ρώμην ἀπολιπείν, καὶ εί την Ίταλίαν έπὶ τῆ 'Ρώμη δεήσειεν." οὐ γὰρ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τὴν έλευθερίαν είναι τοις ανδράσιν, αλλά τους ανδρας, όπη ποτ' αν ώσιν, έχειν ταθτα σύν έαυτοίς άμυνομένους δ' αναλή ψεσθαι καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα. ό μεν δή τοσάδε είπων καὶ ἀπειλήσας τοῖς ἐπιμένουσιν, εί φειδοί χωρίων ή κατασκευής άπολελείψονται των ύπερ της πατρίδος άγώνων, έξήει της τε βουλης και της πόλεως αὐτίκα ἐς την έν Καπύη στρατιάν, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι συνείποντο αὐτῶ· τοὺς ἄλλους δ' ἀπορία τε ἐς πολὺ κατείγε, καὶ διενυκτέρευον έν τω βουλευτηρίω μετ' άλλήλων. άμα δ' ήμέρα τὸ πλέον όμως έξήει καὶ εδίωκε τον Πομπήιον.

## VI

CAP. 38. O δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Κορφινίφ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον τὸν ἐπιπεμφθέντα οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι διάδοχον καταλαβών, οὐ πάντας ἀμφ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, ἐπολιόρκει καὶ οἱ τὸ Κορφίνιον οἰκοῦντες φεύγοντα τὸν Δομίτιον ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας καταλαβόντες τῷ Καίσαρι προσήγαγον. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ προστιθεμένην οἱ προθύμως ἐδέχετο ἐς ἐρέθισμα τῶν ἄλλων, Δομίτιον δ' αὐτὸν ἀπαθῆ μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων μεθῆκεν ὅποι βούλοιτο ἀπιέναι, ἐλπίσας μὲν ἴσως διὰ τὴν εὐποιίαν παραμενεῖν, οὐ 296

ground with his foot and raise up from it the promised CHAP. armies. "You can have them," replied Pompey, "if you will follow me and not be horrified at the thought of leaving Rome, and Italy also if need be. Places and houses are not strength and freedom to men; but men, wherever they may be, have these qualities within themselves, and by defending themselves will recover their homes also." After saying this and threatening those who should remain behind and desert their country's cause in order to save their fields and their goods, he left the Senate and Pompey the city immediately to take command of the army departs to the army at Capua, and the consuls followed him. The other at Capua senators remained undecided a long time and passed the night together in the senate-house. At daypreak, however, most of them departed and hastened after Pompey.

## VI

38. At Corfinium Caesar came up with and be-CHAP. sieged Lucius Domitius, who had been sent to be his successor in the command of Gaul, but who did not captures have all of his 4000 men with him. The inhabitants Committee of Corfinium captured him at the gates, as he was pomitius trying to escape, and brought him to Caesar. The latter received the soldiers of Domitius, who offered themselves to him, with kindness, in order to encourage others to join him, and he allowed Domitius to go unharmed wherever he liked, and to take his own money with him. He hoped perhaps that Domitius would stay with him on account of this beneficence.

CAP. κωλύσας δ' ές Πομπήιον ίόντα. γιγνομένων δὲ Υούτων οὕτως ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς Νουκερίαν ἐκ Καπύης καὶ ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἠπείγετο, ώς τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβαλῶν ἐς Ἡπειρον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν παρασκευὴν συστήσων ἐν αὐτῆ. ἔθνεσί τε πᾶσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δυνάσταις ἔγραφε κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅ τι δύναιτο ἕκαστος, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συμφέρειν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀθρόως ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ' ἴδιος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου στρατὸς ἢν ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν ὡς ὁρμήσων, ὅπη ποτ' ἀν αί

χρείαι καλώσιν.

39. Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν ἀμφ' αύτὸν ήδη τελών τὰ μὲν ἔδωκε τοῖς ὑπάτοις προαπάγειν ἐς Ἡπειρον ἐκ Βρεντεσίου, καὶ διέπλευσαν οίδε αὐτίκα ἀσφαλῶς ἐς Δυρράχιον ἡν Ἐπίδαμνόν τινες είναι νομίζουσι διά τοιάνδε άγνοιαν. βασιλεύς των τήδε βαρβάρων, Ἐπίδαμνος, πόλιν ῷκισεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν Έπίδαμνον. τούτου θυγατριδοῦς Δύρραχος, νομιζόμενος είναι Ποσειδώνος, επίνειον ώκισε τη πόλει καὶ Δυρράχιον ωνόμασε. πολεμουμένω δ' ύπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῷδε τῷ Δυρράχῳ συνεμάχησεν ὁ Ήρακλης έπὶ μέρει της γης, έξ Ἐρυθείας ἐπανιών ὄθεν οι Δυρράχιοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς μερίτην τῆς γῆς, οἰκιστὴν σφῶν τίθενται, οὐκ ἀρνούμενοι μεν ούδε τον Δύρραχον, φιλοτιμούμενοι δ' ύπερ σφων ές τον Ἡρακλέα μᾶλλον ώς ές θεόν. φασὶ δ' ἐν τῆ μάχη τῆδε Δυρράχου παῖδα Ἰόνιον ύφ' 'Ηρακλέους έξ άγνοίας ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸ σῶμα θάψαντα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γένοιτο. χρόνφ δὲ 208

but he did not prevent him from joining Pompey. CHAP. While these transactions were taking place thus swiftly, Pompey hastened from Capua to Nuceria and thence to Brundusium in order to cross the Adriatic to Epirus and complete his preparations for war there. He wrote letters to all the provinces and the commanders thereof, to princes, kings, and cities to send aid for carrying on the war with the greatest possible speed, and this they did zealously. Pompey's own army was in Spain ready to move wherever it might be needed.

39. Pompey gave some of the legions he already The consuls had in Italy to the consuls to be moved from Dyrrachium Brundusium to Epirus, and the consuls crossed safely to Dyrrachium, which some persons, by reason of the following error, consider the same as Epidamnus. A barbarian king of the region, Epidamnus by name, Legend of Dyrrachium built a city on the sea-coast and named it after himself. Dyrrachus, the son of his daughter and of Neptune (as is supposed), added a dockyard to it which he named Dyrrachium. When the brothers of this Dyrrachus made war against him, Hercules, who was returning from Erythea, formed an alliance with him for a part of his territory; wherefore the men of Dyrrachium claim Hercules as their founder because he had a share of their land, not that they repudiate Dyrrachus, but because they pride themselves on Hercules even more as a god. In the battle which took place it is said that Hercules killed Ionius, the son of Dyrrachus, by mistake, and that after raising a barrow he threw the body into the sea in order that it might bear his name. At a later

CAP. τῆς τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως κατασχεῖν Βρίγας ἐκ Φρυγῶν ἐπανελθόντας καὶ Ταυλαντίους ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, Ίλλυρικον έθνος, έπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ταυλαντίοις έτερον γένος Ίλλυριων Λιβυρνούς, οὶ τὰ περίοικα νηυσὶ ταχείαις έληίζοντο καὶ Λιβυρνίδας έντεῦθεν ήγουνται 'Ρωμαίοι τὰς ναθς τὰς ταχείας, ὧν άρα πρώτων ές πείραν ήλθον. οί δ' έκ των Λιβυρνών έξελαθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραγίου Κερκυραίους ἐπαγόμενοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἐξέβαλον τούς Λιβυρνούς και αυτοίς οι Κερκυραίοι σφετέρους εγκατέμιξαν οἰκήτορας, ὅθεν Ἑλληνικὸν είναι δοκεί τὸ ἐπίνειον. τὴν δ' ἐπίκλησιν ώς οὐκ αίσιον έναλλάξαντες οί Κερκυραίοι καὶ τήνδε ἀπὸ της άνω πόλεως 'Επίδαμνον έκάλουν, καὶ Θουκυδίδης ούτως ωνόμαζεν εκνικά δ' όμως τὸ όνομα. καὶ Δυρράχιον κληίζεται.

40. Οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διεπεπλεύκεσαν ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τὸν ὑπόλοιπον στρατὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀγαγὼν τάς τε ναῦς ἀνέμενεν ἐπανελθεῖν, αὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους διέφερον, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπελθόντα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἢμύνετο τήν τε πόλιν διετάφρευε, μέχρι καταπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ἀπέπλευσε, τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπολιπών οῖ καὶ αὐτοὶ νυκτὸς ἐρχομένης

έξέπλεον οὐρίω πνεύματι.

Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὧδε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐς Ἡπειρον ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεπέρα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρει μέν, ὅπη τραπείη καὶ ὅθεν ἄρξαιτο τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν

period the Briges, returning from Phrygia, took CHAP possession of the city and the surrounding country. They were supplanted by the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who were displaced in their turn by the Liburnians, another Illyrian tribe, who were in the habit of making piratical expeditions against their neighbours with very swift ships. Hence the Romans call swift ships Liburnians because these were the first ones they came in conflict with. The people who had been expelled from Dyrrachium by the Liburnians procured the aid of the Corcyreans. who then ruled the sea, and drove out the Liburnians. The Corcyreans mingled their own colonists with them and thus it came to be considered a Greek port; but the Corcyreans changed its name, because they considered it unpropitious, and called it Epidamnus from the town just above it, and Thucydides gives it that name also. Nevertheless, the former name prevailed finally and it is now called Dyrrachium.

40. A portion of Pompey's forces had crossed to Pompey Dyrrachium with the consuls. Pompey led the escapes from Caesar remainder to Brundusium, where he awaited the at Brunreturn of the ships that had carried the others over. dusium Here Caesar advanced against him, and he defended himself from behind the walls and dug trenches to cut off the city until his fleet came back. Then he took his departure in the early evening, leaving the bravest of his troops on the walls. These also sailed

away after nightfall, with a favourable wind.

Thus Pompey and his whole army abandoned Italy and passed over to Epirus. Caesar, seeing the general drift of public opinion toward Pompey, was at a loss which way to turn or from what point to

CAP. δρμὴν πανταχόθεν οὖσαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον δρῶν, δείσας δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρία στρατόν, πολύν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνω γεγυμνασμένου, μή οἱ διώκοντι τὸν Πομπήιον κατόπιν ἐπιγένοιτο, τόνδε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐλάσας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐς πέντ ἐπιδιήρει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐν Ὑδροῦντι κατέλιπε, τοὺς δ' ἐν Τάραντι, φύλακας εἶναι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἑτέρους δ' ἔπεμπεν ἄμα Κοίντω Οὐαλερίω, Σαρδω τὴν νῆσον καταλαβεῖν πυροφοροῦσαν καὶ κατέλαβον. ᾿Ασίνιός τε Πολλίων ἐς Σικελίαν πεμφθείς, ἢς ἡγεῖτο Κάτων, πυνθανομένω τῷ Κάτωνι, πότερα τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τοῦ δήμου δόγμα φέρων ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμβάλλοι, ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο "ὁ τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτά με ἔπεμψε."

Καὶ Κάτων μὲν τοσόνδε ἀποκρινάμενος, ὅτι φειδοῖ τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐκ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀμυνεῖται, διέπλευσεν ἐς Κέρκυραν καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἐς Πομπήιον· 41. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεὶς τόν τε δῆμον, ἐκ μνήμης τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν πεφρικότα, ἐλπίσι καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνσημαινόμενος φιλανθρωπίαν εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἑλὼν ἀπαθῆ μεθείη μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων. τὰ δὲ κλεῖθρα τῶν δημοσίων ταμιείων ἐξέκοπτε καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐνὶ Μετέλλω κωλύοντι θάνατον ἤπείλει. τῶν τε ἀψαύστων ἐκίνει χρημάτων, ἄ φασιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς πάλαι σὺν ἀρῷ δημοσίᾳ τεθῆναι, μὴ σαλεύειν ἐς μηδέν, εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι.

begin the war. As he had apprehensions of Pompey's CHAP. army in Spain, which was large and well disciplined by long service (lest while he was pursuing Pompey it should fall upon his rear), he decided to march to Spain and destroy that army first. He now divided his forces into five parts, one of which he left at Brundusium, another at Hydrus, and another at Tarentum to guard Italy. Another he sent under command of Quintus Valerius to take possession of the grain-producing island of Sardinia, which was done. He sent Asinius Pollio to Sicily, which was then under the command of Cato. When Cato asked him whether he had brought the order of the Senate, or that of the people, to take possession of a government that had been assigned to another, Pollio replied, "The master of Italy has sent me on this business."

Cato answered that in order to spare the lives of those under his command he would not make resistance there. He then sailed away to Corcyra and from Corcyra to Pompey. 41. Caesar meanwhile hastened to Rome. He found the people shuddering with recollection of the horrors of Marius and Sulla, and he cheered them with the prospect and promise of clemency. In proof of his kindness to his enemies, he said that he had taken Lucius Domitius prisoner and allowed him to go away unharmed with his money. Nevertheless, he hewed down the bars of the Caesartakes public treasury, and when Metellus, one of the from the tribunes, tried to prevent him from entering threatened public him with death. He took away money hitherto treasury untouched, which, they say, had been deposited there long ago, at the time of the Gallic invasion, with a public curse upon anybody who should take it out except in case of a war with the

CAF ο δε έφη Κελτούς αυτός ες το ασφαλέστατον έλων λελυκέναι τη πόλει την άράν. Λέπιδον δὲ Αἰμίλιον ἐφίστη τῆ πόλει καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον Μᾶρκου 'Αντώνιον τῆ 'Ιταλία καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατῷ. ἔς τε τὰ ἔξω Κουρίωνα μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος ἡρεῖτο ἡγεῖσθαι Σικελίας, Κόιντον δὲ Σαρδοῦς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Γάιον Ἰλντώνιον ἔπεμπε καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεπε Λικινίω Κράσσω. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλους δύο γίγνεσθαι κατὰ σπουδήν, άμφί τε του Ίονιον καὶ περὶ την Τυρρηνίαν καὶ ναυάρχους αὐτοῖς ἔτι γιγνομένοις ἐπέστησεν Ὁρτήσιόν τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν.

42. Ούτω κρατυνάμενος ὁ Καΐσαρ ἄβατον Πομπηίω γενέσθαι την Ίταλίαν ές Ἰβηρίαν ήει, ένθα Πετρηίω καὶ Αφρανίω τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατηγοίς συμβαλών ήττον αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τά γε πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ ἀγχωμάλως ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἰλέρτην. καὶ στρατοπεδεύων ό Καΐσαρ έπὶ κρημνῶν ἐσιτολόγει διὰ γεφύρας τοῦ Σικόριος ποταμοῦ. χειμάρρου δ' ἄφνω τὴν γέφυραν καταβαλόντος, ανδρών τε πλήθος αποληφθεν εν τη περαία διέφθειραν οί περὶ τὸν Πετρήιον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐμύχθει μετὰ τοῦ άλλου στρατοῦ πάνυ καρτερῶς ὑπό τε δυσχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ λ μοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος ἤδη καὶ πολεμίων. οὐδέν τε ἀλλ' ἡ πολιορκίας ἔργον ἡν, μέχρι θέρους έπελθόντος ό μεν 'Αφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς τὴν έντὸς Ἰβηρίαν ἐχώρουν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀθροίσοντες, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀεὶ προλαμβάνων διετά-φρευε τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἐκώλυεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰέναι καί τι καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν, προπεμπόμενον ἐς

Gauls. Caesar said that he had subjugated the OHAP. Gauls completely and thus released the commonwealth from the curse. He then placed Aemilius Lepidus in charge of the city, and the tribune, Marcus Antonius, in charge of Italy and of the army guarding it. Outside of Italy he chose Curio to take command of Sicily in place of Cato, and Quintus Valerius for Sardinia. He sent Gaius Antonius to Illyria and entrusted Cisalpine Gaul to Licinius Crassus. He ordered the building of two fleets with all speed, one in the Adriatic and the other in the Tyrrhenian sea. and appointed Hortensius and Dolabella their admirals while they were still under construction.

42. Having prevailed so far as to make Italy Caesar inaccessible to Pompey, Caesar went to Spain, to Spain where he encountered Petreius and Afranius, Pompey's lieutenants, and was worsted by them at first and afterward had an indecisive engagement with them near the town of Ilerta. He pitched his camp on some high ground and obtained his supplies by means of a bridge across the river Sicoris. Suddenly a spate carried way his bridge and cut off a great number of his men on the opposite side, who were destroyed by the forces of Petreius. Caesar himself, with the rest of his army, suffered very severely from the difficulty of the site, from hunger, from the weather, and from the enemy, his situation being in no wise different from that of a siege. Finally, on the approach of summer, Afranius and Petreius withdrew to the interior of Spain to recruit more soldiers, but Caesar continually anticipated them, blocked their passage, and prevented their advance. He also surrounded one of their divisions

ΟΑΡ. στρατοπέδου κατάληψιν, ἐκυκλώσατο. οἱ δὲ ἐπέΥΙ θεσαν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τὰς ἀσπίδας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ 
σύμβολον ἑαυτοὺς παραδιδόντων. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ 
οὕτε συνέλαβεν οὕτε κατηκόντισεν, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν 
ἀπαθεῖς ἐς τοὺς περὶ τὸν ᾿Αφράνιον ἀπιέναι, 
δημοκοπῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πανταχοῦ. ὅθεν 
ἐν ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις ἐπιμιξίαι τε εἰς ἀλλήλους 
ἐγίγνοντο συνεχεῖς καὶ λόγοι περὶ συμβάσεων

κατὰ τὸ πληθος.

43. "Ηδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων 'Αφρανίω μὲν καὶ έτέροις έδόκει της 'Ιβηρίας έκστηναι Καίσαρι καὶ άπαθείς ές Πομπήιον ἀπιέναι, Πετρήιος δὲ ἀντέλεγε καὶ περιθέων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκτεινεν, όσους εύρίσκοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν τῶν Καίσαρος, των τε ιδίων ήγεμόνων ενιστάμενον τινα αὐτοχειρί διεχρήσατο έξ ὧν ἔτι μαλλον ἀχθόμενοι τῶ σκυθρωπω του Πετρηίου, ές το φιλάνθρωπον του Καίσαρος ἐτρέποντο ταῖς γνώμαις. ἐπεὶ δέ που καὶ τὴν ὑδρείαν αὐτῶν προύλαβεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν ἀμηχάνω γενόμενος ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς λόγους τῷ Καίσαρι συνήει μετὰ ᾿Αφρανίου, ἐφορώντων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατῶν ἑκατέρωθεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ὁ μεν εκστήναι της 'Ιβηρίας τω Καίσαρι, ο δε Καΐσαρ αὐτοὺς ἀπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐᾶρον ποταμὸν διαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε χωροῦντας ἐς Πομπήιον ἐᾶν. γενόμενος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ συνήγαγεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐπήκοον, ὅσοι ἣσαν ἔκ τε 'Ρώμης καὶ 'Ιταλίας, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησεν ὧδε· " ύμῶν, ὧ πολέμιοι (τῷδε γὰρ ἔτι τῷ ῥήματι χρώμενος εναργεστέραν ύμιν την εμαυτού γνώμην ποιήσω), ούτε τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἱ σφᾶς ἐμοὶ παρέδοσαν,

that had been sent forward to capture his camp. CHAP. They raised their shields over their heads in token of surrender, but Caesar neither captured nor slaughtered them, but allowed them to go back to Afranius unharmed, after his usual manner of winning the favour of his enemies. Hence it came to pass that there was continual intercourse between the camps and talk of reconciliation among the rank and file.

43. To Afranius and some of the other officers it now seemed best to abandon Spain to Caesar, provided they could go unharmed to Pompey. Petreius opposed this and ran through the camp killing those of Caesar's men whom he found holding communication with his own. He even slew with his own hand one of his officers who tried to restrain him. Moved by these acts of severity on the part of Petreius, the minds of the soldiers were still more attracted to the clemency of Caesar. Soon afterward Caesar managed to cut off the enemy's access to water, and Petreius was compelled by necessity to come with Afranius to a conference with Caesar between the two armies. Here it was agreed that they should abandon Spain to Caesar, and that he should conduct them unharmed to the other side of the river Varus and allow them to proceed thence to Pompey. Arrived at this stream, Caesar called a meeting of all those who were from Rome or Italy and addressed them as follows: "My enemies (for by still using this term I shall make my meaning clearer to you), I did not destroy those of you who surrendered to me when you had been

CAP. διέφθειρα οὔτε τὸν ἄλλον ὑμῶν στρατόν, λαβὼν 
ΥΙ τὰ ὑδρεύματα, Πετρηίου ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς ὑπὲρ 
τὸν Σίκοριν ποταμὸν ἀποληφθέντας προανελόντος. εἰ δή τις ἔστι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τοὐτων 
χάρις, φράζετε αὐτὰ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατιώταις 
ἄπασι." τοσάδε εἰπὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυεν ἀπαθεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπέφαινεν ἡγεῖσθαι 
Κάσσιον Κόιντον.

### VII

CAP. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα· 44. Λι-βύης δὲ Οὐᾶρος "Αττιος ἐστρατήγει τῷ Πομπηίω, καὶ Ἰόβας ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων Νομάδων βασιλεύς τῷ Οὐάρφ συνεμάχει, Κουρίων δ' ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπέπλει δύο τέλεσι στρατού καὶ ναυσὶ δυώδεκα μακραίς καὶ όλκάσι πολλαίς. Ἰτύκη δὲ προσσχὼν ἐν μέν τινι βραχεία περὶ αὐτὴν ἱππομαχία τρέπεταί τινας τῶν Νομάδων ίππέας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τοῖς όπλοις έτι ούσης αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπέστη προσαγορευθήναι. ἔστι δὲ τιμή τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τόδε τὸ προσαγόρευμα παρὰ τῶν στρατῶν, καθάπερ αὐπροστόγορεσμα παρά των ο τρατων, καστέπερ αυτοίς έπιμαρτυρούντων άξίως σφων αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι: καὶ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπὶ πῶσι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἔργοις προσίεντο, νῦν δ' ὅρον εἶναι τῆδε τῆ εὐφημία πυνθάνομαι τὸ μυρίους πεσείν. "έτι δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ πλέοντος ἐκ Σικελίας, οἱ ἐν τῆ Λιβύη. νομίσαντες αὐτὸν διὰ δοξοκοπίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν χάρακα τὸν Σκιπίωνος κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλουργίας στρατο-

sent to seize my camp, nor the rest of your army CHAP. when I had cut you off from water, although Petreius had previously slaughtered those of my men who were intercepted on the other side of the river Sicoris. If there is any gratitude among you for these favours tell them to all of Pompey's soldiers." After speaking thus he dismissed them uninjured, and he appointed Quintus Cassius governor of Spain.

## VII

THESE were the operations of Caesar. 44. Mean-CHAP. while in Africa Attius Varus commanded the Pompeian forces, and Juba, king of the Numidians, was in alliance with him. Curio sailed from Sicily against them in behalf of Caesar with two legions, twelve war vessels, and a number of ships of burden. He Campaign landed at Utica and put to flight a body of Numidian of Atrica horse in a small cavalry engagement near that place, and allowed himself to be saluted as Imperator by the soldiers with their arms still in their hands. This title is an honour conferred upon generals by their soldiers, who thus testify that they consider them worthy to be their commanders. In the olden times the generals accepted this honour only for the greatest exploits. At present I understand that the distinction is limited to cases where at least 10,000 of the enemy have been killed. While Curio was crossing from Sicily the inhabitants of Africa, thinking that, in emulation of the glory of Scipio, he would estallish his quarters near the camp of the latter,

CAP. πεδεύσειν, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφάρμαξαν. καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐ VII διήμαρτον ὅ τε γὰρ Κουρίων ἐστάθμευσεν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐνόσει, πιοῦσί τε τὸ βλέμμα ἀμαυρὸν ἢν ὥσπερ ἐν ὁμίχλη, καὶ ὕπνος ἐπεγίγνετο σὺν κάρω, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν ἔμετοι τροφῆς ποικίλοι καὶ σπασμὸς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος. ὧν δὴ χάριν ὁ Κουρίων παρ' αὐτὴν Ἰτύκην μετεστρατοπέδευε, δι' ἔλους ἰσχυροῦ τε καὶ μακροῦ τὸν στρατόν, ἀσθενῆ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν γεγονότα, ἄγων. ὡς δέ σφισιν ἡ νίκη Καίσαρος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπηγγέλθη, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ παρετάξαντο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν βραχεῖ χωρίω. μάχης δὲ καρτερῶς γενομένης Κουρίωνος μὲν εἶς ἀνὴρ ἔπεσεν, Οὐάρου δὲ ἑξακόσιοι, καὶ κατετρώ-

θησαν έτι πλείονες.

45. Ἰοβα δ' ἐπιόντος δόξα ψευδης προεπήδησεν, ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν οὐ πολὺ 
διεστῶτα ὑπεστροφέναι τὸν Ἰοβαν, πορθουμένης 
αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων, Σαβούρραν 
στρατηγὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταλιπόντα. καὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ πίσυνος ὁ Κουρίων 
θέρους θερμοῦ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἡμέρας ἦγε τὸ 
κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβούρραν, ὁδὸν 
ψαμμώδη καὶ ἄνυδρον εἰ γάρ τι καὶ νᾶμα 
χειμέριον ἦν, ἐξήραντο ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τοῦ ἡλίου, 
καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπό τε Σαβούρρα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 
παρόντος κατείχετο τοῦ βασιλέως. σφαλεὶς οὖν 
τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Κουρίων ἐς λόφους ἀνέδραμεν ὑπό 
τε καμάτου καὶ πνίγους καὶ δίψης ἐνοχλούμενος. 
ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν κατείδον οὕτως ἔχοντα οἱ πολέμιοι, 
τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ 
Κουρίων κατέβαινεν ἀφρόνως μάλα καὶ κατα-

poisoned the water in the neighbourhood. Their CHAP. expectation was fulfilled. Curio encamped there and his army immediately fell sick. When they drank the water their eyesight became dim as in a mist, and sleep with torpor ensued, and after that frequent vomiting and spasms of the whole body. For this reason Curio changed his camp to the neighbourhood of Utica itself, leading his enfeebled army through an extensive marshy region. But when they received the news of Caesar's victory in Spain they took courage and put themselves in order of battle in a narrow space along the seashore. Here a severe battle was fought in which Curio lost only one man, while Varus lost 600 killed, besides a still larger number wounded.

45. Meantime, while Juba was advancing, a false report preceded him, that he had turned back at the river Bagradas, which was not far distant, because his kingdom had been invaded by his neighbours, and that he had left Saburra, his general, with a small force at the river. Curio believed this report and about the third hour of a hot summer day led the greater part of his army against Saburra by a sandy road destitute of water; for even if there were any streams there in winter they were dried up by the heat of the sun. He found the river in possession of Saburra and of the king himself. Disappointed in his expectation Curio retreated to some hills, oppressed by fatigue, heat, and thirst. When the enemy beheld him in this condition they crossed the river prepared for fight. Curio despised the danger and very imprudently led his enfeebled army down to the plain,

CAP. φρονητικώς, ἀσθενή τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων. κυκλωVII σαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέων ἐπὶ μέν
τινα χρόνον ὑπεχώρει καὶ ἐς βραχὺ συνεστέλλετο,
ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ἀνέφευγεν αὖθις ἐς τοὺς λόφους.
'Ασίνιος μὲν δὴ Πολλίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ κακοῦ
διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰτύκη στρατόπεδον σὺν
ὀλίγοις, μή τις ἐξ Οὐάρου γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν δόξαν
τῆς ἐνταῦθα κακοπραγίας ἐπίθεσις· Κουρίων δὲ
φιλοκινδύνως μαχόμενος σὺν ἄπασι τοῖς παροῦσιν
ἔπεσεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ Πολλίωνι μηδένα ἄλλον

έπανελθείν ές Ίτύκην.

46. Τοιοῦτο μέν δή τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμον μάχης έγένετο, καὶ ἡ κεφαλή τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἀποτμηθεῖσα ἐς Ἰόβαν ἐφέρετο· ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην στρατοπέδω τοῦ κακοῦ φανερού γενομένου, Φλάμμας μεν ο ναύαρχος αὐτίκα ἔφευγεν αὐτῷ στόλῳ, πρίν τινα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, ᾿Ασίνιος δ΄ ἐς τοὺς παρορμοῦντας ἐμπόρους ἀκατίω διαπλεύσας ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν ἐπιπλεῦσαί τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν. καί τινες ές τοῦτο νυκτὸς ἐπέπλευσαν, ἀθρόων δ' εσβαινόντων εκείνων τά τε σκάφη κατεδύετο, καὶ των αναχθέντων οἱ έμποροι τοὺς πολλοὺς χρήματα φέροντας ένεκα των χρημάτων ές την θάλασσαν έρρίπτουν. καὶ τάδε μεν ην ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἀναχθέντας, ἔτερα δ' ἐν τῆ γῆ, νυκτὸς ἔτι, περὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας εγίγνετο όμοια. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οἱ μεν τῶ Οὐάρω σφᾶς παρέδοσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰόβας ἐπελθὼν περιέστησεν αὐτοὺς περί τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ώς λείψανα της έαυτοῦ νίκης κατηκόντισεν, οὐδέν τι φροντίσας ούδε Ουάρου παρακαλούντος. ούτω μεν δή τὰ σύν Κουρίωνι ές Αιβύην έπιπλεύσαντα 'Ρωμαίων

where he was surrounded by the Numidian horse. CHAP. Here for some time he sustained the attack by retiring slowly and drawing his men together into a small space, but being much distressed he retreated again to the hills. Asinius Pollio, at the beginning Curto of the trouble, had retreated with a small force to and killed the camp at Utica lest Varus should make an attack upon it as soon as he should hear the news of the disaster at the river. Curio perished fighting bravely, His army together with all his men, not one returning to Utica destroyed to join Pollio.

46. Such was the result of the battle at the river Bagradas. Curio's head was cut off and carried to Juba. As soon as the news of this disaster reached the camp at Utica, Flamma, the admiral, fled, fleet and all, not taking a single one of the land forces on board, but Pollio rowed out in a small boat to the merchant ships that were lying at anchor near by and besought them to come to the shore and take the army on board. Some of them did so by night, but the soldiers came aboard in such crowds that some of the small boats were sunk. Of those who were carried out to sea, and who had money with them, many were thrown overboard by the merchants for the sake of the money. So much for those who put to sea, but similar calamities, while it was still night, befell those who remained on shore. At daybreak they surrendered themselves to Varus, but Juba came up and, having collected them under the walls, put them all to the sword, claiming that they were the remainder of his victory, and paying no attention to the remonstrances of even Varus himself. Thus the two Roman legions that sailed to Africa with

CAP. δύο τέλη διώλετο ἄπαντα καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν <sup>VII</sup> ἦσαν ἱππέες τε καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ στρατοῦ· Ἰόβας δ' ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀνέστρεφε, μέγιστον ἔργον τόδε Πομπηίω καταλογιζόμενος.

47. Καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἀντώνιός τε περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ἡττᾶτο ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίου κατὰ Δολοβέλλα Πομπηίω στρατηγούντος, καὶ στρατιά Καίσαρος ἄλλη περί Πλακεντίαν στασιάσασα τῶν ἀρχόντων κατεβόησεν, ὡς ἔν τε τῆ στρατεία βραδύνοντες και τὰς πέντε μνᾶς οὐ λαβόντες, ήν τινα δωρεάν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι περί Βρεντέσιον ύπέσχητο. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος ἐκ Μασσαλίας ές Πλακεντίαν ηπείγετο συντόμως καὶ ές έτι στασιάζοντας επελθών έλεγεν ώδε "τάχει μεν ὅσφ περὶ ἕκαστα χρῶμαι, σύνιστέ μοι βραδύνει δ' ὁ πόλεμος οὐ δί ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγοντας ήμας. ὑμεῖς δ' ἔν τε Γαλατία πολλά της έμης άρχης ονάμενοι καί ές τόνδε τον πόλεμον όλον, οὐκ ἐς μέρος αὐτοῦ μοι συνομόσαντες έν μέσοις ἔργοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολείπετε καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπανίστασθε καὶ προστάττειν άξιοῦτε, παρ' ὧν χρη προστάγματα λαμβάνειν. μαρτυράμενος οθν έμαυτον της ές ύμας μέχρι δεθρο φιλοτιμίας χρήσομαι τῷ πατρίφ νόμφ καὶ τοῦ ένάτου τέλους, ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα τῆς στάσεως κατῆρξε, τὸ δέκατον διακληρώσω θανεῖν." θρήνου δὲ ἀθρόως ἐξ ἄπαντος τοῦ τέλους γενομένου, οί μεν άρχοντες αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες ικέτευον, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ μόλις τε καί κατ' ολίγον ενδιδούς ές τοσούτον όμως ύφηκεν, ώς έκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μόνους, οί κατάρξαι μάλιστα έδόκουν, διακληρώ-

Curio were totally destroyed, together with the CHAP. cavalry, the light-armed troops, and the servants belonging to the army. Juba, after vaunting his

great exploit to Pompey, returned home.

47. About this time Antonius was defeated in Mutiny in Illyria by Pompey's lieutenant against Dolabella, army at Octavius, and another army of Caesar mutinied at Placentia Placentia, crying out against their officers for prolonging the war and not paying them the five minae that Caesar had promised them as a donative while they were still at Brundusium. When Caesar heard of this he flew from Massilia to Placentia and coming before the soldiers, who were still in a state of mutiny, addressed them as follows: "You know what kind of speed I use in everything I undertake. This war is not prolonged by us, but by the enemy, who keep retiring from us. You reaped great advantages from my command in Gaul, and you took an oath to me for the whole of this war and not for a part only; and now you abandon us in the midst of our labours, you revolt against your officers, you propose to give orders to those from whom you are bound to receive orders. Being myself the witness of my liberality to you heretofore I shall now execute the law of our country by decimating the ninth legion, where this mutiny began." Straightway a cry went up from the whole legion, and the officers threw themselves at Caesar's feet in supplication. Caesar yielded little by little and so far remitted the punishment as to designate 120 only (who seemed to have been the leaders

<sup>1</sup> The Greek text is conjectural.

CAP. σαι καὶ δυώδεκα αὐτῶν τοὺς λαχόντας ἀνελεῖν.
 VII τῶν δὲ δυώδεκα τῶνδε ἐψάνη τις οὐδ' ἐπιδημῶν,
 ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐμφή-

ναντα λοχαγον έκτεινεν άντ' αὐτοῦ.

48. Ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πλακεντίαν στάσις οὔτως έλέλυτο, ὁ δὲ Καΐσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην παρῆλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος πεφρικώς ήρεῖτο δικτάτορα, ούτε τι της βουλης ψηφιζομένης ούτε προχειροτονούντος άρχοντος. ο δέ, εἴτε παραιτησάμενος την άρχην ώς επίφθονον είτε οὐ χρήζων, άρξας έπὶ ἕνδεκα μόνας ἡμέρας (ὧδε γάρ τισι δοκεῖ) ύπάτους ές τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν ξαυτόν τε καὶ Πούπλιον Ἰσαυρικόν. ήγεμόνας τε ές τὰ έθνη περιέπεμπεν ή ενήλλαττεν, εφ' εαυτοῦ καταλέγων, ές μεν Ίβηρίαν Μάρκον Λέπιδον, ές δε Σικελίαν Αθλον 'Αλβίνον, ές δὲ Σαρδώ Σέξστον Πεδουκαῖον, ἐς δὲ τὴν νεόληπτον Γαλατίαν Δέκμον Βροῦτον. τῷ δὲ δήμφ λιμώττοντι σῖτον ἐπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας δεομένω καταγαγείν συνεχώρησε, χωρίς Μίλωνος. αἰτοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ χρεων αποκοπάς διά τε πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ την έκ τωνδε τοις πιπρασκομένοις έπουσαν εύωνίαν, τὰς μὲν ἀποκοπὰς οὐκ έδωκε, τιμητὰς δὲ τῶν ώνίων ἀπέφηνεν, ὧν ἔδει τοὺς χρήστας τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων διδόναι. καὶ τάδε πράξας περί χειμερίους τροπάς περιέπεμπε τον στρατον ἀπαντᾶν ές το Βρεντέσιον αὐτός τε έξήει Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς 'Ρωμαίοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔνεκα τὴν νουμηνίαν τοῦ ἔτους πλησιάζουσαν. ὁ δὲ δημος είπετο παρακαλών συμβήναι Πομπηίω· οὐ γὰρ ἄδηλον ἦν ές μοναρχίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέψεσθαι.

of the revolt), and chose twelve of these by lot to be CHAP. put to death. One of the twelve proved that he was absent when the conspiracy was formed, and Caesar put to death in his stead the centurion who had accused him.

48. After thus quelling the mutiny at Placentia Brief Caesar proceeded to Rome, where the trembling of Caesar people chose him dictator without any decree of the Senate and without the intervention of a magistrate. But he, either deprecating the office as likely to prove invidious or not desiring it, after holding it only eleven days (as some say) designated himself and Publius Isauricus as consuls. He appointed or changed the governors of provinces according to his own pleasure. He assigned Marcus Lepidus to Spain. Aulus Albinus to Sicily, Sextus Peducaeus to Sardinia. and Decimus Brutus to the newly acquired Gaul. He distributed corn to the starving people and at their petition he allowed the return of all exiles except Milo. When he was asked to decree an abolition of debts, on the ground that the wars and seditions had caused a fall of prices, he refused it, but appointed appraisers of saleable goods which debtors might give to their creditors instead of money. When this had been done, about the winter solstice, he sent for his whole army to rendezvous at Brundusium and he himself took his departure in the month of December, according to the Roman calendar, not waiting for the beginning of his consulship on the calends of the new year, which was close at hand. The people followed him to the city gates, urging him to come to an arrangement with Pompey, for it was evident that whichever of the two should conquer would assume sovereign power.

#### VIII

ΟΑΡ. 49. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥδευεν οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων δυνατῆς έπείξεως, ό δὲ Πομπήιος πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ναθς εποιείτο καὶ στρατὸν αίεὶ πλείονα καὶ χρήματα συνήγε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίω Καίσαρος τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς έλων εφύλασσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν διάπλουν τόν τε στρατον έγύμναζε, συντρέχων καὶ συνιππεύων καὶ παντὸς έξάρχων πόνου παρ ήλικίαν όθεν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως εὔνοιά τε ἡν, καὶ συνέθεον έπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια Πομπηίου πάντες ώς έπὶ θέαν. ἡν δ' ἐς τότε Καίσαρι μὲν δέκα τέλη πεζων καὶ Κελτων ἱππέες μύριοι, Πομπηίφ δὲ πέντε μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, μεθ' ὧν τὸν Ἰόνιον διεπεπλεύκει, και τούτοις όσοι συνετάσσοντο ίππέες, έκ δὲ Παρθυαίων δύο, τῶν σὺν Κράσσω πεπολεμηκότων τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, . . . καί τι μέρος ἄλλο τῶν ές Αίγυπτον έσβαλόντων μετά Γαβινίου, σύμπαντα ανδρών Ίταλών ένδεκα τέλη καὶ ίππέες άμφὶ τους έπτακισχιλίους. σύμμαχοι δ' έξ Ίωνίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Βοιωτίας τοξόται τε Κρήτες και σφενδονήται Θράκες καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὸν Πόντον βέλεσι χρώνται, ίππέες τέ τινες Κελτών καὶ έκ Γαλατίας έτεροι της έφας Κομμαγηνοί τε ὑπ' Αντιόχου πεμφθέντες καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Καππαδόκαι καὶ έκ τῆς βραγυτέρας 'Αρμενίας τινες καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι. ών οὐχ ἄπασιν ἐς μάχας, ἀλλ' ἐς φρούρια καὶ ταφρείας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ στρατοῦ χρησθαι διενοείτο, ίνα μηδένα των Ίταλων τοῦ

#### VIII

49. CAESAR departed on his journey and travelled CHAP. with all possible speed, but in the meantime Pompey was using all diligence to build ships and collect forces additional forces of men and money. He captured forty of Caesar's ships in the Adriatic and guarded against his crossing. He disciplined his army and took part in the exercises of both infantry and cavalry, and was foremost in everything, notwithstanding his age. In this way he readily gained the good-will of his soldiers; and the people flocked to see Pompey's military drills as to a spectacle. Caesar at that time had ten legions of infantry and 10,000 Gallic horse. Pompey had five legions from Italy, with which he had crossed the Adriatic, and the cavalry belonging to them; also the two surviving legions that had served with Crassus in the Parthian war 1 and a certain part of those who had made the incursion into Egypt with Gabinius, making altogether eleven legions of Italian troops and about 7000 horse. He had auxiliaries also from Ionia. Macedonia, Peloponnesus, and Boeotia, Cretan archers, Thracian slingers, and Pontic javelinthrowers. He had also some Gallic horse and others from eastern Galatia, together with Commageneans sent by Antiochus, Cilicians, Cappadocians, some troops from Lesser Armenia, also Pamphylians and Pisidians. Pompey did not intend to use all these for fighting. Some were employed in garrison duty, in building fortifications, and in other service for the Italian soldiers, so that none of the latter should be

<sup>1</sup> There is a small gap in the text here.

CAP. πολέμου περισπώη, καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν αὐτῷ τὰ ΨΗΙΙ πεζά, νῆες δὲ μακραὶ μὲν ἐντελεῖς τοῖς πληρώμασιν ἑξακόσιαι, καὶ τούτων ἐς ἑκατὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβατῶν, αὶ καὶ μάλιστα προύχειν ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ ὁλκάδων καὶ σκευοφόρων ἄλλο πλῆθος. ναύαρχοί τε πολλοὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς

Μᾶρκος Βύβλος.

50. 'Ως δέ οἱ πάντα ην έτοιμα, συναγαγών όσοι τε ήσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ίππέων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν άπαντα ἐς ἐπήκοον, έλεξεν ώδε "καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι την πόλιν εξέλιπον, ω άνδρες, ύπερ ελευθερίας τοις επιούσι πολεμοῦντες, οὐ τὰ οἰκήματα πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας είναι νομίζοντες καὶ τόδε πράξαντες όξέως αὐτην ανέλαβόν τε καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ἀπέφηναν καὶ ήμων αὐτων οἱ πρόγονοι Κελτων ἐπιόντων ἐξέλιπου τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀνεσώσατο ἐξ ᾿Αρδεατῶν Κάμιλλος ὁρμώμενος. πάντες τε οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες την έλευθερίαν, όπη ποτ' αν ωσιν, ήγουνται πατρίδα. δ καὶ ήμεῖς ἐνθυμούμενοι δεῦρο διεπλεύσαμεν, οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλιπόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτης παρασκευασόμενοί τε καλώς ἐνθάδε καὶ άμυνούμενοι τον έκ πολλού μεν επιβουλεύοντα αὐτη, διὰ δὲ τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας την Ἰταλίαν άφνω καταλαβόντα. δυ ύμεις μεν εψηφίσασθε είναι πολέμιον, ο δε καὶ νθν ήγεμόνας ες τὰ έθνη τὰ ὑμέτερα περιπέμπει καὶ τῆ πόλει τινὰς έφίστησι καὶ έτέρους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοσῆδε

kept away from the battles. Such were Pompey's CHAP. land forces. He had 600 war-ships perfectly equipped, of which about 100 were manned by Romans and were understood to be much superior to the rest. He also had a great number of transports and ships of burden. There were numerous naval commanders for the different divisions, and Marcus Bibulus had the chief command over all.

50. When all was in readiness Pompey called the Pompey's senators, the knights, and the whole army to an speech to his army assembly and addressed them as follows: "Fellowsoldiers, the Athenians, too, abandoned their city for the sake of liberty when they were fighting against invasion, because they believed that it was not houses that made a city, but men 1; and after they had done so they presently recovered it and made it more renowned than even before. So, too. our own ancestors abandoned the city when the Gauls invaded it, and Camillus hastened from Ardea and recovered it.2 All men of sound mind think that their country is wherever they can preserve their liberty. Because we were thus minded we sailed hither, not as deserters of our native land, but in order to prepare ourselves to defend it gloriously against one who has long conspired against it, and, by means of bribe-takers, has at last seized Italy by a sudden invasion. You have decreed him a public enemy, yet he now sends governors to take charge of your provinces. He appoints others over the city and still others throughout Italy. With such audacity has he deprived the people of their own

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 389 is a probable date.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus viii. 41. The latter part of the sentence was a commonplace from Alcaeus downwards.

CAP. τόλμη τον δημον ἀφαιρεῖται την ήγεμονίαν. καὶ εἰ τάδε πολεμῶν ἔτι καὶ δεδιῶς καὶ δίκην σὺν θεῷ δώσων ἐξεργάζεται, τί χρη νικήσαντα προσδοκᾶν ἐκλείψειν ἀμότητος ἡ βίας; καὶ τάδε πράττοντι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος σύνεισίν τινες ἐωνημένοι χρημάτων ὧν ἐκείνος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας Γαλατίας πεπόρισται, δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν

έκείνον ισονομίας αιρούμενοι.

51. Έγω δ' οὐκ ἐξέλιπον οὐδ' αν ἐκλίποιμι τὸν μεθ' ύμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτην έμαυτον ύμιν και στρατηγον έπιδίδωμι καί, εἴ τις ἔστι μοι πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τύχη άηττήτω μέχρι νῦν γενομένω, και τάδε μοι πάντα τούς θεούς ές τὰ παρόντα συνενεγκείν εύχομαι καὶ γενέσθαι τῆ πατρίδι κινδυνευούση καθά καὶ περικτωμένη την ήγεμονίαν αίσιος. θαρρείν δέ χρη τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ λογισμῷ τοῦ πολέμου, καλην καὶ δικαίαν ἔχοντι φιλοτιμίαν ύπερ πατρίου πολιτείας, έπι δε τούτω, τῷ πλήθει της παρασκευής τῷ τε νῦν ὄντι ἡμῖν κατὰ γην καὶ κατά θάλασσαν καὶ τῷ γιγνομένω τε ἀεὶ καὶ προσεσομένω μαλλον, ἐπειδάν τῶν ἔργων άψώμεθα. όσα γάρ εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν εω καὶ τὸν Εύξεινον πόντον ἔθνη, πάντα, έλληνικά τε καὶ βάρβαρα, ήμιν σύνεστι· καὶ βασιλέες, ὅσοι 'Ρωμαίοις η έμοι φίλοι, στρατιάν και βέλη και άγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν χορηγοῦσιν. ίτε οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξίως τῆς τε πατρίδος καὶ ύμων αὐτων καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ὕβρεως μνημονεύοντες καὶ όξέως ές τὰ παραγγελλόμενα γωροῦντες."

government. If he does these things while the war CHAP. is still raging and while he is apprehensive of the result and when we intend, with heaven's help, to bring him to punishment, what cruelty, what violence is he likely to abstain from if he wins the victory? And while he is doing these things against the fatherland certain men, who have been bought with money that he obtained from our province of Gaul, co-operate with him, choosing to be his slaves instead

of his equals.

51. "I have not failed and I never will fail to fight with you and for you. I give you my services both as soldier and as general. If I have any experience in war, if it has been my good fortune to remain unvanquished to this day, I pray the gods to continue all these blessings in our present need, and that I may become a man of happy destiny for my country in her perils as I was in extending her dominion. Surely we may trust in the gods and in the righteousness of the war, which has for its noble and just object the defence of our country's constitution. In addition to this we may rely upon the magnitude of the preparations which we behold on land and sea, which are all the time growing and will be augmented still more as soon as we come into action. We may say that all the nations of the East and around the Euxine Sea, both Greek and barbarian, stand with us; and kings, who are friends of the Roman people or of myself, are supplying us soldiers, arms, provisions, and other implements of war. Come to your task then with a spirit worthy of your country, of yourselves, and of me, mindful of the wrongs you have received from Caesar, and ready to obey my orders promptly."

ΟΑΡ. 52. 'Ο μὲν ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἄπας καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολὺ καὶ γνωριμώτατον πλῆθος, εὐφήμουν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευον ἄγειν, ἐφ' ὅ τι χρήζοι. ὁ δέ (ἡγεῖτο γάρ, δυσχεροῦς ἔτι τῆς ὥρας οὕσης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλιμένου, μετὰ χειμῶνα ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ὕπατόν τε ὄντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοσῷδε διαθήσεσθαι) τοῖς μὲν ναυάρχοις προσέταττεν ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἐς χειμασίαν ἐπιδιήρει καὶ περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν.

Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν οὕτω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμελῶς ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὥς μοι προείρητο, περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἠπείγετο, νομίζων τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ μάλιστα ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οὕτε δὲ ἀγορὰν οὕτε παρασκευὴν οὕτε τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἠθροισμένον ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταλαβών, τοὺς παρόντας

όμως ές έκκλησίαν συναγαγών έλεγεν.

53. "Οὔτε τῆς ὥρας τὸ χειμέριον, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐμοὶ συναίρεσθε, οὕθ' ἡ τῶν ἄλλων βραδυτὴς ἡ ἔνδεια τῆς πρεπούσης παρασκευῆς ἐφέξει με τῆς ὁρμῆς. ἀντὶ γὰρ πάντων ἡγοῦμαί μοι συνοίσειν τὴν ταχυεργίαν. καὶ πρώτους ἡμᾶς, οὶ πρῶτοι συνεδράμομεν ἀλλήλοις, ἀξιῶ θεράποντας μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πάνθ' ὑπολιπέσθαι, ἵνα ἡμᾶς αἱ παροῦσαι νῆες ὑποδέξωνται, μόνους δ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάντας περᾶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαλάθοιμεν, τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἀντιθέντες, τῆ δ' ὀλιγότητι τόλμαν, τῆ δ' ἀπορία τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐπορίαν, ἦς ἔστιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ

52. When Pompey had thus spoken the whole CHAP. army, including the senators and a great many of the nobility who were with him, applauded him vociferously and told him to lead them to whatsoever task he would. Pompey thought that as the season was bad and the sea harbourless Caesar would not attempt to cross till the end of winter, but would be occupied in the meantime with his duties as consul. So he ordered his naval officers to keep watch over the sea. and then divided his army and sent it into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia.

So heedlessly did Pompey form his judgment of Caesar at what was about to take place. Caesar, as I have Brundu-sium already said, hastened to Brundusium about the winter solstice, intending to strike terror into his enemies by taking them by surprise. Although he found neither provisions, nor apparatus, nor his whole army collected at Brundusium, he, nevertheless, called those who were present to an assembly and

addressed them as follows :-

53. "Fellow soldiers—you who are joined with me Ho in the greatest of undertakings—neither the winter his soldiers weather, nor the delay of our comrades, nor the want of suitable preparation shall check my onset. I consider rapidity of movement the best substitute for all these things. I think that we who are first at the rendezvous should leave behind us here our servants, our pack-animals, and all our apparatus in order that the ships which are here may hold us, and that we should embark alone and cross over at once without the enemy's knowledge. Let us oppose our good fortune to the winter weather, our courage to the smallness of our numbers, and to our want of supplies the abundance of the enemy, which will be

CAP. τὴν γῆν κρατεῖν, ἡν εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι μὴ κρατήσασιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἴδιον. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐπὶ θεράποντάς τε καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκείνων, εως χειμά-ζουσιν ἐν ὑποστέγοις. ἴωμεν, εως Πομπήιος ἡγεῖται κἀμὲ χειμάζειν ἡ περὶ πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας ὑπατικὰς εἶναι. εἰδόσι δ' ὑμῖν ἐκφέρω δυνατώτατον ἐν πολέμοις ἔργον εἶναι τὸ ἀδόκητον φιλότιμον δὲ καὶ πρώτιστον δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτίκα διωξομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῆ τὰ ἐκεῖ προετοιμάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν πλεῖν ἂν ἡ λέγειν μᾶλλον ἐβουλόμην, ἵνα με Πομπήιος ἴδη, νομίζων ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμη διατίθεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον εὐπειθὲς εἰδὼς ὅμως ἀναμένω τὴν ἀπόκρισιν."

54. 'Αναβοήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὁρμἢ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἄγειν σφῶς, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, πέντε πεζῶν τέλη καὶ ἰππέας λογάδας ἑξακοσίους. καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἀπεσάλευε κλυδωνίου διαταράσσοντος. χειμέριοι δ' ἦσαν τροπαί, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄκοντα καὶ ἀσχάλλοντα κατεκώλυε, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραν ἐν Βρεντεσίω διατρῖψαι. καὶ δύο τελῶν ἀνήγετο χειμῶνος ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων αὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ νῆες ὀλίγαι μακραί, Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν ἐφρούρουν. ὑπὸ δὲ χειμώνων ἐς τὰ Κεραύνια ὅρη περιαχθεὶς τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν περιέπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἤει νυκτὸς ἐπὶ πόλιν "Ωρικον διὰ τραχείας ἀτραποῦ καὶ στενῆς, ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διασπώμενος ὑπὸ

ours to take as soon as we touch the land, if we CHAP. realize that unless we conquer nothing is our own. VIII Let us go then and possess ourselves of their servants. their apparatus, their provisions, while they are spending the winter under cover. Let us go while Pompey thinks that I am spending my time in winter quarters also, or in processions and sacrifices appertaining to my consulship. It is needless to tell you that the most potent thing in war is unexpectedness. It will be glorious for us to carry off the first honours of the coming conflict and to make everything safe in advance vonder for those who will immediately follow us. For my part I would rather now be sailing than talking, so that I may come in Pompey's sight while he thinks me engaged in my official duties at Rome. I am certain that you agree with me, but yet I await your response."

54. The whole army cried out with enthusiasm He sails for that he should lead on. Caesar at once led, direct Epirus from the platform to the seashore, five legions of foot-soldiers and 600 chosen horse, but as a storm came up he was obliged to anchor off shore. It was now the winter solstice and the wind kept him back, chafing and disappointed, and held him in Brundusium until the first day of the new year. In the B.O. 48 meantime two more legions arrived and Caesar embarked these also and started in the winter time on merchant ships, for he had only a few war-ships and these were guarding Sardinia and Sicily. The ships were driven by the winds to the Ceraunian Mountains and Caesar sent them back immediately to bring the rest of the army. He then marched by night against the town of Oricum by a rough and narrow path, with his force divided in several parts

CAP. τῆς δυσχωρίας, ὡς εὐεπιχείρητος ἄν, εἴ τις ἤσθετο, γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἕω μόλις αὐτῷ συνήει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ φρούραρχος ὁ τῆς ᾿Ωρίκου, τῶν ἔνδον αὐτῷ προειπόντων οὐ κωλύσειν ἐπιόντα Ἡνωμαίων ὕπατον, τάς τε κλεῖς παρέδωκε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κατέμεινε τιμῆς ἀξιούμενος. Λουκρήτιος δὲ καὶ Μινούκιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ὠρίκου ναυσὶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μακραῖς Πομπηίω σῖτον ἐν πλοίοις ψυλάσσοντες τά τε πλοῖα κατέδυσαν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὰ λάβοι, καὶ ἐς Δυρράχιον διέφυγον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ὠρίκου Καῖσαρ ἐς ᾿Απολλωνίαν ἢπείγετο καὶ τῶν ᾿Απολλωνιατῶν αὐτὸν δεχομένων, Σταβέριος ὁ φρούραρχος ἐξέλιπε τὴν πόλιν.

55. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ άλίσας τον ἐαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἀνέμνησεν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν τοῦ τε χειμῶνος σὺν τῆ τύχη περιγένοιντο καὶ θαλάσσης τοσῆσδε χωρὶς νεῶν κρατήσειαν 'Ωρικόν τε καὶ 'Απολλωνίαν ἀμαχεὶ λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοιεν, καθάπερ εἶπεν, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι Πομπήου. "εἰ δὲ καὶ Δυρράχιον," ἔφη, "τὸ ταμιεῖον τῆς Πομπήου παρασκευῆς προλάβοιμεν, ἔσται πάντα ἡμῖν, ὰ ἐκείνοις δι' ὅλου θέρους πεπονημένοις." τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἦγε συντόμως ἐπὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον αὐτοὺς ὁδὸν μακράν, οὕτε ἡμέρας οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαύων. Πομπήιος δὲ προμαθὼν ἀντιπαρώδευεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, σὺν ἐπείξει καὶ ὅδε πολλῆ, κόπτων τε τὴν ὕλην, ἡν παρώδευεν, ἵνα Καίσαρι δύσβατος εἴη, καὶ ποταμῶν γεφύρας διαιρῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν μέσφ πᾶσαν ἐμπιπράς,

on account of the difficulties of the road, so that if CHAP. anyone had observed it he might have been easily beaten. With much trouble he got his detachments together about daylight and the commander of the garrison of Oricum, having been forbidden by the townsmen to oppose the entrance of a Roman consul, delivered the keys of the place to Caesar and remained with him in a position of honour. Lucretius and Minucius, who were on the other side of Oricum with eighteen war-ships guarding merchant ships loaded with corn for Pompey, sunk the latter to prevent them from falling into Caesar's hands, and fled to Dyrrachium. From Oricum Caesar hastened to Apollonia, the inhabitants of which received him. Straberius, the commander of the garrison, abandoned the city.

55. Caesar assembled his army and congratulated them on the success they had achieved by their rapid movement in mid-winter, on conquering such a sea without war-ships, on taking Oricum and Apollonia without a fight, and on capturing the enemy's supplies, as he had predicted, without Pompey's knowledge. "If we can anticipate him in reaching Dyrrachium, his military arsenal," he added, "we shall be in possession of all the things they have collected by the labours of a whole summer."

After speaking thus he led his soldiers directly He marches toward Dyrrachium over a long road, not stopping Dyrrachium day or night. Pompey, being advised beforehand, marched toward the same place from Macedonia with extreme haste also, cutting down trees along the road, in order to obstruct Caesar's passage, destroying bridges, and setting fire to all the supplies he met with, considering it at the same time of the

CAP. ἐν μεγίστω, καθάπερ ἢν, καὶ ὅδε τιθέμενος τὴν 
ΥΠΙ ἐαυτοῦ παρασκευὴν διαφυλάξαι. κονιορτὸν δ' ἢ 
πῦρ ἢ καπνὸν εἴ ποτε μακρόθεν ἴδοιεν αὐτῶν 
ἐκάτεροι, νομίζοντες εἶναι τὰ ἀλλήλων ἐφιλονίκουν ὡς ἐν ἀγῶνι δρόμου. καὶ οὔτε τροφῷ 
καιρὸν ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ὕπνω· ἔπειξις δ' ἦν καὶ 
σπουδὴ καὶ βοαὶ τῶν ἀγόντων αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ λαμπτῆρσι, καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦδε πολυς καὶ φόβος, 
ὡς τῶν πολεμίων αἰεὶ πλησιαζόντων. ὑπὸ δὲ 
καμάτου τινὲς ἀπερρίπτουν, ὰ ἔφερον, ἢ ἐν φάραγξι διαλαθόντες ὑπελείποντο, τὴν αὐτίκα ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φόβου διαλλασσό-

μενοι.

56. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐκατέρων κακοπαθούντων προύλαβεν ὅμως ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ παρὰ αὐτὸ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ναῦς τε ἐπιπέμψας ε΄Ωρικον αὐθις εἰλε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκριβεστέραις φρουραῖς ἐφύλασσεν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν "Αλωρα ποταμὸν ἐν μέσφ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσε. καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντες ἱππομάχουν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη, ἀθρόοις δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς οὐ συνεπλέκοντο, Πομπήιος μὲν ἔτι γυμνάζων τοὺς νεοστρατεύτους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς ἐκ Βρεντεσίου περιμένων. νομίσας δ' ἔαρος μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων διαπλέοντας οὐ λήσειν τὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου τριήρεις θαμινὰ ἐς φυλακὴν ἀναπλεούσας, χειμῶνος δ' εἰ παραβάλλοιντο, ναυλοχούντων ἐς νήσους τῶν πολεμίων, λαθεῖν ἃν αὐτοὺς ἴσως ἡ καὶ βιάσασθαι μεγέθει τε νεῶν καὶ πνεύματι, μετεπέμπετο κατὰ σπουδήν. οὐκ ἀναγομένων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ τὴν

greatest importance (as it was) to safeguard his CHAP. own stores. If either army saw any dust, or fire, or smoke at a distance they thought it was caused by the other, and they strove like athletes in a race. They did not allow themselves time for food or sleep. All was haste and eagerness mingled with the shouts of guides who carried torches, causing tumult and fear as the hostile armies were ever drawing nearer and nearer to each other. Some of the soldiers from fatigue threw away their loads. Others hid themselves in ravines and were left behind, exchanging their fear of the enemy for the rest which the moment craved.

56. In the midst of such distresses on either side He encamps Pompey arrived first at Dyrrachium and encamped before it near it. He sent a fleet and retook Oricum and kept the strictest watch on the sea. Caesar pitched his camp so that the river Alor 1 ran between himself and Pompey. By crossing the stream they had occasional cavalry skirmishes with each other, but the armies did not come to a general engagement, for Pompey was still exercising his new levies and Caesar waited for the forces left at Brundusium. The latter apprehended that if these should sail in merchant ships in the spring they would not escape Pompey's triremes, which would be patrolling the sea, as guard ships, in great numbers, but if they should cross in winter while the enemy were lying inside among the islands they might perhaps be unnoticed, or might force their way by the strength of the wind and the size of their ships. So he sent orders to them to hasten. As they did not start he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Caesar and all other authorities say the river Apsus.

ΟΑΡ. στρατιὰν διαπλεῦσαι λαθών, ὡς οὔ τινος αὐτὴν ΥΙΙΙ ἄλλου ραδίως ἐπαξομένου. καὶ τὸ βούλευμα ἐπικρύψας ἔπεμπε τρεῖς θεράποντας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ δυώδεκα σταδίων ὄντα, οῖ κελήτιον ὀξὺ καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν ἄριστον ὡς δή τινι πεμπομένφ πρὸς Καίσαρος ἔμελλον ἐτοιμάσειν.

### IX

CAP. 57. Αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ διαίτης ὑπεχώρησε μὲν ὡς κάμνων τῷ σώματι, τοὺς φίλους ἔτι ἐστιᾶσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπιθέμενος δ΄ ἐσθῆτα ἰδιώτου καὶ ὀχή-ματος εὐθὺς ἐπιβὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ὡς όδε ὢν ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεσταλμένος τά τε λοιπὰ διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων προσέτασσεν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένος τε καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μάλιστα ἀγνοούμενος. χειμερίου δε τοῦ πνεύματος όντος θαρρείν εκέλευον οἱ θεράποντες τὸν κυβερνήτην ώς τῶδε μάλιστα λησόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὅντας. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποταμὸν ὁ κυβερνήτης εἰρεσία βιαζό-μενος ἔπλει: ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἡ θάλασσα σὺν κλυδωνίω καὶ πνεύματι τὸ ῥεθμα ακάσσα δυν κλυοωνίφ και πνευματί το ρευμα άνέκοπτεν, ό μὲν ἐπισπερχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν θεραπόντων ἐβιάζετο καὶ ὡς ἐς οὐδὲν προκόπτων ἀπέκαμνε καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀποκαλυψάμενος ἐνεβόησεν αὐτῷ· "θαρρῶν ἴθι πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην." ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ἐρετῶν καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου προθυμία τε πασιν ενίπιπτε και ή ναθς ύπο βίας έξέπιπτε τοθ ποταμοθ. το πνεθμα δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ κῦμα μετέωρον ἐς τὰς ὄχθας

decided to cross over secretly to that army, because OHAP. no one else could bring them so easily. He concealed his intention and sent three servants to the river, a distance of twelve stades, to procure a fast-sailing boat with a first rate pilot, saying that it was for a messenger sent by Caesar.

### IX

57. Rising from supper he pretended to be fatigued CHAP. and told his friends to remain at the table. He put IX on the clothing of a private person, stepped into a attempts to carriage, and drove away to the ship, pretending to cross the be the messenger sent by Caesar. He gave the rest a small boat of his orders through his servants and remained concealed by the darkness of the night and unrecognized. As there was a severe wind blowing the servants told the pilot to be of good courage and seize this opportunity to avoid the enemy who were in the neighbourhood. The pilot made his way down the river by rowing, but when they came toward the mouth they found it broken into surf by the wind and the sea. The pilot, urged by the servants, put forth all his efforts, but as he could make no progress fatigue and despair came upon him. Then Caesar threw off his disguise and called out to him, "Brave the tempest with a stout heart, you carry Caesar and Caesar's fortunes." Both the rowers and the pilot were astounded and all took fresh courage and gained the mouth of the river, but the wind and waves violently tossed the ship high on towards the bank. As the dawn was near and they

CAP. διερρίπτει, μέχρι πλησιαζούσης ήμέρας οἱ μὲν έδεδοίκεσαν ως έν φωτί κατάδηλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Καΐσαρ, τῷ δαιμονίῳ χαλεψάμενος ώς φθονερῷ, ἐφῆκε τὴν ναῦν ἐπανιέναι.

Ή μεν δη πνεύματι ταχεί τον ποταμον ανέπλει, 58. Καίσαρα δ' οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τῆς εὐτολμίας, οί δ' ἐπεμέμφοντο ώς στρατιώτη πρέπον ἔργον εἰργασμένον, οὐ στρατηγώ. ὁ δ' οὐκέτι λήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν Ποστούμιον ἀνθ' ἐαυτοῦ προσέταξε διαπλεῦσαί τε καὶ φράσαι Γαβινίω τὸν στρατὸν εὐθὺς ἄγειν διὰ θαλάσσης ἃν δ' ἀπειθῆ ταῦτα προστάσσειν 'Αντωνίω καὶ τρίτω μετὰ τὸν 'Αντώνιον Καληνώ. εί δ' οί τρείς άποκνοίεν, έπιστολή πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸν ἐγέγραπτο ἄλλη, τὸν βουλόμενον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔπεσθαι τῶ Ποστουμίω καὶ καταίρειν ἀναχθέντας ἐς χωρίον, ές ὅ τι ὁ ἄνεμος ἐκφέρη, μηδὲν τῶν νεῶν φειδομένους· οὐ γὰρ νεῶν χρήζειν Καίσαρα, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν.

Ούτω μεν αντί λογισμών ο Καίσαρ επεποίθει τη τύχη. τάδε οῦν ὁ Πομπήιος προλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος ες μάχην διεσκευασμένος επήει. και δύο αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἐν μέσφ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρευνω-μένων, ἢ μάλιστα εἴη διαβατός, τῶν τις Καίσαρος είς ἐπιδραμων τους δύο ἀνείλε. καὶ ό Πομπήιος ἀνεζεύξεν, οὐκ αἴσιον τὸ συμβὰν ἡγούμενος. αἰτίαν δ' είνε παρά πᾶσι καιρὸν ἄριστον

έκλιπείν.

59. Ποστούμιον δὲ διαπλεύσαντος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, δ μὲν Γαβίνιος οὐχ ὑποστὰς τὸ πρόσταγμα ἦγε τοὺς βουλομένους διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, οὐδαμοῦ διαναπαύων καὶ ἀνηρέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ίλλυριῶν σχεδὸν ἄπαντες, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἤνεγκεν

feared lest the enemy should discover them in the day- CHAP. light, Caesar, blaming the ill-will of his evil genius, allowed the ship to return. So the ship sailed up the river with a strong wind. 58. Some of Caesar's friends were astonished at this act of bravery; while others blamed him, saying that it was a deed becoming a soldier but not a general. As Caesar He sends saw that he could not conceal a second attempt forcements he ordered Postumius to sail to Brundusium in his place and tell Gabinius to cross over with the army immediately, and if he did not obey, to give the same order to Antony, and if he failed then to give it to Calenus. Another letter was written to the whole army in case all three should hesitate, saying, "that everyone who was willing to do so should follow Postumius on shipboard and sail to any place where the wind might carry them, and not to mind what happened to the ships, because Caesar did not want ships but men."

Thus did Caesar put his trust in fortune rather than in prudence. Pompey, in order to anticipate Caesar's reinforcements, made haste and led his army forward prepared for battle. While two of his soldiers were searching in midstream for the best place to cross the river, one of Caesar's men attacked and killed them both, whereupon Pompey drew back, as he considered this event inauspicious. All of his friends blamed him for missing this capital

opportunity.

59. When Postumius arrived at Brundusium Antony Gabinius did not obey the order, but led those who with the were willing to go with him by way of Illyria by remainder forced marches. Almost all of them were destroyed of the army by the Illyrians and Caesar was obliged to endure

CAP. ὑπ' ἀσχολίας. ὁ δ' 'Αντώνιος τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τας ναυς έπιβήσας Απολλωνίαν μεν παρέπλευσεν. ίστίοις μεστοίς ἐπιπνέοντος ἀνέμου χαλάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἴκοσι τοῦ Πομπηίου νήες, έπ' έρευναν της θαλάσσης άναγθείσαι, καθορώσι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ εδίωκον. τοίς δὲ ώς ἐν γαλήνη δέος ἦν πολύ, μὴ σφᾶς ανατρήσειαν ή καταδύσειαν αί μακραί τοίς έμβόλοις καὶ τὰ εἰκότα παρεσκεύαζοντο, σφενδόναι τε ηφίεντο ήδη καὶ βέλη. καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος ἄφνω μείζων ή πρότερον επέρραξεν. αί μεν δή μεγάλοις αὖθις ίστίοις ἐξ ἀέλπτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδέχοντο καὶ διέπλεον ἀδεῶς· αἱ δ' ἀπελείποντο, ῥοθίφ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ θαλάσση κοίλη κακοπαθούσαι. καὶ μόλις ές ἀλίμενα καὶ πετρώδη διερρίφησαν, δύο τινας ές τέλμα των Καίσαρος κατενεχθείσας έλουσαι. 'Αντώνιος δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Νυμφαΐον κατήχθη.

60. Καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἤδη παρῆν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ. καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ λόφων ἐν φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, πεἰραί τε ἦσαν περὶ ἔκαστον φρούριον πυκναὶ περιταφρευόντων καὶ περιτειχιζόντων ἀλλήλους καὶ γυγνομένων ὁμοῦ καὶ ποιούντων ἐν ἀπόροις. ἐν δὲ ταῖσδε ταῖς πείραις περί τι φρούριον ἡττωμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ λοχαγός, ῷ Σκεῦας ὄνομα ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρῶν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐτρώθη βέλει καὶ προπηδήσας κατέσεισεν ὡς εἰπεῖν τι βουλόμενος. σιωπῆς δ' αὐτῷ γενομένης, Πομπηίου λοχαγὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδρία γνώριμον ἐκάλει· "σῶζε τὸν ὅμοιον ἐκάλει·"

the outrage as he could not spare time for vengeance. CHAP. Antony embarked the remainder of the army and sailed past Apollonia with a strong favouring wind. About noon the wind failed and twenty of Pompey's ships, that had put out to search the sea, discovered and pursued them. There was great fear on Caesar's vessels lest in this calm the warships of the enemy should ram them with their prows and sink them. They prepared themselves for battle and began to discharge stones and darts, when suddenly the wind sprang up stronger than before, filled their great sails unexpectedly, and enabled them to complete their voyage without fear. The pursuers were left behind and they suffered severely from the wind and waves in the narrow sea and were scattered along a harbourless and rocky coast. With difficulty they captured two of Caesar's ships that ran on a shoal. Antony brought the remainder to the port of Nymphaeum.

60. By this time Caesar had his whole army skirmishes concentrated together and Pompey his. They enDyrrachi m camped opposite each other on hills in numerous redoubts. There were frequent collisions around each of these redoubts while they were making lines of circumvallation and trying to cut off each other's supplies. In one of these fights in front of a redoubt Caesar's men were worsted, and a centurion, of the name of Scaeva, while performing many deeds of valour, was wounded in the eye with a dart. He advanced in front of his men beckoning with his hand as though he wished to say something. When silence was obtained he called out to one of Pompey's centurions, who was likewise distinguished for bravery, "Save your

CAP. σεαυτῶ, σῷζε τὸν φίλον καὶ πέμπε μοι τοὺς χειΤΧ ραγωγήσοντας, ἐπεὶ τέτρωμαι." προσδραμόντων δ' ὡς αὐτομολοῦντι δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν μεν ἔφθασε κτείνας, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ὡμον ἀπέκοψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε ἔπρασσεν ἀπογιγνώσκων ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις αἰδὼς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ ὁρμὴ προσέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ φρούριον περιεσώθη, πολλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρουράρχου Μινουκίου παθόντος, ῷ γέ φασι τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀναδέξασθαι βέλη, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἐξ τραύματα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὁμοίως ἐκκοπῆναι. τούτους μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀριστείοις πολλοῖς ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δ', ἐκ Δυρραχίου τινὸς αὐτῷ πρασσομένης προδοσίας, ἡκε μέν, ὡς συνέκειτο, νυκτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ πύλας καὶ ἱερὸν ᾿Αρτέμιδος . . .

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐκ Συρίας ἦγε Πομπηίω Σκιπίων ὁ κηδεστής· καὶ αὐτῷ Γάιος Καλουίσιος περὶ Μακεδονίαν συμβαλῶν ἡττᾶτο, καὶ τέλος ἐν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη

χωρίς ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν.

61. Καίσαρι μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἢν ἐκ θαλάσσης διὰ Πομπήιον ναυκρατοῦντα· ἐλίμαινεν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόαν ἠρτοποίουν, αὐτόμολοί τε Πομπηίῳ τοιούσδε ἄρτους προσήνεγκαν ὡς εὐφρανοῦντες ἰδόντα." ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἤσθη, ἀλλ' εἶπεν, "οἴοις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα." ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τὸν στρατὸν ἄπαντα συνῆγεν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα Πομπήιον βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην· ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἐκ τοῦδε κεκενωμένα προσλαβὼν ἡσύχαζε. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα

comrade, your friend, and send somebody to lead CHAP. me by the hand, for I am wounded." Two soldiers IX advanced to him thinking that he was a deserter. One of these he killed before the stratagem was discovered and he shore off the shoulder of the other. This he did because he despaired of saving himself and his redoubt. His men, moved by shame at this act of self-devotion, rushed forward and saved the redoubt. Minucius, the commander of the post, also suffered severely. It is said that he received 120 missiles on his shield, was wounded six times, and, like Scaeva, lost an eye. Caesar honoured them both with many military gifts. He himself, as an offer for the betrayal of the town had been made from Dyrrachium, went by agreement with a small force by night to the gates at the temple of Artemis. . . . 1

The same winter Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, advanced with another army from Syria. Caesar's general, Gaius Calvisius, had an engagement with him in Macedonia, was beaten, and lost a whole

legion except 800 men.

61. As Caesar could obtain no supplies by sea, on Chesar account of Pompey's naval superiority, his army attempts began to suffer famine and was compelled to make surround bread from roots. When deserters brought loaves Pompey of this kind to Pompey, thinking that he would be gladdened by the spectacle, he was not at all pleased, but said, "What wild beasts we are fighting with!" Then Caesar, compelled by necessity, drew his whole army together in order to force Pompey to fight even against his will. The latter occupied a number of the redoubts that Caesar had vacated

<sup>1</sup> There is a gap in the text at this place. The attempt failed, as we learn from Dio Cassius (xli. 50).

CAP. ἀνιαθεὶς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπετόλμησεν ἔργφ δυο χερεί τε καὶ παραλόγφ, πάντα Πομπήιου τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐνὶ τείχει περιλαβὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν ἀποτειχίσαι, ὡς μεγάλην, εἰ καὶ διαμάρτοι, δόξαν οἰσόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι· στάδιοι γὰρ ἡσαν διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνεχείρει τοσῷδε ἔργφ, Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸν ἀνταπετάφρευε καὶ ἀντφκοδόμει· καὶ μάταια τὰ ἔργα ἀλλήλοις ἐποίουν. γίγνεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἀγὼν εἶς μέγας ἐν ῷ Πομπήιος τρέπεταί τε τοὺς Καίσαρος πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας σημεῖά τε πολλὰ εἶλεν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν αἰετόν, ὁ δὴ κυριώτατόν ἐστι 'Ρωμαίοις, μόλις ἔφθασεν ὁ φέρων ὑπὲρ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς ἔνδον ῥίψαι.

62. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέρωθεν ῆγεν ἄλλον στρατόν, οὕτω δή τι καὶ τοῦτον περίφοβον, ὡς Πομπηίου μακρόθεν ἐπιφανέντος μήτε στῆναι περὶ τὰς πύλας ὄντας ἤδη μήτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐν κόσμω μήτε πεισθῆναι τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἕκαστον, ὅπη τύχοιεν, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ χωρὶς αἰδοῦς καὶ παραγγέλματος καὶ λογισμοῦ. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοὺς περιθέοντός τε καὶ σὺν ὀνείδει μακρὰν ἔτι τὸν Πομπήιον ὄντα ἐπεδεικνύοντος, καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὰ σημεῖα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ μόλις ὑπ' αἰδοῦς κατέκυπτον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄπρακτοι· τοσοῦτος αὐτοῦς τάραχος ἐνεπεπτώκει. εἶς δὲ καὶ στρέψας

and refused to move. Caesar was greatly vexed at CHAP. this and ventured upon an extremely difficult and chimerical task; that is, to carry a line of circumvallation around the whole of Pompey's positions from sea to sea, thinking that even if he should fail he would acquire great renown from the boldness of the enterprise. The circuit was 1200 stades.1 Caesar actually began this great work, but Pompey built a corresponding line of trench and rampart. Thus they parried each other's efforts. Nevertheless, Battle of they fought one great battle in which Pompey Dyrrachium defeated Caesar in the most brilliant manner and pursued his men in headlong flight to his camp and took many of his standards. The eagle (the standard held in highest honour by the Romans) was saved with difficulty, the bearer having just time to throw it over the palisade to those within.

62. After this remarkable defeat Caesar brought Caesar up other troops from another quarter, but these also twice fell into a panic even when they beheld Pompey still far distant. Although they were already close to the gates they would neither make a stand, nor enter in good order, nor obey the commands given to them, but all fled pell-mell without shame, without orders, without reason. Caesar ran among them and with reproaches showed them that Pompey was still far distant, yet under his very eye some threw down their standards and fled, while others bent their gaze upon the ground in shame and did nothing; so great consternation had befallen them. One of the standard bearers, with his standard reversed, dared

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The text here is probably corrupt. The distance mentioned is equal to 133 miles. Caesar (iii. 63) says that it was 17 miles; Florus (iv. 2) says 16 miles.

CAP. τὸ σημεῖον ἀνέτεινε τὸν οὐρίαχον ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Καίσαρος ὑπασπισταὶ κατέκοπτον, οἱ δ' ἐσελθόντες οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπήντων, ἀλλὰ μεθειμένα πάντα ἢν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ἀφύλακτον, ὥστε αὐτὸ δοκεῖ συνεσπεσὼν ἂν τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργω πάντα ἐξεργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ Λαβιηνὸς αὐτόν, θεοῦ παράγοντος, ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔπειθε τραπῆναι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἄμα ὤκνησεν, ἢ τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἐνέδραν ὑφορώμενος ἢ ὡς ἤδη κεκριμένου τοῦ πολέμου καταφρονήσας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω τραπεὶς ἐτέρους τε ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἔλαβεν ἐν ταῖς δύο μάχαις ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσιν καὶ δεύτερον τόνδε καιρὸν ἐντελοῦς ἔργου μεθῆκεν. δ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρά φασιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι σήμερον ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξείργαστο τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ τὸν νικᾶν ἐπιστάμενον εἶχον.

### X

CAP. 63. 'Ο δὲ Πομπήιος τήν τε νίκην ὑπερεπαίρων ἐπέστελλε βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρος ἤλπιζε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταβαλεῖσθαι, λιμῷ τε πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἤττης καταπεπληγμένον, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ, τὸ σφέτερον ἀμάρτημα φοβουμένους. οἱ δέ, θεοῦ σφᾶς ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν ἄγοντος, τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἢδοῦντο καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεμφομένου τε πράως καὶ συγγνώμην διδόντος

to thrust the end of it at Caesar himself, but the CHAP. bodyguard cut him down. When the soldiers entered the camp they did not station any guards. All precautions were neglected and the fortification was left unprotected, so that it is probable that Pompey might then have captured it and brought the war to an end by that one engagement had not Labienus, in some heaven-sent lunacy, persuaded him to pursue the fugitives instead. Moreover Pompey himself hesitated, either because he suspected a stratagem when he saw the gates unguarded or because he contemptuously supposed the war already decided by this battle. So he turned against those outside of the camp and made a heavy slaughter and took twenty-eight standards in the two engagements of this day, but he here missed his second opportunity to give the finishing stroke to the war. It is reported that Caesar said, "The war would have been ended to-day in the enemy's favour if they had had a commander who knew how to make use of victory."

## X

63. Pompey sent letters to all the kings and cities CHAP. magnifying his victory, and he expected that Caesar's army would come over to him directly, conceiving that it was oppressed by hunger and cast down by defeat, and especially the officers through fear of punishment for their base conduct in the battle. But the latter, as though some god had brought them to repentance, were ashamed of their baseness, and as Caesar chided them gently and granted them pardon, they became still more angry with them-

CAP. έτι μάλλον ήρεθίζοντο καθ' έαυτών καὶ έκ παραδόξου μεταβολής ἐκέλευον τῷ πατρίω νόμω διακληρώσαντα αύτους το δέκατον μέρος άναιρείν, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος μᾶλλον ήδοῦντο καὶ συνεγίνωσκον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ σφῶν ηδικήσθαι καὶ τοὺς φέροντας τὰ σημεῖα κτείνειν έπεβόων, ώς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοί ποτε φυγόντες, εἰ μὴ τὰ σημεία προαπεστράφη. ὡς δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀνασχόμενος ολίγους μόλις ἐκόλασεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μετριοπάθειαν όρμὴ τοσήδε ενέπιπτεν, ώς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἄγειν ἀξιοῦν έπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐνέκειντο σφόδρα προθύμως, παρακαλουντές τε καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι διορθώσεσθαι τὸ άμάρτημα νίκη καλή κατά τε σφας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἰλαδὸν κατὰ μέρη συνώμνυντο, έφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, μη έπανήξειν έκ της μάγης, εί μη κρατοίεν.

64. "Όθεν αὐτὸν οί μὲν φίλοι παρεκάλουν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοιᾶδε μετανοία καὶ προθυμία στρατοῦ· ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος εἶπεν, ὅτι μετὰ βελτιόνων καιρῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄξει, καὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῆσδε τῆς προθυμίας διεκελεύσατο, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι χρὴ καὶ τῶνδε προεξελεῖν τὸν φόβον τῆς ἥττης πολὺν αὐτοῖς ἐγγενόμενον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ φρόνημα ἀκμάζον προκαθελεῖν. ὡμολόγει τε μεταγιγνώσκειν πρὸς Δυρραχίω στρατοπεδεύσας. ἔνθα ἔστιν

selves and by a surprising revulsion of sentiment CHAP. demanded that they should be decimated according to the traditional rule. When Caesar did not agree encourages to this they were still more ashamed, and acknow-his men ledged that they had done him a wrong which he had little deserved at their hands. They cried out that he should at least put the standard-bearers to death because they themselves would never have run away unless the standards had first been turned backwards in flight. Caesar would not consent even to this, but he reluctantly punished a few. So great was the zeal excited among all by his moderation that they demanded to be led against the enemy immediately. They urged him vehemently, encouraging him and promising to wipe out their disgrace by a splendid victory. Of their own accord they visited each other in military order and took an oath by companies, under the eye of Caesar himself, that they would not leave the field of battle except as victors.1

64. Caesar's friends, therefore, urged him to avail himself of the army's repentance and eagerness promptly, but he said in the hearing of the host that he would take a better opportunity to lead them against the enemy, and he exhorted them to be mindful of their present zeal. He privately admonished his friends that it was necessary first for the soldiers to recover from the very great alarm of their recent defeat, and for the enemy to lose something of their present high confidence. He confessed also that he had made a mistake in encamping before Dyrrachum where Pompey had abundance of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This agrees with the account given by Caesar himself of what took place in his camp after his defeat at Dyrrachium.

CAP. ή παρασκευή πασα Πομπηίω, δέον ἀποσπαν

αὐτὸν ἐτέρωθι ἐς ὁμοίας ἀπορίας.

Καὶ τάδε εἰπων ἐς ᾿Απολλωνίαν εὐθὺς μετήει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρει λανθάνων Γόμφους τε πόλιν μικράν οὐ δεχομένην αὐτὸν ἐξεῖλεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ στρατῷ διαρπάσαι. οί δ' ώς έκ λιμοῦ πάντων ένεπίμπλαντο ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοιότατοι κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν, ὥστε δοκεῖ καὶ τότε ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθών ἐργάσασθαί τι λαμπρόν, εί μη διώκειν όλως ύπερείδεν έκ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Καίσαρ έπτὰ συντόνως ήμέραις όδεύσας έστρατοπέδευσε περί Φάρσαλον. λέγεται δ' έν τοις Γόμφοις γενέσθαι παθήματα γενναία και νεκρούς των ἐπιφανών γερόντων ἐν ἰατρείω φανήναι, κυλίκων αὐτοῖς παρακειμένων ἀτρώτοις, είκοσι μεν ώς εκ μέθης κατακεκλιμένους επὶ τὸ έδαφος, ένα δ' έπι θρόνου παρακαθεζόμενον οία ἰατρόν, δς τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοῖς άρα παρέσχε.

65. Πομπήιος δ' ἐπὶ τῆ Καίσαρος ἀναζεύξει βουλὴν προυτίθει. καὶ ᾿Αφρανίω μὲν ἐδόκει τὸ ναυτικόν, ῷ δὴ καὶ πολὺ προῦχεν, ἐπιπέμπειν Καίσαρι καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἀλωμένω καὶ ἀποροῦντι, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν αὐτὸν Πομπήιον ἄγειν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὔνουν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν οὖσαν καὶ πολεμίων ἔρημον, κρατυνάμενον δ' αὐτήν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐξ οἰκείας καὶ ἡγεμονίδος γῆς αὖθις ἐπιχειρεῖν Καίσαρι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἄριστα ἄν οἱ γενόμενα

supplies, whereas he ought to have drawn him to CHAP. some place where he would be subject to the same

scarcity as themselves.

After saying this he marched directly to Apollonia He marches and from there to Thessaly, advancing by night in to Thessaly order to conceal his movements. The small town of Gomphi, to which he came, refused to open its gates to him, and he took it by storm and gave it over to his army to plunder. The soldiers, who had suffered much from hunger, ate immoderately and drank wine to excess, the Germans among them being especially ridiculous under the influence of drink, so that it seems probable that Pompey might have attacked them then and gained another victory had he not disdainfully neglected a close pursuit, After seven days of rapid marching Caesar encamped near Pharsalus. It is said that among the notable calamities of Gomphi, the bodies of twenty venerable men of the first rank were foundlying on the floor in an apothecary's shop, not wounded, and with goblets near them, as though they were drunk, but that one of them was seated in a chair like a physician. and had no doubt dealt out poison to them.

65. After Caesar had withdrawn Pompey called a Pompey council of war, at which Afranius advised that they engamps at Pharsalus should make use of their naval force, in which they were much superior, and being masters of the sea should harass Caesar, who was now wandering and destitute, and that Pompey himself should conduct his infantry with all haste to Italy, which was well disposed toward him and was now free from a hostile army. Having mastered it, together with Gaul and Spain, they could attack Caesar again from their own home, the seat of imperial power. Although this was

Καίσαρος στρατὸν μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος στρατὸν μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἢ οὐ πολὺ σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τὸ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῆ κατὰ Δυρράχιον γενομένη νίκη· τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αἴσχιστον εἶναι, καταλιπεῖν φεύγοντα Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσιν ὁμοίως τὸν νικῶντα φεύγειν· ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῖσδε προσθέμενος αἰδοῖ μάλιστα τῶν ἑώων ἐθνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώντων καὶ φειδοῖ Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, μή τι περὶ Μακεδονίαν ὂν ἔτι πάθοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐς ἀγῶνα χρήσασθαι θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ διανοούμενος ἐπῆλθε καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀλλήλων ἀπεῖχον.

66. 'Αγορὰ δὲ Πομπηίφ μὲν ἢν πανταχόθεν οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ προδιῷκηντο καὶ όδοὶ καὶ λιμένες καὶ φρούρια, ὡς ἔκ τε γῆς αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης πάντα ἄνεμον αὐτῷ φέρειν Καῖσαρ δὲ μόνον εἰχεν, ὅ τι μόλις εὕροι καὶ λάβοι κακοπαθῶν. καὶ οὐδ' ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπέλιπεν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ σπουδῆ δαιμονίῳ συνενεχθῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡρέγοντο καὶ ἡγοῦντο πολέμω μὲν εἰναι παρὰ πολὺ ἀμείνους νεοστρατεύτων ἔτι ὄντων δέκα ἔτεσιν ἠσκημένοι, εἰς δὲ ταφρείας ἡ περιτειχίσεις ἡ σιτολογίας ἐπιπόνους ἀσθενέστεροι διὰ γῆρας ὅλως τε κάμνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει δρᾶν τι . . . μετ ἀργίας ἡ λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι. ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος

the best possible advice Pompey disregarded it and CHAP. allowed himself to be persuaded by those who said that Caesar's army would presently desert to him on account of hunger, or that there would not be much left of it anyway after the victory of Dyrrachium. They said it would be disgraceful to abandon the pursuit of Caesar when he was in flight, and for the victor to flee as though vanquished. Pompey sided with these advisers partly out of regard for the opinions of the eastern nations that were looking on, partly to prevent any harm befalling Lucius Scipio, who was still in Macedonia, but most of all because he thought that he ought to fight while his army was in high spirits. Accordingly he advanced and pitched his camp opposite to Caesar's near Pharsalus, so that they were separated from each other by a distance of thirty stades.

66. Pompey's supplies came from every quarter, for the roads, harbours, and strongholds had been so provided beforehand that food was brought to him at all times from the land, and every wind blew it to him from the sea. Caesar, on the other hand, had Caesar short only what he could find with difficulty and seize by of supplies hard labour. Yet even so nobody deserted him, but all, by a kind of divine fury, longed to come to close quarters with the enemy. They considered that they, who had been trained in arms for ten years, were much superior to the new levies of Pompey in fighting, but that for digging ditches and building fortifications and for laborious foraging they were weaker by reason of their age. Tired as they were they altogether preferred to perform some deed of valour 1 rather than perish by hunger or inaction.

1 A few words are wanting in the Greek.

CAP. αἰσθανόμενος ἐπικίνδυνον μὲν ἡγεῖτο γεγυμνασμένοις καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν αὐτῶν ἀνδράσι καὶ τύχη Καίσαρος λαμπρῷ περὶ τῶν ὅλων συνενεχθῆναι δι ἐνὸς ἔργου, δυνατώτερον δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερον ἐκτρῦσαι ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτοὺς οὔτε γῆς εὐπόρου κρατοῦντας οὔτε θαλάσση χρωμένους

ούτε ναθς ές φυγήν ταχείαν έχοντας.

Ο μεν δη κρατίστω λογισμώ τρίβειν τον πόλεμον έγνώκει, καὶ ές λοιμον έκ λιμοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους περιφέρειν 67. πολύ δ' άμφ' αὐτὸν πλήθος ανδρών από τε της βουλης όμοτίμων οί καὶ των καλουμένων ίππέων οί διαφανέστατοι βασιλέες τε πολλοί καὶ δυνάσται, οί μὲν ὑπ' ἀπειρίας, οί δ' ἀμέτρως τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον εὐπραγήμασιν έπηρμένοι, είσι δ' οί και τῶ πλέονες είναι τῶν πολεμίων, οί δὲ καὶ κάμνοντες όλως τῷ πολέμω την κρίσιν ταχυτέραν μαλλον ή πρέπουσαν έπειγόμενοι γενέσθαι, πάντες έξώτρυνον αὐτὸν ές την μάχην, ἐπιδεικνύοντες αἰεὶ τὸν Καίσαρα παρατάττοντά τε καὶ προκαλούμενον. ὁ δ' έξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τοῦδε αὐτοὺς ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι Καίσαρι μέν τοῦτ' έξ ἀπορίας ἀναγκαῖον ἢν, σφίσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὔκαιρον ἡσυχάζειν, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ύπ' ανάγκης επείγοιτο. ενοχλούμενος δε ύπό τε τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐπηρμένου τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἀμέτρως καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως αὐτὸν έπιτωθαζόντων ές φιλαρχίαν ώς έκόντα βραδύνοντα, ίν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοτίμων τοσῶνδε ἄρχοι, καὶ έπὶ τῷδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα τε βασιλέων καὶ 'Αγαμέμνονα καλούντων, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος βασιλέων διὰ τον πόλεμον ήρχεν, έξέστη των οἰκείων λογισμών

Pompey perceived this and considered it dangerous CHAP. to risk everything on a single battle with disciplined and desperate men, and against the brilliant good fortune of Caesar. It would be easier and safer to reduce them by want as they controlled no fertile territory, and could get nothing by sea, and had no

ships for rapid flight.

So on the most prudent calculation he decided to Pompey protract the war and drive the enemy from famine to delay but plague, 67. but he was surrounded by a great number is overruled by his overruled of senators, of equal rank with himself, by very discouncil tinguished knights, and by many kings and princes. Some of these, by reason of their inexperience in war, others because they were too much elated by the victory at Dyrrachium, others because they outnumbered the enemy, and others because they were quite tired of the war and preferred a quick decision rather than a sound one-all urged him to fight, pointing out to him that Caesar was always drawn up for battle and challenging him. Pompey endeavoured to shew them from this very fact that just as Caesar was compelled to do so by his want of supplies, so they had the more reason to remain quiet because Caesar was being driven on by necessity. Yet, harassed by the whole army, which was unduly puffed up by the victories at Dyrrachium, and by men of rank who accused him of being fond of power and of delaying purposely in order to prolong his authority over so many men of his own rank -and who for this reason called him derisively "king of kings" and "Agamemnon," because he also ruled over kings while the war lasted-he allowed himself to be moved from his own purpose and gave in to them, being even now under that same divine

CAP. καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη καὶ τἄλλα παρ' ὅλον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. νωθής τε γὰρ καὶ βραδὺς παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐν ἄπασι γεγονὼς παρεσκευάζετο ἄκων ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ κακῷ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸν ἀναπειθόντων.

68. Καίσαρι δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης τρία μὲν έπὶ σιτολογίαν έξήει τέλη (τὸν γὰρ Πομπήιον έπαινων της βραδυτήτος και οὐδαμοῦ νομίζων μεταθήσεσθαι τοῦ βουλεύματος περιέπεμπεν ἐπὶ σίτον), πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς ήσθη τε τῆς ανάγκης, ην είκαζεν ηναγκάσθαι Πομπήιον ύπο τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ τάχιστα ἀνεκάλει πάντα καὶ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο. θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης του 'Αρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν έαυτοῦ πρόγονον 'Αφροδίτην (ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ "Ιλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡγεῖτο εἶναι), νεών τε αὐτῆ νικηφόρω χαριστήριον έν 'Ρώμη ποιήσειν εὔχετο κατορθώσας. ώς δὲ καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διαπτὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον έσβέσθη, οί μεν άμφι τον Πομπήιον έσεσθαί τι λαμπρον αύτοις έφασαν έκ των πολεμίων, ο δε Καίσαρ σβέσειν αὐτὸς έμπεσων τὰ Πομπηίου. αὐτῶ δὲ τῷ Πομπηίω τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτός τινα των ιερείων εκφυγόντα οὐ συνελήφθη, καὶ μελισσών έσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, ζώου νωχελοῦς. μικρόν τε πρὸ έω πανικὸν ενέπεσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ τόδε περιδραμων αύτος καὶ καταστήσας άνεπαύετο σὺν ὕπνω βαθεί· περιεγειράντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, ὄναρ

infatuation which led him astray during the whole of CHAP. this war. He had now become, contrary to his nature, sluggish and dilatory in all things, and he prepared for battle against his will, to his own hurt and that of the men who had persuaded him

68. That same night three of Caesar's legions Prodigies started out to forage; for Caesar himself approved battle Pompey's dilatory proceedings, and had no idea that he would change, and accordingly sent them out to procure food. When he perceived that the enemy was preparing to fight he was delighted at the pressure which he conjectured had been put upon Pompey by his army, and he recalled all of his forces at once and made preparations on his own side. He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Aeneas and his son, Ilus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well. Thereupon a flame from heaven flew through the air from Caesar's camp to Pompey's, where it was extinguished. Pompey's men said that it signified a brilliant victory for them over their enemies, but Caesar interpreted it as a meaning that he should fall upon and extinguish the power of Pompey. When Pompey was sacrificing the same night some of the victims escaped and could not be caught, and a swarm of bees, torpid creatures, settled on the altar. Shortly before daylight a panic occurred in his army. He himself went around and quieted it and then fell into a deep sleep, and when his friends aroused him he said that he had

CAP. ἔφασκεν ἄρτι νεων ἐν Ῥώμη καθιεροῦν ᾿Αφροδίτη

νικηφόρω.

69. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἀγνοία τῆς Καίσαρος εὐχῆς οί τε φίλοι καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας πυθόμενοι ήδοντο, καὶ τάλλα άλόγως σύν όρμη καὶ καταφρονήσει χωρούντες έπὶ τὸ ἔργον ώς ἐπὶ ἕτοιμον. ὧν γε πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς δάφναις ἀνέστεφον ἤδη, συμβόλω νίκης καὶ οἱ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς δαῖτα λαμπροτάτην ἐπόρσυνον εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος άρχιερωσύνης ές άλλήλους ήδη διήριζον. άπερ ὁ Πομπήιος οἶα πολέμων ἔμπειρος ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ νεμεσων έπ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεκαλύπτετο, κατεσιώπα δ' όμως ύπο όκνου και δέους, ώσπερ ού στρατηγών έτι, άλλα στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσων ύπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην. τοσούτον ανδρί μεγαλουργώ καὶ παρά παν έργον ές ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐτυχεστάτω γενομένω τὸ δύσθυμον ένεπεπτώκει, είτε ότι τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κύβον ἐχώρει πλήθους ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς έαυτοῦ δόξης ές τότε άηττήτου είτε τι καὶ μαντικώτερον αὐτὸν πλησιάζοντος ήδη τοῦ κακοῦ συνετάρασσε, μέλλοντα της ημέρας εκείνης εκ δυναστείας τοσησδε άθρόως έκπεσείσθαι. τοσούτον δ' ούν είπων τοις φίλοις, ότι ήδε ή ήμέρα, όπότερος αν έπικρατήση, μεγάλων ές αίει 'Ρωμαίοις άρξει κακών, παρέτασσεν ές την μάχην ο δη καί μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν προπεσεῖν τινες έν

just dreamed that he had dedicated a temple in CHAP.

Rome to Venus the Bringer of Victory.1

69. His friends and his whole army when they heard of this were delighted, being in ignorance of Caesar's vow, and in other respects too going to the battle in an unreasoning, a reckless, and contemptuous way as though it were already won. Many of them adorned their tents with laurel branches, the insignia of victory, and their slaves prepared a magnificent banquet for them. Some, too, of them began already to contend with each other for Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus. Pompey, being experienced in military affairs, turned away from these follies with concealed indignation, but he remained altogether silent through hesitancy and dread, as though he were no longer commander but under command, and as though he were doing everything under compulsion and against his judgment; so deep the dejection which had come over this man of great deeds (who, until this day, had been most fortunate in every undertaking), either because he had not carried his point in deciding what was the best course, and was about to cast the die involving the lives of so many men and also involving his own reputation as invincible; or because some presentiment of approaching evil troubled him, presaging his complete downfall that very day from a position of such vast power. Remarking merely to his friends that whichever should conquer, that day would be the beginning of great evils to the Romans for all future time, he began to make arrangements for the battle. In this remark some people thought his real intentions escaped him, involuntarily expressed in a moment of

<sup>1</sup> Venus Victrix.

CAP. τῷ φόβω νομίζοντες ἡγοῦντο οὐδ' αν Πομπήιον

κρατήσαντα μεθείναι την μοναρχίαν.

70. Στρατιά δ' ἡν, ώς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πολλών αμφίλογα εἰπόντων έπομένω μάλιστα 'Ρωμαίων τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφουσι περὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀνδρῶν, οῖς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θαρροῦντες τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀναγράφουσιν ώς αλλότρια και ολίγην έν αυτοίς είς προσθήκην χώραν έχοντα, Καίσαρι μεν ές δισχιλίους έπὶ δισμυρίοις, και τούτων ίππέες ήσαν άμφι τους χιλίους, Πομπηίω δε ύπερ το διπλάσιον, και τούτων ίππέες ες έπτακισχιλίους. ώδε μεν τοις τὰ πιθανώτατα λέγουσι δοκεί μυριάδας έπτὰ ἀνδρῶν 'Ιταλών συμπεσείν άλλήλοις ές μάχην οί δ' όλιγωτέρους έξακισμυρίων φασίν, οί δ' ύπερεπαίροντες τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι λέγουσι. καὶ τούτων οί μεν ημιόλιον, οί δε εκ τριών νομίζουσιν άμφὶ τὰ δύο τῷ Πομπηίφ γενέσθαι μέρη. τοσάδε μεν αμφιγνοοθσι περί τοθ ακριβοθς όπως δ' οὖν εἶχε, τοῖσδε μάλιστα τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας έκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐθάρρει. τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ἡν Καίσαρι μεν ίππέες τε Κελτοί . . . καὶ Κελτών τῶν ὑπὲρ "Αλπεις ἀριθμὸς ἄλλος· Ἑλλήνων δ' ἐπέλταζον αὐτῷ Δόλοπες, 'Ακαρνᾶνες, Αἰτωλοί. τοσοίδε μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχουν, Πομπηίω δὲ πάντα τὰ έῷα ἔθνη κατὰ πλήθος, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ίππων, οί δὲ πεζοί, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ελλάδος Λάκωνες ύπο τοις ίδίοις βασιλευσι τασσόμενοι, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος καὶ Βοιωτοί μετ' αὐτῶν. ἐστράτευον δε καὶ 'Αθηναίοι, κηρυξάντων μεν αυτούς

fear, and they inferred that even if Pompey had been CHAP. victorious he would not have laid down the supreme

power

70. Since many writers differ as to Caesar's army, The armies I shall follow the most credible Roman authorities, at Pharsalus who give the most careful enumeration of the Italian soldiers, as the backbone of the army, but do not make much account of the allied forces or record them exactly, regarding them as mere foreigners and as contributing little to the issue of the day. The army, then, consisted of about 22,000 men and of these about 1000 were cavalry. Pompey had more than double that number, of whom about 7000 were cavalry. Some of the most trustworthy writers say that 70,000 Italian soldiers were engaged in this battle. Others give the smaller number, 60,000. Still others, grossly exaggerating, say 400,000. Of the whole number some say Pompey's forces were half as many again as Caesar's, others that they were two-thirds of the total number engaged. So much doubt is there as to the exact truth. However that may be, each of them placed his chief reliance on his Italian troops. In the way of allied forces Caesar had cavalry from both Cisalpine 1 and Transalpine Gaul, besides some light-armed Greeks, consisting of Dolopians, Acarnanians, and Aetolians. Such were Caesar's allies. Pompey had a great number from all the eastern nations, part horse, part foot. From Greece he had Lacedemonians marshalled by their own kings, and others from Peloponnesus and Boeotians with them. Athenians marched to his aid also, although proclamation had been made that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the simplest way to fill up the slight lacuna in the Greek.

CAP. έκατέρων μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν
 Θεσμοφόρων, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἄρα τοῦ πολέμου τραπέντες ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀγω-

νιούμενοι.

71. Έπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ελλησιν ολίγου πάντες, ὅσοι περιιόντι τὴν ἐν κύκλω θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω, Θρậκές τε καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Ίωνες, Λυδοί τε καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες, καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος καὶ "Αραβες οί τούτων έχομενοι Κύπριοί τε καὶ 'Ρόδιοι καὶ Κρήτες σφενδονήται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι νησιῶται. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ βασιλέες καὶ δυνάσται στρατὸν άγοντες, Δηιόταρος μεν τετράρχης Γαλατών των έωων, 'Αριαράθης δε Καππαδοκών βασιλεύς. Αρμενίους δε ήγε τους έντος Ευφράτου στρατηγος Ταξίλης καὶ ᾿Αρμενίους τοὺς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην Μεγαβάτης, ύπαρχος 'Αρταπάτου βασιλέως. άλλοι τε μικροί δυνάσται συνεπελαμβάνοντο τοῦ πόνου. λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νῆες έξήκοντα αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων, Κλεοπάτρας τε καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. παιδὸς ἔτι ὄντος. άλλ' αίδε μεν οὐ συνεμάχησαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἐν Κερκύρα κατέμενε. καὶ δοκεῖ Πομπήιος τόδε μάλιστα ἀφρόνως ἐργάσασθαι, τῶν μὲν νεῶν καταφρονήσας, αίς δή πολύ προύχων έδύνατο πανταχού την ἐπακτὸν ἀγορὰν τούς πολεμίους άφαιρείσθαι, εν δε άγωνι πεζώ συνενεχθείς άνδρά-

they, being consecrated to the Thesmophori, should CHAP. do no harm to the army of either party. Nevertheless, they wished to share in the glory of the war because this was a contest for the Roman leadership.

71. Besides the Greeks almost all the nations of the Levant sent aid to Pompey: Thracians, Hellespontines, Bithynians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Paphlagonians; Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, the Hebrews, and their neighbours the Arabs; Cyprians, Rhodians, Cretan slingers, and all the other islanders. Kings and princes were there leading their own troops: Deïotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Taxiles commanded the Armenians from the hither side of the Euphrates: those from the other side were led by Megabates, the lieutenant of King Artapates. Some other small princes took part with Pompey in the action. It was said that sixty ships from Egypt were contributed to him by the sovereigns of that country, Cleopatra and her brother, who was still a boy. But these did not take part in the battle, nor did any other naval force, but they remained idle at Corcyra. Pompey seems to have acted very foolishly in this respect both in disregarding the fleet, in which he excelled so greatly that he could have deprived the enemy of all the supplies brought to them from abroad, and in risking a battle on land

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A difficult passage, of which the above is the most likely interpretation. The *Thesmophori* were Demeter and Persephone, goddesses of tillage and the arts of civilization. Their festival was held yearly.

ΟΑΡ. σιν ἐκ πόνου πολλοῦ μεγαλαύχοις τε καὶ θηριχ ώδεσιν ἐς μάχας γενομένοις. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς
φυλαξάμενον περὶ Δυρράχιον θεοβλάβεια δοκεῖ
παραγαγεῖν, ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων ἤδε τῷ
Καίσαρι γενομένη· διὰ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ
Πομπηίου κουφόνως μάλα ἐπήρθη, καὶ τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ σφῶν κατεκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον
ἀπειροπολέμως ἐτράποντο.

## XI

72. 'Αλλὰ τάδε μὲν ῷκονόμει θεὸς ἐς ἀρχὴν CAP. τῆσδε τῆς νῦν ἐπεχούσης τὰ πάντα ἡγεμονίας τότε
 δ' αὐτῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκάτερος συναγαγὰν ἐπώτρυνε, Πομπήιος μὲν τοιάδε λέγων "ὑμεῖς, ἀ συστρατιώται, στρατηγείτε του πόνου μάλλον ή στρατηγείσθε αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ τὰ Καίσαρος έκτρύχειν έτι βουλομένου τον άγωνα τόνδε προυκαλέσασθε. ώς οὖν ἀγωνοθέται τῆς μάχης χρήσασθε μέν ώς ελάττοσι πολύ πλείονες, καταφρονείτε δὲ ὡς ἡττημένων νενικηκότες καὶ γερόντων νέοι καὶ πολλά κεκμηκότων άκμητες άνδρες, οίς ύπάρχει δύναμις τοσήδε καὶ παρασκευή καὶ τὸ συνειδός αὐτὸ τῆς αἰτίας ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πατρίδος άγωνιζόμεθα μετά νόμων καὶ δόξης άγαθης καὶ τοσωνδε ἀνδρων, των μὲν ἀπὸ βουλης, των δ' ίππέων, πρὸς ἄνδρα ένα ληστεύοντα την ήγεμονίαν. ἴτε οῦν, ώς ήξιοῦτε, μετ' ἀγαθής έλπίδος, ἐν ὄψει τιθέμενοι τήν τε φυγήν αὐτῶν την περί το Δυρράχιον γενομένην και όσα σημεία μιας ήμέρας κρατούντες αυτών ελάβομεν."

with men exulting in their recent labours, and CHAP. thirsting like tigers for blood. Although he had been on his guard against them at Dyrrachium, a certain spell seems to have come over him, most opportunely for Caesar, with the result that Pompey's army became light-headed to a degree, taking entire charge of its commander, and rushing into action in a most unworkmanlike way.

### XI

72. Such was the ordering of divine Providence to CHAP. usher in the universal imperial power of our own day. Each of the commanders assembled his soldiers and made an appeal to them. Pompey spoke as follows: "You, my fellow soldiers, are the leaders in this task Speeches of rather than the led, for you urged on this engagement while I was still desirous of wearing Caesar out by hunger. Since, therefore, you are the marshalls of the lists of battle, conduct yourselves like those who are greatly superior in numbers. Despise the enemy as victors do the vanguished, as young men do the old, as fresh troops do those who are wearied with many toils. Fight like those who have the power and the means, and the consciousness of a good cause. We are contending for liberty and country. On our side are the laws and honourable fame, and this great number of senators and knights, against one man who is piratically seizing supreme power. Go forward then, as you have desired to do, with good hope, keeping in your mind's eye the flight of the enemy at Dyrrachium, and the great number of their standards that we captured in one day when we defeated them there."

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CAP. 73. Ο μεν δη Πομπήιος ώδε έλεγεν, ο δε Καίσαρ τοίς ίδίοις τοιάδε "τὰ μὲν δυσχερέστερα ήδη νενικήκαμεν, & φίλοι άντι γαρ λιμού και άπορίας ἀνδράσι μαχούμεθα· ήδε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα κρινεί πάντα. μέμνησθέ μοι της περί το Δυρράχιον επαγγελίας και ων εφορώντος εμού συνώμνυσθε άλλήλοις, μη νικώντες οὐδ' ἐπανήξειν. οίδε είσίν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἐφ' οὺς ἐξ Ἡρακλείων στηλών ήλθομεν οίδε οι περιφυγόντες ήμας έξ Ίταλίας, οὶ τοὺς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀθλοῦντας ἡμᾶς καὶ πολέμους τοσούσδε καὶ νίκας δυσαριθμήτους ἀνύσαντας καὶ 'Ιβήρων καὶ Κελτών καὶ Βρεττανών ἔθνη τετρακόσια περιποιήσαντας τη πατρίδι διέλυον άγεράστους ἄνευ θριάμβου τε καὶ δωρεας, καὶ οὐδ' ές τὰ δίκαια αὐτοὺς έγὼ προκαλούμενος ἔπειθον οὐδὲ χάρισιν ἐξήνυον. ἴστε, οῦς μεθῆκα ἀπαθεῖς, ἐλπίσας ἡμῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι δίκαιον. τωνδε οθν μοι τήμερον άθρόον άνενέγκατε καὶ τῆς έμης πρὸς ύμας, εἴ τι σύνιστέ μοι, κηδεμονίας η

πίστεως ἢ δωρεῶν μεγαλοφροσύνης.

74. "Έστι δὲ οὐ δυσχερὲς νεοστρατεύτων καὶ ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι πολυπόνους ἀγωνιστὰς περιγενέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἐς ἀταξίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τραπέντων, δν ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι δεδιότα καὶ ἄκοντα χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τύχῃ τε παρακμάζοντα ἤδη καὶ νωθῆ καὶ βραδὺν ἐς ἄπαντα γεγενημένον καὶ οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενον. καὶ τάδε μοι περὶ μόνων ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε συμμάχων μηδὲ φροντίζετε μηδ' ἐν λόγῳ

73. Such was Pompey's speech. Caesar addressed CHAP his men as follows: "My friends, we have already overcome our more formidable enemies, and are now about to encounter not hunger and want, but men. This day will decide everything. Remember what you promised me at Dyrrachium. Remember how you swore to each other in my presence that you would never leave the field except as conquerors. These men, fellow-soldiers, are the same that we have come to meet from the Pillars of Hercules, the same men who gave us the slip from Italy. They are the same who sought to disband us without honours, without a triumph, without rewards, after the toils and struggles of ten years, after we had finished those great wars, after innumerable victories. and after we had added 400 nations in Spain, Gaul, and Britain to our country's sway. I have not been able to prevail upon them by offering fair terms, nor to win them by benefits. Some, you know, I dismissed unharmed, hoping that we should obtain some justice from them. Recall all these facts to your minds to-day, and if you have any experience of me recall also my care for you, my good faith, and the generosity of my gifts to you.

74. "Nor is it difficult for hardy and veteran

soldiers to overcome new recruits who are without experience in war, and who, moreover, like boys, spurn the rules of discipline and of obedience to their commander. I learn that he was afraid and unwilling to come to an engagement. His star has already passed its zenith; he has become slow and hesitating in all his acts, and no longer commands, but obeys the orders of others. I say these things of his Italian forces only. As for his allies, do not think about them, pay no attention to them, do not

CAP. τίθεσθε μηδὲ μάχεσθε ὅλως ἐκείνοις. ἀνδράποδα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Σύρια καὶ Φρύγια καὶ Λύδια, φεύγειν αἰεὶ καὶ δουλεύειν ἔτοιμα· οἶς ἐγὼ σαφῶς οἶδα, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτίκα ὅψεσθε, οὐδὲ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν τάξιν ἐγγυῶντα πολέμου. ἔχεσθε οὖν μοι τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων, κὰν οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνῶν περιθέωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θορυβοποιῶσι. τρεψάμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς τῶνδε μὲν ὡς συγγενῶν φειδώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐς τὴν τῶνδε κατάπληξιν ἐξεργάσασθε. πρὸ δὲ πάντων, ὡς ὰν εἰδείην ὑμᾶς ἔγωγε ὧν συνετίθεσθε μεμνημένους τε καὶ νίκην πάντως ἡ θάνατον αἱρουμένους, καθέλετε μοι προϊόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τείχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχωμεν, ἀν μὴ κρατῶμεν, ἴδωσι δ' ἡμᾶς ἀσταθμεύτους οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ συνῶσιν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων σταθμεῦσαι."

75. Ό μὲν τοσάδε εἰπὼν φυλακὴν ὅμως τῶν σκηνῶν κατέπεμπε δισχιλίους τοὺς πάνυ γέροντας οἱ δὶ ἐξιόντες τὸ τεῖχος ἤρειπον μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης καὶ ἐς τὴν τάφρον αὐτὸ ἐνεχώννυον. ὁρῶν δὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ἡγουμένων τινῶν ἐς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς συσκευάζεσθαι, συνίει τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ ἔστενε καθὶ αὐτόν, ὅτι χωροῦσιν ἐς χεῖρας θηρίοις, λιμὸν ἔχοντες, ἄξιον θηρίων φάρμακον. ἀλλὶ οὐ γὰρ ἢν ἀναδῦναι ἔτι, τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐπὶ ἔυροῦ. διὸ δὴ καὶ τετρακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰταλῶν φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδιεκόσμει, τοὺς μὲν Ἰταλοὺς ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐς τρία

fight with them at all. They are Syrian, Phrygian, CHAP. and Lydian slaves, always ready for flight or servitude. I know very well, and you will presently see, that Pompey himself will not entrust to them any place in the ranks of war. Give your attention to the Italians only, even though these allies come running around you like dogs trying to frighten you. When you have put the enemy to flight let us spare the Italians as being our own kindred, but slaughter the allies in order to strike terror into the others. Before all else, in order that I may know that you are mindful of your promise to choose victory or death, throw down the walls of your camp as you go out to battle and fill up the ditch, so that we may have no place of refuge if we do not conquer, and so that the enemy may see that we have no camp and know that we are compelled to encamp in theirs."

75. Nevertheless, after he had thus spoken Caesar Prepardetailed 2,000 of his oldest men to guard the tents. ations for battle The rest, as they passed out, demolished their fortification in the profoundest silence and filled up the ditch with the debris. When Pompey saw this, although some of his friends thought that it was a preparation for flight, he knew it was an exhibition of daring, and groaned in spirit, to think that they were now coming to grips with wild beasts, although they had on their side famine, the best tamer of wild beasts. But there was no drawing back now, when things were balanced on the razor's edge. Wherefore, leaving 4,000 of his Italian troops to guard his camp, Pompey drew up the remainder between the city of Pharsalus and the river Enipeus opposite the place where Caesar was marshalling his forces. Each of them ranged his Italians in front.

CAP. διαιρῶν ἐπὶ μετώπου, μικρὸν ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασι τοῖς κατὰ μέρη τάσσων. τοξόται δὲ πᾶσιν ἀναμεμίχατο καὶ σφενδονῆται. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν οὕτω κεκόσμητο, ῷ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐθάρρει τὰ συμμαχικὰ δ᾽ ῆγον ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτῶν ὡς ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. πολύθρουν δὲ ἦν τὸ Πομπηίου συμμαχικὸν καὶ πολύγλωσσον καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πομπήιος Μακεδόνας μὲν καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ ᾿Αθηναίους, ἀποδεξάμενος τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ σιωπῆς, παρεστήσατο τῆ φάλαγγι τῆ Ἰταλικῆ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἴκαζεν, ἔξω τάξεως ἐκέλευσε κατὰ φυλὰς ἐφεδρεύοντας, ὅταν ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγὼν γένηται, κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώκειν, ὅσα δύναιντο βλάπτοντας, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ Καίσαρος ἀχαράκωτον ὁν διαρπάζειν.

76. Ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος Πομπηίω μὲν ὁ κηδεστὴς Σκιπίων ἐν μέσω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ Δομίτιος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Λέντλος. ᾿Αφράνιος δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφύλαττον. Καίσαρι δὶ ἐστρατήγουν μὲν Σύλλας καὶ ᾿Αντώνιος καὶ Δομίτιος, αὐτὸς δὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως συνετάσσετο τῷ δεκάτω τέλει, καθάπερ ἡν ἔθος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετήγαγον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων, ἵνα πλέονες ὅντες, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν, κυκλώσαιντο. συνεὶς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τρισχιλίους εὐτολμοτάτους πεζοὺς ἐνήδρευσεν, οἰς ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αἴσθωνται τοὺς πολεμίους περιθέοντας, ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐσπηδῶντας ἀνίσχειν ὀρθὰ ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν

divided into three lines with a moderate space CHAP. between them, and placed his cavalry on the wings of each division. Archers and slingers were mingled among all. Thus were the Italian troops disposed, on which each commander placed his chief reliance. The allied forces were marshalled by themselves rather for show than for use. There was much jargon and confusion of tongues among Pompev's auxiliaries. Pompey stationed the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Boeotians, and Athenians near the Italian legions, as he approved of their good order and quiet behaviour. The rest, as Caesar had anticipated, he ordered to lie in wait by tribes outside of the line of battle, and when the engagement should become close to surround the enemy, to pursue, to do what damage they could, and to plunder Caesar's camp, which was without defences.

76. The centre of Pompey's formation was commanded by his father-in-law, Scipio, the left wing by Domitius, and the right by Lentulus. Afranius and Pompey guarded the camp. On Caesar's side the commanders were Sulla, Antony, and Domitius. Caesar took his place in the tenth legion, on the right wing, as was his custom. When the enemy saw this they transferred, to face that legion, the best of their horse, in order to surround it if they could, by their superiority of numbers. When Caesar perceived this movement he placed 3,000 of his bravest footsoldiers in ambush and ordered them, when they should see the enemy trying to flank him, to rise, dart forward, and thrust their spears directly in the faces of the men because, as they were fresh and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An error of some sort. Pompey commanded one wing in person.

CAP. ἀνδρῶν· οὐ γὰρ οἴσειν ἀπείρους καὶ νέους, ὡραϊζομένους ἔτι, τὸν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα κίνδυνον. οἱ μὲν
δὴ τοιάδε κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμηχανῶντο καὶ περιήεσαν ἐκάστους, καθιστάμενοί τε τὰ ἐπείγοντα καὶ
ἐς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τὰ συνθήματα
ἀναδιδόντες, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ᾿Αφροδίτην νικηφόρον,

ό δὲ Πομπήιος Ἡρακλέα ἀνίκητον.

77. 'Ως δὲ σφίσιν ἕτοιμα πάντα ἢν, ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ως ἀνέμενον ἐν βαθεία σιωπη, μέλλοντες ἔτι καὶ ὀκνοῦντες καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες, όπότερος άρξει της μάχης. τό τε γὰρ πληθος ώκτειρον, οὐδενός πω τοσοῦδε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ ές ένα κίνδυνον συνελθόντος, καὶ την άρετην έκκρίτων ὄντων έκατέρων ήλέουν, καὶ μάλιστα, ότε ἴδοιεν Ἰταλούς Ἰταλοίς συμφερομένους. έγγύς τε τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένοις αὐτοῖς ἡ μὲν έκκαίουσα καὶ τυφλούσα πάντας φιλοτιμία έσβέννυτο καὶ μετέβαλλεν ές δέος, ὁ δὲ λογισμός έκαθάρευε δοξοκοπίας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐμέτρει καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι περὶ πρωτείων δύο ἄνδρε ερίζοντε άλλήλοιν αὐτώ τε κινδυνεύετον άμφὶ τῆ σωτηρία, μηδ' ἐσχάτω πάντων ἡττηθέντε ἔτι εἶναι, καὶ τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν δί αὐτούς. ἐσήει δὲ σφᾶς, ὅτι φίλοι καὶ κηδεσταὶ τέως όντες καὶ πολλά συμπράξαντες άλλήλοις ές αξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν, ξίφη νῦν φέρουσι κατ' άλληλων καὶ τοὺς ὑποστρατευομένους ἐς ὁμοίας άθεμιστίας ἄγουσιν, όμοεθνεῖς τε ὄντας άλλήλοις καὶ πολίτας καὶ φυλέτας καὶ συγγενείς, ενίους δὲ καὶ ἀδελφούς οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐνέλειπεν ἐκείνη

inexperienced and still in the bloom of youth, they CHAP, would not endure injury to their faces. Thus they laid their plans against each other, and each commander passed through the ranks of his own troops, attending to what was needful, exhorting his men to courage, and giving them the watchword, which on Caesar's side was "Venus the Victorious," and on

Pompey's "Hercules the Invincible."

77. When all was in readiness on both sides they waited for some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle. They were stricken with sorrow for the great host, for never before had such large Italian armies confronted the same danger together. They had pity for the valour of these men (the flower of both parties), especially because they saw Italians embattled against Italians. As the danger came nearer, the ambition that had inflamed and blinded them was extinguished, and gave place to fear. Reason purged the mad passion for glory, estimated the peril, and laid bare the cause of the war, showing how two men contending with each other for supremacy were throwing into the scale their own lives and fortunes - for defeat would mean the lowest degradation—and those of so large a number of the poblest citizens. The leaders reflected also that they, who had lately been friends and relatives by marriage, and had co-operated with each other in many ways to gain rank and power, had now drawn the sword for mutual slaughter and were leading to the same impiety those serving under them, men of the same city, of the same tribe, blood relations, and in some cases brothers against brothers. Even these circumstances were

CAP. τῆ μάχη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τοσαῖσδε μυριάσιν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἔθνους ἐπ' ἀλλήλας ἰούσαις πολλὰ τὰ παράδοξα συνέπιπτεν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος ἐκάτερος μετανοίας τε οὐ δυνατῆς ἔτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ ὡς ἐσόμενος ἐκείνη τῆ ἡμέρα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ πρῶτος ἡ τελευταῖος ὥκνει τοσῆσδε ἀμφιβολίας ἄρξαι.

καί φασιν αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον καὶ δακρῦσαι.

78. Μέλλουσι δ' έτι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέπουσιν ή ήμέρα προύκοπτε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν άπαν εὐσταθῶς ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἀκριβοῦς ἀνέμενε· τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ὁ Πομπήιος αύτοῦ ταρασσόμενον όρων ύπο της μελλήσεως και δείσας, μη προ του άγωνος άταξίας κατάρξειεν, υπεσήμαινε πρώτος, καὶ ἀντήγησε Καίσαρ, αὐτίκα δ' αί τε σάλπιγγες αὐτοὺς ἐξώτρυνον ὀρθίοις κλαγγαίς ὡς έν τοσώδε πλήθει πολλαί κατά μέρη, και οι κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται περιθέοντες ἤπειγον. οἱ δὲ σοβαρώς άλλήλοις έπήεσαν μετά τε θάμβους καὶ σιωπής βαθυτάτης ώς πολλών αγώνων τοιώνδε έμπειροπόλεμοι. πλησιάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ήδη τόξα καὶ λίθοι πρώτον ην καὶ τών ίππέων βραχύ τὰ πεζά προλαβόντων πείραί τε καὶ ἐπελάσεις ἐπ' άλλήλους. καὶ προύχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸ δέκατον τέλος έκυκλούντο. Καίσαρος δὲ τὸ σημείον τοίς έφεδρεύουσιν άραντος, οί μεν έξαναστάντες ές τους ίππους έχώρουν, όρθοις άνω τοις δόρασιν ές τὰ πρόσωπα τύπτοντες τοὺς ἐπικαθημένους, οί δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ούτε τὰς ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμούς πληγάς ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πεζὸν

not wanting in this battle; because many unnatural CHAP things must happen when thousands of the same nation come together in the clash of arms. Reflecting on these things each of them was seized with unavailing repentance, and since this day was to decide for each whether he should be the highest or the lowest of the human race, they hesitated to begin so critical a battle. It is said that both of them even

wept.

78. When they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood motionless in their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he sounded the signal first and Caesar echoed it back. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among the divisions of so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. They all advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stupor and deepest silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements. And now, as they came nearer together, there was first a discharge of arrows and stones. Then, as the cavalry were a little in advance of the infantry, they charged each other. Those of Pompey prevailed and began to outflank the tenth legion. Caesar then gave the signal to the cohorts in ambush and these, starting up suddenly, advanced to meet the cavalry, and with spears elevated aimed at the faces of the riders, who could not endure the enemy's savagery, nor the blows on their mouths and eyes, but fled in disorder. There-

CAP. εὐθὺς ἰππέων ἔρημον γενόμενον ἐκυκλοῦντο xi οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἰππέες, αὐτοὶ δείσαντες περικύκλωσιν.

79. Πομπήιος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε τοῖς πεζοῖς μήτ' ἐπεκθεῖν ἔτι μήτ' ἐκτρέχειν ἐκ τῆς φάλαγγος μηδ' ἀκουτίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῆ διαστάντας ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ χειρὸς τοῖς δόρασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας. καὶ τόδε τινές αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατήγημα ἐπαινοῦσιν ώς άριστον έν περικυκλώσει, ὁ δὲ Καΐσαρ έν ταῖς έπιστολαίς καταμέμφεται τάς τε γάρ πληγάς ύπο της βολης εὐτονωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ανδρας ύπὸ τοῦ δρόμου προθυμοτέρους έστωτας δ' ἀποψύχεσθαί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέουσιν εὐβλήτους δι' ἀτρεμίαν οία σκοπούς είναι. ὁ καὶ τότε γενέσθαι τὸ γὰρ δέκατον τέλος σὺν αὐτῷ περιδραμεῖν τὰ λαιὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔρημα ἱππέων γενόμενα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐς τὰ πλευρά εσακοντίζειν, μέχρι θορυβουμένοις έμπεσόντας βία τρέψασθαι καὶ τῆς νίκης κατάρξαι. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πληθος ην ἔτι τραυμάτων καὶ φόνων ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα. Βοὴ δὲ οὐδεμία έκ τοσησδε φάλαγγος τοιάδε δρώσης οὐδ' οἰμωγαὶ τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἢ πλησσομένων, ἀλλὰ βρυχή-ματα μόνα καὶ στόνοι πιπτόντων, ἔνθα συνετάχθησαν, εὐσχημόνως. οἱ σύμμαχοι δέ, καθάπερ άγωνα πολέμου θεώμενοι, κατεπλήσσοντο την εὐταξίαν καὶ οὕτε ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος έτόλμων ύπο θαύματος, ολίγων αὐτὰς καὶ

upon Caesar's men, who had just now been afraid of CHAP peing surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey's infantry which was denuded of its cavalry supports.

79. When Pompey learned this he ordered his infantry not to advance farther, not to break the line of formation, and not to hurl the javelin, but to open their ranks, bring their spears to rest, and so ward off the onset of the enemy. Some persons praise this order of Pompey as the best in a case where one is attacked in flank, but Caesar criticises it in his letters. He says that the blows are delivered with more force, and that the spirits of the men are raised, by running, while those who stand still lose courage by reason of their immobility and become excellent targets for those charging against them. So, he says, it proved in this case, for the tenth legion, with Caesar himself, surrounded Pompey's left wing, now deprived of cavalry, and assailed it with javelins in flank, where it stood immovable; until, finally, the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and this was the beginning of the victory. In the rest of the field slaughter and wounding of all kinds were going on, but no cry came from the scene of carnage, no lamentation from the wounded or the dying, only sighs and groans from those who were falling honourably in their tracks. The allies, who were looking at the battle as at a spectacle, were astonished at the discipline of the combatants. So dumbfounded were they that they did not dare attack Caesar's tents, although they were guarded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The text says "Caesar's horse," but Schweighäuser considers this a manifest error since Appian, in § 79, says that it was the tenth legion that struck Pompey's left flank. Caesar himself says (B.C. 3. 93. 5) that the six cohorts in reserve executed this decisive movement.

CAP. πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν φυλασσόντων, περιδραμεῖν οὕτε τι ἄλλο ἡ ἐστῶτες ἐθάμβουν.

80. 'Ως δὲ ἐνέδωκε τὸ λαιὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε βάδην ὑπεχώρουν ἄμα καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι προτροπάδην έφευγον ἄπρακτοι, βοωντες "ήσσήμεθα" καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς σφῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ώς άλλότρια προλαβόντες διέσπων και διήρπαζον ές την φυγην ο τι δύναιντο ἐπάγεσθαι. ήδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὁπλιτικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε ήσσης αἰσθανόμενον ὑπεχώρει κατὰ πόδα, πρώτον εν κόσμω καὶ έτι εκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀμυνόμενοι επικειμένων δ' αὐτοῖς ώς εν εὐπραξία τῶν πολεμίων ἐστράφησαν ἐς φυγήν. καὶ ὁ Καΐσαρ εὐμηχάνως δη τότε μάλιστα, ἵνα μη, συνέλθοιεν αὖθις μηδὲ τὸ ἔργον γένοιτο μάχης μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, κήρυκας ἐς τὰς τάξεις πανταχού περιέπεμπεν, οὶ τοῖς νικῶσιν έκέλευον άψαυστείν των όμοεθνων, έπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους μόνους χωρείν. καὶ τοίς ήττωμένοις προσεπέλαζον παραινούντες άδεως έστάναι. άνήρ τε παρ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκμανθάνων τὸ κήρυγμα εἰστήκει. καὶ σύμβολον ήδη τοῦτο τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτων ήν, τὸ ἀδεως έστάναι, τὰ ἄλλα ως Ἰταλων όμοιοτρόπως ἐσκευασμένων τε καὶ φωνήν όμοίαν αφιέντων. διεκθέοντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τούς συμμάχους οὐ δυναμένους ἀντέχειν ἀνήρουν. καὶ ὁ πλείστος ἐνταῦθα ἐγίγνετο φόνος.

81. Πομπήιος δ' έπεὶ την τροπήν είδεν, ἔκφρων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπήει βάδην ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθών ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἄναυδος,

only by a few old men. Nor did they accomplish CHAP.

anything else, but stood in a kind of stupor.

80. As Pompey's left wing began to give way his men even still retired step by step and in perfect order, but the allies who had not been in the fight, fled with headlong speed, shouting, "We are vanquished," dashed upon their own tents and fortifications as though they had been the enemy's, and pulled down and plundered whatever they could carry away in their flight. Then the rest of Pompey's Italian legions, perceiving the disaster to the left wing, retired slowly at first, in good order, and still resisting as well as they could; but when the enemy, flushed with victory, pressed upon them they turned in flight. Thereupon Caesar, in order that they might not rally, and that this might be the end of the whole war and not of one battle merely, with greater prudence than he had ever shewn before, sent heralds everywhere among the ranks to order the victors to spare their own countrymen and to smite only the auxiliaries. The heralds drew near to the retreating enemy and told them to stand still and fear not. As this proclamation was passed from man to man they halted, and the phrase "stand and fear not" began to be passed as a sort of watchword among Pompey's soldiers; for, being Italians, they were clad in the same style as Caesar's men and spoke the same language. Accordingly, the latter passed by them and fell upon the auxiliaries, who were not able to resist, and made a very great slaughter among them.

81. When Pompey saw the retreat of his men he Total defeat became bereft of his senses and retired at a slow pompeians pace to his camp, and when he reached his tent he

CAP. οδόν τι καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντά φασιν ἐν Ἰλίω παθείν, έν μέσοις πολεμίοις ύπο θεοβλαβείας. των δ' άλλων ολίγοι πάνυ εσήεσαν ές το στρατόπεδον το γάρ κήρυγμα τοῦ Καίσαρος έστάναι τε άκινδύνως ἐποίει, καὶ παραδραμόντων τῶν πολεμίων διεσκίδνη κατὰ μέρος. ληγούσης δὲ της ημέρας ὁ Καίσαρ τὸν στρατὸν ἀσχέτως που περιθέων ίκέτευε προσπονήσαι, μέχρι καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Πομπηίου λάβοιεν, ἐκδιδάσκων, ὅτι, εί συσταΐεν αθθις οι πολέμιοι, μίαν ήμέραν έσονται νενικηκότες, εί δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν έλοιεν, τὸν πόλεμον ένὶ τῷδε ἔργφ κατωρθωκότες ầν εἶεν. τάς τε οὖν χεἶρας αὖτοῖς ὤρεγε καὶ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε δρόμου. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν σώματα έκαμνε, την δε ψυχην ο τε λογισμός καὶ ο αὐτοκράτωρ συντρέχων ἐκούφιζεν. ἡώρει δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων εὐπραξία καὶ ἐλπίς, ὅτι καὶ τὸν χάρακα αίρήσουσι καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ· ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἢ εὐτυχίαις ἄνθρωποι καμάτων αισθάνονται. οι μεν δή και τώδε προσπεσόντες έπεχείρουν σύν πολλή πρός τούς απομαχομένους καταφρονήσει, ο δε Πομπήιος μαθών εξ άλλοκότου σιωπής τοσούτον ἀπέρρηξεν "οὐκούν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ήμῶν;" καὶ εἰπὼν τήν τε στολὴν ἐνήλλαξε καὶ ἵππου ἐπιβὰς σὺν φίλοις τέσσαρσιν οὐκ ἀνέσχε δρόμου, πρὶν ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἐν Λαρίσση γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Καΐσαρ, ὡς ἐπηπείλησε παρατάσσων, έν τῷ Πομπηίου χάρακι ἐστάθμευσε, καὶ αὐτός τε τὴν ἐκείνου βρώμην καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαίσαντο.

82. ᾿Απέθανον δὲ ἑκατέρων, τῶν γε Ἰταλῶν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν γε συμμάχων οὐδ' ἐξαρίθμησις

sat down speechless, resembling Ajax, the son of CHAP. Telamon, who, they say, suffered in like manner XI in the midst of his enemies at Troy, being deprived B.C. 48 of his senses by some god. Very few of the rest returned to the camp, for Caesar's proclamation caused them to remain unharmed, and as their enemies had passed beyond them they dispersed in groups. As the day was declining Caesar ran hither and thither among his troops and besought them to continue their exertions till they should capture Pompey's camp, telling them that if they allowed the enemy to rally they would be the victors for only a single day, whereas if they should take the enemy's camp they would finish the war with this one blow. He stretched out his hands to them and took the lead in person. Although they were weary in body, the words and example of their commander lightened their spirits. Their success so far, and the hope of capturing the enemy's camp and the contents thereof, excited them; for in the midst of hope and prosperity men feel fatigue least. So they fell upon the camp and assaulted it with the utmost disdain for the defenders. When Pompey learned this he started up from his strange silence, exclaiming, "What! in our very camp?" Having Flight of spoken thus he changed his clothing, mounted a Pompey horse, and fled with four friends, and did not draw rein until he reached Larissa early the next morning. So Caesar established himself in Pompey's camp as he had promised to do when he was preparing for the battle, and ate Pompey's supper, and the whole army feasted at the enemy's expense.

82. The losses of Italians on each side—for there Losses on was no report of the losses of auxiliaries, either both sides

CAP. εγένετο υπο πλήθους καὶ καταφρονήσεως) εκ μεν τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τριάκοντα λοχαγοὶ καὶ όπλῖται διακόσιοι, ἤ, ὡς ἐτέροις δοκεῖ, χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πομπηίου βουλευταὶ μὲν δέκα, ών ην καὶ Λεύκιος Δομίτιος, ὁ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι πεμφθείς έπι την Γαλατίαν διάδοχος, των δέ καλουμένων ίππέων ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς οἱ μὲν ἐπαίροντές φασι δισμυρίους ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, ᾿Ασίνιος δὲ Πολλίων, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης έκείνης στρατηγών, έξακισχιλίους αναγράφει νεκρούς εύρεθηναι των Πομπηίου.

Τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἀοιδίμου περὶ Φάρσαλον μάχης. ἀριστεῖα δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς καὶ πρῶτα καὶ δεύτερα ἐκ πάντων ἐφέρετο, ὁμολογούμενος ἀριστεῦσαι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ δέκατον τὰ δὲ τρίτα Κρασσίνιος λοχαγός, δν Καίσαρ μεν έξιων έπι την μάχην ήρετο, ο τι προσδοκώη, ὁ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀνεβόησε· "νικήσομεν, ὅ Καῖσαρ, κἀμὲ τήμερον ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀποδέξη"· ἡ στρατιὰ δ' ἐμαρτύρει καθάπερ ἔνθουν ἐς ἑκάστην τάξιν μεταθέοντα πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρᾶσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζητούμενος ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὐρέθη, τὰ ἀριστεῖα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ περιέθηκε καὶ συνέθαψε καὶ τάφον ἐξαίρετον ανέστησεν έγγυς του πολυανδρίου.

### XII

CAP. 83. 'Ο δè Πομπήιος ἐκ Λαρίσσης ὁμοίφ δρόμφ ΧΙΙ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐπειχθεὶς σκάφους ἐπέβη σμικροῦ 378

because of their multitude or because they were CHAP. despised—were as follows: in Caesar's army, thirty centurions and 200 legionaries, or, as some authorities have it, 1200; on Pompey's side ten senators, among whom was Lucius Domitius, the same who had been sent to succeed Caesar himself in Gaul, and about forty distinguished knights. Some exaggerating writers put the loss in the remainder of his forces at 25,000, but Asinius Pollio, who was one of Caesar's officers in this battle, records the number of dead Pompeians found as 6000

Such was the result of the famous battle of Pharsalus. Caesar himself carries off the palm for first and second place by common consent, and with him the tenth legion. The third place is taken by the centurion Crassinius, whom Caesar asked at the beginning of the battle what result he anticipated, and who responded proudly, "We shall conquer, O Caesar, and you will thank me either living or dead." The whole army testifies that he darted through the ranks like one possessed and did many brilliant deeds. When sought for he was found among the dead, and Caesar bestowed military honours on his body and buried it, and erected a special tomb for him near the common burial-place of the others.

#### XII

83. From Larissa Pompey continued his flight to CHAP, the sea where he embarked in a small boat, and

CAP. καὶ νεὼς παραπλεούσης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Μιτυλήνην XII διέπλευσεν όθεν την γυναικα Κορνηλίαν άναλαβων καὶ τριήρων τεσσάρων ἐπιβάς, αὶ αὐτῶ παρά τε 'Ροδίων καὶ Τυρίων ἀφίκοντο, Κερκύρας μὲν καὶ τότε καὶ Λιβύης ὑπερείδεν, ἔνθα αὐτῶ στρατὸς ην άλλος πολύς και ναυτικόν ακραιφνές, έπι δέ την έω φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Παρθυαίον ὡς δί έκείνου πάντα άναληψόμενος το ένθύμημα έπέκρυπτε, μέχρι περί την Κιλικίαν μόλις έξέφερε τοίς φίλοις. οι δε αυτον ήξίουν φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Παρθυαίον, ἐπιβεβουλευμένον τε ἔναγχος ύπο Κράσσου καὶ θυμούμενον ἔτι τῆ Κράσσου συμφορά, μηδ' ές ἀκρατεῖς βαρβάρους ἄγειν εὐπρεπή γυναίκα Κορνηλίαν, Κράσσου μάλιστα γεγενημένην. δεύτερα δ' αὐτοῦ προθέντος περί τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἰόβα, Ἰόβα μὲν ὑπερεώρων ώς ἀδόξου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ συνεφρόνουν, ἐγγύς τε οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ναυσὶ καὶ σίτῷ καὶ χρήμασι τούς τε βασιλεύοντας αὐτῆς, εἰ καὶ παίδές είσι, πατρικούς είναι τω Πομπηίω φίλους.

84. Ό μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ἐς τὴν Αίγυπτον ἔπλει ἄρτι δ' ἐκπεσούσης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας, ἢ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνῆρχε, καὶ στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀγειρούσης, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφὸς ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῖς Κλεοπάτρας ἐσβολαῖς ἐφήδρευε, καὶ πως κατὰ δαίμονα ἐς τὸ Κάσσιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Πομπήιον κατέφερε. θεασάμενος δὲ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πολὺν ἔστησε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ εἴκασεν,

meeting a ship by chance he sailed to Mitylene. CHAP. There he joined his wife, Cornelia, and they embarked with four triremes which had come to him from sails for Rhodes and Tyre. He decided not to sail for Egypt Corcyra and Africa, where he had other large military and naval forces as yet untouched, but intended to push on eastward to the king of the Parthians, expecting to receive every assistance from him. He concealed his intention until he arrived at Cilicia, where he revealed it hesitatingly to his friends; but they advised him to beware of the Parthian, against whom Crassus had lately led an expedition, and who was puffed up by his victory over the latter, and especially not to put in the power of these barbarians the beautiful Cornelia, who had formerly been the wife of Crassus.1 Then he made a second proposal respecting Egypt and Juba.2 The latter they despised as not sufficiently distinguished, but they all agreed about going to Egypt, which was near and was a great kingdom, still prosperous and powerful in ships, provisions, and money. Its sovereigns, too, although children, were allied to Pompey by their father's friendship.

84. For these reasons he sailed to Egypt, whence Cleopatra, who had previously reigned with her brother, had been lately expelled, and was collecting an army in Syria. Ptolemy, her brother, was at Casium in Egypt, lying in wait for her invasion, and, as Providence would have it, the wind carried Pompey thither. Seeing a large army on the shore he stopped his ship, rightly judging that the king was there. So he sent messengers to tell

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The younger Crassus. <sup>2</sup> King of Numidia.

CAP. ὅπερ ἦν, παρεῖναι τὸν βασιλέα. πέμψας τε έφραζε περί έαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίας. ό δὲ ἢν μὲν περὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγονώς, επετρόπευον δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μεν στρατιὰν Αχιλλάς, τὰ δὲ χρήματα Ποθεινὸς εὐνοῦχος. οί βουλήν προυτίθεντο περί τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ παρών ο Σάμιος Θεόδοτος ο ρήτωρ, διδάσκαλος ών τοῦ παιδός, ἀθέμιστον εἰσηγεῖτο ἔργον, ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ κτεῖναι Πομπήιον ώς χαριουμένους Καίσαρι. κυρωθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης σκάφος εὐτελες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμπετο, ὡς τῆς θαλάσσης ούσης άλιτενούς καὶ μεγάλαις ναυσίν οὐκ εὐχερούς, ύπηρέται τέ τινες των βασιλικών ενέβαινον ες τὸ σκάφος. καὶ Σεμπρώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος τότε μεν τω βασιλεί, πάλαι δε αὐτῷ Πομπηίω στρατευσάμενος, δεξιαν έφερε παρά τοῦ βασιλέως τω Πομπηίω καὶ ἐκέλευεν ως ἐς φίλον τὸν παίδα διαπλευσαι. άμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ωσπερ έπὶ τιμή τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν έξετάσσετο άπας, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς ἐν μέσφ τῆ φοινικίδι κατάδηλος ην περικειμένη.

85. 'Ο δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἄπαντα, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ σκάφους εὐτέλειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτόν οἱ παραγενέσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινας πέμψαι τοσοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν Σοφοκλέους ἰαμβείων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκών "ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κὰν ἐλεύθερος μόλη," ἐνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἐν τῷ διάπλω σιωπώντων ὑπώντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπών

of his arrival and to speak of his father's friendship. CHAP The king was then about thirteen years of age and was under the tutelage of Achillas, who commanded his army, and the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his treasury. These took counsel together concerning Pompey. There was present also Theodotus, a rhetorician of Samos, the boy's tutor, who offered the infamous advice that they should lay a trap for Pompey and kill him in order to curry favour with Caesar. His opinion prevailed. So they sent a miserable skiff to bring him, pretending that the sea was shallow and not adapted to large ships. Some of the king's attendants came in the skiff, among them a Roman, named Sempronius, who was then serving in the king's army and had formerly served under Pompey himself. He gave his hand to Pompey in the king's name and directed him to take passage in the boat to the young man as to a friend. At the same time the whole army was marshalled along the shore as if to do honour to Pompey, and the king was conspicuous in the midst of them by the purple robe he wore.

85. Pompey's suspicions were aroused by all that he observed—the marshalling of the army, the meanness of the skiff, and the fact that the king himself did not come to meet him nor send any of his high dignitaries. Nevertheless, he entered the skiff, repeating to himself these lines of Sophocles,<sup>2</sup> "Whoso resorts to a tyrant becomes his slave, even if he be free when he goes." While rowing to the shore all were silent, and this made him still more suspicious.

<sup>2</sup> Nauck. Trag. Graec. fr.2, p. 316, n. 789.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Caesar, Plutarch, Florus, and Dio Cassius, give this miscreant the name of Septimus.

CAP. πτευε· καὶ τὸν Σεμπρώνιον εἴτε ἐπιγινώσκων 'Ρωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ ἐστρατευμένον ἑαυτῷ, εἴτε τοπάζων ἐκ τοῦ μόνον ἑστάναι, κατὰ δὴ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἄρα διδασκαλίαν οὐ συνεδρεύοντα αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ''ἆρά σε γινώσκω, συστρατιῶτα;'' καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπένευσεν, ἀποστραφέντα δ' εὐθὺς ἐπάταξε πρῶ τος, εἰθ' ἔτεροι. καὶ τὸ μὲν γύναιον τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἱ φίλοι ταῦτα μακρόθεν ὁρῶντες ἀνώμωζόν τε καὶ χεῖρας ἐς θεοὺς ἐκδίκους σπονδῶν ἀνίσχ οντες ἀπέπλεον τάχιστα ὡς ἐκ πολεμίας.

86. Πομπηίου δὲ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες οἱ περὶ Ποθεινὸν ἐφύλασσον Καίσαρι ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις ἀμοιβαῖς (ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤμύνατο ἀξίως τῆς ἀθεμιστίας), τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμά τις ἔθαψεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἤιόνος καὶ τάφον ἤγειρεν εὐτελῆ· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλος ἐπέγραψε· "τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι

πόση σπάνις έπλετο τύμβου."

Χρόνω δὲ τὸν τάφον τόνδε ἐπικρυφθέντα ὅλον ὑπὸ ψάμμου καὶ εἰκόνας, ὅσας ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ τῷ Πομπηίω περὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὕστερον οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθηκαν, λελωβημένα πάντα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτόν του ἱεροῦ κατενεχθέντα ἐζήτησε καὶ εὐρεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἁδριανὸς ἐπιδημῶν, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνεκάθηρε γνώριμον αῦθις εἶναι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διωρθώσατο.

Finally, either recognizing Sempronius as a Roman CHAP. soldier who had served under him or guessing that he was such because he alone remained standing (for, according to military discipline, a soldier does not sit in the presence of his commander), he turned to him and said, "Do I not know you, comrade?"

The other nodded and, as Pompey turned away, he me immediately gave him the first stab and the others assassinated followed his example. Pompey's wife and friends who saw this at a distance cried out and, lifting their hands to heaven, invoked the gods, the avengers of violated faith. Then they sailed away in all haste as from an enemy's country.

86. The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Caesar, in expectation of a large reward, but he visited condign punishment on them for their nefarious deed. The remainder of the body was buried by somebody on the shore, and a small monument was erected over it, on which somebody

else wrote this inscription :-

"How pitiful a tomb for one so rich in temples." 1

In the course of time the monument was wholly covered with sand, and the bronze images that had been erected to Pompey by his kinsfolk at a later period near Mount Cassius had all been outraged and afterwards removed to the secret recess of the temple, but in my time they were sought for and found by the Roman emperor Hadrian, while making a journey thither, who cleared away the rubbish from the monument and made it again conspicuous, and placed Pompey's images in their proper places.

<sup>1</sup> The point is not obvious, but Pompey seems credited with the possession of such temples as were in territories which he had conquered.

ted

Τόδε μὲν δὴ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἢν Πομπηίω τῷ μεγίστους πολέμους ἀνύσαντι καὶ μέγιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφελήσαντι καὶ Μεγάλω διὰ ταῦτα
ὀνομασθέντι καὶ οὐχ ἡττηθέντι ποτὲ πρότερον,
ἀλλὰ ἀηττήτω καὶ εὐτυχεστάτω ἐξέτι νέου γενομένω ἀπὸ γὰρ τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν οὐ διέλιπεν
ἐς ὀκτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῆ μὲν ἰσχύι μοναρχικῶς
δυναστεύων, τῆ δε δόξη διὰ τὸν Καίσαρος ζῆλον

δημοτικώς νομιζόμενος άρχειν.

87. Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων, ὁ κηδεστης τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον έργου διεπεφεύγεσαν, έπὶ Κερκύρας ηπείγουτο πρὸς Κάτωνα, έτέρου στρατοῦ καὶ τριακοσίων τριήρων άρχειν ύπολελειμμένον, εὐβουλότερον οίδε τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ αὐτῶν οἰ περιφανέστατοι νειμάμενοι το ναυτικόν, Κάσσιος μεν ές του Πόντον έπλει προς Φαρνάκην ώς άναστήσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Κάτων ές Λιβύην έπλεον, Οὐάρω τε πίσυνοι καὶ τῶ μετά Οὐάρου στρατῷ καὶ Ἰόβα Νομάδων βασιλεῖ συμμαχούντι. Πομπήιος δ', ό του Πομπηίου πρεσβύτερος υίος, καὶ Λαβιηνὸς σύν αὐτῶ καὶ Σκάπλας τὸ μέρος έχοντες ήπείγοντο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ αὐτὴν άποστήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸν ἄλλον έξ αὐτῶν Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων καὶ θεραπόντων συνέλεγον έν τε παρασκευή μείζονι έγίγνοντο. τηλικαθται δυνάμεις της Πομπηίου παρασκευής ήσαν υπόλοιποι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ύπεριδων ο Πομπήιος έφυγε. των δ'

Such was the end of Pompey, who had successfully CHAP. carried on the greatest wars and had made the greatest additions to the empire of the Romans, and had acquired by that means the title of Great. He had never been defeated before,1 but had remained unvanguished and most fortunate from his youth up. From his twenty-third to his fifty-eighth year he had not ceased to exercise power which as regards its strength was that of an autocrat, but by the inevitable contrast with Caesar had an almost democratic

appearance.2

87. Lucius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and Retreat the other notables who had escaped from the battle of the Pompeians of Pharsalus, more prudent than Pompey, hurried to Corcyra and joined Cato, who had been left there with another army and 300 triremes. The leaders apportioned the fleet among themselves, and Cassius sailed to Pharnaces in Pontus to induce him to take up arms against Caesar. Scipio and Cato embarked for Africa, relying on Varus and his army and his ally, Juba, king of Numidia. The elder son of Pompey, together with Labienus and Scapula, each with his own part of the army, hastened to Spain and, having detached it from Caesar, collected a new army of Spaniards, Celtiberians, and slaves, and made formidable preparations for war. So great were the forces still remaining which Pompey had prepared, and which Pompey himself overlooked and ran away from in his infatuation. Cato had been chosen

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is both confused and pleonastic. ζηλος is almost certainly Pompey's rivalry with Caesar, which caused

them to be regularly contrasted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is an error. Pompey was defeated by Sertorius in Spain; see the preceding book § 110: δ δε Σερτώριος ενίκα Πομπήϊον.

CAP. ἐν Λιβύη Κάτωνα σφῶν στρατηγεῖν αἰρουμένων, ό Κάτων οὐχ ὑπέστη παρόντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων, οῖ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐπρέσβευον αὐτοῦ μόνην ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντος ἐν Ῥώμη τὴν στρατηγίδα. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ στρατὸς κἀνταῦθα πολὺς ἡθροίζετο καὶ ἐγυμνάζετο. καὶ δύο αἴδε μάλιστα ἀξιόλογοι παρασκευαί, περὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνεκροτοῦντο.

### XIII

CAP. 88. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῆ νίκη δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν ΧΙΙΙ Φαρσάλω διέτριψε θύων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναλαμβάνων ένθα καὶ Θεσσαλούς έλευθέρους ήφίει συμμαχήσαντάς οι καὶ Αθηναίοις αιτήσασι συγγνώμην ἐπεδίδου καὶ ἐπεῖπε· "ποσάκις ύμᾶς ύπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους ή δόξα τῶν προγόνων περισώσει;" τῆ τρίτη δ' έξήλαυνεν έπὶ τὴν έω κατὰ πύστιν τῆς Πομπηίου φυγής καὶ τὸν Ελλήσποντον ἀπορία τριήρων σκάφεσιν ἐπεραιοῦτο μικροῖς. Κάσσιος δὲ σὺν τῷ μέρει τῶν τριήρων ἐπιφαίνεται μεσοποροῦντι, πρὸς Φαρνάκην ἐπειγόμενος. καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν πολλαίς τριήρεσι κατά σκαφῶν μικρῶν, ὑπὸ δέους της Καίσαρος εὐτυχίας περιπύστου δη καὶ ἐπιφόβου τότε οὔσης έξεπλάγη καὶ νομίσας οἱ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπίτηδες ἐπιπλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγεν ἐς αὐτόν, ἀπὸ τριήρων ἐς σκάφη, καὶ συγγνώμην ήτει καὶ τὰς τριήρεις παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυεν ἡ δόξα τῆς Καίσαρος εὐπραγίας οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε αιτίαν έτέραν όρω ούδε έργον έτερον ήγουμαι 388

commander of the forces in Africa, but he declined CHAP. the appointment since there were consulars present who outranked him, he having held only the praetorship in Rome. So Lucius Scipio was made the commander and he collected and drilled a large army there. Thus two armies of considerable magnitude were brought together against Caesar, one in Africa and the other in Spain.

#### XIII

88. CAESAR remained two days at Pharsalus after CHAP. the victory, offering sacrifice and giving his army Caesar a respite from fighting. Then he set free his Thespursues salian allies and granted pardon to the suppliant Pompey Athenians, and said to them, "How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?" On the third day he marched eastward. having learned that Pompey had fled thither, and for want of triremes he essayed to cross the Hellespont in skiffs. Here Cassius came upon him in midstream, with a part of his fleet, as he was hastening to Pharnaces. Although he might have mastered these small boats with his numerous triremes he was panic-stricken by Caesar's astounding success, which was then heralded with consternation everywhere, and he thought that Caesar had sailed purposely against him. So he extended his hands in entreaty from his trireme toward the skiff, begged for pardon, and surrendered his fleet. So great was the power of Caesar's prestige. I can see no other reason myself, nor can I think of any other instance where

CAP. τύχης ἐν ἀπόρφ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ Κάσχιιι σιον τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐβδομήκοντα 
ἀπαρασκεύφ Καίσαρι συντυχόντα μηδὶ ἐς χεῖρας 
ἐλθεῖν ὑποστῆναι. ὁ δὶ οὕτως ἐαυτὸν αἰσχρῶς 
ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλέοντι παραδοὺς ὕστερον 
ἐν Ὑρώμη δυναστεύοντα ἤδη κατέκανεν ῷ καὶ 
αὐτῷ δῆλόν ἐστι τὸν ἕτερον τῷ Κασσίφ φόβον 
ὑπὸ τύχης ἐγγενέσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπαιρούσης.

89. Διασωθείς δ' ούτω παραδόξως ὁ Καΐσαρ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιωθείς Ίωσι μεν καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν μεγάλην χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι (καὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ ἐνὶ ὀνόματι Ασίαν την κάτω), συνεγίγνωσκε πρεσβευομένοις ές αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλοῦσι, πυθόμενος δὲ Πομπήιον έπ' Αλγύπτου φέρεσθαι διέπλευσεν ές 'Ρόδον. καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν στρατὸν αύτοῦ κατὰ μέρη προσιόντα περιμείνας ές τὰς Κασσίου καὶ 'Ροδίων τριήρεις ἐνέβη σὺν τοῖς παροῦσιν· οὐδενί τε ἐκφήνας, ὅπη τὸν πλοῦν ποιήσεται, περὶ έσπέραν ἀνήγετο, ἐπαγγείλας τοῖς λοιποῖς κυ-Βερνήταις πρὸς τὸν λαμπτῆρα τῆς ἐαυτοῦ νεὼς καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸ σημείον εὐθύνειν τῶ δ' αύτου κυβερνήτη, πολύ της γης άποσχών, προσέταξεν ες 'Αλεξάνδρειαν φέρεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρισὶν ἡμέραις πελάγιος ἀμφὶ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν ἢν εσδέχονται δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> This is a dubious tale. Caesar tells us (iii. 101) that Cassius was in Sicily with a fleet when the news of Pharsalus arrived; that when the first news of the battle came the Pompeians considered it a fiction invented by Caesar's friends, but that when they were convinced that it was true, Cassius departed with his fleet. Then Caesar describes his

fortune was more propitious in a trying emergency CHAP. than when Cassius, a most valiant man, with seventy triremes, fell in with Caesar when he was unprepared, but did not venture to come to blows with him. And vet he who thus, through fear alone, disgracefully surrendered to Caesar when he was crossing the straits, afterward murdered him in Rome when he was at the height of his power; by which fact it is evident that the panic which then seized Cassius was due to the fortune by which Caesar was uplifted.1

89. Being thus unexpectedly saved, Caesar passed He passes the Hellespont and granted pardon to the Ionians, through Asia-Minor the Aeolians, and the other peoples who inhabit the and sails great peninsula called by the common name of Lower for Egypt Asia, and who sent ambassadors to him to ask it. Learning that Pompey was making for Egypt he sailed for Rhodes. He did not wait even there for his army, which was coming forward by detachments, but embarked with those he had on the triremes of Cassius and the Rhodians. Letting nobody know whither he intended to go he set sail toward evening, telling the other pilots to steer by the torch of his own ship by night and by his signal in the daytime; his own pilot, after they had proceeded a long way from the land, he ordered to steer for Alexandria. After a three days' sail he arrived there, and was received by the king's

own movements, saying that he considered it necessary to drop everything else and pursue Pompey, and that he pushed on every day as far as his cavalry could go, having ordered one legion to follow by shorter marches. He must have passed the Hellespont before Cassius sailed from Sicily. Suctonius (Jul. 63) says that it was Lucius Cassius whom Caesar met in the Hellespont.

CAP. τροπεύοντες, ἔτι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον XIII ὅντος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀπραγμοσύνην τινὰ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν συνόντων ὑπεκρίνετο φιλοφρόνως τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιιὼν τοῦ κάλλους ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἑστὼς ἤκροᾶτο. ὅθεν αὐτῷ χάρις τε καὶ δόξα ἀγαθὴ ὡς ἀπράγμονι

παρὰ τοῖς Αλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐφύετο.

90. Έπεὶ δ' ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ κατέπλευσε, Ποθεινον μεν καὶ 'Αχιλλαν εκόλασε θανάτω της ές τὸν Πομπήιον παρανομίας, Θεόδοτον δὲ διαδράντα Κάσσιος ὕστερον ἐκρέμασεν, εὐρὼν ἐν ᾿Ασίᾳ. θορυβούντων δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε τῶν ᾿Αλεξανδρέων καὶ τής στρατιάς τής βασιλικής έπ' αὐτὸν ἰούσης, άγωνες αὐτω ποικίλοι περί το βασίλειον έγένοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸ αἰγιαλοῖς, ἔνθα καὶ φεύγων ές την θάλατταν έξήλατο καὶ ές πολύ έν τῷ βυθῷ διενήξατο· καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οἰ ᾿Αλεξανδρεῖς περὶ τρόπαιον ἐκρέμασαν. τελευταίον δ' ἀνὰ τὸν Νείλον αὐτῷ γίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀγών, ῷ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐκράτει. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετρίφθησαν αὐτῷ μῆνες ἐννέα, μέχρι Κλεοπάτραν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηνεν Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν, τὴν χώραν θεώμενος, περιέπλει μετὰ της Κλεοπάτρας, και τάλλα ηδόμενος αὐτη. άλλά τάδε μὲν ἕκαστα ὅπως ἐγένετο, ἀκριβέστερον ἡ περὶ Αἰγύπτου συγγραφὴ διέξεισι τὴν δὲ κεφαλην τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφηναι, καί τι αὐτῆ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος έκαλείτο όπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων

guardians, the king himself being still at Casium. CHAP. At first, on account of the smallness of his forces, he pretended to take his ease, receiving visitors in a friendly way, traversing the city, admiring its beauty, and listening to the lectures of the philosophers while he stood among the crowd. Thus he gained the good-will and esteem of the Alexandrians as one who had no designs against them.

90. When his soldiers arrived by sea he punished The Alexan-Pothinus and Achillas with death for their crime drian war against Pompey. (Theodotus escaped and was afterward crucified by Cassius, who found him wandering in Asia.) The Alexandrians thereupon rose in tumult, and the king's army marched against Caesar and various battles took place around the palace and on the neighbouring shores. In one of these Caesar escaped by leaping into the sea and swimming a long distance in deep water. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy. He fought the last battle against the king on the banks of the Nile, in which he won a decisive victory. He consumed B.O. 47 nine months in this strife, at the end of which he established Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt in place of her brother. He ascended the Nile with 400 ships, exploring the country in company with Cleopatra and generally enjoying himself with her. The details, however, of these events are related more particularly in my Egyptian history. Caesar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating

CAP. αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῷ XIII Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ

πολέμου χρείας κατηρείφθη.

91. Τοσάδε μεν δη Καΐσαρ εργασάμενος εν 'Αλεξανδρεία δια Συρίας επί Φαρνάκην ήπείγετο. ο δε ήδη μεν ειργαστο πολλά και περιεσπάκει τινά 'Ρωμαίων χωρία καὶ Δομιτίω Καίσαρος στρατηγώ συνενεχθείς ές μάχην ένενικήκει πάνυ λαμπρώς, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐπαρθεὶς 'Αμισὸν πόλιν εν τῷ Πόντῷ ρωμαίζουσαν εξηνδραπόδιστο καὶ τοὺς παίδας αὐτῶν τομίας επεποίητο πάντας: προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐταράσσετο καὶ μετεγίγνωσκε καὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων γενομένω πρέσβεις έπεμπεν ύπερ ειρήνης, στέφανόν τε χρύσειον αὐτῷ φέροντας καὶ ἐς γάμον ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἐγγυῶντας Καίσαρι τὴν Φαρνάκους θυγατέρα. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ὧν φέρουσι, προῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐβάδιζε λεσχηνεύων τοις πρέσβεσι, μέχρι προσπελάσας τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Φαρνάκους καὶ τοσόνδε εἰπών "οὐ γὰρ αὐτίκα δώσει δίκην ὁ πατροκτόνος;" ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης βοῆς τρέπεταί τε τὸν Φαρνάκην καὶ πολλούς ἔκτεινε, σὺν χιλίοις που μάλιστα ὢν ίππεῦσιν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῷ συνδραμοῦσιν ὅτε καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· '' ὁ μακάριε Πομπήιε, τοιούτοις ἄρα κατὰ Μιθριδάτην τὸν τοῦδε πατέρα πολεμῶν ἀνδράσι μέγας τε ἐνομίσθης καὶ μέγας ἐπεκλήθης." ἐς δὲ 'Ρώμην περί τησδε της μάχης ἐπέστελλεν "ἐγὼ δὲ ἡλθον, είδον, ενίκησα.

92. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης μὲν ἀγαπῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Βοσπόρου, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ παρὰ

the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them CHAP.

in the exigencies of the war.

91. After Caesar had performed these exploits in War against Alexandria he hastened by way of Syria against Pharnaces. The latter had already accomplished many of his aims, had seized some of the Roman countries, had fought a battle with Caesar's lieutenant, Domitius, and won a very brilliant victory over him. Being much elated by this affair he had subjugated the city of Amisus in Pontus, which adhered to the Roman interest, sold their inhabitants into slavery, and made all their boys eunuchs. On the approach of Caesar he became alarmed and repented of his deeds, and when Caesar was within 200 stades he sent ambassadors to him to treat for peace. They bore a golden crown and foolishly offered him the daughter of Pharnaces in marriage. When Caesar learned what they were bringing he moved forward with his army, walking in advance and chatting with the ambassadors until he arrived at the camp of Pharnaces, when he merely said, "Why should I not take instant vengeance on this parricide?" Then he sprang upon his horse and at the first shout put Pharnaces to flight and killed a large number of the enemy, although he had with him only about 1000 of his own cavalry who had accompanied him in the advance. Here it is said that he exclaimed, "O fortunate Pompey, who wast considered and named the Great for warring against such men as these in the time of Mithridates, the father of this man." Of this battle he wrote to Rome the words, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

92. After this, Pharnaces was glad to escape to the kingdom which Pompey had assigned to him on

CAP. Πομπηίου, συνέφυγεν· ό δὲ Καῖσαρ, οὐ σχολην άγων περί μικρά τρίβεσθαι τοσώνδε πολέμων αὐτὸν περιμενόντων, ές τὴν Ασίαν μετῆλθε καὶ παροδεύων αὐτὴν ἐχρημάτιζε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοχλουμέναις ύπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων τοὺς φόρους, ώς μοι κατά την 'Ασιανήν συγγραφήν δεδήλωται. πυθόμενος δ' εν 'Ρώμη στάσιν είναι καὶ 'Αντώνιον τον ίππαρχον αύτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν στρατιά φυλάσσειν, πάντα μεθείς ζε 'Ρώμην ηπείγετο. ώς δ' ηλθεν, η μεν στάσις η πολιτική κατεπαύετο, έτέρα δ' έπ' αὐτὸν ἀνίστατο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὡς οὕτε τὰ έπηγηελμένα σφίσιν έπὶ τῷ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔρηφ λαβόντες ούτε έννόμως έτι βραδύνοντες έν τη στρατεία άφεθηναί τε πάντες έπὶ τὰ αύτων ήξίουν. ὁ δ' ἐπηγγέλλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀόριστά τινα έν Φαρσάλω, καὶ έτερα ἀόριστα, όταν ὁ έν Λιβύη πόλεμος ἐκτελεσθή· τότε δ' ἔπεμπεν άλλας δρίζων έκάστω χιλίας δραχμάς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ αὐτίκα διδόναι πάντα ἐκέλευον καὶ περὶ τῶνδε Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον πεμφθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου καὶ διέφθειραν, εί μη διέφυγε. πυθόμενος δ' ό Καισαρ τέλος μεν άλλο στρατιωτών, οὶ τὴν πόλιν έξ 'Αντωνίου παρεφύλασσον, περιέστησε τη οἰκία καὶ ταῖς της πόλεως έξόδοις, δείσας περὶ άρπαγης. αύτος δέ, πάντων δεδιότων και παραινούντων

the Bosporus. As Caesar had no time to waste on CHAP. small matters while such great wars were still unfinished elsewhere, he returned to the province of Asia and while passing through it transacted public business in the cities, which were oppressed by the farmers of the revenue, as I have shown in my Asiatic history.1 Learning that a sedition had broken out in Rome and that Antony, his master of horse, had occupied the forum with soldiers, he laid aside everything else and hastened to the city. When he arrived there the civil sedition had been Another quieted, but another one sprang up against himself in mutiny in Caesar's the army because the promises made to them after the army battle of Pharsalus had not been kept, and because they had been held in service beyond the term fixed by law. They demanded that they should all be dismissed to their homes. Caesar had made them certain indefinite promises at Pharsalus, and others equally indefinite after the war in Africa should be finished. Now he sent them a definite promise of 1000 drachmas more to each man. They answered him that they did not want any more promises but prompt payment in full, and Salustius Crispus,2 who had been sent to them on this business, had a narrow escape, for he would have been killed if he had not fled. When Caesar learned of this he stationed the legion with which Antony had been guarding the city around his own house and the city gates, as he apprehended attempts at plunder. Then, notwithstanding all his friends were alarmed and cautioned him against the

<sup>1</sup> Our author does not mention any Asiatic history in his preface. Photius in his enumeration of the works of Appian extant in his time speaks of the "tenth book, Grecian and Ionian." Schweighäuser thinks that this is here referred to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The historian.

CAP. αὐτῷ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ φυλάξασθαι, μάλα θρασέως αὐτοῖς ἔτι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸ "Αρειον πεδίον ἐπῆλθεν οὐ προμηνύσας καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος

 $\ddot{\omega}\phi\theta\eta$ .

93. Οί δὲ σὺν θορύβω τε ἄνοπλοι συνέτρεγον καί. ώς έθος, άφνω φανέντα σφίσιν ήσπάζοντο αὐτοκράτορα. κελεύσαντος δ' ο τι θέλοιεν είπειν, περί μεν των δωρεων ες όψιν είπειν αυτού παρόντος οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκπλήξεως, ὡς δὲ μετριώτερον, άφεθήναι της στρατείας άνεβόησαν. έλπίσαντες στρατού δεόμενον ές τούς ύπολοίπους πολέμους αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν οὐδὲ μελλήσας άπεκρίνατο "άφίημι" καταπλαγέντων δ' αὐτῶν έτι μάλλον καὶ σιωπής βαθυτάτης γενομένης έπειπε "και δώσω γε ύμιν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα άπαντα, όταν θριαμβεύσω μεθ' έτέρων." άδοκήτου δ' αὐτοῖς ἄμα καὶ τοῦδε καὶ φιλανθρώπου φανέντος, αίδως αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ λογισμός μετά ζήλου, εὶ δόξουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ καταλιπεῖν σφών τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν μέσοις τοσοῖσδε πολεμίοις, θριαμβεύσουσι δ' άνθ' αύτῶν έτεροι καὶ σφείς τῶν ἐν Λιβύη κερδῶν ἐκπεσοῦνται, μεγάλων έσεσθαι νομιζομένων, έχθροί τε όμοίως αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος έσονται καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. δείσαντες οῦν ἔτι μαλλον ἡσύχαζον ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐλπίζοντες ένδώσειν τι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μεταγνώσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ χρείαν. ὁ δ' ἀνθησύχαζε καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων ἐπιφθέγξασθαί τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλο καὶ μὴ βραχεῖ καὶ αὐστηρῷ

fury of the soldiers, he went boldly among them CHAP. while they were still riotous in the Campus Martius, without sending word beforehand, and showed

himself on the platform.

93. The soldiers ran together tumultuously without arms, and, as was their custom, saluted their commander who had suddenly appeared among them. When he bade them tell what they wanted they were so surprised that they did not even venture to speak openly of the donative in his presence, but they adopted the more moderate course of demanding their discharge from service, hoping that, since he needed soldiers for the unfinished wars, he would speak about the donative himself. But, Caesar contrary to the expectation of all, he replied without disbands them at hesitation, "I discharge you." Then, to their still their greater astonishment, and while the silence was request most profound, he added, "And I shall give you all that I have promised when I triumph with other soldiers." At this expression, as unexpected as it was kind, shame immediately took possession of all, and the consideration, mingled with jealousy, that while they would be thought to be abandoning their commander in the midst of so many enemies, others would join in the triumph instead of themselves, and they would lose the gains of the war in Africa, which were expected to be great, and become hateful to Caesar himself as well as to the opposite party. Moved by these fears they remained still more silent and embarrassed, hoping that Caesar would yield and change his mind on account of his immediate necessity. But he remained silent also, until his friends urged him to say something more to them and not leave his old comrades of so many campaigns with a

 Καρ. λόγω πολλά συνεστρατευμένους ἐγκαταλιπείν, ἀρχόμενος λέγειν πολίτας ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν προσείπεν ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἀφειμένων τῆς στρατείας καὶ ἰδιωτευόντων.

94. Οί δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἔτι ἀνέκραγον μετανοείν καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι. άποστρεφομένου τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀπιόντος άπὸ τοῦ βήματος, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει πλέονι βοώντες ενέκειντο παραμείναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ κολάζειν σφών τους άμαρτόντας. ό δ' έτι μέν τι διέτρι ψεν, ούτε απιων ούτε έπανιών, ύποκρινόμενος άπορείν επανελθών δ' όμως έφη κολάσειν μέν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἄχθεσθαι δ', ὅτι καὶ τὸ δέκατον τέλος, δ προετίμησεν αλεί, τοιαθτα θορυβεί. "καὶ τόδε," ἔφη, "μόνον ἀφίημι τῆς στρατείας. δώσω δὲ καὶ τῶδε ὅμως τὰ ὑπεσχημένα ἄπαντα. έπανελθών έκ Λιβύης. δώσω δὲ καὶ γῆν ἄπασιν έκτελεσθέντων των πολέμων, οὐ καθάπερ Σύλλας. άφαιρούμενος έτέρων ην έχουσι καὶ τοῖς άφαιρεθείσι τους λαβόντας συνοικίζων καὶ ποιῶν ἀλλήλοις ές αίει πολεμίους, άλλα την του δήμου γην έπινέμων καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰ δέοντα προσωνούμενος." κρότου δὲ καὶ εὐφημίας παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, τὸ δέκατον ὑπερήλγει τέλος, ἐς μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδιαλλάκτου φανέντος καὶ σφας αὐτὸν ήξίουν διακληρωσαί τε καὶ τὸ μέρος θανάτω ζημιώσαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπερεθίζειν έτι δεόμενος ακριβώς μετανοούντας, συνηλλάσσετο απασι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύη πόλεμον ἐξήει.

short and austere word. Then he began to speak, CHAP. addressing them first as "citizens," not "fellowsoldiers," which implied that they were already discharged from the army and were private individuals.

94. They could endure it no longer, but cried out He takes that they repented of what they had done, and at their besought him to keep them in his service. But entreaty Caesar turned away and was leaving the platform when they shouted with greater eagerness and urged him to stay and punish the guilty among them. He delayed a while longer, not going away and not turning back, but pretending to be undecided. At length he came back and said that he would not punish any of them, but that he was grieved that even the tenth legion, to which he had always given the first place of honour, should join in such a riot. "And this legion alone," he continued, "I will discharge from the service. Nevertheless, when I return from Africa I will give them all that I have promised. And when the wars are ended I will give lands to all, not as Sulla did by taking it from the present holders and uniting present and past owners in a colony, and so making them everlasting enemies to each other, but I will give the public land, and my own, and will purchase as well the necessary implements." There was clapping of hands and joyful acclaim on all sides, but the tenth legion was plunged in grief because to them alone Caesar appeared inexorable. They begged him to choose a portion of their number by lot and put them to death. But Caesar, seeing that there was no need of stimulating them any further when they had repented so bitterly, became reconciled to all, and departed straightway for the war in Africa.

#### XIV

CAP. 95. Διαβαλών δ' ἐκ Ῥηγίου τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ές Λιλύβαιον ήλθε. καὶ πυθόμενος Κάτωνα μεν την παρασκευήν τοῦ πολέμου ναυσί καὶ πεζών τινι μέρει φρουρείν ἐν Ἰτύκη μετὰ τών τριακοσίων, οὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ προβούλους επεποίηντο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σύγκλητον ἐκάλουν, τον δ' αὐτοκράτορα Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν ᾿Αδρυμητῷ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἰχόμενον ές Ἰόβαν καταλαβών παρέτασσεν ές μάχην παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἐν καιρῶ συνοισόμενος τοις πολεμίοις χωρίς αὐτοκράτορος οὖσιν. ἀντεπήεσαν δ' αὐτῷ Λαβιηνός τε καὶ Πετρήιος, οἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑποστράτηγοι, καὶ έκράτουν των Καίσαρος παρὰ πολύ καὶ τραπέντας έδίωκον σοβαρώς μετά καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Λαβιηνον μέν ὁ ίππος ές την γαστέρα πληγείς άπεσείσατο καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ παρασπισταὶ συνήρπαζον, ὁ δὲ Πετρήιος, ὡς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πεῖραν καὶ νικήσων, ὅτε βούλεται, διέλυε τὸ ἔργον ἐπειπὼν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν· "μὴ ἀφελώμεθα τὴν νίκην τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἡμῶν Σκιπίωνα." καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο μέρος τῆς Καίσαρος τύχης ἔργον έφαίνετο κρατησάντων ἄν, ώς εδόκει, τῶν πολεμίων ἄφνω τὴν μάχην ὑπὸ τῶν νικώντων διαλυθηναι· αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται παρὰ την φυγην ἐγχρίμπτων ἄπασιν ἐπιστρέφειν αὐτοὺς καί τινα των τὰ μέγιστα σημεία, τους ἀετούς, Φερόντων

### XIV

95. CAESAR crossed the strait from Rhegium to CHAP. Messana and went to Lilybaeum. Here, learning that
Cato was guarding the enemy's magazines with a fleet for Africa and a part of the land forces at Utica, and that he had with him the 300 men who had for a long time constituted their council of war and were called the Senate, and that the commander, L. Scipio, and the flower of the army were at Adrumetum, he sailed against the latter. He arrived at a time when B.C. 46 Scipio had gone away to meet Juba, and he drew up his forces for battle near Scipio's very camp in order to come to an engagement with the enemy at a time when their commander was absent. Labienus and Petreius, Scipio's lieutenants, attacked him. defeated him badly, and pursued him in a haughty and disdainful manner until Labienus' horse was wounded in the belly and threw him, and his attendants carried him off, and Petreius, thinking that he had made a thorough test of the army and that he could conquer whenever he liked, drew off his forces, saving to those around him, "Let us not deprive our general, Scipio, of the victory." In the rest of the battle 1 it appeared to be a matter of Caesar's luck that the victorious enemy abandoned the field when they might have won; but it is said that in the flight Caesar dashed up to his whole line2 and turned it back and seizing one of those who

1 μέρος is probably inserted by error of a copyist, but even its removal does not wholly smooth the sentence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐγχρίμπτων ἄπασιν. How could he dash up to all of them at once? Mendelssohn suggests ἀποδρᾶσιν, i.e. he dashed up to the runaways.

CAP. τῆ ἐαυτοῦ χειρὶ περισπάσας μετενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς XIV φυγῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἔως Πετρήιος ἀνέζευξε καὶ

δ Καΐσαρ ἀσπασίως ὑπεχώρει.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς πρώτης ἐν Λιβύη Καίσαρι μάχης τέλος ἡν. 96. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, αὐτοῦ τε Σκιπίωνος οκτώ τέλεσι πεζών καὶ ίππέων δύο μυριάσιν, ών οί πολλοί Λίβυες ήσαν, πελτασταίς τε πολλοίς καὶ ἐλέφασιν ἐς τριάκοντα προσδοκωμένου παρέσεσθαι σὺν Ἰόβα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τωδε άγοντι πεζούς άλλους άμφὶ τρισμυρίους καὶ ίππέας Νομάδας ές δισμυρίους καὶ ἀκοντιστάς πολλούς καὶ ἐλέφαντας έξήκοντα έτέρους, ή στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδείμαινε καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐθορυβοῦντο κατά τε πεῖραν ὧν ἤδη πεπόνθεσαν καὶ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐπιόντων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀρετῆς, μάλιστα τῶν Νομάδων ίππέων. ὅ τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων πόλεμος ἀήθης σφίσιν ὢν έξέπλησσε. Βόκχου δ' έτέρου Μαυρουσίων δυνάστου Κίρταν, η βασίλειον ην Ἰόβα, καταλαβόντος, ο μεν Ἰόβας, εξαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦδε, ές τὰ οἰκεῖα μάλιστα ἀνεζεύγνυ μετὰ τοῦ ίδίου στρατού, τριάκοντα έξ αὐτού μόνους ύπολιπων ελέφαντας τω Σκιπίωνι, ή δε στρατιά του Καίσαρος ές τοσούτον ανεθάρρησεν, ώς τὸ πέμπτον τέλος αἰτῆσαν ἀντιταχθῆναι τοῖς ἐλέφασι κρατήσαι πάνυ καρτερώς και νθν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τῷδε τῷ τέλει ἐλέφαντες ἐς τὰ σημεῖα ἐπίκεινται.

97. Μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπόνου κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς μάχης καὶ πολυτρόπου γενομένης, περὶ ἑσπέραν μόλις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνίκα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς ἐξήρει τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, οὐδὲν ἀνιεὶς οὐδὶ ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς νίκης, μέχρι τὸ σύμπαν ἐξεργάσασθαι.

carried the principal standards (the eagles) dragged CHAP. him to the front. Finally, Petreius retired and XIV Caesar was glad to do the same.

Such was the result of Caesar's first battle in The forces Africa. 96. Not long afterward it was reported that arrayed him Scipio himself was advancing with eight legions of foot, 20,000 horse (of which most were Africans), and a large number of light-armed troops, and thirty elephants; together with King Juba, who had some 30,000 foot-soldiers in addition, raised for this war, and 20,000 Numidian cavalry, besides a large number of spearmen and sixty elephants. Caesar's army began to be alarmed and a tumult broke out among them on account of the disaster they had already experienced and of the reputation of the forces advancing against them, and especially of the numbers and bravery of the Numidian cavalry. War with elephants, to which they were unaccustomed, also frightened them. But Bocchus, another Mauritanian prince, seized Cirta, which was the capital of Juba's kingdom, and when this news reached Juba he started for home at once with his army, leaving thirty of his elephants only with Scipio. Thereupon Caesar's men plucked up courage to such a degree that the fifth legion begged to be drawn up opposite the elephants, and it overcame them valiantly. From that day to the present this legion has borne the figure of an elephant on its standards.

97. The battle was long, severe, and doubtful in Battle of all parts of the field until toward evening, when Thapsus victory declared itself on the side of Caesar, who went straight on and captured Scipio's camp and did not desist, even in the night, from reaping the fruits of his victory until he had made a clean sweep.

CAP. οί δ' έχθροὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ὅπη δύναιντο, διέφευγον· καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτός, ἅμα 'Αφρανίω πάντα μεθείς, ἔφευγεν ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ δώδεκα

άφράκτων.

Πδε μὲν δη καὶ ὅδε ὁ στρατός, ἐς ὀκτὼ μυριάδας μάλιστα συνελθὼν ἔκ τε πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένος καὶ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας μάχης ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ θάρσει γενόμενος, δευτέρα τῆδε συμβολῆ συνετρίβετο ἀθρόως. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κλέος ἐς ἄμαχον εὐτυχίαν ἐδοξάζετο, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἡσσωμένων ἐς ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ μεριζόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν άμαρτήματα τῆ Καίσαρος τύχη προστιθέντων ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος ἀβουλία τῶν στρατηγῶν, οὕτε διατριψάντων αὐτόν, ἔως ἀπορήσειεν ὁ Καίσαρ ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρία, οὕτε τὴν πρώτην νίκην ἐς τέλος προαγαγόντων,

συντριφθείς ούτως όξέως διαλυθήναι.

98. Έξαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς Ἰτύκην τρίτη μάλιστα ἡμέρα καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην ἰόντος ἐγίγνετο φυγὴ πάντων. καὶ οὐδένα κατεῖχεν ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦς ἐδίδου τοῖς αἰτοῦσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐσταθῶς ὑπέμενε καὶ τοῖς Ἰτυκαίοις ὑπισχνουμένοις πρὸ ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου δεήσεσθαι ἐπιμειδιῶν ἀπεκρίνατο οὐ δεήσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλακτῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶς. σημηνάμενος δὲ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἄπαντας καὶ συγγραφὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχουσιν ἐπιδοὺς περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀμφὶ λουτρὰ καὶ δεῖπνον ἦν καθεζόμενός τε ἐγεύετο, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἐξ οὖ Πομπήιος ἀνήρητο· οὐδέν τε τῶν συνήθων

The enemy scattered in small bodies wherever they CHAP. could. Scipio himself, abandoning everything to XIV

Afranius, fled by sea with twelve open ships.

Thus was this army also, composed of nearly 80,000 men who had been under long training and were inspired with hope and courage by the previous battle, completely annihilated in the second engagement. And now Caesar's fame began to be celebrated as of a man of invincible fortune, and those who were vanquished by him attributed nothing to his merit, but ascribed everything, including their own blunders, to "Caesar's fortune." For in fact it seemed that it was through the bad generalship of the commanders who, as in Thessaly, neglected their opportunity to wear out Caesar by delay until his supplies were exhausted, in this foreign land, and in like manner failed to reap the fruits of their first victory, that this war was also foreshortened and thus sharply brought to a finish.

98. When these facts became known at Utica some Cato at three days later, and as Caesar was marching right Utica against that place, a general flight began. Cato did not detain anybody. He gave ships to all the nobility who asked for them, but himself adhered firmly to his post. When the inhabitants of Utica promised to intercede for him before doing so for themselves, he answered with a smile that he did not need any intercessors with Caesar, and that Caesar knew it very well. Then he placed his seal on all the public property and gave the accounts of each kind to the magistrates of Utica. Toward evening he bathed and dined. He ate in a sitting posture, a had been his custom since Pompey's

<sup>1</sup> Instead of reclining.

CAP. ἐναλλάσσων οὐδ' ἐλάσσω προσφερόμενος ἢ πλείω. συνελεσχήνευε τοίς παρούσι περί των έκπεπλευκότων καὶ ήρώτα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰ κατὰ πρύμνην έσοιτο αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος, εἰ φθάσουσι πόρρω γενέσθαι, πρὶν ές έω Καίσαρα έπελθείν. οὐ μην οὐδ' ἐς ύπνον ἀπιων ἐνήλλαξέ τι των συνήθων, πλην ότι υίον ήσπάσατο φιλο-Φρονέστερον. τὸ δὲ ξιφίδιον τη κλίνη τὸ σύνηθες ούχ εύρων παρακείμενον έξεβόησεν, ότι προδιδοίτο ύπο των οικείων τοις πολεμίοις τίνι γαρ έφη χρήσεσθαι προσιόντων, αν νυκτός ἐπίωσι; των δε αυτον παρακαλούντων μηδεν εφ' εαυτον βουλεύειν, άλλ' άναπαύεσθαι χωρίς ξιφιδίου, άξιοπιστότερον έτι είπεν "ου γαρ έστι μοι θέλοντι καὶ δι' ἐσθῆτος ἐμαυτὸν ἀποπνίξαι καὶ ἐς τὰ τείχη την κεφαλήν ἀπαράξαι καὶ ἐς τράχηλον κυβιστήσαι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατασχόντα ἐκτρίψαι;" πολλά τε όμοια είπων παρήγαγεν αὐτούς παραθείναι τὸ ξιφίδιον. ὡς δὲ ἐτέθη, Πλάτωνος αἰτήσας τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς συγγραφὴν ἀνεγίνωσκε.

99. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τέλος εἶχε τῷ Πλάτωνι ὁ λόγος, ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὑπολαβὼν ἔτρωσεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὰ στέρινα προπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχνων καὶ στόνου τινὸς ἐξακουσθέντος ἐσέδραμον οἱ περὶ θύρας καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἔτι σῶα ὄντα ἐνέθηκαν ἔνδον καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιρράψαντες ἐπέδησαν. ὁ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν αὐθις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ κατεμέμφετο μὲν ἑαυτῷ πληγῆς ἀσθενοῦς, χάριν δ' ὡμολόγει τοῖς περισώσασι καὶ καταδαρθεῖν ἔφη δεῦσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ξίφος

death. He changed his habits in no respect. He CHAP. partook of the dinner, neither more nor less than usual. He conversed with the others present concerning those who had sailed away and inquired whether the wind was favourable and whether they would make sufficient distance before Caesar should arrive the next morning. Nor did he alter any of his habits when he retired to rest, except that he embraced his son rather more affectionately than usual. As he did not find his dirk in its accustomed place by his couch, he exclaimed that he had been betraved by his servants to the enemy. "What weapon" he asked, "shall I use if I am attacked in the night?" When they be sought him to do no violence to himself but to go to sleep without his dirk, he replied still more plausibly, "Could I not strangle myself with my clothing if I wished to, or knock my brains out against the wall, or throw myself headlong to the ground, or destroy myself by holding my breath?" Much more he said to the same purport until he persuaded them to bring back his dirk. When it had been put in its place he called for Plato's treatise on the soul and began to read.

99. When Plato's dialogue had come to an end He committee and when he thought that those who were stationed suicide at the doors were asleep, he stabbed himself under the breast. His intestines protruded and the attendants heard a groan and rushed in. Physicians replaced his intestines, which were still uninjured, in his body, and after sewing up the wound tied a bandage around it. When Cato came to himself he dissembled again. Although he blamed himself for the insufficiency of the wound, he expressed thanks

CAP. έχουτες ώχουτο καὶ τὰς θύρας ώς ήρεμοῦντι έπέκλεισαν ό δ' ύπνου δόξαν αὐτοῖς παρασχών τὰ δεσμὰ ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ σιγῆς ἀπερρήγνυ καὶ τὰς ραφάς τοῦ τραύματος ἀνέπτυσσεν, οἶα θηρίον τό τε τραθμα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα εὐρύνων ὄνυξι καὶ δακτύλοις έρευνων καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα διαρρίπτων, μέχρι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτη μὲν ἀμφὶ πεντήκοντα γεγονώς, ομολογούμενος δε τήν τε γνώμην, ες ο τι κρίνειε, πάντων ανδρών επιμονώτατος φυναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἡ πρέπον ἡ καλὸν οὐκ ἔθεσι μάλλον ή μεγαλοψύχοις λογισμοίς όρίσαι. Μαρκία γέ τοι τη Φιλίππου συνών έκ παρθένου καὶ άρεσκόμενος αὐτη μάλιστα καὶ παίδας έχων έξ εκείνης έδωκεν όμως αυτήν Όρτησίω των φίλων τινί, παίδων τε έπιθυμοῦντι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦ γυναικὸς οὐ τυγχάνοντι, μέχρι κάκείνω κυήσασαν ές τον οίκον αθθις ώς χρήσας άνεδέξατο. τοιόσδε μεν δη Κάτων ην, καὶ αὐτον οί Ἰτυκαίοι λαμπρώς ἔθαπτον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔφη μέν οἱ φθονῆσαι Κάτωνα καλής ἐπιδείξεως, Κικέρωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος έγκωμιον ές αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαντος Κάτων, άντέγραψε κατηγορίαν ο Καΐσαρ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν 'Αντικάτων.

100. Ἰόβας δὲ καὶ Πετρήιος τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενοι καὶ οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν οὕτε φυγὴν οὕτε σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῆ διαίτη ξίφεσι διεχρήσαντο ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἰόβα

to those who had saved him and said that he only CHAP. needed sleep. The attendants then retired, taking the dirk with them, and closed the door, thinking that he had become quiet. Cato after feigning sleep, tore off the bandage with his hands without making any noise, opened the suture of the wound. enlarged it with his nails like a wild beast, plunged his fingers into his stomach, and tore out his entrails until he died, being then about fifty years of age. He was considered the most steadfast of all men in upholding any opinion that he had once espoused and in adhering to justice, rectitude, and morality, not as a matter of custom merely, but rather from a high-souled philosophy. He had married Marcia, the daughter of Philippus, as a girl; was extremely fond of her, and she had borne him children. Nevertheless, he gave her to Hortensius, one of his friends, -who desired to have children but was married to a childless wife,—until she bore a child to him also. when Cato took her back to his own house as though he had merely lent her. Such a man was Cate, and the Uticans gave him a magnificent funeral. Caesar said that Cato had grudged him the opportunity for a deed of honour, but when Cicero pronounced an encomium on him which he styled the Cato, Caesar wrote an answer to it which he called the Anti-Cato.

100. Juba and Petreius, in view of the circum-Juba and stances, perceiving no chance of flight or safety, slew kill one each other with swords at a banquet. Caesar made another Juba's kingdom tributary to the Romans and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> That is, an opportunity to pardon him. According to Plutarch (*Cato* c. 72) Caesar said: "O Cato, I envy thee thy death because thou did'st envy me my safety."

CAP. Καΐσαρ ύποτελή 'Ρωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, αὐτῆ ΣαλούΧΙΥ στιον Κρίσπον ἐγκαταστήσας. 'Ιτυκαίοις δὲ καὶ 
τῷ Κάτωνος υίῷ συνεγίνωσκε· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα 
τοῦ Πομπηίου μετὰ δύο παίδων αὐτῆς ἐν 'Ιτύκη 
καταλαβῶν ἐξέπεμπε σώους τῷ νέῷ Πομπηίῳ. 
τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων ὅσους εὖρε διέφθειρεν. Λεύκιος 
δὲ Σκιπίων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῆ 
θαλάσση καὶ πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐντυχῶν ἐφέρετο 
γενναίως, μέχρι καταλαμβανόμενος αὐτόν τε διεχρήσατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεθῆκεν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.

### XV

CAP. 101. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Καίσαρος πολέμω τέλος ἐγίγνετο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπανελθῶν ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐθριάμβευε τέσσαρας ὁμοῦ θριάμβους, ἐπί τε Γαλάταις, ὧν δὴ πολλὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσέλαβε καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύνατο, καὶ Ποντικὸν ἐπὶ Φαρνάκει καὶ Λιβυκὸν ἐπὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχήσασι τῷ Σκιπίωνι· ἔνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὧν ἔτι παρήγετο. παρήγαγε δέ τινα καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίας θρίαμβον Αἰγύπτιον, μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαλατῶν καὶ Φαρνάκους. τὰ δὲ 'Ρωμαίων φυλαξάμενος ἄρα, ὡς ἐμφύλια οὐκ ἐοικότα τε αὐτῷ καὶ 'Ρωμαίοις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπαίσια, ἐπιγράψαι θριάμβω, παρήνεγκεν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐν τοῦσδε τὰ

appointed Salustius Crispus its governor. He CHAP. pardoned the Uticans and the son of Cato. He captured the daughter of Pompey together with her two children in Utica and sent them safe to the younger Pompeius. Of the 300 he put to death all that he found. Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief was overtaken by a storm, and met a hostile fleet and bore himself bravely until he was overpowered, when he stabbed himself and leaped into the sea.

### XV

101. This was the end of Caesar's war in Africa, CHAP. and when he returned to Rome he had four triumphs together: one for his Gallic wars, in which he had Caesar's added many great nations to the Roman sway and triumphs subdued others that had revolted; one for the Pontic war against Pharnaces; one for the war in Africa against the African allies of L. Scipio, in which the historian Juba (the son of King Juba), then an infant, was led a captive. Between the Gallic and the Pontic B.C. 46 triumphs he introduced a kind of Egyptian triumph, in which he led some captives taken in the naval engagement on the Nile. Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these mis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 300 are those mentioned in § 95. Suctonius (Jul. 75) says that only three of Caesar's enemies lost their lives, except in battle, viz.: Afranius, Faustus Sulla, and young Lucius Caesar, and that it was thought that even these were put to death without Caesar's consent.

CAP. παθήματα ἄπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γραφαίς, χωρίς γε Πομπηίου τοῦτον γαρ δη μόνον έφυλάξατο δείξαι, σφόδρα έτι προς πάντων ἐπιποθούμενον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καίπερ δεδιώς, ἔστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοι Λεύκιόν τε Σκιπίωνα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησσόμενον ές τὰ στέρνα ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ μεθιέμενον ές τὸ πέλαγος, ή Πετρήιον ἐπὶ διαίτη διαχρώμενον έαυτόν, η Κάτωνα ύφ' έαυτοῦ διασπώμενον ώς θηρίου 'Αχιλλά δ' εφήσθησαν καὶ Ποθεινώ καὶ

την Φαρνάκους φυγην έγελασαν. 102. Χρήματα δ' έν τοις θριάμβοις φασί παρε-νεχθηναι μυριάδας έξ και ήμισυ ταλάντων καί στεφάνους δύο καὶ είκοσι καὶ δισχιλίους ἐπὶ τοῖς οκτακοσίοις άπο χρυσοῦ, έλκοντας ές δισμυρίας καὶ δεκατέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας λίτρας. ἀφ' ών εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ διένειμε, τὰ ὑπεσχη-μένα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλων, στρατιώτη μὲν ἀνὰ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμὰς 'Αττικάς, λοχαγῷ δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη καὶ ἱππάρχη τὸ ἔτι διπλάσιον καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἑκάστῳ μνᾶν 'Αττικήν. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θέας ποικίλας ἵππων τε καὶ μουσικής καὶ πεζομαχίας ἀνδρῶν χιλίων πρὸς ετέρους χιλίους καὶ ἱππομαχίαν διακοσίων προς ειερούς χεκιούς και τη ποραχίαν διακούτων προς ἴσους καὶ ἀναμὶξ ἄλλων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἀγῶνα ἐλεφάντων τε μάχην εἴκοσι πρὸς εἴκοσι καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐρετῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἐπιβεβηκότων ἐς μάχην χιλίων ἑκατέρωθεν. ἀνέστησε καὶ τῆ Γενετείρα τὸν νεών, ώσπερ εύξατο

fortunes were represented in the processions and the CHAP. men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, whom alone he did not venture to exhibit, since he was still greatly regretted by all. The people, although restrained by fear, groaned over their domestic ills, especially when they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast. They applauded the death of Achillas and Pothinus, and laughed at the flight of Pharnaces.

102. It is said that money to the amount of 60,500 [silver] talents 1 was borne in the procession and 2822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, from which wealth Caesar made apportionments immediately after the triumph, paying the army all that he had promised and more. Each soldier received 5000 Attic drachmas, each centurion double, and each tribune of infantry and prefect of cavalry fourfold that sum. To each plebeian citizen also was given an Attic mina. He gave also various spectacles with horses and music, a combat of foot-soldiers, 1000 on each side, and a cavalry fight of 200 on each side. There was also another combat of horse and foot together. There was a combat of elephants, twenty against twenty, and a naval engagement of 4000 oarsmen, where 1000 fighting men contended on each side. He erected the temple to Venus, his ances-

¹ No reasonable modern estimate can be given of these sums (which are suspiciously large) owing to our ignorance of the purchasing power of money at that period; but the silver talent is generally reckoned about £235 and the Attie mina £4; the drachma was a franc.

CAP. μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλω μαχεῖσθαι καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῷ περιέθηκεν, ὁ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι, οὐ τῶν ἀνίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Πέρσαις ἢν τις ἀγορὰ ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια. Κλεοπάτρας τε εἰκόνα καλὴν τῆ θεῷ παρεστήσατο, ἢ καὶ νῦν συνέστηκεν αὐτῆ. τὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος ἀναγραψάμενος ἐς ἤμισυ λέγεται τῶν πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων εὐρεῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλεν ἡ τῶνδε φιλονικία τὴν πόλιν.

103. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη τέταρτον ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ τὸν νέον Πομπήιον ἐστράτευεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅσπερ αὐτῶ λοιπὸς ἦν ἔτι πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀρίστων ὅσοι διε-πεφεύγεσαν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἐκεῖ συνέδραμον, καὶ στρατός ὁ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Λιβύης τε καὶ Φαρσάλου τοις ήγεμόσι συνήλθεν, ό δὲ ἐξ Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων, έθνους άλκίμου καὶ χαίροντος άεὶ μάγαις. πολύς δὲ καὶ δούλων ὅμιλος ἐστρατεύετο τῶ Πομπηίω καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος εἶχον ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ γνώμην έτοιμον ἀγωνίσασθαι μετὰ άπογνώσεως. ὧ δη καὶ μάλιστα σφαλείς ό Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν μάχην, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς έλθόντι τῶ Καίσαρι συνεμάχετο, καίτοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῷ παραινούντων ἐκ πείρας ὧν άμφί τε Φάρσαλον καὶ Λιβύην ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἐκτρίβειν τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ώς ἐν ἀλλοτρία γἢ περιφέρειν. ὁ δὲ Καΐσαρ ἦκε μεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης έπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις, βαρυτάτω στρατώ μακροτάτην όδον ἐπελθών δέος δ'

tress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to CHAP. begin the battle of Pharsalus, and he laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws. He placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day. He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one half of the number existing before this war. To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men reduced the city.

103. Caesar, now in his fourth consulship, marched B.C. 46 against the younger Pompeius in Spain. This was Caesar all that was left of the civil war, but it was not to be against the despised, for such of the nobility as had escaped younger Pompeius from Africa had assembled here. The army was in Spain composed of soldiers from Pharsalus and Africa itself, who had come hither with their leaders, and of Spaniards and Celtiberians, a strong and warlike race. There was also a great number of emancipated slaves in Pompeius' camp, who had all been under discipline four years and were ready to fight with desperation. Pompeius was misled by this appearance of strength and did not postpone the battle, but engaged Caesar straightway on his arrival, although the older men, who had learned by experience at Pharsalus and Africa, advised him to wear Caesar out by delay and reduce him to want, as he was in a hostile country. Caesar made the journey from Rome in twenty-seven days, though he was moving, with a heavily-laden army, by a very

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CAP. οἷον οὐ πρότερον ἐνέπιπτεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ ΧΥ δόξαν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀσκήσεως

καὶ ἀπογνώσεως.

104. Δι' à καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐβράδυνεν, ἔστε πού τι αὐτῷ κατασκεπτομένω προσπελάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ωνείδισεν ές δειλίαν. καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτασσε παρὰ πόλιν Κορδύβην, σύνθημα καὶ τότε δοὺς ᾿Αφροδίτην· έδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος Εὐσέβειαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιόντων ήδη τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τὸ δέος ήπτετο καὶ ὄκνος ἐπεγίγνετο τῷ φόβω, θεοὺς πάντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰκέτευε, τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνίσχων, μη ένὶ πόνω τῷδε πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα μιῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθέων παρεκάλει τό τε κράνος της κεφαλης άφαιρων ές πρόσωπον έδυσώπει καὶ προύτρεπεν. οι δέ οὐδ' ως τι μετέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους, έως ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς άρπάσας τινὸς ἀσπίδα καὶ τοῖς άμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν εἰπών " ἔσται τοῦτο τέλος έμοί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ ὑμῖν τῶν στρατειῶν," προύδραμε της τάξεως ές τους πολεμίους έπι τοσούτον, ώς μόνους αὐτῶν ἀποσχεῖν δέκα πόδας καὶ διακόσια αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐπιβληθηναι καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκκλίναι, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναδέξασθαι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων προθέων ἕκαστος ίστατο παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας ἐμπεσὼν μετὰ ὁρμῆς ὅλην ἡγωνίζετο τὴν ἡμέραν, προύχων τε καὶ ήττωμενος αἰεὶ παρά μέρος, μέχρις ές έσπέραν μόλις ενίκησεν, ότε καὶ φασίν αὐτὸν είπείν, ότι πολλάκις μεν άγωνίσαιτο περί νίκης, νῦν δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς.

105. Φόνου δὲ πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ φυγῆς

long route, but fear fell upon his soldiers as never chapbefore, in consequence of the reports received of the numbers, the discipline, and the desperate valour of

he enemy.

104. For this reason Caesar himself also was slow Battle of in movement, until Pompeius approached him at Munda a certain place where he was reconnoitring and accused him of cowardice. Caesar could not endure this reproach. He drew up his forces for battle near Corduba, and then, too, gave Venus for his watchword. Pompeius, on the other hand, gave Piety for When battle was joined fear seized upon his. Caesar's army and hesitation was joined to fear. Caesar, lifting his hands toward heaven, implored all the gods that his many glorious deeds be not stained by this single disaster. He ran up and encouraged his soldiers. He took his helmet off his head and shamed them to their faces and exhorted them. As they abated nothing of their fear he seized a shield from a soldier and said to the officers around him, "This shall be the end of my life and of your military service." Then he sprang forward in advance of his line of battle toward the enemy so far that he was only ten feet distant from them. Some 200 missiles were aimed at him, some of which he evaded while others were caught on his shield. Then each of the tribunes ran toward him and took position by his side, and the whole army rushed forward and fought the entire day, advancing and retreating by turns until, toward evening, Caesar with difficulty won the victory. It was reported that he said that he had often fought for victory, but that this time he had fought even for existence.

105. After a great slaughter the Pompeians fled

CAP. τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὴν Κορδύβην, ό μεν Καΐσαρ, ίνα μη διαφυγόντες οι πολέμιοι πάλιν ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσαιντο, ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτειχίσαι τὴν Κορδύβην, οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες τοίς γεγονόσι τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν άνηρημένων έπεφορουν άλλήλοις καὶ δόρασιν αὐτά διαπηγνύντες ές την γην έπλ τοιοῦδε τείχους ηὐλίσαντο. της δ' ἐπιούσης ἑάλω μὲν ή πόλις, των δὲ ήγεμόνων τοῦ Πομπηίου Σκάπλας μὲν νήσας πυράν έαυτον ενέπρησεν, Ουάρου δε καί Λαβιηνοῦ καὶ έτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκομίσθησαν αί κεφαλαί Καίσαρι. Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸς διέφυγε μεν άπο της ήττης συν έκατον καί πεντήκοντα ίππεθσιν έπὶ Καρθαίας, ένθα αὐτώ νεών στόλος ην, καὶ παρηλθεν ές τὰ νεώρια λαθών ώς τις ἰδιώτης, φορείω κομιζόμενος ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπογιγνώσκοντας ἑαυτῶν ἔδεισε περὶ έκδόσεως καὶ έφευγεν αθθις, ἐπιβαίνων σκάφους. έμπλακέντα δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα καλωδίω, κόπτων τις τὸ καλώδιον ξιφιδίφ, τὸν ταρσὸν ἔτεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλωδίου τοῦ ποδός καὶ διαπλεύσας ές τι χωρίον έθεραπεύετο. ζητούμενος δὲ κάνταῦθα έφευγε διὰ δυσβάτου καὶ ἀκανθώδους όδοῦ, τὸ τραθμα περικεντούμενος, μέχρι κάμνων ὑπό τι δένδρον εκαθέζετο καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιπεσόντων ούκ άγεννως αὐτοὺς άμυνόμενος κατεκόπη. τοῦδε μεν δή την κεφαλήν ο Καίσαρ ενεχθείσαν οί προσέταξε τινι θάψαι, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ενὶ έργφ καὶ όδε παρὰ δόξαν ἐλέλυτο τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντας ήθροιζεν ό τοῦδε τοῦ Πομπηίου νεώτερος άδελφος, Πομπήιος μεν και όδε ων, Σέξστος δὲ καλούμενος τῷ προτέρω τῶν ὀνομάτων

to Corduba, and Caesar, in order to prevent the CHAF. fugitives from preparing for another battle, ordered a siege of that place. The soldiers, wearied with toil, piled the bodies and arms of the slain together, fastened them to the earth with spears, and encamped behind this ghastly wall. On the following day the city was taken. Scapula, one of the Pompeian leaders, erected a funeral pile on which he consumed himself. The heads of Varus, Labienus, and other distinguished men were brought to Caesar. Pompeius himself fled from the scene of his defeat Flight and with 150 horsemen toward Carteia, where he had a death of the deet, and entered the dockyard secretly as a private Pompeius individual borne in a litter. When he saw that the men here despaired of their safety he feared lest he should be delivered up, and took to flight again. While going on board a small boat his foot was caught by a rope, and a man who attempted to cut the rope with his sword cut the sole of his foot instead. So he sailed to a certain place and received medical treatment. Being pursued thither he fled by a rough and thorny road that aggravated his wound, until fagged out he took a seat under a tree. Here his pursuers came upon him and he was cut down while defending himself bravely. His head was brought to Caesar who gave orders for its burial. Thus this war also, contrary to expectation, was brought to an end in one battle. A vounger brother of this Pompeius, also named Pompeius but called by his first name, Sextus, collected those who escaped from this fight,

#### XVI

106. 'Αλλ' όδε μεν έτι λανθάνων καὶ διαδιδρά-CAP. XVI σκων ελήστευεν, ο δε Καίσαρ ες Ρώμην ηπείγετο, τὰ ἐμφύλια πάντα καθελών, ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης, οίας ού τις πρό τοῦ· ὅθεν αὐτῶ τιμαὶ πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ύπερ άνθρωπον, αμέτρως ες χάριν επενοούντο, θυσιών τε πέρι καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐν πασιν ίεροις και δημοσίοις χωρίοις, ανα φυλήν έκάστην καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἄπασι, καὶ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, όσοι 'Ρωμαίοις φίλοι. σχήματά τε ἐπεγράφετο ταίς εἰκόσι ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρυὸς ἡν ἐπ' ένίαις ώς σωτήρι της πατρίδος, ώ πάλαι τούς ύπερασπίσαντας εγέραιρον οι περισωθέντες. άνερρήθη δέ καὶ πατήρ πατρίδος, καὶ δικτάτωρ ές τον έαυτοῦ βίον ήρέθη καὶ ύπατος ές δέκα έτη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος εἶναι καὶ χρηματίζειν έπὶ θρόνων έλεφαντίνων τε καὶ χρυσέων, καὶ θύειν μεν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ θριαμβικώς ἡμφιεσμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, αἶς αὐτὸς ἡμέραις ἐν παρατάξεσιν ενίκα, ίερεας δε καὶ ίερείας ανά πενταετές εύχας δημοσίας ύπερ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς καθισταμένας ὀμνύναι μηδενὶ των ύπο Καίσαρος δριζομένων αντιπράξειν. ές τε τιμήν της γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν Κυϊντίλιον μήνα Ιούλιον άντι Κυϊντιλίου μετωνόμασαν είναι. καὶ νεως εψηφίσαντο πολλούς αὐτῶ γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεώ και κοινον αὐτοῦ και Ἐπιεικείας, άλλήλους δεξιουμένων ούτως έδεδοίκεσαν μέρ ώς δεσπότην, εύχοντο δε σφίσιν επιεική γενέσθαι

#### XVI

106. Sextus for the present kept hid and lived CHAP. by piracy, but Caesar having ended the civil wars Unexhastened to Rome, honoured and feared as no one ampled had ever been before. All kinds of honours were bestowed devised for his gratification without stint, even such on Caesar as were divine-sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. He was represented in different characters, and in some cases crowned with oak as the saviour of his country, for by this crown those whose lives had been saved used formerly to reward those to whom they owed their safety. He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life and consul for ten years, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should himself sacrifice always in triumphal costume; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately upon their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of Caesar's decrees. In honour of his birth the name of the month Quintilis was changed to July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands. Thus whilst they feared his power they besought his clemency.

107. Είσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ βασιλέα προσειπεῖν CAP. XVI έπενόουν, μέχρι μαθών αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευσε καὶ ηπείλησεν ώς άθεμιστον ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων άράν. σπείραι δ' όσαι στρατηγίδες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἔτι ἐσωματοφυλάκουν, άπέστησε της φυλακής καὶ μετά της δημοσίας ύπηρεσίας επεφαίνετο μόνης. ώδε δ' έχοντι καὶ χρηματίζοντι πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν προλελεγμένων τιμών ή βουλή, τών υπάτων ήγουμένων, εν κόσμω τώ πρέποντι έκάστω προσέφερον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδεξιοῦτο μέν, οὐχ ύπανέστη δὲ προσιοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπιμένουσιν, ἀλλά τοίς διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς βασιλικής προσηγορίας καὶ τόδε παρέσχε, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τιμὰς χωρίς τῆς δεκαετοῦς ὑπατείας προσέμενος ύπάτους ές τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν αύτόν τε καὶ 'Αντώνιον, τὸν ἵππαρχον έαυτοῦ, Λεπίδω προστάξας ίππαρχεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου. ἄρχοντι μὲν Ἰβηρίας, ἡγεμονεύοντι δ' αὐτῆς διὰ φίλων. κατεκάλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ό Καίσαρ, πλην εί τις έπὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἔφευγε· καὶ τοίς έχθροίς διηλλάσσετο καὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων οί πολλούς προήγεν άθρόως ές έτησίους άρχας ή ές έθνων ή στρατοπέδων ήγεμονίας. ώ δή καὶ μάλιστα ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἤλπιζε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν, καθάπερ Σύλλας ές ἴσον αὐτῷ δυναστεύσας ἐποίησεν.

108. 'Αλλὰ τοῦδε μὲν ἐσφάλησαν, εἰκόνα δ' αὐτοῦ τις τῶν ὑπερεθιζόντων τὸ λογοποίημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐστεφάνωσε δάφιαις, ἀναπεπλεγμένης ταινίας λευκῆς καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δήμαρχοι Μάρυλλός

107. There were some who proposed to give him CHAP. the title of king, but when he learned of their XVI purpose he forbade it with threats, saying that it Hodismisses his was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of bodyguard their ancestors. He dismissed the praetorian cohorts that had served as his bodyguard during the wars, and showed himself with the ordinary civil escort only. While he was thus transacting business in front of the rostra, the Senate, preceded by the consuls, each one in his robes of office, brought the decree awarding him the honours aforesaid. He extended his hand to them, but did not rise when they approached nor while they remained there, and this, too, afforded his slanderers a pretext for accusing him of wishing to be greeted as a king. He accepted all the honours conferred upon him except the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus, who was then governor of Spain, but was administering it by his friends, master of horse in place of Antony. Caesar also recalled the exiles, except those who were banished for some very grave offence. He pardoned his enemies and forthwith advanced many of those who had fought against him to the yearly magistracies, or to the command of provinces and armies. Wherefore the people was chiefly induced to hope that he would restore the republic to them as Sulla did after he had attained the same power.

108. In this they were disappointed, but some B.C. 44 person among those who wished to spread the report Rumour of his desire to be king placed a crown of laurel on tion to his statue, bound with a white fillet. The tribunes, assume the Marullus and Caesetius, sought out this person and

CAP. τε καὶ Καισήτιος ἀνευρόντες ές τὴν φυλακὴν έσέβαλου, υποκρινάμενοί τι καὶ τῶ Καίσαρι χαρίζεσθαι, προαπειλήσαντι τοίς περί βασιλείας λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἤνεγκεν εὐσταθῶς, έτέρων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἰόντα ποθὲν βασιλέα προσειπόντων καὶ τοῦ δήμου στενάξαντος, ευμηχάνως είπε τοίς ασπασαμένοις. "οὐκ εἰμὶ Βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ," ὡς δὴ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐσφαλμένοις. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἀρξάμενον ἐξεῦρον καὶ τοίς ύπηρέταις έκέλευον άγειν ές δίκην έπὶ τὸ άρχείον αύτων. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκέτι ἐνεγκων κατηγόρησεν έπὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον ώς ἐπιβουλευόντων οἱ μετὰ τέχνης ἐς τυραννίδος διαβολήν, καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν ἀξίους μὲν αὐτοὺς εἶναι θανάτου, μόνης δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ παραλύειν της τε άρχης καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ο δη και μάλιστα αὐτον διέβαλεν ώς ἐπιθυμοῦντα της έπικλησεως καὶ τὰς ές τοῦτο πείρας καθιέντα καὶ τυραννικὸν ὅλως γεγονότα· ή τε γὰρ πρόφασις της κολάσεως περί της βασιλικής έπωνυμίας ήν, ή τε των δημάρχων άρχη ίερα καὶ ἄσυλος ήν έκ νόμου καὶ ὅρκου παλαιοῦ τήν τε ὀργὴν ὀξεῖαν έποίει τὸ μηδ' ἀναμεῖι αι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ὑπόλοιπον.

109. ΤΩν καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος καὶ μετανοῶν καὶ τόδε πρῶτον ἡγούμενος ἄνευ πολεμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν εἰρήνη βαρὰ καὶ δυσχερὲς διαπεπρᾶχθαι, λέγεται τοῖς φίλοις αὐτὸν ἐντείλασθαι φυλάσσειν ώς δεδωκότα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς λαβὴν ζητοῦσι καθ' αὐτοῦ. πυθομένων δ' ἐκείνων, εἰ συγχωρεῖ πάλιν αὐτὸν σωματοφυλακεῖν τὰς 'Ιβηρικὰς σπείρας,

put him in prison, pretending to gratify Caesar also CHAP by this, as he had threatened any who should talk about making him king. Caesar put up with their action, and when some others who met him at the city gates as he was returning from some place greeted him as king, and the people groaned, he said with happy readiness to those who had thus saluted him, "I am not King, I am Caesar," as though they had mistaken his name. The attendants of Marullus again found out which man began the shouting and ordered the officers to bring him to trial before his tribunal. Caesar at last put up with it no longer and accused the faction of Marullus before the Senate of artfully conspiring to cast upon him the odium of royalty. He added that they were deserving of death, but that it would be sufficient if they were deprived of their office and expelled from the Senate. Thus he confirmed the suspicion that he desired the title, and that he was privy to the attempts to confer it upon him, and that his tyranny was already complete; for the cause of their punishment was their zeal against the title of king, and, moreover, the office of tribune was sacred and inviolable according to law and the ancient oath. By not even waiting for the expiration of their office he sharpened the public indignation.

109. When Caesar perceived this he repented, and, reflecting that this was the first severe and arbitrary act that he had done without military authority and in time of peace, it is said that he ordered his friends to protect him, since he had given his enemies the handle they were seeking against him. But when they asked him if he would bring together again his Spanish colorts as a body-

CAP. "οὐδὲν ἀτυχέστερον," ἔφη, "διηνεκοῦς φυλακῆςς 
ΚΥΙ ἔστι γὰρ αἰεὶ δεδιότος." οὐ μὴν αἴ γε περὶ τῆς 
βασιλείας πεῖραι κατεπαύοντο οὐδ' ὥς, ἀλλὰ 
θεώμενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾳ τὰ Λουπερκάλια ἐπὶ 
θρόνου χρυσέου, πρὸ τὧν ἐμβόλων, 'Αντώνιος 
ὑπατεύων σὺν αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καὶ διαθέων τότε 
γυμνὸς ἀληλιμμένος, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ τῆσδε 
τῆς ἑορτῆς ἱερέες, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα ἀναδραμὼν 
ἐστεφάνωσε διαδήματι. κρότου δὲ πρὸς τὴν 
ὄψιν παρ' ὀλίγων γενομένου καὶ στόνου παρὰ τῶν 
πλειόνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέρριψε τὸ διάδημα. καὶ 
ὁ 'Αντώνιος αὖθις ἐπέθηκε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐθις 
ἀπερρίπτει. καὶ ὁ δῆμος διεριζόντων μὲν ἔτι 
ἡσύχαζε, μετέωρος ὤν, ὅπη τελευτήσειε τὸ 
γιγνόμενον, ἐπικρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος 
ἀνεβόησαν ἥδιστον καὶ αὐτὸν ἄμα εὐφήμουν οὐ 
προσέμενον.

προεμένον.

110. ΄Ο δέ, εἴτε ἀπογνούς, εἴτε κάμνων καὶ ἐκκλίνων ἤδη τήνδε τὴν πεῖραν ἢ διαβολήν, εἴτε τισὶν ἐχθροῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀφιστάμενος, εἴτε νόσημα τοῦ σώματος θεραπεύων, ἐπιληψίαν καὶ σπασμὸν αἰφνίδιον ἐμπίπτοντα αὐτῷ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀργίας, ἐπενόει στρατείαν μακρὰν ἔς τε Γέτας καὶ Παρθυαίους, Γέταις μὲν αὐστηρῷ καὶ φιλοπολέμω καὶ γείτονι ἔθνει προεπιβουλεύων, Παρθυαίους δὲ τινύμενος τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. στρατιὰν δὴ προύπεμπεν ἤδη τὸν Ἰόνιον περᾶν, ἐκκαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους. καὶ λόγος ἄλλος ἐφοίτα, Σιβύλλειον εἶναι προαγόρευμα μὴ πρὶν ὑπακούσεσθαι Ὑρωμαίοις Παρθυαίους, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσειε. καί τινες ἀπὸ τοῦδε

guard, he said, "There is nothing more unlucky CHAP. than perpetual watching; that is the part of one who is always afraid." Nor were the attempts to claim royal honours for him brought to an end even thus, for while he was in the forum looking at the games of the Lupercal, seated on his golden chair before the rostra, Antony, his colleague in the consulship, who was running naked and anointed, as was the priests' custom at that festival, sprang upon the rostra and put a diadem on his head. At this Antony sight some few clapped their hands, but the greater crowns him him at the number groaned, and Caesar threw off the diadem, Lupercalia Antony again put it on him and again Caesar threw it off. While they were thus contending the people remained silent, being in suspense to see how it would end. When they saw that Caesar prevailed they shouted for joy, and at the same time applauded him because he did not accept it.

110. And now Caesar, either renouncing his hope, Caesar plans or being tired out, and wishing by this time to avoid a campaign against the this plot and odium, or deliberately giving up the Parthia.s city to certain of his enemies, or hoping to cure his bodily ailment of epilepsy and convulsions, which came upon him suddenly and especially when he was inactive, conceived the idea of a long campaign against the Getae and the Parthians. The Getae, a hardy, warlike, and neighbouring nation, were to be attacked first. The Parthians were to be punished for their perfidy toward Crassus. He sent across the Adriatic in advance sixteen legions of foot and 10,000 horse. And now another rumour gained currency that the Sibylline books had predicted that the Parthians would never submit to the Romans until the latter should be commanded by a king. For this reason

CAP. ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ὅτι χρὴ 'Ρωμαίων μὲν αὐτόν, 
ऑσπερ ἦν, δικτάτορα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καλεῖν καὶ 
ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ βασιλείας ὀνόματα, 
τῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν, ὅσα 'Ρωμαίοις ὑπήκοα, ἄντικρυς 
ἀνειπεῖν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ καὶ τόδε παρητεῖτο καὶ 
τὴν ἔξοδον ὅλως ἐπετάχυνεν, ἐπίφθονος ὢν ἐν τῷ 
πόλει.

111. Έξιέναι δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα πρὸ τετάρτης ήμέρας οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατέκανον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίω, είτε διὰ ζήλον εὐτυχίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ὑπερύγκου πάνυ γενομένης, είθ', ώς έφασκον αὐτοί, της πατρίου πολιτείας ἐπιθυμία, εὖ γὰρ ήδεσαν αὐτόν, μη καὶ τάδε τὰ ἔθνη προσλαβὼν ἀναμφιλόγως γένοιτο βασιλεύς. ταύτης δὲ σκοπών ήγουμαι της προσθήκης άφορμην λαβείν έγχειρήσεως, ές όνομα μόνον αὐτοῖς διαφερούσης, έργω δέ καὶ τοῦ δικτάτορος ὄντος ἀκριβῶς βασιλέως. συνεστήσαντο δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν μάλιστα δύο άνδρε, Μάρκός τε Βρούτος, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπίκλην, Βρούτου τοῦ κατὰ Σύλλαν ἀνηρημένου παῖς αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι προσφυγών έκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον άτυχήματος, καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ὁ τὰς τριήρεις κατά του Ελλήσποντον έγχειρίσας τῷ Καίσαρι, οίδε μεν άμφω της Πομπηίου μοίρας γεγονότε, τῶν δ' αὐτῷ Καίσαρι φιλτάτων Δέκμος Βροῦτος 'Αλβίνος, ἄπαντες αἰεὶ παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως χρηματίζοντες άξιοι οίς γε καὶ πράξεις ένεχείρισε μεγίστας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύη πόλεμον άπιων στρατεύματα έδωκε καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν

some people ventured to say that Caesar ought to be CHAP. called dictator and emperor of the Romans, as he was in fact, or whatever other name they might prefer to that of king, but that he ought to be distinctly named king of the nations that were subject to the Romans. Caesar declined this also, and was wholly engaged in hastening his departure from the

city in which he was exposed to such envy.

111. Four days before his intended departure he Conspiracy was slain by his enemies in the senate-house, either against from jealousy of his fortune and power, now grown to enormous proportions, or, as they themselves alleged, from a desire to restore the republic of their fathers: for they feared (and in this they knew their man) that if he should conquer these nations also he would indeed be indisputably king. On mature consideration, I conclude that they did actually find an excuse for the conspiracy in the prospect of this additional title, though the difference it could make to them turned on a mere quibble, since in plain fact "dictator" is exactly the same as "king." Chief among the conspirators were two men, Marcus Brutus, surnamed Caepio (son of the Brutus who was put to death during the Sullan revolution), who had sided with Caesar after the disaster of Pharsalus, and Gaius Cassius, the one who had surrendered his triremes to Caesar in the Hellespont, both having been of Pompey's party. Among the conspirators also was Decimus Brutus Albinus, one of Caesar's dearest friends. All of them had been held in honour and trust by Caesar at all times. He had employed them in the greatest affairs. When he went to the war in Africa he gave them the command of armies, putting Decimus Brutus in charge

CAP. ἐπέτρεψε, τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ "Αλπεων Δέκμφ, τὴν δ'

έντὸς "Αλπεων Βρούτω.

112. Μέλλοντες δὲ όμοῦ τότε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγήσειν ό Βρούτος καὶ ό Κάσσιος ές άλλήλους διήριζον περί της καλουμένης πολιτικής στρατηγίας, ή των άλλων προτιμάται, είτε τω όντι Φιλοτιμούμενοι περί αυτήν, είθ' ύπόκρισις ην του μη πάντα συμπράσσειν άλληλοις νομιζεσθαι, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς διαιτῶν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς τὰ μὲν δίκαια Κάσσιος ἀποφαίνοι, Βρούτω δ' αὐτὸς χαρίζοιτο. τοσήδε εν άπασιν εύνοία καὶ τιμή πρὸς τὸν άνδρα έγρητο. και γαρ αυτώ και παις ένομίζετο είναι, Σερουιλίας της Κάτωνος άδελφης έρασθείσης τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε ὁ Βροῦτος ἐγίγνετο. διὸ καὶ νικῶν ἐν Φαρσάλω μετὰ σπουδης λέγεται τοίς ήγεμόσιν είπείν Βρούτον, όπη δύναιντο. περισώζειν. άλλ' είτε άχάριστος ών ό Βρούτος, εἴτε τὰ τῆς μητρὸς άμαρτήματα ἀγνοῶν ἢ ἀπιστων ή αιδούμενος, είτε φιλελεύθερος ων άγαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προτιμών, εἴθ' ὅτι ἔκγονος ων Βρούτον του πάλαι τους βασιλέας έξελάσαντος έρεθιζόμενος καὶ ονειδιζόμενος μάλιστα ές τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου (πολλά γάρ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου καὶ τῶ δικαστηρίω τοῦδε τοῦ Βρούτου τοιάδε ἐπεγράφετο λάθρα· "Βροῦτε δωροδοκείς: Βρούτε νεκρός εί; η " ώφελές γε νῦν περιείναι" ή "ἀνάξιά σου τὰ ἔκγονα" ή " οὐδ' ἔκγονος εἶ σὰ τοῦδε"), ταῦτα καὶ τοιου-

of Transalpine, and Marcus Brutus of Cisalpine, CHAP.

112. Brutus and Cassius, who had been designated as praetors at the same time, had a controversy with each other as to which of them should be the city practor, this being the place of highest honour, either because they were really ambitious of the distinction or as a pretence, so that they might not seem to have a common understanding with each Caesar, who was chosen umpire between them, is reported to have said to his friends that justice seemed to be on the side of Cassius, but that he must nevertheless favour Brutus. He exhibited the same affection and preference for this man in all things. It was even thought that Brutus was his son, as Caesar was the lover of his mother, Servilia (Cato's sister) about the time of his birth, for which reason, when he won the victory at Pharsalus, it is said that he gave an immediate order to his officers to save Brutus by all means. Whether Brutus was ungrateful, or ignorant of his mother's fault, or disbelieved it, or was ashamed of it; whether he was such an ardent lover of liberty that he preferred his country to everything, or whether, because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by the people, (for there were secretly affixed to the statues of the elder Brutus and also to Brutus' own tribunal such writings as, "Brutus, are you bribed?" "Brutus, are you dead?" "Thou should'st be living at this hour!" "Your posterity is unworthy of you," or, "You are not his descendant,")—at any rate these and many like

CAP. τότροπα ἄλλα πολλὰ τὸν νεανίαν ἐξέκαυσεν ἐπὶ

τὸ ἔργον ώς έαυτοῦ προγονικόν.

113. 'Ακμάζοντος δ' έτι τοῦ περὶ βασιλείας λόγου καὶ συνόδου μελλούσης έσεσθαι της βουλης μετ' ολίγον, ο Κάσσιος έμβαλων την χείρα τω Βρούτω "τί ποιήσομεν," έφη, "παρά τὸ βουλευτήριον, αν οί κύλακες τοῦ Καίσαρος γνώμην περί βασιλείας προθώσι;" καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος οὐκ έφη παρέσεσθαι τῶ βουλευτηρίω. ἐπανερομένου δέ του Κασσίου "τί δ', αν ήμας καλώσιν ώς στρατηγούς, τί ποιήσομεν, & ἀγαθὲ Βροῦτε"; "ἀμυνῶ τῆ πατρίδι," ἔφη, "μέχρι θανάτου." καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ἀσπασάμενος "τίνα δ'," έφη, "οὐ προσλήψη τῶν ἀρίστων οὕτω φρονῶν; ή σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ χειροτέχναι καὶ κάπηλοι καταγράφειν σου τὸ δικαστήριον ἀσήμως μᾶλλον ή οί Ρωμαίων ἄριστοι, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγών θέας αἰτοῦντες ἵππων ἢ θηρίων, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὡς σὸν προγονικὸν ἔργον;" οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἄρα ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοούμενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀλλήλοις προύφερον καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκάτερος φίλων ἀπεπειρῶντο καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, οὺς εὐτολμοτάτους έκατέρων ήδεσαν. καὶ συνήγειραν έκ μὲν τῶν σφετέρων άδελφω δύο, Καικίλιον τε καὶ Βουκολιανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥούβριον Ῥῆγα καὶ Κόιντον Λιγάριον καὶ Μᾶρκον Σπόριον καὶ Σερουίλιον Γάλβαν καὶ Σέξστιον Νάσωνα καὶ Πόντιον 'Ακύλαν, τούσδε μεν έκ των οἰκείων σφίσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Καίσαρος Δέκμον τε, περὶ οὖ μοι προείρηται, καὶ Γάιον Κάσκαν

incentives fired the young man to a deed like that CHAP.

XVI

113. While the talk about the kingship was at its height, and just before there was to be a meeting of the Senate, Cassius met Brutus, and, seizing him by the hand, said, "What shall we do in the senatehouse if Caesar's flatterers propose a decree making him king?" Brutus replied that he would not be there. Then Cassius asked him further, "What if we are summoned there as praetors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?" "I will defend my country to the death," he replied. Cassius embraced him, saving, "If this is your mind, whom of the nobility will you not rally to your standard? Do you think it is artisans and shopkeepers who have written those clandestine messages on your tribunal, or is it rather the noblest Romans, who, though they ask from the other practors games, horse-races, and combats of wild beasts, ask from you liberty, a boon worthy of your ancestry?" Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those of their own friends, and of Caesar's also, whom they considered the most courageous of either faction. Of their own friends they inveigled two brothers, Caecilius and Bucolianus, and besides these Rubrius Ruga, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Servilius Galba, Sextius Naso, and Pontius Aquila. These were of their own faction. Of Caesar's friends they secured Decimus Brutus, whom I have already men-

CAP. καὶ Τρεβώνιον καὶ Τίλλιον καὶ Κιμβρον καὶ Μινούκιον καὶ Βάσιλον.

114. 'Ως δὲ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν άλις ἔχειν καὶ πλέοσιν εκφέρειν ούκ εδοκίμαζον, συνέθεντο μεν άλλήλοις άνευ τε όρκων καὶ άνευ σφαγίων, καὶ ούδεις μετέθετο ούδε προύδωκε, καιρον δ' εζήτουν καὶ τόπον ό μεν δη καιρός ύπερηπεινεν ώς Καίσαρος ές τετάρτην ημέραν έξιόντος έπλ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ φυλακής αὐτὸν αὐτίκα περιεξούσης στρατιωτικής χωρίον δ' ἐπενόουν τὸ βουλευτήριον ώς των βουλευτών, εί καὶ μη προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιληψομένων, δ καὶ περὶ 'Ρωμύλον τυραννικὸν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γενόμενον ελέγετο συμβήναι. δόξειν τε τὸ ἔργον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τόδε ἐν βουλευτηρίω γενόμενον, οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πεπράχθαι ἀκίνδυνόν τε, ώς κοινόν, ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ· καὶ τὴν τιμὴν σφίσι μενείν, οὐκ ἀγνοουμένοις, ὅτι ἦρξαν. διὰ μεν δη ταθτα το βουλευτήριον επελέγοντο πάντες όμαλως περί δε του τρόπου διεφέροντο, οί μεν καὶ 'Αντώνιον συναναιρείν άξιοῦντες, ὕπατόν τε όντα σύν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ φίλον αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις γνωριμώτατον ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι μόνω δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τυραννοκτόνων ώς βασιλέα ἀναιροῦντες, έπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ ἐχθρῶν ὡς Πομπηίου στασιώται.

115. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷδε μάλιστα ἀναπεισθέντες

tioned, also Gaius Casca, Trebonius, Tillius Cimber, CHAP and Minucius Basilus.

114. When they thought that they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They then sought time and place. Time was pressing because Caesar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and then a body-guard of soldiers would surround him. They chose the Senate as the place, believing that, even though the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed; and it was said that this happened in the case of Romulus when he changed from a king to a tyrant. They thought that this deed, like that one of old. taking place in open Senate, would seem to be not in the way of a private conspiracy, but in behalf of the country, and that, being in the public interest, there would be no danger from Caesar's army. At the same time they thought the honour would remain theirs because the public would not be ignorant that they took the lead. For these reasons they unanimously chose the Senate as the place, but they were not agreed as to the mode. Some thought that Antony ought to be killed also because he was consul with Caesar, and was his most powerful friend, and the one of most repute with the army; but Brutus Brutus said that they would win the glory of tyrannicide the killing from the death of Caesar alone, because that would of Antony be the killing of a king. If they should kill his friends also, the deed would be imputed to private enmity and to the Pompeian faction. 115. They listened to this reasoning and awaited the

CAP. την προσιούσαν αὐτίκα της βουλης σύνοδον έφύλασσον ο δε Καίσαρ προ μιας τούδε τού βουλευτηρίου χωρών έπὶ δείπνον ές Λέπιδον τον ίππαρχου, ἐπήγετο Δέκμου Βροῦτου 'Αλβίνου ἐς τον πότον καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῆ κύλικι προύθηκε, τίς άριστος άνθρώπω θάνατος αίρουμένων δὲ έτερα έτέρων αὐτὸς ἐκ πάντων ἐπήνει τὸν αἰφνίδιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὧδε προυμαντεύετο έαυτῶ καὶ έλεσγήνευε περί των ές την αύριον έσομένων έπι δέ τῶ πότω νυκτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα νωθρὸν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ή γυνή Καλπουρνία ἐνύπνιον αίματι πολλώ καταρρεόμενον ίδοῦσα κατεκώλυε μη προελθεῖν. θυομένω τε πολλάκις ην τὰ σημεῖα φοβερά. καὶ πέμπειν έμελλεν 'Αντώνιον διαλύσοντα την βουλήν. ἀλλὰ Δέκμος παρών ἔπεισε μὴ λαβείν ύπεροψίας διαβολήν, αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπελθόντα διαλύσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκομίζετο φορείω, θέαι δ' ήσαν έν τῷ Πομπηίου θεάτρω, καὶ βουλευτήριον έμελλε των τις περί αὐτὸ οἴκων έσεσθαι, είωθὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς θέαις ὧδε γίγνεσθαι. οί δ' άμφὶ τον Βρούτον έωθεν κατά την στοάν την προ τού θεάτρου τοῖς δεομένοις σφῶν ὡς στρατηγῶν εὐσταθέστατα έχρημάτιζου, πυνθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ίερων τω Καίσαρι καὶ της αναθέσεως τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάνυ ήποροῦντο, καί τις, αὐτῶν ὧδε ἐχόντων, τῆς Κάσκα χειρὸς λαβύμενος είπε "σὺ μὲν ὄντο με φίλον ἀπέκρυψας, Βροῦτος δ' ἀνήνεγκέ μοι." καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάσκας ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος άφνω τεθορύβητο, ό δ' ἐπιμειδιάσας

next meeting of the Senate, and the day before the CHAP. meeting Caesar went to dine with Lepidus, his master of horse, taking Decimus Brutus Albinus with him to drink wine after dinner, and while the wine went round the conversation Caesar proposed the question, "What is the best kind of death?" Various opinions were given, but Caesar alone expressed preference for a sudden death. In this way he foretold his own end, and conversed about what was to happen on the morrow. After the banquet a certain bodily faintness came over him in the night, and his wife, Calpurnia, had a dream, in which she saw him streaming with blood, for which reason she tried to prevent him from going out in the morning. When he offered sacrifice there were many unfavourable signs. He was about to send Antony to dismiss the Senate when Decimus, who was with him, persuaded him, in order not to incur the charge of disregard for the Senate, to go there and dismiss it himself. Accordingly he was borne thither in a litter. Games were going on in Pompey's theatre, and the Senate was about to assemble in one of the adjoining buildings. as was the custom when the games were taking place. Brutus and Cassius were early at the portico in front of the theatre, very calmly engaging in public business as praetors with those seeking their services. When they heard of the bad omens at Caesar's house and that the Senate was to be digmissed, they were greatly disconcerted. While they were in this state of mind a certain person took Casca by the hand and said, "You kept the secret from me, although I am your friend, but Brutus has told me all." Casca was suddenly conscience-stricken and shuddered, but his friend, smiling, continued,

CAP, ἔφη· "πόθεν οὖν ἔσται σοι τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἀγορανομίας;" καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ἀνήνεγκεν. αὐτὸν δὲ
Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον σύννους τε ὄντας καὶ
συλλαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις τῶν τις βουλευτῶν ἐπισπάσας, Ποπίλιος Λαίνας, ἔφη συνεύχεσθαι περὶ
ὧν ἔχουσι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ παρήνει ἐπιταχύνειν.
οἱ δὲ ἐθορυβήθησαν μέν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως
ἐσιώπων.

116. Φερομένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος, τῶν οἰκείων τις αὐτῷ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μαθών έθει μηνύσων, δ έμαθεν. καὶ δ μεν ές Καλπουρνίαν ήλθε καὶ τοσόνδε μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι χρήζοι Καίσαρος ύπερ έργων επειγόντων, ανέμενεν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθείν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ούκ είς τέλος άρα τὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα πεπυσμένος. ὁ δ' ἐν Κνίδω γεγονώς αὐτῶ ξένος Αρτεμίδωρος ές το βουλευτήριον έσδραμών εύρεν άρτι ἀναιρούμενον. ύπὸ δ' ἄλλου καὶ βιβλίον περί της ἐπιβουλης ἐπιδοθὲν αὐτῷ προθυομένω τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ εὐθὺς ἐσιόντι, μετὰ γείρας εύρέθη τεθνεώτος. άρτι δ' έκβαίνοντι τοῦ φορείου Λαίνας, ο τοις αμφί του Κάσσιου προ ολίγου συνευξάμενος, έντυχων διελέγετο ίδία μετά σπουδης. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ή τε όψις αὐτίκα τοῦ γιγνομένου κατέπλησσε καὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἐντεύξεως, καὶ διένευον άλλήλοις διαχρήσασθαι σφάς αὐτοὺς προ συλλήψεως προϊόντος δε του λόγου τον Λαίναν δρώντες οὐ μηνύοντι μάλλον ή περί του δεομένω καὶ λιπαρούντι ἐοικότα, ἀνέφερον, ὡς δ'

"Where shall you get the money to stand for the CHAP. aedileship?" Then Casca recovered himself. While Brutus and Cassius were conferring and talking together, Popilius Laena, one of the senators, drew them aside and said that he joined them in his prayers for what they had in mind, and he urged them to make haste. They were confounded, but remained silent from terror

116. While Caesar was actually being borne to Caesar the Senate one of his intimates, who had learned of the Senate the conspiracy, ran to his house to tell what he knew. When he arrived there and found only Calpurnia he merely said that he wanted to speak to Caesar about urgent business, and then waited for him to come back from the Senate, because he did not know all the particulars of the affair. Meantime Artemidorus, whose hospitality Caesar had enjoyed at Cnidus, ran to the Senate and found him already in the death-throes. A tablet informing him of the conspiracy was put into Caesar's hand by another person while he was sacrificing in front of the senate-house, but he went in immediately and it was found in his hand after his death. Directly after he stepped out of the litter Popilius Laena, who a little before had joined his prayers with the party of Cassius, accosted Caesar and engaged him aside in earnest conversation. The sight of this proceeding and especially the length of the conversation struck terror into the hearts of the conspirators, and they made signs to each other that they would kill themselves rather than be captured. As the conversation was prolonged they saw that Laena did not seem to be revealing anything to Caesar, but rather to be urging some petition. They recovered themselves and when

CAP. ἐπὶ τῷ λόγφ καὶ ἀσπασάμενον εἶδον, ἀνεθάρρησαν. έθος δ' έστὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ές την βουλην έσιοῦσιν οιωνίζεσθαι προσιούσι. καὶ πάλιν των ίερων ην τω Καίσαρι το μεν πρώτον άνευ καρδίας ή, ώς έτεροι λέγουσιν, ή κεφαλή τοίς σπλάγχνοις έλειπε, καὶ τοῦ μάντεως εἰπόντος θανάτου τὸ σημείον είναι, γελάσας έφη τοιούτον αύτω καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γενέσθαι πολεμοῦντι Πομπηίω. άποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως, ὅτι καὶ τότε κινδυνεύσειε λαμπρώς καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον είη τὸ σημείον, αὐθις αὐτὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκέλευε θύεσθαι. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὡς καλλιερουμένου, την βουλήν βραδύνουσαν αίδούμενος καὶ ύπὸ των εχθρων ως φίλων επειγόμενος εσήει των ίερων καταφρονήσας χρην γάρ α έχρην Καίσαρι νενέσθαι.

117. Οἱ δ' ἀντώνιον μὲν πρὸ θυρῶν ἀποδιατρίβειν ἐν ὁμιλία Τρεβώνιον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπελίποντο, Καίσαρα δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου προκαθίσαντα περιέστησαν οἶα φίλοι σὑν λεληθόσι ξιφιδίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν Τίλλιος μὲν Κίμβερ, ἐντυχῶν ἐς πρόσωπον, ἀδελφῷ φυγάδι κάθοδον ἤτει· ἀνατιθεμένου δὲ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντος ὅλως τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ μὲν Κίμβερ αὐτοῦ τῆς πορφύρας ὡς ἔτι δεόμενος ἐλάβετο καὶ τὸ εἶμα περισπάσας ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἶλκε, βοῶν· "τί βραδύνετε ὡ φίλοι;" Κάσκας δ' ἐφεστῶς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν τὸ ξίφος ἤρεισε πρῶτος, παρολισθὼν δὲ ἐνέτεμε τὸ στῆθος. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τό τε ἰμάτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κίμβερος ἐπισπάσας καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ

they saw him return thanks to Caesar after the con- CHAP. versation they took new courage. It was the custom XVI of the magistrates, when about to enter the Senate. to take the auspices at the entrance. Here again Bad omens Caesar's first victim was without a heart, or, as some at the say, the upper part of the entrails was wanting. The soothsayer said that this was a sign of death. Caesar. laughing, said that the same thing had happened to him when he was beginning his campaign against Pompeius in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he had been in very great danger then and that now the omen was more deadly. So Caesar ordered him to sacrifice again. None of the victims were more propitious; but being ashamed to keep the Senate waiting, and being urged by his enemies in the guise of friends, he went on disregarding the omens. For it was fated that Caesar should meet his fate.

117. The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of Caesar their number, to engage Antony in conversation assassinated at the door. The others, with concealed daggers. stood around Caesar like friends as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tillius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Caesar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging his petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck, exclaiming, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then first Casca, who was standing over Caesar's head, drove his dagger at his throat, but swerved and wounded him in the breast. Caesar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned around, and hurled

CAP. Κάσκα λαβόμενος καὶ καταδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βρόνου καὶ ἐπιστραφεὶς τὸν Κάσκαν εἴλκυσε συν βία πολλῆ. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πλευρὸν ἔτερος, ὡς ἐπὶ συστροφῆ τεταμένον, διελαύνει ξιφιδίῳ· καὶ Κάσσιος ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔπληξε καὶ Βροῦτος ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε καὶ Βουκολιανὸς ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέν τι σὺν ὀργῆ καὶ βοῆ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐς ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βρούτου πληγήν, . . . . εἴτε ἀπογινώσκοντα ἤδη, τὸ ἱμάτιον περικαλύψασθαι καὶ πεσεῖν εὐσχημόνως παρὰ ἀνδριάντι Πομπηίου· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐνύβριζον αὐτῷ πεσόντι, μέχρι τριῶν ἐπὶ εἴκοσι πληγῶν· πολλοί τε διωθιζόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ξιφῶν ἀλλήλους ἔπληξαν.

#### XVII

ΟΑΡ. 118. Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῖς φονεῦσι τοσοῦδε ἄγους ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἄνδρα ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον, φυγή τε ἢν ἀνὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον αὐτίκα καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ἀπέθανον ἔτεροι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀστῶν τε καὶ ξένων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ προβεβουλευμένος, ἀλλ' οἱος ἐκ θορύβου πολιτικοῦ καὶ ἀγνωσίας τῶν ἐπιλαβόντων, οἴ τε γὰρ μονομάχοι, ὡπλισμένοι ἔωθεν ὡς ἐπὶ δή τινα θέας ἐπίδειξιν, ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διέθεον ἐς τὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παραφράγματα,

Casca with great violence. While he was in this CHAP. position another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side, which was stretched tense by his strained position. 1 Cassius wounded him in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus in the back. With rage and outcries Caesar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal, but, after receiving the wound from Brutus 2 he at last despaired and, veiling himself with his robe, composed himself for death and fell at the foot of Pompey's statue. They continued their attack after he had fallen until he had received twenty-three wounds. Several of them while thrusting with their swords wounded each other.

## XVII

118. When the murderers had perpetrated their CHAP.

Syll gloomy crime, in a sacred place, on one whose person Panic in was sacred and inviolable, there was an immediate the city flight throughout the curia and throughout the whole city. Some senators were wounded in the tumult and others killed. Many other citizens and strangers were murdered also, not designedly, but as such things happen in public commotions, by the mistakes of those into whose hands they fell. Gladiators, who had been armed early in the morning for that day's spectacles, ran out of the theatre to the screens 3 of

Literally, "by reason of twisting."
 There is a gap in the text.
 Some sort of barrier at the entrance (cancelli).

CAP. καὶ τὸ θέατρον ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως σὺν φόβφ καὶ ΧΥΙΙ δρόμφ διελύετο, τά τε ὤνια ἡρπάζετο· καὶ τὰς θύρας άπαντες ἀπέκλειον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς άμυναν ήτοιμάζοντο, 'Αντώνιός τε την οἰκίαν ώχύρου, τεκμαιρόμενος συνεπιβουλεύεσθαι τῷ Καίσαρι. και Λέπιδος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἐν ἀγορᾶ μὲν ων επύθετο του γεγονότος, ες δε την εν τώ ποταμώ νησον διαδραμών, ένθα ην αυτώ τέλος στρατιωτών, ές τὸ πεδίον αὐτοὺς μετεβίβαζεν ώς ετοιμοτέρους έξων ές τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπ' Αντωνίου. 'Αντωνίω γαρ έξίστατο, φίλω τε τοῦ Καίσαρος όντι μαλλον καὶ ὑπάτφ. καὶ αὐτοῖς σκεπτομένοις όρμη μὲν ἢν ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι τοιάδε παθόντι, την δὲ βουλην πρὸς τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἐσομένην έδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔτι περιεσκόπουν. άμφὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατιωτικὸν μὲν οὐκ ην, ού γαρ δορυφόροις ηρέσκετο, ή δὲ τῆς ήγεμονίας ύπηρεσία μόνη καὶ αἱ πλέονες άρχαὶ καὶ πολύς ομιλος άλλος ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ πολὺς θεράπων καὶ έξελεύθερος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκ τῆς οικίας παρεπεπόμφεισαν, ων άθρόως διαφυγόντων τρείς θεράποντες μόνοι παρέμειναν, οἱ τὸ σῶμα ἐς το φορείον ενθέμενοι διεκόμισαν οίκαδε ανωμάλως, οἷα τρεῖς, τὸν πρὸ ὀλίγου γῆς καὶ θαλάττης προστάτην.

119. Οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς ἐβούλοντο μέν τι εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, οὐδενὸς δὲ παραμείναντος τὰ ἰμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ὥσπερ ἀσπίδας περιπλεξάμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἔχοντες ἐβοηδρόμουν βασιλέα καὶ τύραννον ἀνελεῖν. καὶ πῖλόν

the senate-house. The theatre itself was emptied in CHAP. haste and panic terror, and the markets were plundered. All citizens closed their doors and prepared for defence on their roofs. Antony fortified his house, apprehending that the conspiracy was against him as well as Caesar. Lepidus, the master of the horse, being in the forum at the time, learned what had been done and ran to the island in the river where he had a legion of soldiers, which he transferred to the Field of Mars in order to be in greater readiness to execute Antony's orders; for he yielded to Antony as a closer friend of Caesar and also as consul. While pondering over the matter they were strongly moved to avenge the death of Caesar, but they feared lest the Senate should espouse the side of the murderers and so they concluded to await events. There had been no military guard around Caesar. for he did not like guards; but the usual attendants of the magistracy, most of the officers, and a large crowd of citizens and strangers, of slaves and freedmen, had accompanied him from his house to the Senate. These had fled en masse, all except three slaves, who placed the body in the litter and, unsteadily enough, as three bearers would, bore homeward him who, a little before, had been master of the earth and sea.

119. The murderers wished to make a speech in the Senate, but as nobody remained there they wrapped their togas around their left arms to serve as shields, and, with swords still reeking with blood, ran, crying out that they had slain a king and tyrant. One of them bore a cap¹ on the end of a spear as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The cap (pileus) was given to enfranchised slaves and ransomed captives as a sign of liberty.

CAP. τις ἐπὶ δόρατος ἔφερε, σύμβολον ἐλευθερώσεως XVII έπί τε την πάτριον πολιτείαν παρεκάλουν και Βρούτου τοῦ πάλαι καὶ τῶν τότε σφίσιν ὁμωμοσμένων έπὶ τοῖς πάλαι βασιλεῦσιν ἀνεμίμνησκον. συνέθεον δὲ αὐτοῖς τινες χρησάμενοι ξιφίδια, οὶ τοῦ ἔργου μὴ μετασχόντες προσεποιοῦντο τὴν δόξαν, Λέντλος τε ο Σπινθήρ καὶ Φαώνιος καὶ 'Ακουίνος καὶ Δολοβέλλας καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Πατίσκος οἱ τῆς μὲν δόξης οὐ μετέσχον, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τοῖς άμαρτοῦσι συνέτυχον. τοῦ δήμου δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ προσθέοντος ηπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τῆ μὲν βουλῆ, καὶ εἰ αὐτίκα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ θορύβου διέφυγε, θαρρούντες όμως, συγγενέσι τε σφων καὶ φίλοις οὖσι βαρυνομένοις τε τὴν τυραννίδα όμοίως, τον δὲ δημον ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς έστρατευμένους τῷ Καίσαρι πολλούς ἐν τῆ πόλει τότε παρόντας, τούς μεν άρτι της στρατείας άφειμένους καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διατεταγμένους, τοὺς δὲ προαπωκισμένους μέν, ἐς δὲ παραπομπὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος έξιόντος άφιγμένους. Λέπιδόν τε έδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶ Λεπίδω στρατὸν ἐν τῆ πόλει καὶ Αντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα, μη ἀντὶ της βουλης τῶ δήμφ μόνφ χρώμενος έργάσαιτό τι δεινον αύτούς.

120. Ο υτω δ΄ ἔχοντες τὸ Καπιτώλιον σὺν τοῖς μονομάχοις ἀνέθορον. καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ τὰ πλήθη μισθώματα περιπέμπειν ἤλπιζον γάρ, ἀρξαμένων τινῶν ἐπαινεῖν τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπιλήψεσθαι λογισμῷ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ πόθω τῆς πολιτείας. ἔτι γὰρ ὤοντο τὸν δῆμον εἶναι Ῥωμαῖον ἀκριβῶς, οῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου τὴν τότε

a symbol of freedom, and exhorted the people to CHAP. restore the government of their fathers and recall the XVII memory of the elder Brutus and of those who took the oath together against the ancient kings. With them ran some with drawn swords who had not participated in the deed, but wanted to share the glory, among whom were Lentulus Spinther. Favonius, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murcus, and Patiscus. These did not share the glory, but they suffered punishment with the guilty. As the people did not flock to them they were disconcerted and alarmed. Although the Senate had at first fled through ignorance and alarm, they had confidence in it nevertheless as consisting of their own relatives and friends, and oppressed equally with themselves by the tyranny; but they were suspicious of the plebeians and of Caesar's soldiers, many of whom were then present in the city, some lately dismissed from the service, to whom lands had been allotted; others who had been already settled, but had come in to serve as an escort for Caesar on his departure from the city. The assassins had fears of Lepidus, too, and of the army under him in the city, and also of Antony in his character as consul, lest he should consult the people alone, instead of the Senate, and bring some fearful punishment upon them.

120. In this frame of mind they hastened up to The the Capitol with their gladiators. There they took murderere counsel and decided to bribe the populace, hoping possession that if some would begin to praise the deed others Capitol would join in from love of liberty and longing for the republic. They thought that the genuinely Roman people were still as they had learned that they were when the elder Brutus expelled the kings. They did

CAP. βασιλείαν καθαιρούντος ἐπυνθάνοντο γενέσθαι· καὶ οὐ συνίεσαν δύο τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἐναντία προσδοκώντες, φιλελευθέρους όμου καὶ μισθωτούς σφίσιν έσεσθαι χρησίμως τούς παρόντας. ών θάτερον εὐχερέστερον ην, διεφθαρμένης έκ πολλοῦ της πολιτείας. παμμιγές τε γάρ έστιν ήδη τὸ πλήθος ύπο ξενίας, και ο έξελεύθερος αὐτοῖς ισοπολίτης έστι και ο δουλεύων έτι το σχημα τοίς δεσπόταις όμοιος χωρίς γάρ της βουλευτικής ή άλλη στολή τοίς θεράπουσίν έστιν επίκοινος. τό τε σιτηρέσιον τοῖς πένησι χορηγούμενον έν μόνη 'Ρώμη του άργου καὶ πτωχεύουτα καὶ ταχυεργου τῆς 'Ιταλίας λεὼυ ἐς τὴυ 'Ρώμηυ ἐπάγεται. τό τε πλήθος τῶν ἀποστρατευομένων, οὐ διαλυόμενον ές τὰς πατρίδας ἔτι ὡς πάλαι καθ' ἔνα ἄνδρα δέει τοῦ μὴ δικαίους πολέμους ενίους πεπολεμηκέναι, κοινή δὲ ἐς κληρουχίας ἀδίκους ἀλλοτρίας τε γής καὶ ἀλλοτρίων οἰκιῶν ἐξιόν, ἄθρουν τότε ἐστάθ-μευεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείω καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι τῆς ἀποικίας, τὰ μὲν ὄντα σφίσιν ως έπὶ έξοδον ήδη διαπεπρακότες, εύωνοι δ' ές ὅ τι μισθοῖντο.

121. Θθεν οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκ τοσῶνδε καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν πληθός τι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐθὺς ἀγήγερτο· οῖ καίπερ ὄντες ἔμμισθοι τὰ μὲν γενόμενα ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν, δεδιότες τὴν Καίσαρος δόξαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐσόμενον, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπεβόων καὶ θαμινὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρεκάλουν, τέχνασμα τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τῶν ἀνδροφόνων σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι

not perceive that they were counting on two incom-CHAP. patible things, namely, that people could be lovers of liberty and bribe-takers at the same time. The of Roman latter class were much easier to find of the two, society because the government had been corrupt for a long time. For the plebeians are now much mixed with foreign blood, freedmen have equal rights of citizenship with them, and slaves are dressed in the same fashion as their masters. Except in the case of the senatorial rank the same costume is common to slaves and to free citizens. Moreover the distribution of corn to the poor, which takes place in Rome only, draws thither the lazy, the beggars, the vagrants of all Italy. The multitude, too, of discharged soldiers who were no longer dispersed one by one to their native places as formerly, through fear lest some of them might have engaged in unjustifiable wars, but were sent in groups to unjust allotments of lands and confiscated houses, was at this time encamped in temples and sacred enclosures under one standard, and one person appointed to lead them to their concolony, and as they had already sold their own spirators distribute belongings preparatory to their departure they were bribes in readiness to be bought for any purpose.

121. From so many men of this kind a considerable crowd was drawn speedily and without difficulty to the party of Cassius in the forum. These, although bought, did not dare to praise the murder, because they feared Caesar's reputation and doubted what course the rest of the people might take. So they shouted for peace as being for the public advantage, and with one accord recommended this policy to the magistrates, intending by this device to secure the safety of the murderers; for there could be no peace

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CAP. τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας. ὧδε ΧΥΙΙ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι πρῶτος ἐπιφαίνεται Κίννας στρατηγός, οἰκεῖος ὢν ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπελθὼν ἐς μέσους τήν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπεδύσατο, ὡς παρὰ τυράννου δεδομένης ὑπερορῶν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τύραννον ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας τυραννοκτόνους, καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐσέμνυνεν ὡς ὁμοιότατον μάλιστα τῷ προγονικῷ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς εὐεργέτας καλεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ γεραίρειν. καὶ Κίννας μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὐχ ὁρῶντες ἐπιμιγνύμενον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδέ τι πλέον ἡ περὶ τῆς

είρήνης μόνης αθθις παρεκάλουν.

122. Έπεὶ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ περιώνυμος, ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ ἔτους ἡρημένος, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξορμήσειε τῆς πόλεως, τὴν μὲν ὕπατον ἐσθῆτα ἢμφιέσατο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς περιεστήσατο, τὸν δὲ ταῦτά οἱ παρασχόντα δεύτερος ὅδε ἐλοιδόρει καὶ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένοις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ μόνης ἄκων τῆς χειρὸς ἀπολειφθῆναι (εἰσὶ δ' οὶ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν ἡμέραν θέσθαι τῆ πόλει γενέθλιον), τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἀνεθάρρουν ὡς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὑπάτου σφίσι συγγνωμόνων ὄντων καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἤδοντο μὲν τῷ Δολοβέλλα καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἄνδρα νέον καὶ γνώριμον καὶ ὑπατον ἔξειν ἐς ἐναντίωσιν ἀντωνίου, κατήεσαν δὲ αὐτῶν μόνοι Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ἡμαγμένος τὴν χεῖρα: συγκατήνεγκαν γὰρ δὴ τὰς

without amnesty to them. While they were thus CHAP. engaged the practor Cinna, a relative of Caesar by marriage, made his appearance, advanced unexpectedly into the middle of the forum, laid aside his praetorian robe, as if disdaining the gift of a tyrant, and called Caesar a tyrant and his murderers tyrannicides. He extolled their deed as exactly like that of their ancestors, and ordered that the men themselves should be called from the Capitol as benefactors and rewarded with public honours. So spake Cinna, but when the hirelings saw that the unbought portion of the crowd did not agree with them they did not call for the men in the Capitol, nor did they do anything else but continually demand peace.

122. But after Dolabella, a young man of noble family who had been chosen by Caesar as consul for the remainder of his own year when he was about to leave the city, and who had put on the consular garb and taken the other insignia of the office, came forward next and railed against the man who had advanced him to this dignity and pretended that he was privy to the conspiracy against him, and that his hand alone was unwillingly absent-some say that he even proposed a decree that this day should be consecrated as the birthday of the republic—then indeed the hirelings took new courage, seeing that they had both a praetor and a consul on their side, and demanded that Cassius and his friends be summoned from the Capitol. They were delighted with Dolabella and thought that now they had a young optimate, who was also consul, to oppose against Antony. Only Cassius and Marcus Brutus came Brutus and down, the latter with his hand still bleeding from come down the wound he had received when he and Cassius from the Capitol

CAP. πληγὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος.
ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ μέσον, οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν οὐδέτερος εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ καλοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις ἀλλήλους ἐπήνουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμακάριζον καὶ Δέκμω μάλιστα ἐμαρτύρουν, ὅτι τοὺς μονομάχους σφίσιν ἐν καιρῷ παράσχοι. τόν τε δῆμον ἐξώτρυνον ὅμοια τοῖς προγόνοις ἐργάσασθαι τοῖς καθελοῦσι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐκ ἐκ βίας ἄρχοντας ὥσπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ' ἡρημένους ὑπὸ νόμοις.
Σέξστον τε Πομπήιον, τὸν Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τοῦ Καίσαρι περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πεπολεμηκότος, καλεῖν ήξίουν, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐν Ἰβηρία, καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους Καισήτιον καὶ Μάρυλλον, οῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφαιρεθέντες ήλῶντο.

123. Τοιάδε μὲν εἶπον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ ἐπανῆλθον ανθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν πω τοῖς παροῦσι. τῶν δ΄ οἰκείων σφίσι καὶ συγγενῶν τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντων ἡρέθησαν οἱ πρεσβεύσοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐς Λέπιδόν τε καὶ ᾿Αντώνιον ὁμονοίας πέρι καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ φειδοῦς τῶν ἐσομένων τῆ πατρίδι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ συμφρονοῖεν. καὶ ἐδέοντο οἱ πεμφθέντες, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ πεπραγμένον (οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν ἐν φίλοις Καίσαρος), γενόμενον δ΄ ἐνεγκεῖν ἀξιοῦντες ἐλέω τε τῶν δεδρακότων αὐτὸ οὐ κατὰ μισος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐνοία τῆς πατρίδος καὶ

were dealing blows at Caesar. When they reached CHAP. the forum neither of them said anything which betokened humility. On the contrary, they praised each other, as though the deed were something confessedly honourable, congratulated the city, and bore special testimony to the merits of Decimus Brutus because he had furnished them gladiators at a critical moment. They exhorted the people to be like their ancestors, who had expelled the kings, although the latter were exercising the government not by violence like Caesar, but had been chosen according to law. They advised the recall of Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, the defender of the republic against Caesar), who was still warring against Caesar's lieutenants in Spain. They also recommended that the tribunes, Caesetius and Marullus, who had been deposed by Caesar, should be recalled from exile.

123. After they had thus spoken Cassius and Proposals Brutus returned directly to the Capitol, because they for com had not yet entire confidence in the present posture promise of affairs. As their friends and relatives were then first enabled to come to them in the temple, they chose from among them messengers to treat on their behalf with Lepidus and Antony for conciliation and the preservation of liberty, and for warding off the evils that would befall the country if they should not come to an agreement. This the messengers besought, not, however, extolling the deed that had been done, for they did not dare to do this in the presence of Caesar's friends, but asking that it be tolerated now that it was done, out of pity for the perpetrators, (who had been actuated, not by hatred towards Caesar, but by love of country), and out of compassion

CAP. οἴκτφ τῆς πόλεως κεκενωμένης στάσεσιν ἤδη συνεχέσιν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἡ μέλλουσα στάσις διολέσει. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅσιον, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἔχθρα πρὸς ἐνίους, ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις κινδύνοις ἐξερίζειν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τὰ ἴδια καταθέσθαι ἤ, εἴ τις ἀνηκέστως ἔχει, τὰ ἴδια ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀναθέσθαι.

124. 'Αντώνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος ἐβούλοντο μὲν άμύνειν Καίσαρι, ώς μοι προείρηται, είτε φιλίας ένεκα είτε των ομωμοσμένων, είτε και άρχης ορεγόμενοι καὶ νομίζοντες εύμαρέστερα σφίσιν άπαντα έσεσθαι τοιώνδε καὶ τοσώνδε άνδρών άθρόως έκποδών γενομένων τούς δε φίλους καὶ συγγενείς αὐτῶν ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην βουλήν επιρρέπουσαν ες εκείνους, Δέκμον τε μάλιστα, της ομόρου Κελτικης ήρημένον ύπὸ Καίσαρος άρχειν, στρατον πολύν έχούσης. έδόκει δή καραδοκείν έτι τὰ γενησόμενα καὶ τεχνάζειν εί δύναιντο περισπάσαι προς έαυτους την στρατιὰν τὴν Δέκμου, ἄθυμον ἤδη τοῖς ἀτρύτοις πόνοις γεγενημένην. ούτω δε δόξαν αὐτοῖς ό 'Αντώνιος τους εἰπόντας ημείψατο "κατά μὲν έχθραν ιδίαν οὐδὲν ἐργασόμεθα· ἕνεκα δὲ τοῦ μύσους καὶ ὧν Καίσαρι πάντες ὼμόσαμεν, φύλακες αὐτῶ τοῦ σώματος ἡ τιμωροὶ παθόντι τι έσεσθαι, εύορκον ην τὸ ἄγος έξελαύνειν καὶ μετ' όλιγωτέρων καθαρών βιούν μάλλον ή πάντας ένόχους όντας ταις άραις. άλλα δι' ύμας οις ούτω δοκεί, σκεψόμεθα μεθ' ύμῶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίω

for the city exhausted by long-continued civil strife, CHAP. which a new sedition might deprive of the good men still remaining. "If enmity is entertained against certain persons," they said, "it will be an act of impiety to gratify it in a time of public danger. It is far preferable to merge private animosity in the public welfare, or, if anybody were irreconcilable, at least to postpone his private grievances for the present."

124. Antony and Lepidus wished to avenge Caesar, as I have already said, either on the score of friendship, or of the oaths they had sworn, or because they were aiming at the supreme power themselves and thought that their course would be easier if so many men of such rank were put out of the way at once. But they feared the friends and relatives of these men and the leaning of the rest of the Senate toward them, and especially they feared Decimus Brutus, who had been chosen by Caesar governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which had a large army. So they decided to watch a future opportunity and to try if possible to draw over to themselves the army of Decimus, which was already disheartened by its protracted labours. Having come to this decision, Antony's Antony replied to the messengers, "We shall do answer nothing from private enmity, yet in consequence of the crime and of the oaths we have all sworn to Caesar, that we would either protect his person or avenge his death, a solemn regard for our oath requires us to drive out the guilty and to live with a smaller number of innocent men rather than that all should be liable to the divine curse. Yet for our own part, although this seems to us the proper course, we will consider the matter with you in the Senate and we

CAP. καὶ νομιοῦμεν εὐαγὲς ἔσεσθαι τἢ πόλει, ὅ τι ἂν

κοινή δοκιμάσητε."

125. Ο μεν ασφαλώς ούτως απεκρίνατο. οί δε χάριν τε ήδεσαν καὶ ἀπεχώρουν ἐν ἐλπίδι βεβαίφ τὰ πάντα θέμενοι τὴν γὰρ βουλὴν σφίσι συμπράξειν ες πάντα επεποίθεσαν. δ δε 'Αντώνιος τάς μέν άρχας εκέλευσε νυκτοφυλακείν την πόλιν, έκ διαστήματος έν μέσω προκαθημένας ώσπερ έν ήμέρα καὶ ήσαν πυραί πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἔθεον ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐς τὰς των βουλευτων οἰκίας οἱ των ἀνδροφόνων οἰκείοι, παρακαλούντες ύπερ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας αντιπαρέθεον δε και οι των κληρούχων ήγεμόνες απειλούντες, εί μή τις αὐτοῖς φυλάξει τας κληρουχίας τας τε ήδη δεδομένας και τας έπηγγελμένας. ήδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ὁ καθαρώτατος λεώς ἀνεθάρρει, την ολιγότητα των δεδρακότων πυθόμενοι καὶ ές μνήμην τοῦ Καίσαρος ύπεφέροντο καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις διηρούντο. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸν 'Αντώνιον μετεκομίζετο, είτε τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὰ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐξ έπικινδύνου τότε οίκίας ές άκινδυνοτέραν την Αντωνίου μεταφερούσης, είτε τοῦ Αντωνίου κελεύσαντος.

#### XVIII

CAP. 126. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων διάγραμμα νυκτὸς ανεγινώσκετο 'Αντωνίον τὴν βουλὴν συγκαλοῦντος ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, ἀγχοτάτω 458

will consider as propitious for the city whatever you CHAP.

may approve in common."

125. Thus did Antony make a safe answer. The messengers returned their thanks and went away full of hope, for they had entire confidence that the Senate would co-operate with them. Antony ordered the magistrates to have the city watched by night, stationing guards at intervals as in the daytime, and there were fires throughout the city. aid the friends of the murderers were enabled to traverse the city the whole night, going to the houses of the senators and beseeching them in behalf of these men and of the republic. On the other hand, the leaders of the colonised soldiers ran about uttering threats in case they should fail to hold the lands set apart, either already assigned or promised to them. And now the more honest citizens began to recover courage when they learned how small was the number of the conspirators, and when they remembered Caesar's merits they became much divided in opinion. That same night Caesar's money and his official papers were transferred to Antony's house, either because Calpurnia thought that they would be safer there or because Antony ordered it.

### XVIII

126. While these things were taking place Antony, CHAP by means of a notice sent round by night, called the Senate to meet before daybreak at the temple

CAP. μάλιστα ον της οἰκίας 'Αντωνίου οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον εθάρρει κατελθείν, υποκείμειον τῶ Καπιτωλίω, τῶν μονομάχων ὄντων ἐκείνοις συνεργών, ούτε στρατιάν έσαγαγών ές την πόλιν διαταράξαι Λέπιδος δὲ όμως εἰσήγαγε. πλησιαζούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οί τε ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ συνέθεον ές τὸ της Γης ιερον και Κίννας ό στρατηγός, αθθις ἐπικείμενος τὴν στρατηγικὴν έσθητα, ην έχθες ώς τυράννου δόντος έξερρίφει. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτόν τινες τῶν ἀδεκάστων καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῶ Καίσαρι, δι' ὀργῆς ἔγοντες ότι πρώτος έπὶ τῶ Καίσαρι, καίπερ οἰκεῖος ὢν αὐτοῦ, βλασφήμως ἐδημηγόρησε, λίθοις ἔβαλλον καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συμφυγόντα, ξύλα συμφέροντες, έμπρήσειν έμελλον, εί μη Λέπιδος μετά στρατιάς ἐπελθών ἐκώλυσε.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἔργον παρρησίας ἢρξεν ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸ κατέδεισαν οἴ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς αὐτοί· 127. ἐν δὲ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ βραχὰ μὲν ἢν τὸ καθαρεῦον σπουδῆς βιαίου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν, οἱ δὲ πλέονες σὺν παρασκευῆ ποικίλη τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις συνήργουν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοπίστως ἢξίουν καὶ παρεῖναι σφίσι καὶ συνεδρεύειν, ἐξ ὑπευθύνων ἐς κριτὰς μεταφέρουτες. καὶ ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος οὐκ ἐκώλυεν, εἰδῶς οὐκ ἐλευσομένους· οὐδὲ ἢλθου. εἶτα ἐπὶ διαπείρα τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μάλα θρασέως τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπήνουν ἄντικρυς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκάλουν τυραννοκτόνους καὶ γεραίρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν γέρα περιήρουν, ὡς οὐδὲ

of Tellus, which was very near his own house, because CHAP. he did not dare to go to the senate-house situated XVIII just below the Capitol, where the gladiators were summons aiding the conspirators, nor did he wish to disturb the Senate the city by bringing in the army. Lepidus, however, did that. As daylight was approaching the senators assembled at the temple of Tellus, including the praetor Cinna, clothed again in the robe of office which he had cast off the previous day as the gift of a tyrant. Some of the unbribed people and some of Caesar's veterans, when they saw him were indignant that he, although a relative of Caesar, should have been the first to slander him in a public speech. threw stones at him, pursued him, and when he had taken refuge in a house brought fagots and were about to set it on fire when Lepidus came up with his soldiers and stopped them.

This was the first decided expression of opinion in Debate on favour of Caesar. The hirelings, and the murderers of Caesar themselves, were alarmed by it. 127. In the Senate, however, only a small number were free from sympathy with the act of violence and indignant at the murder, while most of them sought to aid the murderers in various ways. They proposed first to invite them to be present under a pledge of safety and sit in council with them, thus changing them from criminals to judges. Antony did not oppose this because he knew they would not come; and they did not come. Then, in order to test the feeling of the Senate, some senators extolled the deed openly and without disguise, called the men tyranni-

cides, and proposed that they should be rewarded. Others were opposed to giving rewards, saying that the men did not want them and had not done the

CAP. ἐκείνων δεομένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὰ πραξάντων.
εὐφημεῖν δὲ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐδικαίουν ὡς εὐεργέτας·
οί δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν ὑπανήρουν καὶ φείδεσθαι
μόνον αὐτῶν ἠξίουν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τάδε ἐτέχναζον καὶ περιεώρων, ὅ τι πρώτον αὐτῶν ἐνδεξαμένη μάλιστα ή βουλή πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ κατ' ολίγον εὐεπιχείρητος αύτοις έσοιτο. οί δὲ καθαρώτεροι τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὡς ἄγος ἀπεστρέφουτο, αίδοι δε μεγάλων οίκων περισώζειν αύτους οὐκ ἐκώλυον, ἡγανάκτουν δέ, εἰ καὶ τιμήσουσιν ώς εὐεργέτας. οἱ δὲ ἀντέλεγον μὴ χρῆναι περισώζοντας φθονείν των περισσων ές άσφάλειαν. ώς δέ τις είπε την τούτων τιμην ύβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, οὐκ εἴων ἔτι τὸν τεθνεῶτα τῶν περιόντων προτιθέναι. έτέρου δὲ ἐγκρατῶς εἰπόντος, ὅτι χρὴ δύο τῶνδε πάντως τὸ έτερον, ἢ Καίσαρα τύραννον προαποφαίνειν ή τούτους έξ έλέου περισώζειν. τούτου μόνου δεξάμενοι το λεχθεν οί έτεροι ήτουν σφίσι ψήφον ἀναδοθήναι περί τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ όρκω, καὶ εἰ καθαρώς ἐθέλουσι κρίναι, μηδέν αύτοις επιθεάσαι τὰ εξ ἀνάγκης εψηφισμένα άρχοντι ήδη, ών οὐδὲν έκύντας οὐδὲ πρὶν ἡ δείσαι περί σφων αὐτων. ἀνηρημένου τε Πομπηίου καὶ έπὶ Πομπηίω μυρίων άλλων, ψηφίσασθαι.

128. Ὁ δὲ ἀντώνιος ἐφορῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ

deed for the sake of reward, but claiming that they CHAP, should merely be thanked as public benefactors. XVIII Still others secretly tried to get rid of the vote of thanks and thought that it would be sufficient to

grant them impunity.

Such were the devices to which they resorted, trying to discover which of these courses the Senate would be inclined to accept first, hoping that after a little that body would be more easily led on by them to the other measures. The honester portion revolted at the murder as impious, but out of respect for the distinguished families of the murderers would not oppose the granting of impunity, yet they were indignant at the proposal to honour them as public benefactors. Others argued that if impunity were granted it would not be fitting to refuse the most ample means of safety. When one speaker said that honouring them would be dishonouring Caesar, it was answered that it was not permissible to prefer the interests of the dead to those of the living. Another vigorously put it in the form of a dilemma: they must either decree Caesar a tyrant or protect the murderers as an act of clemency. Caesar's enemies seized upon this last proposition only, and asked that an opportunity be given them of expressing themselves by vote concerning the character of Caesar, under oath, stipulating that, if they voluntarily should give their unbiassed judgment, no one should invoke the gods against them for having previously voted Caesar's decrees under compulsionnever willingly, and never until they were in fear for their own lives, after the death of Pompey and of numberless others besides Pompey.

128. When Antony, who had been looking on

CAP. ἐφεδρεύων, ἐπειδη λόγων ὕλην οὐκ ἄπορον οὐδὲ αναμφίλογον είδεν εσφερομένην, έγνω τὸ ένθύμημα αὐτῶν οἰκείφ φόβφ καὶ φροντίδι περὶ σφων αὐτων διαχέαι. είδως οὖν των βουλευτων αὐτῶν πολὺ πλήθος ἔς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄστει και ές ίερωσύνας και έθνων ή στρατοπέδων ήγεμονίας ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τὸ μέλλον ήρημένους (ώς γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνιον στρατείαν ἐξιὼν ἐπὶ πενταετές ήρητο), σιωπην ώς ύπατος επικηρύξας έφη. " τοις αιτούσι περί Καίσαρος ψήφον ανάγκη τάδε προειδέναι, ότι ἄρχοντος μεν αὐτοῦ καὶ αίρετοῦ προστάτου γενομένου τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δεδογμένα πάντα κύρια μενεί, δόξαντος δ' έπὶ βία τυραννήσαι τό τε σωμι άταφον τής πατρίδος ύπερορίζεται καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα ἀκυροῦται. ἔστι δέ, ώς ὅρφ περιλαβεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν άφικυούμενα γην καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ πολλά αὐτῶν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ήμιν ὑπακούσεται καὶ δείξω μετ' ολίγον. δ δέ έστι μόνον έφ' ήμιν, ότι καὶ περὶ μόνων ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ὑμῖν προθήσω πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ώς ἂν ἐν τῷ εὐμαρεῖ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν δυσχερεστέρων προλάβοιτε. ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ σχεδον απαντες οί μεν ήρξαμεν ύπο τῷ Καίσαρι, οί δὲ ἔτι ἄρχομεν αίρετοί πρὸς ἐκείνου γενόμενοι, οί δὲ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἄρχειν κεχειροτονήμεθα ἐς γὰρ πενταετες, ώς ίστε, καὶ τὰ ἀστικὰ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ έτήσια τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας διετάξατο. εί δή ταῦτα ύμεῖς εκόντες ἀποθήσεσθε (ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς τοῦδε μάλιστα κύριοι), τόδε πρῶτον ύμας άξιω κρίναι και τὰ λοιπὰ ἐποίσω."

129. Ο μεν δή τοιούτον αὐτοῖς οὐ περ

and waiting his turn, saw that a large volume of in-CHAP. contestable argument was being brought forward, XVIII he resolved to make chaos of their logic by exciting personal fear and anxiety for themselves. Knowing that a great number of these very senators had been designated by Caesar for city magistracies, priestly offices, and the command of provinces and armies (for, as he was going on a long expedition, he had appointed them for five years), Antony Antony's cunning proclaimed silence as consul and said: "Those who proposal are asking for a vote on the character of Caesar must first know that if he was a magistrate and if he was an elected ruler of the State all his acts and decrees will remain in full force; but if it is decided that he usurped the government by violence, his body should be cast out unburied and all his acts annulled. These acts, to speak briefly, embrace the whole earth and sea, and most of them will stand whether we like them or not, as I shall presently show. Those things which alone belong to us to consider, because they concern us alone, I will suggest to you first, so that you may gain a conception of the more difficult questions from a consideration of the easier ones. Almost all of us have held office under Caesar; or do so still, having been chosen thereto by him; or will do so soon, having been designated in advance by him; for, as you know, he had disposed of the city offices, the yearly magistracies, and the command of provinces and armies for five years. If you are willing to resign these offices (for this is entirely in your power), I will put that question to you first and then I will take up the remaining ones."

129. Having lighted this kind of firebrand among

CAP. Καίσαρος, άλλὰ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δαλὸν ἐξάψας ήσύχαζεν οί δ' εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων ἀθρόοι μετὰ βοῆς, ούκ άξιούντες έπὶ γειροτονίαις άλλαις οὐδ' έπὶ τω δήμω γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ή βεβαίως έχειν, ὰ έλαβον. τοίς δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας τι νεώτερον ἡ άλλη πρὸς χειροτονίαν εναντίωσις ύποῦσα ἀνηρεθιζε. καὶ τῶνδε αὐτὸς ὁ ὕπατος ἐξῆρχε Δολοβέλλας οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶ δυνατον εφαίνετο κατ' έννομον χειροτονίαν ύπατεύσαι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐνιαυτῶν ὄντι. δη του γθες υποκριναμένου μετασχείν των γεγονότων έγίγνετο μεταβολή, λοιδορουμένου τοῖς πολλοίς, εί τους ανδροφόνους τιμάν αξιούντες τους άργοντας σφών άτιμώσουσιν ές εὐπρέπειαν της έκείνων σωτηρίας. οί δε αὐτόν τε τὸν Δολοβέλλαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπήλπιζον χάριν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ές τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποφανεῖν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ ἀρχόντων ἀλλαγήν, ἀλλὰ μόνης ἔσεσθαι χειροτονίας έπὶ τὸ νομιμώτερον έκ τοῦ μοναρχικοῦ. δ καὶ κόσμον αὐτοῖς οἴσειν ἔν τε μοναρχία καὶ δημοκρατία τὰ όμοια προτιμωμένοις. καὶ τούτων έτι λεγομένων ένιοι των στρατηγών τὰς ἐσθήτας έπὶ ἐνέδρα τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἀπετίθεντο, ώς καὶ αύτοι μετά των άλλων αύτας άντιληψόμενοι νομιμώτερον. τοις δε ή τε ενέδρα κατεφαίνετο, και ούδε κυρίους έτι τησδε της χειροτονίας εσομένους ήδεσαν.

130. \* Ωδε δὲ ἔτι ἐχόντων, ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῆλθον· καὶ γάρ τινες αὐτοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντες ἐκάλουν.

them, not in reference to Caesar, but to them-CHAP. selves, Antony relapsed into silence. They rose XVIII immediately en masse, and with loud clamour protested against new elections or submitting their claims to the people. They preferred to keep a firm hold on what they possessed. Some were opposed to new elections because they were not of lawful age, or from some other unavowed reason, and among these was the consul Dolabella himself, who could not legally stand for an election to that office as he was only twenty-five years old. Although he had pretended yesterday that he had a share in the conspiracy, a sudden change came over him, and now he reviled the majority for seeking to confer honour on murderers and dishonouring their own magistrates under the pretext of securing the safety of the former. Some encouraged Dolabella himself and the other magistrates to believe that they would obtain for them the same positions from the people's gratitude without any change of officers, but simply by the more legal method of election in place of monarchical appointment, and that it would be an additional honour to them to hold the same places under the monarchy and the republic. While these speakers were still talking some of the practors, in order to ensuare the opposing faction, laid aside their robes of office as if they were about to exchange them for a more legal title to their places, in common

130. While affairs were proceeding thus, Antony and Lepidus went out of the Senate, having been called for by a crowd that had been assembling for

with the others; but the others did not fall into the trap. They knew that these men could not control

the future election.

CAP. ώς δὲ ὤφθησαν ἐκ μετεώρου καὶ σιγὴ κεκραγότων μόλις εγίγνετο, είς μέν τις εβόησεν, είτε κατά γνώμην ίδίαν είτε παρεσκευασμένος "φυλάσσεσθε παθείν όμοια." καὶ ὁ ἀντώνιος αὐτῷ παραλύσας τι τοῦ χιτωνίσκου θώρακα ἐντὸς ἐπεδείκνυεν, ύπερεθίζων άρα τοὺς ὁρῶντας ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν σώζεσθαι χωρίς όπλων οὐδε ὑπάτοις. ἐπιβοώντων δ' ἐτέρων το πεπραγμένον επεξιέναι και των πλεόνων περί της είρηνης παρακαλούντων, τοίς μέν περί της είρήνης έφη "περί τούτου σκοποθμέν, ώς έσται τε καὶ γενομένη διαμενεί. δυσεύρετον γὰρ ήδη τὸ άσφαλες αὐτης, ὅτι μηδε Καίσαρα ἄνησαν ὅρκοι τοσοίδε καὶ ἀραί." ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπεξιέναι παρακαλούντας έπιστραφείς έπίνει μέν ώς εὐορκότερα καὶ εὐσεβέστερα αίρουμένους καί "αὐτὸς ἄν," ἔφη, " συνετασσόμην ύμιν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πρώτος ἐβόων, εὶ μὴ ὕπατος ἡν, ὁ τοῦ λεγομένου συμφέρειν μάλλον ή τοῦ δικαίου μέλει ώδε γαρ ήμιν οί ἔνδον παραινοῦσιν. οῦτω δέ που καὶ Καῖσαρ αὐτός, οὺς εἶλε πολέμω τῶν πολιτῶν, διὰ τὸ συμφέρου της πόλεως περισώσας ύπ' αὐτῶν ἀπέθανε."

131. Τοιαθτα τοθ Αντωνίου παρὰ μέρος τεχνάζοντος οἱ ἀμύνειν τοθς γεγονόσιν ἀξιοθντες Λέπιδον
ἢξίουν ἀμύνειν. Λεπίδου δέ τι μέλλοντος λέγειν,
οἱ πόρρω συνεστῶτες κατελθεθν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν
ἀγορὰν ἢξίουν, ἵνα ὁμαλῶς ἄπαντες ἐπακούσειαν.
καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἤει, νομίζων ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα παρελθων ἔστενε καὶ
ἔκλαιεν ἐν περιόπτω μέχρι πολλοθ, ἀνενεγκων δέ

some time. When they were perceived in an CHAP. elevated place, and the shouters had been with diffi- XVIII culty silenced, one of the mob, either of his own volition or because he was prompted, called out, "Have a care lest you suffer a like fate." loosened his tunic and showed him a coat-of-mail inside, thus exciting the beholders, as though it were impossible even for consuls to be safe without arms. Some cried out that the deed must be avenged, but a greater number demanded peace. To those who called for peace Antony said, "That is what we are striving for, that it may come and be permanent, but it is hard to get security for it when so many oaths and solemnities were of no avail in the case of Caesar." Then, turning to those who demanded vengeance, he praised them as more observant of the obligations of oaths and religion, and added, "I myself would join you and would be the first to call for vengeance if I were not the consul, who must care for what is said to be for the common good rather than for what is just. So these people who are inside tell us. So Caesar himself perhaps thought when, for the good of the country, he spared those citizens whom he captured in war, and was slain by them."

131. When Antony had in this way worked upon both parties by turns, those who wanted to have vengeance on the murderers asked Lepidus to execute it. As Lepidus was about to speak those who were standing at a distance asked him to come down to the forum where all could hear him equally well. So he went directly there, thinking that the crowd was now changing its mind, and when he had taken his place on the rostra he groaned and wept in plain sight for some time. Then recovering himself, he

CAP. ποτε εἶπεν· '' ἐνταῦθα χθὲς μετὰ Καίσαρος ἰστάμην, ένθα νῦν ἀναγκάζομαι ζητεῖν περὶ Καίσαρος άνηρημένου, τί βούλεσθε." άναβοησάντων δέ πολλών " ἀμύνειν σε τῷ Καίσαρι," ἀντανεβόησαν οί μισθωτοί. "την είρηνην τη πόλει." ό δὲ τούτοις μεν έφη· "βουλόμεθα. άλλα ποίαν λέγετε εἰρήνην; ή ποίοις όρκοις ἀσφαλής ἔσται; τοὺς μέν γὰρ πατρίους πάντας ώμόσαμεν Καίσαρι καὶ κατεπατήσαμεν, οί των ομωμοκότων άριστοι είναι λεγόμενοι." προς δε τους αμύνειν αξιούντας έπιστραφείς "ὁ μὲν Καΐσαρ ἡμῶν," ἔφη, "μεθέστηκεν, ίερος τω όντι καὶ τίμιος ἀνήρ, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τοὺς ύπολοίπους αιδούμεθα βλάψαι. και τάδε," έφη, " σκοπούσιν ήμων οί πρόβουλοι, καὶ δοκεί τοίς πλέοσιν." ἀνακραγόντων δὲ αὖθις: "ἐπέξιθι μόνος." " βούλομαι," εἶπε, "καὶ εἴορκόν ἐστί μοι καὶ μόνω. άλλ' οὐκ ἐμὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς βούλεσθαι δεῖ μόνους οὐδὲ μόνους ἀντιτιθέναι."

132. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῦτον τεχνάζοντα οἱ μισθωτοὶ φιλότιμον εἰδότες ἐπήνουν καὶ ἡροῦντο ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἱερωσύνην. τοῦ δὲ ἤψατο μὲν ἡ ἡδονή, "μέμνησθε," δὲ ἔφη, "μοι τοῦδε καὶ ὕστερον, ἂν ἄξιος εἰναι δοκῶ." μᾶλλον οῦν ἔτι παρρησία διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν μισθωτῶν ἐνισταμένων, "ἀσεβὲς μέν," ἔφη, "καὶ παράνομον, ἐργάσομαι δὲ ὅμως, ὁ βούλεσθε." καὶ εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνέτρεχεν, ἐν ῷ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ὁ Δολοβέλλας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνίστατο

said, "Yesterday I stood with Caesar here, where CHAP. now I am compelled to ask what you wish me to do A speech of about Caesar's murder." Many cried out, "Avenge Lepidus Caesar." The hirelings shouted on the other side. "Peace for the republic." To the latter he replied, "Agreed, but what kind of a peace do you mean? By what sort of oaths shall it be confirmed? We all swore the national oaths to Caesar and we have trampled on them-we who are considered the most distinguished of the oath-takers." Then, turning to those who called for vengeance, he said, "Caesar, that truly sacred and revered man, has gone from us, but we hesitate to deprive the republic of those who still remain. Our senators," he added, "are considering these matters, and this is the opinion of the majority." They shouted again, "Avenge him yourself." "I should like to," he replied, "and my oath permits me to do it even alone, but it is not fitting that you and I alone should wish it, or alone refuse

132. While Lepidus was employing such devices the hirelings, who knew that he was ambitious, praised him and offered him Caesar's place as pontifex maximus. He was delighted. "Mention this to me later," he said, "if you consider ne worthy of it," whereupon the hirelings, encouraged by their offer of the priesthood, insisted still more strongly on peace. "Although it is contrary to religion and law," he said, "I will do what you wish." So saying he returned to the Senate, where Dolabella had consumed all the intervening time in unseemly talk about his own office. Antony, who

CAP ἀσχημόνως. καὶ ὁ ἀΑντώνιος, ἀναμένων ἄμα τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῷ γιγνόμενα, σὺν γέλωτι αὐτὸν ἐφεώρα· καὶ γὰρ ἤστην διαφόρω. ὡς δὲ ἄλις ἔσχε τῆς ὄψεως καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ δήμῷ τι γεγένητο θερμότερον, τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἔγνω περισῷζειν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ὡς ἐν βαρυτάτη χάριτι περισῷζων, τὰ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα κυροῦν συμβόλῷ καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα συντελεῦν.

133. Σιωπήν τε κατακηρύξας αδθις έλεγεν. " έγω περί μεν των άμαρτόντων πολιτών, ω άνδρες ομότιμοι, σκεπτομένοις υμίν οὐδεν επεφθεγγόμην περί δὲ Καίσαρος ἀντ' ἐκείνων ψῆφον αίτουσιν εν έκ των Καίσαρος έργων προύθηκα μέχρι νθν, καὶ τοσούτους ήμιν τὸ ἐν ἀγῶνας ήγειρεν, οὐκ ἀλόγως εἰ γὰρ ἀποθησόμεθα τὰς άρχάς, ομολογήσομεν άνδρες τοσοίδε καὶ τοιοίδε αναξίως αὐτῶν τετυχηκέναι. ὅσα δ' οὖν μηδὲ έπακούσεται ραδίως, επισκέψασθε νῦν αὐτὰ καὶ συναριθμείτε κατά τε πόλεις καὶ κατὰ έθνη καὶ βασιλέας καὶ δυνάστας. πάντα γὰρ δὴ σχεδὸν είπειν, όσα έξ ηους έπι δύσιν ο Καίσαρ ημίν έχειρώσατο δυνάμει καὶ κράτει, συνεστήσατο, νόμοις καὶ χάρισι καὶ φιλανθρωπίαις βεβαιωσάμενος. ων τίνας ύποστήσεσθαι δοκείτε άφαιρουμένους, α έλαβον, εί μὴ πάντα ἐμπλῆσαι πολέμων ἐθέλετε, οὶ τῆ πατρίδι ώς ἀσθενεστάτη μάλιστα ούση τοὺς έναγείς περισώζειν άξιοῦτε;

" Καὶ τὰ μὲν πορρωτέρω τοῖς τε δεινοῖς ἔτι καὶ τοῖς φόβοις ἀφεστηκότα ἐάσω ὰ δὲ οὐκ ἀγχοῦ μόνον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ σύνοικα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτήν, τοὺς τὰ νικητήρια λαβόντας καὶ κατὰ

was waiting to see what the people would do, looked CHAP, at Dolabella with derision, for the two were at XVIII variance with each other. After enjoying the spectacle sufficiently and perceiving that the people had not done anything rashly, he decided, under compulsion, to extend protection to the murderers (concealing the necessity, however, and pretending to act in this way as a matter of the greatest favour). and at the same time to have Caesar's acts ratified and his plans carried into effect by common agreement.

133. Accordingly he commanded silence again and Antony spoke as follows: "While you, my compeers, have been addresses the Senate considering the case of the offending citizens, I have not joined in the debate. When you called for a vote on Caesar instead of on them, I had brought forward. until this moment, only one of Caesar's acts. This one threw you into these many present controversies, and not without reason, for if we resign our offices we shall confess that we (so many and of such high rank as we are) came by them undeservedly. Consider the matters that cannot be easily controlled by us. Reckon them up by cities and provinces, by kings and princes. Almost all of these, from the rising to the setting sun, Caesar either subdued for us by force and arms, or organised by his laws, or confirmed in their allegiance by his favours and kindness. Which of these powers do you think will consent to be deprived of what they have received, unless you mean to fill the world with new warsyou who propose to spare these wretches for the sake of your exhausted country?

"But, omitting the more distant dangers and apprehensions, we have others not only near at hand, but even of our own household throughout Italy itselfmen who, after receiving the rewards of victory, are

CAP. πλήθος άμα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὡς ἐστρατεύοντο, ὑπὸ xviii τῆ αὐτῆ συντάξει συνωκισμένους ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ὡν ἔτι πολλαὶ μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῆ πόλει, τί νομίζετε πράξειν ἀφαιρουμένους, ὡν εἰλήφασιν ἢ προσδοκῶσι λήψεσθαι πόλεων τε καὶ χωρίων; καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ παρελθοῦσα νὺξ τὴν

εἰκόνα ἔδειξε.

134. " Δεομένοις γαρ ύμιν ύπερ των άμαρτόντων άντιπαρέθεον έκεῖνοι μετὰ ἀπειλης τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος συρόμενον καὶ αἰκιζόμενον καὶ άταφον ριπτούμενον (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοίς τυράννοις επιτέτακται) περιόψεσθαι νομίζετε τούς ἐστρατευμένους αὐτῷ; καὶ τὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανών νομιείν, à είλήφασιν, έξειν βέβαια τοῦ δόντος ὑβριζομένου; τί δὲ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν έργάσεσθαι; τί δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας; πόσον δὲ ύμιν έσεσθαι φθόνον παρά τε άνδρων καὶ θεων, ένυβρίζουσιν ές τον υμίν την ήγεμονίαν μέχρις ώκεανού, έπὶ την άγνωστον προαγαγόντα: καὶ ούκ ἐν αἰτία καὶ καταγνώσει μᾶλλον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοσήνδε ήμων ἀνωμαλίαν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν ὕπατον ἐν βουλευτηρίω καὶ ίερον ἄνδρα ἐν ίερω γωρίω. βουλής αγηγερμένης, ύπὸ όψεσι θεών κατακανόντας τιμάν άξιώσομεν, άτιμοῦν δὲ τὸν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δι' άρετην τίμιον; τούτων μέν οθν ώς ούτε οσίων ούτε έφ' ήμιν όντων προλέγω πάμπαν ἀπέχεσθαι γνώμην δὲ ἐσφέρω τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα καὶ βεβουλευμένα τῷ Καίσαρι πάντα κυροῦν, τούς δὲ άμαρτόντας ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπω (οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον οὐδὲ δίκαιον, οὐδὲ σύμφωνον ἔτι τῶ κυροῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα), περισώζειν δὲ ἐξ έλέου μόνον, εὶ ἐθέλοιτε, διὰ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν

here in great numbers with arms in their hands just CHAP. as when on service, men assigned to colonies in their old organisation by Caesar (many thousands of whom are still in the city), and what think you they will do if they are deprived of what they have received, or expect to receive, in town and country?

The past night showed you a sample.

134. "They were coursing the streets with threats against you who were supplicating in behalf of the murderers; and do you think that Caesar's fellowsoldiers will overlook his body being dragged through the streets, dishonoured, and cast out unburied? For our laws prescribe such treatment for tyrants. Will they consider the rewards they have received for their victories in Gaul and Britain secure, when he who gave them is treated with contumely? What will the Roman people themselves do? What the Italians? What ill-will of gods and men will attend you if you put ignominy upon one who advanced your dominion to shores of the ocean hitherto unknown? Will not such inconsistency on our part be rather held in reprobation and condemnation if we vote to confer honour on those who have slain a consul in the senate-house, an inviolable man in an inviolable place, in full senate, under the eyes of the gods, and if we dishonour one whom even our enemies honour for his bravery? I warn you to abstain from these proceedings as sacrilegious and beyond our power. I move that all the acts and intentions of Caesar be ratified and that the authors of the crime be by no means applauded (for that would be neither pious, nor just, nor consistent with the ratification of Caesar's acts), but be spared, if you please, as an act of clemency only, for the sake of their families and

CAP. καὶ φίλους, εἰ δὴ καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ οἴδε λαμβάνειν ΥΝΙΙΙ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμολογοῖεν ἐν χάριτος μέρει."

135. Τοιαθτα εἰπόντος τοθ 'Αντωνίου σύν ἀνατάσει τε καὶ όρμη βαρυτέρα, γίγνεται δόγμα, ήσυγαζόντων ήδη καὶ άγηπώντων άπάντων, φόνου μέν ούκ είναι δίκας έπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, κύρια δὲ είναι τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ἐγνωσμένα, "ἐπεὶ τη πόλει συμφέρει." έβιάσαντο γάρ τόδε ές ασφάλειαν οι των περισφζομένων οίκειοι προστεθήναι μάλιστα, ώς οὐ δικαίως φυλασσόμενα μάλλον ή διὰ χρείαν, καὶ ὁ ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ές τούτο ἐνέδωκεν. ἐψηφισμένων δὲ τούτων, όσοι των κληρούχων ήγεμόνες ήσαν, ήξίουν ίδιον περί σφων έπι τω κοινώ δόγμα έτερον γενέσθαι, βεβαιούν αὐτών τὰς κληρουχίας. καὶ οὐκ έκώλυεν ό 'Αντώνιος, ἐπιδεικνύς τῆ βουλή τὸν φόβον. γίγνεται μεν δή καὶ τοῦτο καὶ έτερον αὖ περὶ τῶν ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ὅμοιον. Λεύκιον δὲ Πείσωνα, ὅτω τὰς διαθήκας ὁ Καῖσαρ παρετίθετο, τοῦτον ήδη τὸν τρόπον τῆς βουλῆς διαλελυμένης τινές περιστάντες παρεκάλουν μήτε τὰς διαθήκας προφέρειν μήτε θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα φανερώς, μή τι νεώτερον έτερον έκ τούτων γένοιτο. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον ἡπείλουν ἐσαγγέλλειν, ὅτι τὸν δημον οὐσίαν τηλικαύτην ἀφαιροῖτο γιγνομένην κοινήν, αθθις άρα ένσημαινόμενοι την τυραννίδα.

friends, if the latter will accept it in this sense in CHAP. behalf of the murderers and acknowledge it in the XVIII

light of a favour."

135. When Antony had said these things with Decrees of intense feeling and impetuosity, all the others re-the Senate maining silent and agreeing, a decree was passed: that there should be no prosecution for the murder of Caesar, but all his acts and decrees should be confirmed, "because this policy is advantageous to the commonwealth." The friends of the murderers insisted that those last words should be added for their security, implying that Caesar's acts were confirmed as a measure of utility and not of justice; and in this matter Antony yielded to them. When this decree had been voted the leaders of the colonists who were present asked for another act special to themselves, in addition to the general one, in order to secure them in possession of their colonies. Antony did not oppose this, but rather intimidated the Senate into passing it. So this was adopted, and another like it concerning the colonists who had been already sent out. The Senate was thereupon dismissed, and a number of senators collected around Lucius Piso, whom Caesar had made the custodian of his will, and urged him not to make the will public, and not to give the body a public funeral, lest some new disturbance should arise therefrom. As he would not yield they threatened him with a public prosecution for defrauding the people of such an amount of wealth which ought to go into the public treasury; thus giving new signs that they were suspicious of a tyranny.

#### XIX

CAP. 136. Ἐκβοήσας οὖν ὁ Πείσων ὅτι μέγιστων καὶ τούς υπάτους έτι παρουσάν οί την βουλην άξιώσας συναγαγείν, είπεν "οί τύραννον λέγοντες ένα άνηρηκέναι τοσοίδε ήμων άνθ' ένδς ήδη τυραννοῦσιν· οὶ θάπτειν με κωλύουσι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τάς διαθήκας ἀπειλοῦσι προφέροντι καὶ τὴν ούσίαν δημεύουσιν αθθις ώς τυράννου, καὶ τὰ μέν έπὶ τούτοις αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα κεκύρωται ά δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶ κατέλιπεν, ἀκυροῦσιν, οὐ Βροῦτος έτι οὐδὲ Κάσσιος, ἀλλ' οἱ κάκείνους ἐς τόνδε τὸν όλεθρον εκριπίσαντες. της μεν οθν ταφης ύμεις έστε κύριοι, των δε διαθηκών εγώ και ούποτε α έπιστεύθην προδώσω, πρίν καμέ τις έπανέλη." θορύβου δὲ καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως γενομένης παρὰ πάντων, καὶ μάλιστα των τι καὶ ἐλπιζόντων ἐκ των διαθηκών αύτοις έσεσθαι, τάς τε διαθήκας ές τὸ μέσον ἔδοξε προφέρειν καὶ θάπτειν τὸν ἄνδρα δημοσία. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ή βουλή διελύθη.

137. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος περιέπεμπον καὶ παρεκάλουν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. συνδραμόντων δὲ ὀξέως πολλῶν ὁ Βροῦτος ἔλεγεν " ἐνταῦθα ὑμῖν ἐντυγχάνομεν, ὡ πολῖται, οἱ χθὲς κατ ἀγορὰν ἐντυχόντες, οὕτε ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγύντες (οὐ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν) οὕτε ὡς ἐπὶ κρημνόν, οἱ τὰ καθ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπομεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλὰ τὸ

#### XIX

136. THEN Piso called out with a loud voice and CHAP. demanded that the consuls should reconvene the senators, who were still present, which was done, and then he said: "These men who talk of having killed a tyrant are already so many tyrants over us in place of one. They forbid me to bury the Pontifex Maximus and they threaten me when I produce his will. Moreover, they intend to confiscate his property as that of a tyrant. They have ratified Caesar's acts as regards themselves, but they annul those which relate to himself. It is no longer Brutus or Cassius who do this, but those who instigated them to the murder. Of his burial you are the masters. Of his will I am, and never will I betray what has been entrusted to me unless somebody kills me also." This speech excited clamour and indignation on all sides, and especially among those who hoped that they should obtain something from the will. It was finally decreed that the will should be read in public and that Caesar should have a public funeral. Thereupon the Senate adjourned.

137. When Brutus and Cassius learned what had been done they sent messengers to the plebeians, addresses whom they invited to come up to them at the Capitol. Presently a large number came together and Brutus addressed them as follows: "Here, citizens, we meet you, we who yesterday met together with you in the forum. We have come hither, not as taking refuge in a sanctuary (for we have done nothing wrong), nor in a citadel (for as regards our own affairs we entrust ourselves to

XIX Piso calls for the reading of Caesar's

the people

CAP. Κίννα πάθος, ὀξύτερόν τε καὶ ἀλογώτερον αὐτῶ γενόμενον, ούτως ηνάγκασεν. ησθόμην δὲ τῶν έγθρων διαβαλλόντων ήμας ές έπιορκίαν καὶ ές αίτίαν ἀπορίας εἰρήνης ἀσφαλούς. ά δη περί τούτων έχομεν είπειν, έν ύμιν έρουμεν, ώ πολίται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τάλλα δημοκρατουμένων πράξομεν. έπειδή Γάιος Καΐσαρ έκ Γαλατίας έπὶ τήν πατρίδα ήλασε σύν ὅπλοις πολεμίοις καὶ Πομπήιος μέν ο δημοκρατικώτατος ύμων έπαθεν, οία ἔπαθεν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῶ πληθος ἄλλο πολιτῶν άγαθων ές τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν έλαυνόμενοι διωλώλεσαν, εἰκότως αὐτῶ δεδιότι καὶ βέβαιον έχοντι την τυραννίδα άμνηστίαν αιτούντι έδομεν καὶ ωμόσαμεν ύπερ αυτής. εί δε ήμιν ομνύναι προσέταττεν ου τὰ παρελθόντα μόνον οἰσειν έγκρατως, άλλα δουλεύσειν ές το μέλλον έκοντας, τί αν έπραξαν οι νυν επιβουλεύοντες ημίν: ενώ μέν γὰρ ὄντας γε Ῥωμαίους οἶμαι πολλάκις άποθανείν αν ελέσθαι μαλλον ή δουλεύειν εκόντας έπὶ ὅρκω.

138. Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν ἔτι εἰς δουλείαν εἰργάζετο ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπιωρκήσαμεν εἰ δὲ οὔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄστει οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας οὔτε στρατείας ἢ ἱερωσύνας ἢ κληρουχίας ἢ τιμὰς ἄλλας ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν οὐδὲ προεβούλευεν ἡ βουλὴ περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου, ἀλλὰ πάνθὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἢν ἄπασιν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος καὶ οὐδὲ κόρος αὐτῷ τοῦ κακοῦ τις ἐγίγνετο, οἶος ἐγένετο Σύλλα, ἀλλὶ ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθελὼν ἀπέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν πολιτείαν, ὁ δὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλην στρατείαν χρόνιον

you), but the sudden and unexpected attack made CHAP. upon Cinna compelled us to do so. I know that our enemies accuse us of perjury and say that we render a lasting peace difficult. What we have to reply to these accusations we will say in your presence, citizens, with whom in this as in all other respects enjoying democratic government, we shall act. After Gains Caesar advanced from Gaul with hostile arms against his country, and Pompey, the strongest supporters of democracy among you, suffered as he did, and after him a great number of other good citizens, who had been driven into Africa and Spain, had perished, Caesar was naturally apprehensive, although his power was firmly entrenched, and we granted him amnesty at his request and confirmed it by oath. If he had required us to swear not only to condone the past, but to be willing slaves for the future, what would our present enemies have done? For my part I think that, being Romans, they would have chosen to die many times rather than take an oath of voluntary servitude.

138. "If Caesar was doing no more against your liberty then are we perjured. But if he restored to you neither the magistracies of the city nor those of the provinces, neither the command of armies, the priestly offices, the leadership of colonies, nor any other posts of honour; if he neither consulted the Senate about anything nor asked the authority of the people, but if Caesar's command was all in all; if he was not even ever satiated with our misfortunes as Sulla was (for Sulla, when he had destroyed his enemies, restored to you the government of the commonwealth, but Caesar, as he was going away for another long military expedition, anticipated by his

CAP. ἀπιὼν ἐς πενταετὲς ὑμῶν τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια προεΧίν λάμβανε, ποία ταῦτα ἢν ἐλευθερία, ἢς οὐδ' ἐλπὶς 
ὑπεφαίνετο ἔτι; τί δὲ οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται 
Καισήτιος καὶ Μάρυλλος; οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον 
ἄρχοντες ἀρχὴν ἐξηλαύνοντο σὺν ὕβρει; καὶ ὁ 
μὲν νόμος ὁ τῶν προγόνων καὶ ὁ ὅρκος οὐδ' 
ἐπάγεσθαι δίκην ἔτι οὖσι δημάρχοις ἐπιτρέπουσιν· 
ὁ δὲ Καῦσαρ αὐτοὺς ἐξήλασεν, οὐδὲ δίκην ἐπαγαγών.

"Πότεροι οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀσύλους ἡμάρτανον; ἢ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος, ὅτῷ ταῦτα οὐχ ἑκόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὐδὲ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σὺν ὅπλοις καὶ τοσούσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἀγαθοὺς πολίτας κατακανεῖν, ἐθέμεθα· τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν δημοκρατία χωρὶς ἀνάγκης ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἐπηράσαντο ἐς ἀεὶ ἔσεσθαι; ποῦ δὲ οἱ φόροι τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ λογισμοὶ συνεφέροντο; τίς δ' ἡμῶν ἀκόντων ἥνοιγε τὰ ταμιεῖα; τίς τῶν ἀψαύστων καὶ ἐπαράτων ἐκίνει χρημάτων καὶ ἐτέρῷ δημάρχῷ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἤπείλει;

"139. 'Αλλὰ τίς, φασίν, ἔτι ὅρκος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν εἰρήνης ἄν γένοιτο; εἰ μὲν οὐ τυραννήσει τις, οὐδὲ ὅρκων δεῖ οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἐδέησεν οὐδέποτε· εἰ δ' ἐπιθυμήσει τις ἄλλος τυραννίδος, οὐδὲν πιστόν ἐστι 'Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τύραννον οὐδ' εὔορκον. καὶ τάδε προλέγομεν ἔτι ὄντες ὑπὸ τῷ κινδύνῷ καὶ προεροῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεί· καὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τιμῆ παρὰ Καίσαρι τὴν

appointments your elections for five years), what CHAP. sort of freedom was this in which not a ray of hope COULD be any longer discerned? What shall I say of the defenders of the people, Caesetius and Marullus? Were not the holders of a sacred and inviolable office ignominiously banished? Although the law and the oath prescribed by our ancestors forbid calling the tribunes to account during their term of office, Caesar banished them even without a trial.

"Have we then, or has he, done violence to inviolable persons? Or shall Caesar indeed be sacred and inviolable, upon whom we conferred that distinction not of our own free will, but by compulsion, and not until he had invaded his country with arms and killed a great number of our noblest and best citizens, whereas our fathers in a democracy and without compulsion took an oath that the office of tribune should be sacred and inviolable, and declare with maledictions that it should remain so for ever? What has become of the public tribute during his supremacy? What of the accounts? Who opened the public treasury without our consent? Who laid hands upon part of the consecrated money? Who threatened with death another tribune who opposed him?

139. "'But what kind of oath after this will be a guarantee of peace?' they ask. If there is no tyrant there will be no need of oaths. Our fathers never needed any. If anybody else seeks to establish tyranny, no faith, no oath, will ever bind Romans to the tyrant. This we say, while still in danger; this we will continue to say for ever for our country's sake. We, who held places of honour securely in the suite of Caesar, had a higher regard for our

CAP. πατρίδα τῆς ἡμετέρας τιμῆς προετιμήσαμεν. διαβάλλουσι δ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κληρουχίαις, ἐρεθίζοντες ὑμᾶς. εἰ δή τινες τῶν ὠκισμένων ἡ οἰκισθησομένων πάρεστε, χαρίσασθέ μοι καὶ ἐπισημήνασθε ἑαυτούς."

140. Έπισημηναμένων δὲ πολλῶν "εῦ γε," είπεν, " ω άνδρες, τοις άλλοις εποιήσατε συνελθόντες. χρη δε ύμας, τὰ εἰκότα τιμωμένους τε καὶ περιποιουμένους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ ἴσα την έκπέμπουσαν αντιγεραίρειν. ύμας δε ό δήμος έδωκεν έπὶ Κελτούς καὶ Βρεττανούς τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ ἀριστεύοντας ἔδει τιμῶν καὶ άριστείων τυχείν. ὁ δὲ ύμᾶς τοῖς ὅρκοις προλαβών ἐπήγαγε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν μάλ' άβουλούντας, ἐπήγαγε δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν πολιτων ές Λιβύην οκνούντας ομοίως. εί μην δε μόνα ταθτα υμίν ἐπέπρακτο, ήδεῖσθε αν ἴσως ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αίτειν άριστεία έπει δε ούδεις φθόνος ή χρόνος ή ανθρωπίνη λήθη τὰ ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοίς ύμων έργα σβέσει, ύπερ τούτων ύμιν έστι τὰ ἀριστεῖα α καὶ τοῖς πάλαι στρατευομένοις ο δήμος εδίδου, οἰκείων μεν ἀνδρων ή ἀναμαρτήτων ού ποτε γην άφαιρούμενος οὐδ' έτέροις έπινέμων τὰ άλλότρια οὐδ' ἡγούμενος δείν άμείβεσθαι δι' άδικημάτων.

"Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅτε κρατήσαιεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἄπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀφηροῦντο, ἀλλὰ ἐμερίζοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέρος ἄκιζον τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους, φύλακας εἶναι τῶν πεπολεμηκότων καὶ οὐκ ἀρκούσης ἐνίστε τῆς δορικτήτου γῆς καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν

country than for our offices. They slander us about CMAP. the colonies and so excite you against us. If there XIX are any present who have been settled in colonies, or are about to be settled, you will gratify me by making yourselves known."

140. A large number did so, whereupon Brutus continued, "It is a good thing, my men, that you have done to come here with the others. You ought, since you receive due honours and bounties from your country, to give equal honour in return to her who sends you forth. The Roman people gave you to Caesar to fight against the Gauls and Britons, and your valiant deeds call for recognition and recompense. But Caesar, taking advantage of your military oath, led you against your country much against your desire. He led you against our best citizens in Africa, in like manner against your will. If this were all that you had done you would perhaps be ashamed to ask reward for such exploits, but since neither envy, nor time, nor the forgetfulness of men can extinguish the glory of your deeds in Gaul and Britain, you have the rewards due to them, such as the people gave to those who served in the army of old, yet not by taking land from unoffending fellow-citizens, nor by dividing other people's property with newcomers, nor by considering it proper to requite services by means of acts of injustice.

"When our ancestors overcame their enemies they did not take from them all their land. They shared it with them and colonized a portion of it with Roman soldiers, who were to serve as guards over the vanquished. If the conquered territory was not sufficient for the colonies, they added some of the public domain or bought other land with the public

CAP. ἐπένεμον ἡ ἐωνοῦντο ἐτέραν. οὕτω μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνώκιζεν ἀλύπως ἄπασι· Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ, οἱ σὺν ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐμβαλόντες, ἐπὶ αὐτῆ τῆ πατρίδι φρουρῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δεόμενοι, οὔτε διέλυσαν ὑμᾶς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, οὔτε γῆν ὑμῖν ἐωνοῦντο ἢ τὴν τῶν δεδημευμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐπένεμον, οὔτε τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀφαιρουμένοις ἐς παρηγορίαν ἐδίδοσαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ταμιείων ἔχοντες, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δεδημευμένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἱταλίαν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτοῦσαν οὐδὲ ἀδικοῦσαν πολέμου νόμφ καὶ ληστηρίου νόμφ τήν τε γῆν ἀφηροῦντο καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τάφους καὶ ἱερά, ὧν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πολεμίους ἀφηρούμεθα, ἀλλὰ δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν.

141. "Οί δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὁμοεθνῶν διένεμον, τῶν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάντων καὶ προπεμψάντων καὶ εὐξαμένων πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων νικητηρίων. καὶ συνῷκιζον ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀθρόους ὑπὸ σημείοις καὶ συντάξει στρατιωτικῆ, μήτε εἰρηνεύειν δυναμένους μήτε ἀδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἐξελαθέντων ὁ γὰρ ἀλώμενος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀφηρημένος ἔμελλεν ὑμῖν περιπολῶν ἐφεδρεύειν καιροφυλακῶν. τοῦτο δ' ἢν, ὅπερ οἱ τύραννοι μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο, οὐ γῆν ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν, ἡν δὴ καὶ ἑτέρωθεν εἶχον παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐχθροὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔχοντες ἀεὶ βέβαιοι φύλακες ἢτε τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ταῦτα ὑμῖν συναδικούσης· εὔνοια γὰρ ἐς τυράννους γίγνεται

money. In this way the people established you in CHAP. colonies without harm to anybody. But Sulla and Caesar, who invaded their country like a foreign land, and needed guards and garrisons against their own country, did not dismiss you to your homes, nor buy land for you, nor divide among you the property of citizens which they confiscated, nor did they make compensation for the relief of those who were despoiled, although those who despoiled them had plenty of money from the treasury and plenty from confiscated estates. By the law of war,—nay, by the practice of robbery,—they took from Italians who had committed no offence, who had done no wrong, their land and houses, tombs and temples, which we were not accustomed to take away even from foreign enemies, but merely to impose on them a tenth of their produce by way of tax.

141. "They divided among you the property of your own people, the very men who sent you with Caesar to the Gallic war, and who offered up their prayers at your festival of victory. They colonized you in that way collectively, under your standards and in your military organization, so that you could neither enjoy peace nor be free from fear of those whom you displaced. The man who was driven out and deprived of his goods was sure to be watching his opportunity to step into your shoes. This was the very thing that the tyrants sought to accomplish,not to provide you with land, which they could have obtained for you elsewhere; but that you, because always beset by lurking enemies, might be the firm bulwark of a government that was committing wrongs in common with you. A common interest between tyrants and their satellites grows out of

CAP. δορυφόρων ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν καὶ συνδεδιέναι. καὶ τοῦτο, ὧ θεοί, συνοικισμὸν ἐκάλουν, ὧ θρῆνος όμοφύλων ἀνδρῶν ἐπῆν καὶ ἀνάστασις οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων.

" 'Αλλ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ύμᾶς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐχθρούς έποίουν τοις όμοεθνέσιν ύπερ του σφετέρου συμ-Φέροντος ήμεις δέ, ούς οι νύν της πατρίδος προστάται φασίν έλέω περισώζειν, τήν τε γην ύμιν τήνδε αὐτην ἐσαεὶ βεβαιούμεν καὶ βεβαιώσομεν καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν τῶνδε ποιούμεθα. καὶ έχετε καὶ έξετε, ὰ εἰλήφατε καὶ οὐ μή τις ύμας άφέληται ταθτα, οὐ Βροθτος, οὐ Κάσσιος, ούχ οίδε πάντες, οὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας προεκινδυνεύσαμεν. δ δ' έν τῷ ἔργῷ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπίμεμπτον, ἰασόμεθα ήμεῖς, διαλλακτήριον ύμιν άμα ές τους όμοεθνείς έσόμενον καὶ ήδιστον ήδη πυθομένοις. οίς την τιμήν τησδε της γης τοίς άφηρημένοις ήμεις έκ των δημοσίων χρημάτων εὐθύς ἐκ πρώτης ἀφορμῆς ἀποδώσομεν, ἵνα μὴ βέβαιον έχητε μόνον ύμεις την κληρουχίαν, άλλα καὶ ἄφθονον."

142. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βρούτου λέγοντος ἀκροώμενοι τε ἔτι πάντες καὶ διαλυόμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπήνουν ὡς δικαιότατα, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀκαταπλήκτους δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδήμους ἐν θαύματι ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ἐς εὔνοιαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετετίθεντο καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν αὐτοῦς συμπράξειν ἔμελλον. ἄμα δὲ ἡμέρα οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὸ πλ θος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν, καὶ ἀνεγινώσκετο αὐτοῦς τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ Κικέρων πολὺ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγκώμιον ἐπέλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ἡδόμενοι κατεκάλουν ἐκ τοῦ

common crimes and common fears. And this, ye CHAP. gods, they called colonization, which was crowned by XIX the lamentations of a kindred people and the expulsion of innocent men from their homes.

"They purposely made you enemies to your countrymen for their own advantage. We, the defenders of the republic, to whom our opponents say they grant safety out of pity, confirm this very same land to you and will confirm it for ever; and to this promise we call to witness the god of this temple. You have and shall keep what you have received. No man assuredly shall take it from you, neither Brutus, nor Cassius, nor any of us who have incurred danger for your freedom. The one thing which is faulty in this business we will remedy, and that remedy will at once reconcile you with your fellowcountrymen and prove most agreeable to them as soon as they hear of it. We shall at once pay them out of the public money the price of this land of which they have been deprived; so that not only shall your colony be secure, but it shall not even be exposed to hatred."

142. While Brutus was still speaking in this sort, His speech and as the assembly dissolved, his discourse was applauded approved by all as being entirely just. He and his associates were admired as men of intrepidity, and as peculiarly the friends of the people. The latter were once more favourably inclined toward them, and promised to co-operate with them on the following day. At daybreak the consuls called the people to an assembly and communicated to them the decisions of the Senate, and Cicero pronounced a long encomium on the decree of amnesty. The people were de-lighted with it and invited Cassius and his friends to

CAP. ἱεροῦ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον. καὶ οἴδε ἀναπέμπειν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοσῷδε ὅμηρα ἐκέλευον, καὶ ἀνεπέμποντο οἱ παῖδες ᾿Αντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου. ὀφθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον κρότος ἢν καὶ βοή, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰπεῖν τι βουλομένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι δεξιώσασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλαγἢναι πρότερον ἐκέλευον. καὶ γίγνεται μὲν οὕτω, καὶ διεσείετο μάλιστα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡ γνώμη ὑπὸ δέους ἢ φθόνου, ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς ὑπεροισόντων ἐν τῆ πολιτεία.

#### XX

CAP. 143. Διαθ ηκαι δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὤφθησαν ΧΧ φερόμεναι, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὰς τὸ πληθος ἐκέλευον ἀναγινώσκειν. θετὸς μὲν δὴ τῷ Καίσαρι παῖς ἐγίγνετο ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς θυγατριδοῦς Ὁκτάουιος, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ ἢσαν ἐνδιαίτημα οἱ κῆποι δεδομένοι καὶ κατ ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τῶν ὄντων ἔτι ἐν ἄστει πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ᾿Αττικαὶ δραχμαί. καὶ ὑπεσαλεύετο αῦθις ἐς ὀργὴν ὁ δῆμος, τυράννου μὲν κατηγορίας προπεπυσμένοι, διαθήκας δὲ φιλοπόλιδος ἀνδρὸς ὁρῶντες. οἰκτιστον δὲ ἐφάνη μάλιστα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Δέκμος ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις κληρονόμοις ἐγέγραπτο παῖς ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις παραγράφειν τοῖς κληρονόμοις ἐτέρους, εἰ μὴ κληρονομοῖεν οἱ πρότεροι. ἐφ' ῷ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον συνεταράσσοντο καὶ δεινὸν καὶ ἀθέμιστον ἡγοῦντο καὶ Δέκμον ἐπιβουλεῦσαι Καίσαρι, παίδα

come down from the Capitol. The latter asked that CHAP, hostages be sent to them in the meantime, and, accordingly, the sons of Antony and Lepidus were sent. When Brutus and his associates made their appearance 'they were received with shouts and applause, and when the consuls desired to say something the people would not allow them to do so, but demanded that they should first shake hands with these men and make peace with them, and this was done. The minds of the consuls were much disturbed by fear or envy, for they thought that the conspirators might get the upper hand of them in other political matters.

### XX

143. CAESAR'S will was now produced and the people CHAP. ordered that it be read at once. In it Octavian, the XX grandson of his sister, was adopted by Caesar. His Reading of Caesar's gardens were given to the people as a place of recre- will ation, and to every Roman still living in the city he gave seventy-five Attic drachmas. The people were again somewhat stirred to anger when they saw the will of this lover of his country, whom they had before heard accused of tyranny. Most of all did it seem pitiful to them that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers, should have been named by him for adoption in the second degree; for it was customary for the Romans to name alternate heirs in case of the failure of the first. Whereupon there was still greater disturbance among the people, who considered it shocking and sacrilegious that Decimus should have conspired against Caesar when he had

CAP. αὐτῷ γεγραμμένου εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Πείσωνος τὸ και σῶμα φέρουτος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλῆθός τε ἄπειρου ἐς φρουρὰν συνέδραμον σὺν ὅπλοις, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ πομπῆς δαψιλοῦς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα προυτέθη, οἰμωγή τε καὶ θρῆνος ἢν αῦθις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπατάγουν οἱ ὡπλισμένοι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν μετανοία τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ὁ ᾿Αυτώνιος ὧδε ἔχουτας ἰδὼν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ ἡρημένος εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οἶα ὕπατος ὑπάτου καὶ φίλος φίλου καὶ συγγενὴς συγγενοῦς (ἦν γὰρ δὴ Καίσαρι κατὰ μητέρα συγγενής) ἐτέχναζεν

αθθις καὶ έλεγεν ώδε.

144. "Οὐκ ἄξιον, ὁ πολίται, τοσοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον παρ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον, ἐνὸς ὄντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὅλης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. ὅσα δὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἀγάμενοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς, ἤ τε βουλὴ καὶ μετὰ αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος, ἔτι περιόντι ἐψηφίσασθε, ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐκ ᾿Αντωνίου τάδε φωνὴν εἶναι τιθέμενος ἀναγνώσομαι." καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ σοβαρῷ καὶ σκυθρωπῷ, τῆ φωνῆ δ' ἐνσημαινόμενος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐφιστάμενος, οἶς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξεθείαζον, ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον ἢ πατέρα πατρίδος ἢ εὐεργέτην ἢ προστάτην οἶον οὐχ ἔτερον ὀνομάζοντες. ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιστρέφων ἐν παραβολῆ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ. ἐπεφθέγγετο δέ πού τι καὶ βραχὺ ἑκάστῳ, μεμιγμένον οἴκτῳ καὶ ἀγανακτήσει, ἔνθα μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα εἴποι 'πατέρα πατρίδος,' ἐπιλέγων· "τοῦτο ἐπιεικείας ἐστὶ μαρτυρία," ἔνθα

been adopted as his son. When Piso brought Caesar's CHAP. body into the forum a countless multitude ran together with arms to guard it, and with acclamations and magnificent pageantry placed it on the rostra. Wailing and lamentation were renewed for a long time, the armed men clashed their shields, and gradually they began to repent themselves of the amnesty. Antony, seeing how things were going, did not abandon his purpose, but, having been chosen to deliver the funeral oration, as a consul for a consul, a friend for a friend, a relative for a relative (for he was related to Caesar on his mother's side), resumed his artful design, and spoke as follows:-

144. "It is not fitting, citizens, that the funeral Antony's oration of so great a man should be pronounced by funeral me alone, but rather by his whole country. The decrees which all of us, in equal admiration of his merit, voted to him while he was alive-the Senate and the people acting together-I will read, so that I may voice your sentiments rather than my own." Then he began to read with a severe and gloomy countenance, pronouncing each sentence distinctly and dwelling especially on those decrees which declared Caesar to be superhuman, sacred, and, inviolable, and which named him the father, or the benefactor, or the peerless protector of his country. With each decree Antony turned his face and his hand toward Caesar's corpse, illustrating his discourse by his action, and at each appellation he added some brief remark full of grief and indignation; as, for example, where the decree spoke of Caesar as 'the father of his country' he added "this was a testimonial of his clemency"; and again, where he was made 'sacred and inviolable' and 'everybody else

CAP. δ' ἢν 'ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος' καὶ 'ἀπαθὴς καὶ ὅστις αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτερος προσφύγοι,' 'οὐχ ἔτερος,'' ἔφη, '' τῷδε προσφεύγων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὁ ἄσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνήρηται, οὐ βιασάμενος οἶα τύραννος λαβεῖν τάσδε τὰς τιμάς, ἃς οὐδὲ ἤτησεν. ἀνελευθερώτατοι δὲ ἄρα ἡμεῖς, οῖ τοιάδε τοῖς ἀναξίοις οὐδὲ αἰτοῦσι δίδομεν. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ὑπεραπολογεῖσθε ὡς οὐκ ἀνελευθέρων, ὧ πιστοὶ πολῖται, τοιαύτη καὶ νῦν πρὸς τεθνεῶτα χρώμενοι τιμῆ.''

145. Καὶ αὖθις ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς ὅρκους, ἡ μὴν φυλάξειν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος σῶμα παντὶ σθένει πάντας ή, εί τις ἐπιβουλεύσειεν, ἐξώλεις είναι τους ουκ αμύναντας αυτώ. ἐφ' ὅτω δή μάλιστα την φωνην έπιτείνας και την χείρα ές τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνασχών, "ἐγὰ μέν," εἶπεν, "δ Ζεῦ πάτριε καὶ θςοί, ετοιμος ἀμύνειν ὡς ὤμοσα καὶ ηρασάμην έπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις δοκεῖ συνοίσειν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα, συνενεγκεῖν εἴνχομαι." θορύβου δ' έκ της βουλης έπὶ τῶδε μάλιστα προφανώς ές αὐτὴν εἰρημένω γενομένου, ἐπικαταψήχων αὐτην ὁ 'Αντώνιος καὶ παλινωδων έφη. '' ἔοικεν, ὧ πολîται, τὰ γεγενημένα ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐδενός, ἀλλά του δαιμόνων ἔργα εἶναι. καὶ χρη το παρον σκοπείν μαλλον ή το γεγενημένον, ώς εν άκμη μεγάλων εστί κινδύνων ημίν τὰ μέλλοντα ή τὰ όντα μή ἐς τὰς προτέρας στάσεις ύπαχθωμεν καὶ ἐκτριφθη παν, ὅ τι λοιπόν ἐστιν εύγενες τη πόλει. προπέμπωμεν οὖν τὸν ίερὸν τόνδε ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας, τὸν νενομισμένον ὕμνον αὐτῶ καὶ θρηνον ἐπάδοντες,"

was to be held unharmed who should find refuge CHAP. with him "—" Nobody," said Antony, "who found refuge with him was harmed, but he, whom you declared sacred and inviolable, was killed, although he did not extort these honours from you as a tyrant, and did not even ask for them. Most lacking the spirit of free men are we if we give such honours to the unworthy who do not ask for them. But you, faithful citizens, vindicate us from this charge of lacking the spirit of free men by paying such honours

as you now pay to the dead."

145. Antony resumed his reading and recited the oaths by which all were pledged to guard Caesar and Caesar's body with all their strength, and all were devoted to perdition who should not avenge him against any conspiracy. Here, lifting up his voice and extending his hand toward the Capitol, he exclaimed, "Jupiter, guardian of this city, and ye other gods, I stand ready to avenge him as I have sworn and vowed, but since those who are of equal rank with me have considered the decree of amnesty beneficial, I pray that it may prove so." A commotion arose among the senators in consequence of this exclamation, which seemed to have special reference to them. So Antony soothed them again and recanted, saying, "It seems to me, fellow-citizens, that this deed is not the work of human beings, but of some evil spirit. It becomes us to consider the present rather than the past, since the greatest danger approaches, if it is not already here, lest we be drawn into our former civil commotions and lose whatever remains of noble birth in the city. Let us then conduct this sacred one to the abode of the blest, chanting over him our accustomed hymn and lamentation."

CAP. 146. Τοιάδε εἰπὼν τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἶά τις ἔνθους άνεσύρατο, καὶ περιζωσάμενος ές τὸ τῶν χειρῶν εύκολου, το λέχος ώς έπι σκηνής περιέστη κατακύπτων τε ές αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνίσχων, πρῶτα μὲν ώς θεον ουράνιον ύμνει καὶ ές πίστιν θεοῦ γενέσεως τὰς γείρας ἀνέτεινεν, ἐπιλέγων ὁμοῦ σύν δρόμω φωνής πολέμους αὐτοῦ καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας καὶ έθνη, όσα προσποιήσειε τη πατρίδι, καὶ λάφυρα, όσα πέμψειεν, έν θαύματι αὐτῶν εκαστα ποιούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιβοῶν· "μόνος όδε άήττητος έκ πάντων των ές χείρας αὐτῷ συνελθόντων. σὺ δ'," ἔφη, "καὶ μόνος ἐκ τριακοσίων έτων ύβρισμένη τη πατρίδι ἐπήμυνας, άγρια ἔθνη τὰ μόνα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐμβαλόντα καὶ μόνα ἐμπρήσαντα αὐτὴν ἐς γόνυ βαλών." πολλά τε ἄλλα έπιθειάσας την φωνην ές τὸ θρηνώδες έκ τοῦ λαμπροτέρου μετεποίει καὶ ώς φίλον άδικα παθόντα ωδύρετο καὶ έκλαιε καὶ ήρᾶτο την έαυτοῦ ψυχην εθέλειν άντιδοῦναι τῆς Καίσαρος.

Ευφορώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸ πάθος ἐκφερόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγύμνου καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγών καὶ πεφυρμένην αίματι αὐτοκράτορος. έφ' οίς ο δήμος οία χορός αὐτῷ πενθιμώτατα συνωδύρετο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους αὖθις ὀργῆς ἐνεπίμπλατο. ώς δ' έπὶ τοῖς λόγοις έτεροι θρηνοι μετὰ ώδης κατὰ πάτριον έθος ὑπὸ χορῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ήδουτο καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὖθις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος κατέλεγον καί που των θρήνων αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ

146. Having spoken thus, he gathered up his CHAP. garments like one inspired, girded himself so that he might have the free use of his hands, took his position in front of the bier as in a play, bending down to it and rising again, and first hymned him as a celestial deity, raising his hands to heaven in order to testify to Caesar's divine birth. At the same time with rapid speech he recited his wars, his battles, his victories. the nations he had brought under his country's sway. and the spoils he had sent home, extolling each exploit as miraculous, and all the time exclaiming, "Thou alone hast come forth unvanguished from all the battles thou hast fought. Thou alone hast avenged thy country of the outrage put upon it 300 years ago, bringing to their knees those savage tribes, the only ones that ever broke into and burned the city of Rome." Many other things Antony said in a kind of divine frenzy, and then lowered his voice from its high pitch to a sorrowful tone, and mourned and wept as for a friend who had suffered unjustly, and solemnly vowed that he was willing to give his own life in exchange for Caesar's.

Carried away by an easy transition to extreme passion he uncovered the body of Caesar, lifted his robe on the point of a spear and shook it aloft, pierced with dagger-thrusts and red with the dictator's blood. Whereupon the people, like a chorus in a play, mourned with him in the most sorrowful manner, and from sorrow became filled again with anger. After the discourse other lamentations were chanted with funeral music according to the national custom, by the people in chorus, to the dead; and his deeds and his sad fate were again recited. Somewhere from the midst of these lamentations Caesar

CAP. ἐδόκει λέγειν, ὅσους εὖ ποιήσειε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφαγέων αὐτῶν ἐπέλεγεν ὥσπερ ἐν θαύματι· " ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τούσδε περισῶσαι τοὺς κτενοῦντάς με," οὐκ ἔφερεν ἔτι ὁ δῆμος, ἐν παραλόγφ ποιούμενος τὸ πάντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς σφαγέας χωρὶς μόνου Δέκμου, αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῆς Πομπηίου στάσεως γενομένους, ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων προαχθέντας ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, Δέκμον δὲ καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ θετὸν ἀξιωθῆναι γενέσθαι.

147. \* Ωδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἤδη καὶ χειρῶν έγγυς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σωμα, ως ύπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ έωρᾶτο. τὸ δὲ ανδρείκελον έκ μηχανής έπεστρέφετο πάντη, καὶ σφαγαί τρείς καὶ είκοσιν ὤφθησαν ἀνά τε τὸ σωμα παν καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδως ές αὐτὸν γενόμεναι. τήνδε οῦν την όψιν ὁ δημος ολκτίστην σφίσι φανείσαν ούκετι ενεγκών άνώμωξάν τε καὶ διαζωσάμενοι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ένθα ό Καίσαρ ἀνήρητο, κατέφλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους εκφυγόντας προ πολλού περιθέοντες εξήτουν, ούτω δή μανιωδώς ύπο όργης τε καὶ λύπης, ώστε τὸν δημαρχοῦντα Κίνναν ἐξ ὁμωνυμίας τοῦ στρατηγού Κίννα, τού δημηγορήσαντος έπὶ τω Καίσαρι, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τε περὶ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας ούδ' ἀκούσαι, διέσπασαν θηριωδώς, και ούδεν

himself was supposed to speak, recounting by name CHAP. his enemies on whom he had conferred benefits, and of the murderers themselves exclaiming, as it were in amazement, "Oh that I should have spared these men to slay me!" The people could endure the it no longer. It seemed to them monstrous that all populace roused to the murderers who, with the single exception of fury Decimus Brutus, had been made prisoners while belonging to the faction of Pompey, and who, instead of being punished, had been advanced by Caesar to the magistracies of Rome and to the command of provinces and armies, should have conspired against him; and that Decimus should have been deemed

by him worthy of adoption as his son.

117. While they were in this temper and were already near to violence, somebody raised above the bier an image of Caesar himself made of wax. The body itself, as it lay on its back on the couch, could not be seen. The image was turned round and round by a mechanical device, showing the twentythree wounds in all parts of the body and on the face, that had been dealt to him so brutally. The people could no longer bear the pitiful sight presented to them. They groaned, and, girding up their The loins, they burned the senate-chamber where Caesar murderers the from was slain, and ran hither and thither searching for the city the murderers, who had fled some time previously, They were so mad with rage and grief that meeting the tribune Cinna, on account of his similarity of name to the praetor Cinna who had made a speech against Caesar, not waiting to hear any explanation about the similarity of name, they tore him in pieces

"Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perderent."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A quotation from the Latin poet Pacuvius. Suetonius gives the original;

CAP. αὐτοῦ μέρος ἐς ταφὴν εὐρέθη. πῦρ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οἰκίας ἔφερον, καὶ καρτερῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων τε ἀμυνομένων καὶ τῶν γειτόιων δεομένων τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἀπέσχοντο, ὅπλα δ' ἢπείλησαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οἴσειν.

148. Καὶ οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς ἐξέφυγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαλαθόντες, ὁ δὲ δημος ἐπὶ τὸ λέγος τοῦ Καίσαρος επανελθών έφερον αὐτὸ ές τὸ Καπιτώλιον ώς εὐαγες θάψαι τε έν ίερω καὶ μετά θεων θέσθαι. κωλυόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐς τὴν άγορὰν αὖθις ἔθεσαν, ἔνθα τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις έστι βασίλειον, καὶ ξύλα αὐτῷ καὶ βάθρα, ὅσα πολλά ην έν άγορά, και εί τι τοιουτότροπον άλλο συνενεγκόντες, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν δαλιλεστάτην οὖσαν ἐπιβαλόντες, στεφάνους τε ἔνιοι παρ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ ἀριστεία πολλά ἐπιθέντες, ἐξῆψαν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πανδημεὶ τῆ πυρά παρέμενον, ένθα βωμὸς πρώτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ νεώς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, θείων τιμών άξιουμένου ό γάρ τοι θετός αὐτῷ παίς 'Οκτάουιος, τό τε όνομα ές τὸν Καίσαρα μεταβαλών καὶ κατ' ἴχνος ἐκείνου τῆ πολιτεία προσιών, τήν τε άρχην την έπικρατούσαν έτι νύν, έρριζωμένην ύπ' έκείνου, μειζόνως έκρατύνατο καί τὸν πατέρα τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ηξίωσεν ὧν δη καὶ νῦν, έξ ἐκείνου πρώτου, Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκάστοτε τὴν άρχην τήνδε άρχοντα, ην μη τύχη τυραννικός ων η ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀποθανόντα ἀξιοῦσιν, οὶ πρότερον ούδε περιόντας αὐτοὺς έφερον καλεῖν βασιλέας.

like wild beasts so that no part of him was ever found CHAP. for burial. They carried fire to the houses of the other murderers, but the domestics valiantly fought them off and the neighbours besought them to desist. So the people abstained from the use of fire, but they threatened to come back with arms on the following

day.

148. The murderers fled from the city secretly. The people returned to Caesar's bier and bore it as a consecrated thing to the Capitol in order to bury it in the temple and place it among the gods. Being prevented from doing so by the priests, they placed it again in the forum where stands the ancient palace of the kings of Rome. There they collected together pieces of wood and benches, of which there were many in the forum, and anything else they could find of that sort, for a funeral pile, throwing on it the adornments of the procession, some of which were very costly. Some of them cast their own crowns upon it and many military gifts. Then they set fire to it, and the entire people remained by the funeral pile throughout the night. There an altar was first erected, but now there stands the temple of Caesar himself, as he was deemed worthy of divine honours; for Octavian, his son by adoption, who took the name of Caesar, and, following in his footsteps in political matters, greatly strengthened the government which was founded by Caesar, and remains to this day, decreed divine honours to his father. From this example the Romans now pay like honours to each emperor at his death if he has not reigned in a tyrannical manner or made himself odious, although at first they could not bear to call them kings even while alive.

#### XXI

CAP. 149. Ούτω μεν δη Γάιος Καίσαρ ετελεύτησεν έν ήμέραις αίς καλούσιν είδοις Μαρτίαις, 'Ανθεστηριώνος μάλιστα μέσου, ήν τινα ήμέραν αὐτὸν ό μάντις οὐ περιοίσειν προύλεγεν ό δ' ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν ἔφη περὶ τὴν εω: "πάρεισιν αί είδοί." και ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν καταπλαγείς ἀπεκρίνατο. " άλλα οὐ παρεληλύθασιν," ὁ δὲ καὶ τοιωνδε προαγορεύσεων αὐτῷ σὺν τοσῷδε τοῦ μάντεως θάρσει γενομένων καὶ σημείων ὧν προεῖπον ἐτέρων ύπεριδών προήλθε καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτος ἄγων έκτον ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυχέστατος ἐς πάντα καὶ δαιμόνιος καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ εἰκότως έξομοιούμενος 'Αλεξάνδρφ. ἄμφω γὰρ έγενέσθην φιλοτιμοτάτω τε πάντων καὶ πολεμικωτάτω καὶ τὰ δύξαντα ἐπελθεῖν ταχυτάτω πρός τε κινδύνους παραβολωτάτω καὶ τοῦ σώματος άφειδεστάτω καὶ οὐ στρατηγία πεποιθότε μᾶλλοι ή τόλμη καὶ τύχη. ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄνυδρόν τε πολλήν ές "Αμμωνος ὥδευεν ὥρα καύματος, καὶ τὸν Παμφύλιον κόλπον της θαλάσσης άνακοπείσης διέτρεχε δαιμονίως, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ τοῦ δαίμονος κατέχοντος, έστε παρέλθοι, καὶ καθ' όδον όδεύοντι ύοντος. ἀπλώτου τε θαλάσσης έν Ίνδοῖς ἀπεπείρασε, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίμακα πρώτος ἀνέβη καὶ ἐς πολεμίων τεῖχος ἐσήλατο μόνος

καὶ τρισκαίδεκα τραύματα ὑπέστη. καὶ ἀήττητος αἰεὶ γενύμενος ένὶ σχεδὸν ἡ δύο ἔργοις

#### XXI

149. So died Gaius Caesar on the Ides of March, CHAP. which correspond nearly with the middle of the XXI Greek month Anthesterion, which day the soothsayer Comparison of Caesar predicted that he should not survive. Caesar jokingly with said to him early in the morning, "Well, the Ides Alexander have come," and the latter, nothing daunted, answered, "But not gone." Despising such prophecies, uttered with so much confidence by the soothsaver, and other prodigies that I have previously mentioned, Caesar went on his way and met his death, being fifty-six years of age,1 a man most fortunate in all things, superhuman, of grand designs, and fit to be compared with Alexander. Both were men of the greatest ambition, both were most skilled in the art of war, most rapid in executing their decisions, most reckless of danger, least sparing of themselves, and relying as much on audacity and luck as on military skill. Alexander made a long journey through the desert in the hot season to visit the oracle of Ammon and crossed the Gulf of Pamphylia beating back a head sea most fortunately, for his good fortune restrained the waves for him until he had passed over, and sent him rain on his journey by land. On his way to India he ventured upon an unknown sea. Once he was the first to ascend the scaling ladders and leaped over the wall among his enemies alone, and in this condition received thirteen wounds. Yet he was never defeated, and he finished almost every war in one or two battles. He conquered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mommsen maintains, contrary to the testimony of Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian, that Caesar was fifty-eight instead of fifty-six years old at the time of his death.

CAP. ἕκαστον πόλεμον ἐξήνυσε, τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης XXI πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἑλων καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα χειρωσάμενος, δυσαρκτότατον ἔθνος καὶ φιλελεύθερον καὶ οὐδενὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλὴν Φιλίππω κατ εὐπρέπειαν ἐς ἡγεμονίαν πολέμου δόξασαν ὑπακούειν ἐπ' ὀλίγον· τὴν δὲ ᾿Ασίαν σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ὅλην ἐπέ δραμε. καὶ ὡς λόγω τὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τύχην καὶ δύναμιν εἰπεῖν, ὅσην εἶδε γῆν, ἐκτήσατο καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐνθυμούμενός τε καὶ διανοούμενος ἀπέθανε.

150. Καίσαρι δὲ ή τε Ἰόνιος θάλασσα εἶξε, γειμώνος μέσου πλωτή καὶ εὔδιος γενομένη, καὶ τον έσπέριον ωκεανον έπὶ Βρεττανούς διέπλευσεν ούπω γενόμενον έν πείρα, κρημνοίς τε τῶν Βρεττανών τους κυβερνήτας έποκέλλοντας εκέλευε τας ναθς περιαγνύναι. καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον κλύδωνα μόνος εν σκάφει σμικρώ νυκτός εβιάζετο καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην εκέλευε προχέαι τὰ ίστία καὶ θαρρείν τη Καίσαρος τύχη μαλλον η τη θαλάσση. ές τε πολεμίους προεπήδησε μόνος έκ πάντων δεδιότων πολλάκις, καὶ τριακοντάκις αὐτὸς ἐν Κελτοῖς μόνοις παρετάξατο, μέχρι τετρακόσια αὐτῶν έχειρώσατο έθνη, ούτω δή τι Γωμαίοις επίφοβα, ώς νόμω τῶ περὶ ἀστρατείας ἱερέων καὶ γερόντων έγγραφηναι πλην εί μη Κελτικός πόλεμος έπίοι. τύτε δὲ καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἱερέας στρατεύεσθαι. περί τε τὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρειαν πολεμῶν καὶ ἀποληφθείς έπλ γεφύρας μόνος καλ κακοπαθών την πορφύραν ἀπέρριψε καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξήλατο καὶ ζητούμενος ύπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῷ μυχῷ διενήχετο λανθάνων έπὶ πολύ, μόνην έκ διαστήματος ανίσχων την αναπνοήν, μέχρι φιλία νηὶ

many foreign nations in Europe and made himself CHAP. master of Greece, a people hard to control, fond of freedom, who boasted that they had never obeyed anybody before him, except Philip for a little while under the guise of his leadership in war; and he also overran almost the whole of Asia. To sum up Alexander's fortune and power in a word, he acquired as much of the earth as he had seen, and died while he was considering and devising means to capture the rest.

150. So too the Adriatic Sea vielded to Caesar, becoming navigable and quiet in mid-winter. He also crossed the western ocean to Britain, which had never been attempted before, and he ordered his pilots to break their ships in pieces by running them on the rocks of the British coast. He was exposed to the violence of another tempest when alone in a small boat by night, and he ordered the pilot to spread his sails and to keep in mind Caesar's fortune rather than the waves of the sea. He often dashed against the enemy single-handed when all others were afraid. He fought thirty pitched battles in Gaul alone, where he conquered forty nations so formidable to the Romans previously that in the law which exempted priests and old men from military enrolment a formal exception was made 'in case of a Gallic inroad'; for then both priests and old men were required to serve. Once in the course of the Alexandrian war, when he was left alone on a bridge in extreme peril, he threw off his purple garment. leaped into the sea, and, being sought by the enemy. swam under water a long distance, coming to the surface only at intervals to take breath, until he

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CAP. προσπελάσας ἄρεξε τὰς χείρας καὶ έαυτὸν ἔδειξε

ΧΧΙ καὶ περιεσώθη.

Ές δὲ τὰ ἐμφύλια τάδε ἢ διὰ δέος, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ἡ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία συμπεσών, στρατηγοίς τοίς καθ' αυτον αρίστοις συνηνέχθη καὶ στρατοίς πολλοίς τε καὶ μεγάλοις, οὐ βαρβάρων έτι, άλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκμαζόντων μάλιστα εύπραξίαις καὶ τύχαις καὶ ἀπάντων ἐκράτησε, διὰ μιᾶς καὶ ὅδε πείρας ἐκάστων ἢ διὰ δύο, οὐ μὴν άηττήτου καθάπερ 'Αλεξάνδρω τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἡττῶντο λαμπρῶς, όθ' ή μεγάλη σφας συμφορα κατέλαβε Κόττα καὶ Τιτυρίου στρατηγούντων, καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρία Πετρήιος αύτους καὶ 'Αφράνιος συνέκλεισαν οἶα πολιορκουμένους, έν τε Δυρραχίω καὶ Λιβύη λαμπρώς έφευγον καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρία Πομπήιον τὸν νέον κατεπλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ην ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ ές παντός πολέμου τέλος ἀήττητος τήν τε 'Ρωμαίων ἰσχύν, γῆς ἤδη καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκ δύσεων έπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην κρατοῦσαν, ἐχειρώσατο βία καὶ φιλανθρωπία πολύ βεβαιότερον καὶ πολύ έγκρατέστερον Σύλλα βασιλέα τε αύτον απέφηνεν ακόντων, εί και την προσηγορίαν οὐκ έδέχετο. καὶ πολέμους άλλους καὶ όδε διανοούμενος ανηρέθη.

151. Συνέβη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα όμοίως πρόθυμα μὲν ἐς ἄμφω καὶ μετὰ εὐνοίας γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς μάχας θηριώδεσιν ἐοικότα, δυσπειθὴ δὲ πολλάκις ἑκατέρφ καὶ πολυστασίαστα διὰ τοὺς πόνους. ἀποθανόντας γε μὴν ὁμοίως ἀδύραντο καὶ ἐπεπόθησαν καὶ θείων τιμῶν ἡξίωσαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐφυεῖς

came near a friendly ship, when he stretched out CHAP. his hands and made himself known, and was saved.

In these civil wars, in which he engaged either through apprehension, as he says, or ambition, he was brought in conflict with the first generals of the age and with many large armies, not now of barbarians, but of Romans in the highest state of efficiency and good fortune, and, like Alexander, he overcame them all by one or two engagements with each. His forces, however, were not, like Alexander's. always victorious, for they were defeated by the Gauls most disastrously under the command of his lieutenants, Cotta and Titurius; and in Spain Petreius and Afranius shut them up like an army besieged. At Dyrrachium and in Africa they were put to flight, and in Spain they were terrified by the vounger Pompeius. But Caesar himself was always undaunted and was victorious at the end of every war. He grasped, partly by force, partly by goodwill, the Roman power which ruled the earth and sea from the setting sun to the river Euphrates, and held it much more firmly and strongly than Sulla had done, and he showed himself to be a king in spite of opposition, even though he did not accept the title. And, like Alexander, he expired while planning new wars.

151. Their armies were equally zealous and devoted to both, and in battles they fought with the greatest ferocity, but were often disobedient and mutinous on account of the severity of their tasks. Yet they equally mourned and longed for their commanders when they were dead, and paid them divine honours. Both were well-formed and handsome in

CAP. ἄμφω καὶ καλοί. καὶ τὸ γένος ἐκ Διὸς ἤστην καὶ ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Αἰακίδης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ὁ δὲ ἀπ' ᾿Αγχίσου τε καὶ ᾿Αφροδίτης. φιλονικότεροι δὲ τοῖς ἐξερίζουσιν ὄντες ταχύτατοι πρὸς διαλύσεις ἦσαν καὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς άλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ συγγνώμη καὶ εὐεργέται καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ κρατῆσαι μόνον ἐνθυμούμενοι.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον συγκεκρίσθω, καίπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἴσης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμήσαντος αὐτῶν ἑκατέρου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐκ βασιλείας ἡσκημένης ὑπὸ Φιλίππω, τοῦ δ' ἐξ ἰδιωτείας, εὐγενοῦς μὲν καὶ περιφανοῦς, χρημάτων δὲ πάνν

ενδεούς.

152. Έγένοντο δὲ καὶ σημείων τῶν ἐπὶ σφίσιν έκάτερος ύπερόπτης καὶ τοῖς μάντεσι τὴν τελευτὴν προειπουσιν οὐκ ἐχαλέπηναν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτὰ ομοιά τε πολλάκις καὶ ές τὸ ομοιον ἀμφοῖν συνηνέχθη εγένετο γαρ εκατέρω δὶς ἄλοβα, καὶ τὰ μέν πρώτα κίνδυνον σφαλερον υπέδειξεν, 'Αλεξάνδρω μεν εν 'Οξυδράκαις, επί το των εχθρών τείγος αναβάντι προ των Μακεδόνων, και της κλίμακος συντριβείσης ἀποληφθέντι τε ἄνω, καὶ ύπο τόλμης ές το έντος έπὶ τους πολεμίους έξαλομένω καὶ πληγέντι τὰ στέρνα χαλεπώς καὶ ές τὸν τράχηλον υπέρω βαρυτάτω, και πίπτοντι ήδη και περισωθέντι μόλις ύπο των Μακεδόνων αναρρηξάντων τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν Ίβηρία, τοῦ στρατοῦ περιφόβου τε όντος ἐπὶ Πομπηίω τω νέω και οκνούντος ές μάχην ιέναι, προδραμόντι πάντων ές το μεταίχμιον και διακόσια αναδεξαμένω δόρατα ές την ασπίδα, μέχρι

person, and both were descended from Jupiter, Alexander through Aeacus and Hercules, Caesar through Anchises and Venus. Both were as prompt to fight their adversaries as they were ready to make peace and grant pardon to the vanquished, and after pardon to confer benefits; for they desired only to conquer.

Thus far let the parallel hold good, although they did not both start toward empire from the same footing; Alexander from the monarchy founded by Philip, Caesar from a private station, being indeed well born and illustrious but wholly without

wealth.

152. Both of them despised the prodigies relating to themselves, but they did not deal harshly with the soothsavers who predicted their death; for more than once the very same prodigies confronted both, pointing to the same end. Twice in the case of each the victims were without a lobe to the liver, and the first time it indicated a dangerous risk. It happened to Alexander when he was among the Oxydracae and while he was leading his Macedonians in scaling the enemy's wall. The ladder broke, leaving him alone on the top. Taking counsel of his courage, he leaped inside the town against his enemies, and was struck severely in the breast and on the neck by a very heavy club, so that he fell down, and was rescued with difficulty by the Macedonians, who broke down the gates in their alarm for him. It happened to Caesar in Spain while his army was in great fear of the younger Pompeius, and hesitated to join battle. Caesar dashed in advance of all into the space between the armies, and received 200 darts on his shield until

CAP, καὶ τόνδε ὁ στρατὸς ἐπιδραμὼν ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς καὶ ψόβου περιέσωσεν. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρῶτα ἄλοβα ἐς κίνδυνον ἢλθε θανάτου, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αὐτόν. Πειθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὁ μάντις ᾿Απολλοδώρω δεδοικότι ᾿Αλέξανδρόν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα θυόμενος εἶπε μὴ δεδιέναι, ἐκποδὼν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτίκα ἔσεσθαι· καὶ τελευτήσαντος εὐθὺς Ἡφαιστίωνος ὁ ᾿Απολλόδωρος ἔδεισε, μή τις ἐπιβουλὴ γένοιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὰ μαντεύματα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεμειδίασε καὶ Πειθαγόραν αὐτὸν ἤρετο, ὅ τι λέγοι τὸ σημεῖον· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι τὰ ὕστατα λέγει, αὖθις ἐπεμειδίασε καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὅμως ᾿Απολλόδωρόν τε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τὸν μάντιν τῆς παρρησίας.

153. Καίσαρι δ' ές τὸ ἔσχατον βουλευτήριον ἐσιόντι, καθά μοι πρὸ βραχέος εἴρηται, τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα γίγνεται καὶ χλευάσας ἔφη τοιαῦτά οἱ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γεγονέναι. τοῦ δὲ μάντεως εἰπόντος καὶ τότε αὐτὸν κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον ἔχειν τὸ σημεῖον, ἐνδούς τι πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐθύετο ὅμως αὐθις, μέχρι βραδυνόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱερῶν δυσχεράνας ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἀνηρέθη. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Ἰλλεξάνδρω συνέπεσεν. ἐπανιόντα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πλησιάζοντα ἤδη παρεκάλουν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἰαμβεῖον εἰπόντος, ὅτι "μάντις ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς," δεύτερα γοῦν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι παρεκάλουν μὴ ἐς δύσιν ὁρῶντα μετὰ

his army, moved by shame and fear for his safety, CHAP. rushed forward and rescued him. Thus in the case XXI of each the first inauspicious victims presaged danger of death; the second presaged death itself. Peithagoras, the soothsayer, was inspecting the entrails, he told Apollodorus, who was in fear of Alexander and Hephestion, not to be afraid of them, because they would both be out of the way very soon. Hephestion died immediately, and Apollodorus, being apprehensive lest some conspiracy might exist against Alexander, communicated the prophecy to him. Alexander smiled, and asked Peithagoras himself what the prodigy meant. When the latter replied that it meant fatality, he smiled again. Nevertheless, he commended Apollodorus for his good-will and the soothsayer for his freedom of speech.

153. As Caesar was entering the Senate for the last time, as I have shortly before related, the same omens were observed, but he said, jestingly, that the same thing had happened to him in Spain. When the soothsayer replied that he was in danger then too, and that the omen was now more deadly, he yielded somewhat to the warning and sacrificed again, and continued to do so until he became vexed with the priests for delaying him, and went in and was murdered. The same kind of thing happened to Alexander. As he was returning from India to Babylon with his army, and was nearing the latter place, the Chaldeans urged him to postpone his entrance for the present. He replied with the iambic verse, "He is the best prophet who can guess right." Again, the Chaldeans urged him not to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A fragment of Euripides.

CAP. τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιοδεῦσαι καὶ τὴν XXI πόλιν λαβείν προς ήλιον ανίσχοντα. ο δ' ές τούτο μεν ενδούναι λέγεται καὶ επιχειρήσαι περιοδεύσαι, λίμνη δὲ καὶ έλει δυσχεραίνων καταφρονήσαι καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μαντεύματος καὶ έσελθείν ές δύσιν όρων. έσελθών γε μην καί πλέων κατά τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Παλλακότταν, δς του Ευφράτην υπολαμβάνων ές έλη καὶ λίμνας ἐκφέρει καὶ κωλύει τὴν ᾿Ασσυρίδα γῆν ἄρδειν,—ἐπινοοῦντα δὴ τούτον διατειχίσαι τον ποταμόν καὶ έπὶ τούτο έκπλέοντά φασιν ἐπιτωθάσαι τοῖς Χαλδαίρις, ὅτι σώος ές Βαβυλώνα έσέλθοι τε καὶ έκπλέοι. έμελλε δ' έπανελθών αὐτίκα έν αὐτη τεθνήξεσθαι. έπετώθασε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅμοια. τοῦ γὰρ μάντεως αὐτῶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς προειπόντος, ότι μη περιοίσει τὰς Μαρτίας είδούς, έλθούσης της ημέρας έφη, τον μάντιν γλευάζων, ότι πάρεισιν αι είδοι και έν αυταίς όμως ἀπέθανεν. ούτω μεν δή και σημεία τὰ περί σφών έχλεύασαν όμοίως, καὶ τοῖς προειποῦσιν αὐτὰ μάντεσιν οὐκ ἐγαλέπηναν, καὶ ἐάλωσαν ὅμως ὑπὸ τῷ λόγω τῶν μαντευμάτων.

154. Έγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς, τῆς τε πατρίου καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ξένης, φιλόκαλοι, τὰ μὲν Ἰνδῶν ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐξετάζων τοὺς Βραχμῶνας, οἱ δοκοῦσιν Ἰνδῶν εἶναι μετεωρολόγοι τε καὶ σοφοὶ καθὰ Περσῶν οἱ Μάγοι,

march his army into the city while looking toward CHAP. the setting sun, but to go around and enter facing the east. It is said that he yielded to this suggestion and started to go around, but being impeded by a lake and marshy ground, he disregarded this second prophecy also, and entered the city looking toward the west. Not long after entering he went down the Euphrates in a boat to the river Pallacotta, which takes its water from the Euphrates and carries it away in marshes and ponds and thus hinders the irrigation of the Assyrian country. While he was considering how he should dam this stream, and while he was sailing out to it for this purpose, it is said that he jeered at the Chaldeans because he had gone into Babylon and sailed out of it safely. But vet the moment he returned back to it he was to die. Caesar jeered at the prophecies in like manner, for the soothsayer predicted the day of his death, saying that he should not survive the Ides of March, and when the day came Caesar mocked him, saying, "The Ides have come"; and yet the same day he died. Thus both alike made light of the prophecies concerning themselves, and were not angry at the soothsavers who uttered them, and yet they became the victims of the prophecies.1

154. Both were students of the science and arts 2 of their own country, of Greece, and of foreign nations. As to those of India, Alexander interrogated the Brahmins who seem to be the astronomers and learned men of that country, like the Magi among the

sentence of the prophecies was duly carried out."

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a metaphor from the law-courts; "the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς: literally, "the science of excellence," which is by no means clear. [Should we not read ἀστρικης "astronomy"?]

CAP. τὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτε ἐν Αἰγύπτφ γενόμενος καθίστατο Κλεοπάτραν. ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν πολλὰ Ὑωμαιοις διωρθώσατο καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνώμαλον ἔτι ὅντα διὰ τοὺς ἔσθ' ὅτε μῆνας ἐμβολίμους (κατὰ γὰρ σελήνην αὐτοῖς ἠριθμεῖτο) ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμον μετέβαλεν, ὡς ἦγον Αἰγύπτιοι. συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλευσάντων μηδένα διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδὶ δοῦναι δίκην ἀξίαν, καθάπερ ᾿Αλεξάνδρφ τοὺς Φιλ ππον ἀνελόντας. ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν, αἱ ἑξῆς βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν.

Persians. Caesar likewise interrogated the Egyptians CHAP. while he was there restoring Cleopatra to the throne, by which means he made many improvements among the peaceful arts for the Romans. He changed the calendar, which was still in disorder by reason of the intercalary months till then in use, for the Romans reckoned the year by the moon. Caesar changed it to the sun's course, as the Egyptians reckoned it. It happened in his case that not one of the conspirators against him escaped, but all were brought to condign punishment by his adopted son, just as the murderers of Philip were by Alexander. How they were punished the succeeding books will show.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar also, at this time, changed the beginning of the year from the first of March to the first of January, because the latter was the date for changing the supreme magistrates.

# BOOK III

### Ĭ

ΟΑΡ. 1. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ πλείστου 'Ρωμαίοις ἄξιος ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνήρητο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τέθαπτο ἀπάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σφαγέων δίκην δόντων, ὅπως οἱ περιφανέστατοι μάλιστα ἔδοσαν, ἥδε ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τήνδε ἐπιδείξουσιν, ἐπιλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα 'Ρωμαίοις ἐμφύλια ἐς

άλλήλους έγίγνετο όμοῦ.

2. 'Αντώνιον μὲν ἡ βουλὴ δι' αἰτίας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑφ' ὧν δὴ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἐρεθισθεὶς ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἄρτι ἐπεψηφισμένης ἀμνηστίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων σὺν πυρὶ ἔδραμον· ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν χαλεπαίνουσαν ἐνὶ τοιῷδε πολιτεύματι ἐς εὔνοιαν ἑαυτοῦ μετέβαλεν. 'Αμάτιος ἦν ὁ Ψευδομάριος· Μαρίου γὰρ ὑπεκρίνετο υίωνὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ Μάριον ὑπερήρεσκε τῷ δήμῳ. γιγνόμενος οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενὴς τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήλγει μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπφκοδόμει τῆ πυρῷ καὶ χεῖρα θρασυτέρων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε καὶ φοβερὸς ἡν ἀεὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῦ

## BOOK III

### R

- 1. Thus was Gaius Caesar, who had been foremost CHAP. in extending the Roman sway, slain by his enemies and buried by the people. All of his murderers were brought to punishment. How the most distinguished of them were punished this book and the next one will show, and the other civil wars waged by the Romans will likewise be included in them.
- 2. The Senate blamed Antony for his funeral The city oration over Caesar, by which, chiefly, the people after Caesar's were incited to disregard the decree of amnesty funeral lately passed, and to scour the city in order to fire the houses of the murderers. But he changed it from bad to good feeling toward himself by one capital stroke of policy. There was a certain pseudo-Marius in Rome named Amatius. He pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and for this reason was very popular with the masses. Being, according to this pretence, a relative of Caesar, he was pained beyond measure by the latter's death, and erected an altar on the site of his funeral pyre. He collected a band of reckless men and make himself a perpetual terror to the murderers. Some of these had fled from the city, and those who had accepted the command of

CAP. Καίσαρος εἰλήφεσαν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν, ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτος μὲν ὁ Δέκμος ἐς τὴν ὅμορον τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικήν, Τρεβώνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν ὅμορον τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικήν, Τρεβώνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν τὴν περὶ Ἰωνίαν, Τίλλιος δὲ Κίμβερ ἐς Βιβυνίαν· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῆ βουλῆ διέφερεν, ἥρηντο μὲν καὶ οἵδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ἡγεμονεύειν, Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁ Βροῦτος, ἔτι δὲ ὄντες ἀστικοὶ στρατηγοὶ ... ὑπ ἀνάγκης καὶ διατάγμασιν οἶα στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἐθεράπευον, ὅσοις τε ἄλλοις ἐπενόουν, καὶ τὰ κληρουχήματα συγχωροῦντες αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν, τοῦ νόμου κωλύοντος

έντος είκησιν έτων αποδίδοσθαι.

3. Τούτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ ᾿Αμάτιος, ὅτε συντύχοι, καὶ ἐνεδρεύσειν ἐλέγετο. τῷδε οὖν τῷ λόγφ τῆς ενέδρας ο 'Αντώνιος επιβαίνων οία υπατος συλλαμβάνει καὶ κτείνει τὸν 'Αμάτιον χωρίς δίκης, μάλα θρασέως καὶ ή βουλή τὸ μὲν ἔργον έθαύμαζεν ώς μέγα καὶ παράνομον, τὴν δὲ χρείαν αὐτοῦ προσεποιοῦντο ήδιστα οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς έδόκει ποτέ χωρίς τοιᾶσδε τόλμης ἀσφαλή τὰ κατὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦ 'Αματίου στασιώται καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δήμος ἐπ' έκείνοις πόθω τε τοῦ 'Αματίου καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ὁ ἀντώνιος έπεπράχει ύπὸ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος, οὐκ ήξίουν σφων καταφρονείν την άγοραν οθν καταλαβόντες έβόων καὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον έβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς άρχας ἐκέλευον ἀντὶ ᾿Αματίου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρώτους. Εξελαυνό.

provinces from Caesar himself had gone away to take CHAP. charge of the same, Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Western Asia Minor, and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the special favourites of the Senate, had also been chosen by Caesar as governors for the following year, the former of Syria, and the latter of Macedonia. But being still city praetors, they [remained at Rome] 1 necessarily, and in their official capacity they conciliated the colonists by various decrees, and among others by one enabling them to sell their allotments, the law hitherto forbidding the alienation of the land till the end of twenty years.

3. It was said that Amatius was only waiting an Antony opportunity to entrap Brutus and Cassius. On this Amatius rumour, Antony, making capital out of the plot, and to death using his consular authority, arrested Amatius and boldly put him to death without a trial. The senators were astonished at this deed as an act of violence and contrary to law, but they readily condoned its expediency, because they thought that the situation of Brutus and Cassius would never be safe without such boldness. The followers of Amatius, and the plebeians generally, missing Amatius and feeling indignation at the deed, and especially because it had been done by Antony, whom the people had honoured, determined that they would not be scorned in that way. With shouts they took possession of the forum, exclaiming violently against Antony, and called on the magistrates to dedicate the altar in place of Amatius, and to offer the first sacrifices on it to Caesar. Having

1 The verb is missing.

CAP. μενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιπεμφ <sup>1</sup> θέντων ὑπὸ ᾿Αντωνίου μᾶλλόν τε ἠγανάκτουν καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ ἔδρας ἔνιοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνυον ἀνηρημένων. ὡς δέ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἔνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο, δείξειν, εὐθὺς εἴποντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως ἐτέρων ἐπιπεμφθέντων ἐξ ᾿Αντωνίου ἀμυνόμενοί τε ἀνηρέθησαν ἔνιοι καὶ συλληφθέντες ἔτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ

κατερρίφησαν.

4. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάραχος ἐπέπαυτο, μῖσος δὲ ἄρρητου έξ ἀρρήτου εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸυ ᾿Αντώνιον ἐγήγερτο. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἔχαιρου ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως ἐν ἀδεεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον γενόμενοι. ως δε και Σέξστον Πομπήιον ο Αντώνιος, τον Πομπηίου Μάγνου περιποθήτου πασιν έτι όντος, είσηγήσατο καλείν έξ 'Ιβηρίας, πολεμούμενον έτι προς των Καίσαρος στρατηγων, αντί τε της πατρώας οὐσίας δεδημευμένης έκ των κοινών αὐτω δοθηναι μυριάδας Αττικών δραγμών πεντακισχιλίας, είναι δέ καὶ στρατηγον ήδη της θαλάσσης, καθώς ην και ό πατηρ αυτού, καὶ ταῖς 'Ρωμαίων ναυσὶν αὐτίκα ταῖς πανταχοῦ χρησθαι είς τὰ ἐπείγοντα, θαυμάζουσα ἕκαστα ή βουλή μετὰ προθυμίας έξεδέχετο καὶ τὸν Αντώνιον έπὶ ὅλην εὐφήμουν ἡμέραν οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει Μάγνου γενέσθαι δημοκρατικώτερος, όθεν οὐδὲ περιποθητότερος ην. ό τε Κάσσιος καὶ ό Βρούτος, ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου καὶ πασι τότε τιμιωτάτω, την σωτηρίαν εδόκουν έξειν ασφαλή και την γνώμην ών έπεπραχεσαν έγκρατή,

been driven out of the forum by soldiers sent by CHAP. Antony, they became still more indignant, and vociferated more loudly, and some of them showed places where Caesar's statues had been torn from their pedestals. One man told them that he could show the shop where the statues were being broken up. The others followed, and having witnessed the fact, they set fire to the place. Finally, Antony sent more soldiers and some of those who resisted were killed, others were captured, and of these the slaves were crucified and the freemen thrown over the

Tarpeian rock.

4. So this tumult was quieted; but the extreme Antony fondness of the plebeians for Antony was turned into deceives extreme hatred. The Senate was delighted, because it believed that it could not rest secure otherwise about Brutus and his associates. Antony also moved that Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, who was still much beloved by all) should be recalled from Spain, where he was still attacked by Caesar's lieutenants, and that he should be paid 50 millions of Attic drachmas out of the public treasury for his father's confiscated property and be appointed commander of the sea, as his father had been, with charge of all the Roman ships, wherever situated, which were needed for immediate service. The astonished Senate accepted each of these decrees with alacrity and applauded Antony the whole day; for nobody, in their estimation, was more devoted to the republic than the elder Pompey, and hence nobody was more regretted. Cassius and Brutus, who were of Pompey's faction, and most honoured by all at that time, thought that they would be entirely safe. They thought that what

CAP. καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τέλος ἐπάξεσθαι, τῆς μοίρας σφῶν ἀνισχούσης. ἃ καὶ Κικέρων συνεχῶς ἐπήνει τὸν ᾿Αντώνιον· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συγγινώσκουσα αὐτῷ διὰ σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τὸν δῆμον ἔδωκε φρουρὰν περιστήσασθαι περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων καὶ ἐπιδημούντων ἑαυτῷ καταλένοντα.

5. Ο δέ, εἴτε εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ πάντα πεπραχώς είτε την συντυχίαν ώς εύχρηστον ασπασάμενος την φρουράν κατέλεγεν, αίεὶ προστιθείς μέχρι ές έξακισχιλίους, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων ὁπλιτῶν, ούς εύμαρως αν έν ταις χρείαις ώετο έξειν καί έτερωθεν, άλλα πάντας λοχαγούς ώς ήγεμονικούς τε καὶ έμπειροπολέμους καί οἱ γνωρίμους ἐκ τῆς στρατείας της ύπὸ Καίσαρι ταξιάρχους δ' αὐτοῖς ές τὸν πρέποντα κόσμον έξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων έπιστήσας ήγεν έν τιμή καὶ κοινωνούς έποιείτο τῶν φανερῶν βουλευμάτων. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τό τε πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίλεξιν ἐν ὑπονοία τιθέμενοι συνεβούλευον την φρουράν ώς επίφθονον ές τὸ ἀρκοῦν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν, όταν σβέση του δήμου το ταραχώδες. έψηφισμένον δ' είναι κύρια, όσα Καίσαρι πέπρακτό τε καὶ γενέσθαι βεβούλευτο, τὰ ὑπομνήματα των βεβουλευμένων ό 'Αντώνιος έχων καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Καίσαρος Φαβέριον ές πάντα οί πειθόμενον, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τοιάδε αἰτήματα ές τὸν Αντώνιον έξιων ἀνετίθετο, πολλά ές πολλών γάριν προσετίθει καὶ έδωρείτο πόλεσι

they had done would be confirmed, and the republic CHAP. be at last restored, and their party successful. Wherefore Cicero praised Antony continually, and the Senate, perceiving that the plebeians were making plots against him on its account, allowed him a guard for his personal safety, chosen by himself from the veterans who were sojourning in the city.

5. Antony, either because he had done everything for this very purpose, or seizing the happy chance as very useful to him, enlisted his guard and kept adding to it till it amounted to 6000 men. They were not common soldiers. He thought that he should easily get the latter when he needed them otherwise. These were composed wholly of centurions, as being fit for command, and of long experience in war, and his own acquaintances through his service under He appointed tribunes over them, chosen from their own number and adorned with military decoration, and these he held in honour and made sharers of such of his plans as he made known. The Senate began to be suspicious of the number of his guards, and of his care in choosing them, and advised him to reduce them to a moderate number so as to avoid invidious remarks. He promised to do so as soon as the disorder among the plebeians should be quieted. It had been decreed that all the things done by Caesar, and all that he intended to do, should be ratified. The memoranda of Caesar's intentions were in Antony's possession, and Caesar's secretary, Faberius, was obedient to him in every way since Caesar himself, on the point of his departure, had placed all petitions of this kind in Antony's discretion. Antony made many additions in order to secure the favour of many persons.

CAP. καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ φρουροῖς καὶ ἐπεγράφετο μὲν πᾶσι τὰ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, τὴν δὲ χάριν οἱ λαβόντες ἤδεσαν ᾿Αντωνίῳ. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλοὺς κατέλεγε καὶ ἄλλα τῆ βουλῆ δι' ἀρεσκείας ἔπρασσεν, ἵνα μὴ φθονοῖεν ἔτι τῆς φρουρᾶς.

6. Καὶ 'Αντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἢν, ὁ δὲ Βρούτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος, οὔτε τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ή παρά των έξεστρατευμένων είρηναίου φανέντος, ούτε την ενέδραν 'Αματίου καὶ παρ' έτέρου αν αυτοίς αδύνατον ήγούμενοι γενέσθαι, ούτε τὸ ποικίλον 'Αντωνίου φέροντες άφόβως, ήδη καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοντος, οὔτε τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαιουμένην έργοις όρωντες, άλλά καὶ ές τοῦτο ὑφορώμενοι τὸν Αντώνιον, Δέκμω μάλιστα ἐπεποίθεσαν, ἔχοντι ἐν πλευραίς τρία τέλη στρατού, καὶ πρὸς Τρεβώνιον ἐς τὴν 'Ασίαν καὶ πρὸς Τίλλιον ές Βιθυνίαν κρύφα έπεμπον γρήματα άγείρειν άφανως καὶ στρατὸν περιβλέπεσθαι, αὐτοί τε ἡπείνοντο τῶν δεδομένων σφίσιν ύπο του Καίσαρος έθνων λαβέσθαι. του χρόνου δὲ ούπω συγχωροῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἡγούμενοι, την έν άστει στρατηγίαν προλιπόντες άτελη, δόξαν ύποπτον φιλαρχίας έθνων ενέγκασθαι, ήροῦντο όμως ύπὸ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐν μέσω διάστημα διατρίθαί ποι μάλλον ίδιωτεύοντες ή έν άστει στρατηγείν, ούτε άφόβως έχοντες ούτε τὰ εἰκότα έφ' οίς ύπερ της πατρίδος επεπράχεσαν τιμώμενοι. ούτω δ' αὐτοῖς έχουσιν ή βουλή συνειδυία

made gifts to cities, to princes, and to his own CHAP. guards, and although all were advised that these were Caesar's memoranda, yet the recipients knew  $_{\rm Caesar's}^{\rm I}$  that the favour was due to Antony. In the same decrees way he enrolled many new names in the list of senators and did many other things to please the Senate, in order that it might not bear him ill-will in reference to his guards.

6. While Antony was busy with these matters, Brutus and Brutus and Cassius, seeing nobody among either the Cassius uneasy plebeians or the veterans inclined to be at peace with them, and considering that any other person might lay plots against them like that of Amatius, became distrustful of the fickleness of Antony, who now had an army under his command, and seeing that the republic, too, was not confirmed by deeds, they suspected Antony for that reason also; and so they reposed most confidence in Decimus Brutus, who had three legions near by, and also sent secretly to Trebonius in Asia and to Tillius in Bithynia, asking them to collect money quietly and to prepare an army. They were anxious, too, themselves to enter upon the government of the provinces assigned to them by Caesar, but as the time for doing so had not yet come, they thought that it would be indecorous for them to leave their service as city praetors unfinished, and that they would incur the suspicions of an undue longing for power over the provinces. They preferred, nevertheless, to spend the remainder of their year as private citizens somewhere, as a matter of necessity, rather than serve as praetors in the city where they were not safe, and were not held in honour corresponding to the benefits they had conferred upon their country. While they were in this state of mind, the Senate,

ΟΑΡ. τὴν γνώμην ἔδωκε σίτου τῆ πόλει φροντίσαι, ἐξ ὅσης δύναιντο γῆς, μέχρις αὐτοὺς ὁ χρόνος τῶν

έθνων της στρατηγίας καταλάβοι.

Καὶ ή μὲν ούτως ἔπραξεν, ἵνα μή ποτε Βρούτος ή Κάσσιος φεύγειν δοκοίεν τοσήδε αὐτῶν φροντίς ην άμα καὶ αἰδώς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σφαγεύσι διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα συνελάμβανον 7. έξελθόντων δε της πόλεως των αμφί του Βρούτου, επί δυναστείας ὢν ὁ 'Αντώνιος ήδη μοναρχικής άρχην «θνους καὶ στρατιάς αύτῷ περιέβλεπε· καὶ Συρίας μεν επεθύμει μάλιστα, οὐκ ἡγνόει δὲ ων δι' ύπονοίας καὶ μάλλον ἐσόμενος, εί τι αἰτοίη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶ κρύφα Δολοβέλλαν τὸν έτερον ύπατον ἐπήλειφεν είς ἐναντίωσιν ή βουλή, διάφορον αίεὶ τῶ ἀντωνίω γενόμενον. αὐτὸν οθν τον Δολοβέλλαν ο 'Αντώνιος, νέον τε καί φιλότιμον είδώς, έπεισεν αίτειν Συρίαν αντί Κασσίου καὶ τὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους κατειλεγμένου στρατών έπὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίους, αἰτεῖν δὲ οὐ παρὰ της βουλης (οὐ γὰρ ἐξην), ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμω. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡσθεὶς αὐτίκα προυτίθει τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτιωμένης αὐτὸν παραλύειν τὰ δόξαντα τῶ Καίσαρι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους πόλεμον οὐδενὶ ἔφη ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπιτετράφθαι, Κάσσιον δὲ τὸν Συρίας ἀξιωθέντα αὐτόν τι τῶν Καίσαρος πρότερον ἀλλάξαι, δόντα πωλείν τὰ κληρουχήματα τοίς λαβούσι πρὸ τῶν νενομισμένων εϊκοσιν έτων καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ αίδείσθαι Συρίας οὐκ ἀξιούμενος. Δολοβέλλας ών.

holding the same opinion as themselves, gave them CHAP. charge of the supply of corn for the city from all parts of the world, until the time should arrive for

them to take command of their provinces.

This was done in order that Brutus and Cassius might not at any time seem to have run away. So great was the anxiety and regard for them that the Senate cared for the other murderers chiefly on their They account. 7. After Brutus and Cassius had left the leave the city, Antony, being in possession of something like monarchical power, cast about for the government of a province and an army for himself. He desired that of Syria most of all, but he was not ignorant of the fact that he was under suspicion and that he would be more so if he should ask for it; for the Senate had secretly encouraged Dolabella, the other consul, to oppose Antony, as he had always been at variance with him. Antony, knowing that this young Antony Dolabella was himself ambitious, persuaded him to syria for solicit the province of Syria and the army enlisted Dolabella against the Parthians, to be used against the Parthians, in place of Cassius, and to ask it, not from the Senate, which had not the power to grant it, but from the people by a law. Dolabella was delighted, and immediately brought forward the law. The Senate accused him of nullifying the decrees of Caesar. He replied that Caesar had not assigned the war against the Parthians to anybody. and that Cassius, who had been assigned to the command of Syria, had himself been the first to alter the decrees of Caesar by authorizing colonists to sell their allotments before the expiration of the legal period of twenty years. He said also it would be an indignity to himself if he, being Dolabella, were not chosen for

CAP. πρὸ Κασσίου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ ᾿Ασπρήναν ἔπεισαν ἐν τῷ χειροτονίᾳ ψεύσασθαι περὶ διοσημείας, ἐλπίσαντές τι καὶ ᾿Αντώνιον συμπράξειν, ὕπατόν τε ὄντα καὶ τῶν σημείων ἱερέα καὶ διάφορον ἔτι νομιζόμενον εἶναι τῷ Δολοβέλλα· ὁ δ΄ ᾿Αντώνιος, ἐπεὶ τῆς χειροτονίας οὕσης ὁ ᾿Ασπρήνας ἔφη διοσημείαν ἀπαίσιον γεγονέναι, ἔθους ὄντος ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τοῦτο πέμπεσθαι, πάνυ χαλεψάμενος τῷ ᾿Ασπρήνα τοῦ ψεύσματος τὰς φυλὰς ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν περὶ

τοῦ Δολοβέλλα.

8. Καὶ γίνεται μὲν οὕτω Συρίας ἡγεμων Δολοβέλλας καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Παρθυαίους καὶ στρατιάς της ές αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος κατειλεγμένης, όση τε περί Μακεδονίαν προεληλύθει, καὶ ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος τότε πρῶτον ἔγνωστο συμπράσσων τῶ Δολοβέλλα. γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε ἐν τῷ δήμω τὴν βουλὴν ὁ ἀντώνιος ήτει Μακεδονίαν, εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι αἰδέσονται, μετὰ Συρίαν δοθείσαν Δολοβέλλα, αντειπείν περί Μακεδονίας 'Αντωνίω, και ταθτα γυμνής στρατοθ γενομένης. καὶ έδοσαν μὲν ἄκοντες καὶ ἐν θαύματι έχοντες, όπως τον έν αὐτη στρατον προμεθηκεν ό 'Αντώνιος τῶ Δολοβέλλα, ἡγάπων δὲ ὅμως Δολοβέλλαν έχειν τὸν στρατὸν 'Αντωνίου μᾶλλον. έν καιρώ δὲ αὐτοὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἀντήτουν έτερα έθνη, καὶ εδόθη Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη, ώς δ' έτέροις δοκεί, τάδε μεν άμφότερα Κασσίω, Βιθυνία δὲ Βρούτω.

Syria instead of Cassius. The Senate then persuaded CHAP. one of the tribunes, named Asprenas, to give a false report of the signs in the sky during the comitia, having some hope that Antony, too, who was both consul and augur, and was supposed to be still at variance with Dolabella, would co-operate with him. But when the voting came on, and Asprenas said that the signs in the sky were unfavourable, as it was not his business to attend to this, Antony, angry at his lying, ordered that the tribes should go on with the voting on the subject of Dolabella.

8. Thus Dolabella became governor of Syria and general of the war against the Parthians and of the forces enlisted for that purpose by Caesar, together with those that had gone in advance to Macedonia. Then it became known for the first time that Antony was co-operating with Dolabella. After this business had been transacted by the people, Antony solicited He receives the province of Macedonia from the Senate, well for himself knowing that after Syria had been given to Dolabella, they would be ashamed to deny Macedonia to himself, especially as it was a province without an They gave it to him unwillingly, at the same time wondering why Antony should let Dolabella have the army, but glad nevertheless that the latter had it rather than the former. They themselves took the opportunity to ask of Antony other provinces for Brutus and Cassius, and there were assigned to them Cyrenaica and Crete; or, as some say, both of these to Cassius and Bithynia to Brutus.

### II

CAP. 9. Τὰ μὲν δὴ γινόμενα ἐν Ῥώμη τοιάδε ἢν· 11 'Οκτάουιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατριδούς ίππαρχος μέν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος γεγένητο προς εν έτος, έξ οῦ τήνδε την τιμήν ό Καίσαρ ές τους φίλους περιφέρων ετήσιον έσθ' ότε έποιείτο είναι, μειράκιον δὲ ἔτι ὢν ές 'Απολλωνίαν την έπὶ τοῦ 'Ιονίου παιδεύεσθαί τε καὶ ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμπετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ώς ές τοὺς πολεμίους έψόμενος αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῆ ᾿Απολλωνία ἱππέων ίλαι παραλλάξ έκ Μακεδονίας έπιουσαι συνεγύμναζον καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινες ώς συγγενεί Καίσαρος θαμινά ἐπεφοίτων. γνωσίς τε έκ τούτων αὐτῶ καὶ εὔνοια παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τις ένεγίγνετο, σύν χάριτι δεξιουμένω πάντας. έκτου δ' έχουτι μηνα έν τη 'Απολλωνία άγγέλλεται περί έσπέραν ὁ Καΐσαρ ἀνηρημένος ἐν τώ βουλευτηρίω πρὸς των φιλτάτων καὶ παρ' αὐτῶ δυνατωτάτων τότε μάλιστα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ούδενος απαγγελθέντος πω δέος αὐτὸν ἐπείχε καὶ ἄγνοια, είτε κοινὸν είη της βουλής τὸ ἔργον είτε καὶ τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἴδιον, καὶ εἰ δίκην ἤδη τοίς πλείοσι δεδώκοιεν ή καὶ τοῦδε είεν, ή καὶ τὸ πλήθος αὐτοῖς συνήδοιτο.

10. Έφ' οἷς οἱ φίλοι ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπετίθεντο ταῦτα, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος

#### H

9. Such was the state of affairs at Rome. We CHAP. turn now to Octavian, the son of the daughter of Caesar's sister, who had been appointed master of Octavian ir Caesar's horse for one year, for Caesar at times made this a yearly office, passing it round among his friends. Being still a young man, he had been sent by Caesar to Apollonia on the Adriatic to be educated and trained in the art of war, so that he might accompany Caesar on his expeditions. Troops of horse from Macedonia were sent to him by turns for the purpose of drill, and certain army officers visited him frequently as a relative of Caesar. As he received all with kindness, an acquaintance and good feeling grew up by means of them between himself and the army. At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, it was announced to him one evening that Caesar had been killed in the senatehouse by those who were dearest to him, and were then his most powerful subordinates. As the rest of the story was untold he was overcome by fear, not knowing whether the deed had been committed by the Senate as a whole or was confined to the immediate actors; nor whether the majority of the Senate had already punished them, or were actually accomplices, or whether the people were pleased with what had been done.

10. Thereupon [his friends in Rome advised as follows:] 2 some urged him to take refuge with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> His name was originally C. Octavius. When taking the names C. Julius Caesar he added *Octavianus*, as shewing his original *gens*. For clearness the name *Octavian* is employed in translation.

<sup>2</sup> These words are perhaps an insertion.

CAP. αὐτὸν ἢξίουν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονία στρατὸν καταφυγείν καί, ότε μάθοι μη κοινον είναι το έργου, ἐπιθαρρήσαντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀμύνειν τῶ Καίσαρι και ήσαν οί και των ήγεμόνων αὐτὸν έλθόντα φυλάξειν ύπεδέχοντο· ή δε μήτηρ καὶ Φίλιππος, δς είχεν αὐτήν, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης έγραφον μήτε ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε θαρρείν πω μεμνημένον, οία Καίσαρ ὁ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ κρατήσας ύπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων μάλιστα πάθοι, τὰ δὲ ἰδιωτικώτερα ώς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀκινδυνότερα αίρεισθαι μάλλον καὶ πρὸς σφάς ἐς Ῥώμην έπείγεσθαι φυλασσόμενον. οίς Όκτάουιος ενδούς διὰ τὴν ἔτι ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτω γενομένων, τούς ήγεμόνας του στρατού δεξιωσάμενος διέπλει τον Ίονιον, οὐκ ές τὸ Βρεντέσιον (οὕπω γάρ τινα τοῦ ἐκεῖθι στρατοῦ πεῖραν εἰληφως πάντα ἐφυλάσσετο), άλλ' ές έτέραν οὐ μακράν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πόλιν, έκτος ούσαν όδου, ή ὄνομα Λουπίαι. ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἐνηυλίσατο διατρίβων.

11. 'Ως δέ οἱ τά τε ἀκριβέστερα περὶ τοῦ φόνον καὶ τοῦ δημοσίου πάθους τῶν τε διαθηκῶν καὶ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἢλθε τὰ ἀντίγραφα, οἱ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢξίουν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Καίσαρος δεδιέναι, υἰόν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμον ὄντα, καὶ παρήνουν ἄμα τῷ κλήρῳ τὴν θέσιν ἀπείπασθαι ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ καὶ τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖν αὐτὸν Καίσαρι αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἤει, προπέμψας καὶ διερευνησάμενος, μή τις ἐκ τῶν φονέων ἐγκαθέζοιτο ἐνέδρα. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατὸς οἶα Καίσαρος υἱὸν δεξιούμενος ἀπήντα, θαρρήσας ἔθυε καὶ εὐθὺς ὡνομάζετο

army in Macedonia to ensure his personal safety, and CHAP. when he should learn that the murder was only a private transaction to take courage against his enemies and avenge Caesar: and there were high officers who promised to protect him if he would come. But his mother and his stepfather, Philippus, wrote to him from Rome not to be too confident and not to attempt anything rash, but to bear in mind what Caesar, after conquering every enemy, had suffered at the hands of his closest friends; that it would be safer under present circumstances to choose a private life and hasten to them at Rome, but with caution. Octavian vielded to them because he did not know what had happened after Caesar's death. He took leave of the army officers and crossed the He comes Adriatic, not to Brundusium (for as he had made no tol taly test of the army at that place he avoided all risk), but to another town not far from it and out of the direct route, named Lupiae. There he took lodgings

and remained for a while.

11. When more accurate information about the murder and the public grief had reached him, together with copies of Caesar's will and the decrees of the Senate, his relatives still more cautioned him to beware of the enemies of Caesar, as he was the latter's adopted son and heir. They even advised him to renounce the adoption, together with the inheritance. But he thought that to do so, and not to avenge Caesar, would be disgraceful. So he went to Brundusium, first sending in advance to see that none of the murderers had laid any trap for him. When the army there advanced to meet him, and received him as Caesar's son, he took courage, offered sacrifice, and immediately assumed the name of

CAP. Καΐσαρ. ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς τὰ τῶν θεμένων ὀνόματα ἐπιλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πατρῷον ὅλως ἐνήλλαξεν, ἀντὶ Ὁκταουίου παιδὸς Ὁκταουίου Καΐσαρ εἶναι καὶ Καίσαρος υίός, καὶ διετέλεσεν οὕτω χρώμενος. εὐθύς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἄθρουν καὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς ἐς Καίσαρος υίὸν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων συνέθεον, οἱ μὲν ἐκ φιλίας Καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔτεροι στρατιῶται σὺν αὐτοῦς, οἱ μὲν ἀποσκευὰς ἢ χρήματα φέροντες ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οἱ δὲ ἔτερα χρήματα καὶ φόρους

έξ έθνων άλλων ές το Βρεντέσιον.

12. 'Ο δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων καὶ τη Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δόξη τε καὶ τῆ πάντων είς εκείνον εύνοία θαρρών ώδευεν ές 'Ρώμην συν αξιολόγω πλήθει, αυξομένω μαλλον έκάστης ήμέρας οία χειμάρρω, φανεράς μεν έπιβουλής ὢν ἀμείνων διὰ τὸ πλήθος, ἐνέδρας δὲ δί αὐτὸ καὶ μάλιστα ὑφορώμενος, ἀρτιγνώστων οί των συνόντων σχεδον όντων άπάντων. τὰ δὲ τών πόλεων των μέν άλλων οὐ πάντη πρὸς αὐτὸν ην όμαλά οι δε τω Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διηρημένοι συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν αποικιών επὶ χάριτι τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ώλοφύρουτο καὶ τὸυ 'Αυτώνιου ἐβλασφήμουν οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα τηλικούτω μύσει καὶ σφάς έλεγον, εἴ τις ήγοῖτο, ἀμυνεῖν. οὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ έπαινῶν καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπέπεμπεν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ Ταρρακίνας, ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων που Ρώμης σταδίων, αγγέλλεται Κάσσιός τε καὶ Γρούτος άφηρημένοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων

Caesar; for it is customary among the Romans for CHAP the adopted son to take the name of the adoptive father. He not only assumed it, but he changed his own name and his patronymic completely, calling himself Caesar the son of Caesar, instead of Octavian the son of Octavius, and he continued to do so ever after. Directly multitudes of men from all sides flocked to him as Caesar's son, some from friendship to Caesar, others his freedmen and slaves, and with them soldiers besides, who were either engaged in conveying supplies and money to the army in Macedonia, or bringing other money and tribute from other countries to Brundusium

12. Encouraged by the numbers who were joining him, and by the glory of Caesar, and by the goodwill of all toward himself, he journeyed to Rome with a notable crowd which, like a torrent, grew larger and larger each day. Although he was safe from any open attacks by reason of the multitude surrounding him, he was all the more on his guard against secret ones, because almost all of those accompanying him were new acquaintances. Some Caesar's of the towns were not altogether favourable to him, soldiers but Caesar's veterans, who had been distributed in gladly colonies, flocked from their settlements to greet the young man. They bewailed Caesar, and cursed Antony for not proceeding against the monstrous crime, and said that they would avenge it if anybody would lead them. Octavian praised them, but postponed the matter for the present and sent them away. When he had arrived at Tarracina, about He moves 400 stades from Rome, he received news that towards Rome Cassius and Brutus had been deprived of Syria and

ΑΡ. Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς παρηγορίαν βραχύτερα ἔτερα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην ἀντειληφότες, φυγάδων τέ τινων κάθοδοι καὶ Πομπηίου μετάκλησις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων ἔς τε τὴν βουλήν ἐγγραφαί τινων καὶ ἔτερα πολλὰ

γιγνόμενα.

13. 'Ως δ' ές την πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ή μεν μήτηρ αθθις καὶ Φίλιππος όσοι τε άλλοι κηδεμόνες ήσαν αύτοῦ, ἐδεδοίκεσαν τήν τε της βουλης ές τὸν Καίσαρα άλλοτρίωσιν καὶ τὸ δόγμα, μὴ είναι δίκας έπὶ Καίσαρι φόνου, καὶ τὴν 'Αντωνίου τότε δυναστεύουτος ές αὐτὸν ὑπεροψίαν, οὕτε ἀφικομένου πρός του Καίσαρος υίου έλθόντα ούτε προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράυνεν, αύτος απαντήσειν ές του 'Αντώνιον είπων οία νεώτερος ές πρεσβύτερον καὶ ίδιώτης ές ϋπατον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν θεραπεύσειν τὰ εἰκότα. καὶ τὸ εύγμα έφη γενέσθαι μηδενός πω τους άνδροφόνους διώκοντος άλλ' όπότε θαρρήσας τις διώκοι, καί του δήμου επικουρήσειν και την βουλήν ώς έννόμω καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς δικαίω καὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον ίσως. εί δε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς θέσεως ύπερίδοι, ές τε τον Καίσαρα άμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ τον δήμον άδικήσειν είς την διανομήν.

'Απερρήγνυ τε λήγων τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι μὴ κινδυνεύειν οἱ καλὸν εἴη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυήσκειν, εἰ προκριθεὶς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τοσαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀντάξιος αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο φιλοκινδυνοτάτου γεγονότος. τά τε τοῦ 'Αχιλλέως, ὑπόγυά οἱ τότε

Macedonia by the consuls, and had received the CHAP. smaller provinces of Cyrenaica and Crete by way of compensation; that certain exiles had returned; that Sextus Pompeius had been recalled; that some new members had been added to the Senate in accordance with Caesar's memoranda, and that many

other things were happening.

13. When he arrived at the city his mother and He resolves Philippus and the others who were interested in him to avenge were anxious about the estrangement of the Senate from Caesar, and the decree that his murderers should not be punished, and the contempt shown him by Antony, who was then all-powerful, and had neither gone to meet Caesar's son when he was coming nor sent anybody to him. Octavian quieted their fears, saying that he would call on Antony, as the younger man on the older and the private citizen on the consul, and that he would show proper respect for the Senate. As for the decree, he said that it had been passed because nobody had prosecuted the murderers; whenever anybody should have courage to prosecute, the people and the Senate would lend their aid to him as enforcing the law, and the gods would do so for the justice of his cause, and Antony himself equally. If he (Octavian) should reject the inheritance and the adoption, he would be false to Caesar and would wrong the people who had a share in the will.

As he was finishing his remarks he burst out that honour demanded that he should not only incur danger, but even death, if, after he had been preferred before all others in this way by Caesar, he would show himself worthy of one who had himself braved every danger. Then he repeated the words of Achilles.

CAP. όντα μάλιστα, ες την μητέρα ώσπερ ες την Θέτιν επιστρεφόμενος έλεγεν·

" Αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρφ

κτεινομένω επαμύνειν."

καὶ τόδε εἰπὼν ᾿Αχιλλεῖ μὲν ἔφη κόσμον ἀθάνατον ἐκ πάντων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα· αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀνεκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα οὐχ ἐταῖρον, ἀλλὰ πατέρα, οὐδὲ συστρατιώτην, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοκράτορα, οὐδὲ πολέμου νόμῷ πεσόντα, ἀλλ᾽ ἀθεμίστως ἐν βουλευτηρίῷ κατεκοπέντα.

14. 'Εφ' οίς αὐτὸν ή μήτηρ, ες ήδονην εκ τοῦ δέους ύπαχθείσα, ησπάζετο ώς μόνον άξιον Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν έτι ἐπισχοῦσα ἐπέσπερχεν ἐς τὰ έγνωσμένα σύν τη τύχη. παρήνει γε μην έτι τέγνη καὶ ἀνεξικακία μᾶλλον ἡ φανερά θρασύτητί πω χρησθαι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαινέσας καὶ πράξειν ύποσγόμενος ούτως, αὐτίκα της έσπέρας ές τούς φίλους περιέπεμπεν, ές έω συγκαλών έκαστον ές την άγοραν μετά πλήθους. ένθα Γάιον 'Αντώνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν 'Αντωνίου, στρατηγοῦντα της πόλεως, υπαντιάσας έφη δέχεσθαι την θέσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος έθος γάρ τι 'Ρωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς έπὶ μάρτυσι γίγνεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ τῶν δημοσίων τὸ ρῆμα, εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆν αγοράς ές του 'Αντώνιον έχώρει. ό δὲ ἡν ές κήποις, ους ο Καίσαρ αυτώ δεδώρητο Πομπηίου γενομένους. διατριβής δε άμφὶ τὰς θύρας πλείονος γενομένης ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ καὶ τάδε ἐς ὑποψίαν

which were then fresh in his mind, turning to his  $_{\text{CHAP}}$ , mother as if she were Thetis;—

"Would I might die this hour, who failed to save My comrade slain!" 1

After saying this he added that these words of Achilles, and especially the deed that followed, had of all things given him immortal renown; and he invoked Caesar not as a friend, but a falher; not as a fellow-soldier, but a commander-in-chief; not as one who had fallen by the law of war, but as the victim of sacrilegious murder in the senate-house.

14. Thereupon his mother's anxiety was changed to joy, and she embraced him as alone worthy of Caesar. She checked his speaking and urged him to prosecute his designs with the favour of fortune. She advised him, however, to use art and patience rather than open boldness. Octavian approved of this policy and promised to adopt it in action, and forthwith sent around to his friends the same evening, asking them to come to the forum early in the morning and bring a crowd with them. There presenting himself to Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was the city praetor, he said that he accepted the adoption of Caesar; for it is a Roman custom that adoptions are confirmed by witnesses before the practors. When the public scribes had taken down his declaration, Octavian went from the forum straightway to Antony. The He visits latter was in the gardens that Caesar had given Antony to him, which had formerly been Pompey's. As Octavian was kept waiting at the vestibule for

<sup>1</sup> Iliad xviii. 98 (Lord Derby's translation).

CAP. 'Αντωνίου τῆς ἀλλοτριώσεως ἐτίθετο, εἰσκληθέντος δέ ποτε ἦσαν προσαγορεύσεις τε καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλων πύσματα εἰκότα.

'Ως δὲ ἤδη λέγειν ἔδει περί ὧν ἦσαν ἐν γρεία, ό Καίσαρ είπεν· 15. "έγω δέ, πάτερ 'Αντώνιε (πατέρα γὰρ εἶναι σέ μοι δικαιοῦσιν αἴ τε Καίσαρος ές σε εὐεργεσίαι καὶ ή σὴ πρὸς ἐκείνον χάρις), των σοι πεπραγμένων ἐπ' ἐκείνω τὰ μὲν έπαινω και χάριν αὐτων ὀφλήσω, τὰ δ' ἐπιμέμφομαι, καὶ λελέξεται μετά παρρησίας, ές ην ή λύπη με προάγει. κτεινομένω μέν οὐ παρής, των φονέων σε περισπασάντων περί θύρας, έπεί περιέσωζες αν αὐτὸν η συνεκινδύνευες ὅμοια παθείν ων εί θάτερον έμελλεν έσεσθαι, καλώς, ότι μη παρής. Ψηφιζομένων δέ τινων αὐτοῖς ώς ἐπὶ τυράννω γέρα άντεῖπας έγκρατως καὶ τοῦδέ σοι χάριν οίδα λαμπράν, εί καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγνως συνανελείν σε βεβουλευμένους, ούχ, ώς ήμεις ήγούμεθα, τιμωρον ἐσόμενον Καίσαρι, ἀλλ', ώς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, της τυραννίδος διάδοχον. άμα δ' οὐκ ήσαν έκείνοι τυραννοκτόνοι, εί μη καὶ φονείς ήσαν διὸ καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον συνέφυγον ὡς ἐς ίερον άμπρτόντες ίκεται ή ώς ες άκροπολιν έχθροί. πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία καὶ τὸ ἀνεύθυνον τοῦ

some time, he interpreted the fact as a sign of An-CHAP. tony's displeasure, but when he was admitted there were greetings and mutual inquiries proper to the occasion.

When the time came to speak of the business in hand, Octavian said: 15. "Father Antony (for the and reads benefits that Caesar conferred upon you and your him a gratitude toward him warrant me in giving you that title), for some of the things that you have done since his death I praise you and owe you thanks; for others I blame you. I shall speak freely of what my sorrow prompts me to speak. When Caesar was killed you were not present, as the murderers detained you at the door; otherwise you would have saved him or incurred the danger of sharing the same fate with him. If the latter would have befallen you, then it is well that you were not present. When certain senators proposed rewards to the murderers as tyrannicides you strongly opposed them. For this I give you hearty thanks, although you knew that they intended to kill you also; 1 not as I think, because you were likely to avenge Caesar, but, as they themselves say, lest you should be his successor in the tyranny. Slavers of a 'tyrant' they may or may not have been; murderers they certainly were; 2 and that is why they took refuge in the Capitol, either as guilty suppliants in a temple or as enemies in a fortress. How then could they have obtained amnesty and

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of this passage is doubtful. Schweighäuser thinks that Octavian means to say that he thanks Antony for opposing the proposition to reward the murderers, although he may have had a selfish interest in doing so.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "they were not 'tyrant-killers' [as they claimed] without also being [by that confession] murderers."

CAP. φόνου, ἢ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ει τινες ἐφθάρατο ὑπ' ἐκείνων; καὶ σὲ τὸ τῶν πλεόνων ὅρᾶν ἐχρῆν, ὕπατον ὄντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ θάτερα βουλομένφ σοι ἡ ἀρχὴ συνελάμβανε, τιμωρουμένφ τηλικοῦτον ἄγος καὶ τοὺς πλανωμένους μεταδιδάσκοντι. σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅμηρα τῆς ἀδείας, οἰκεῖα αὐτοῦ σοῦ, τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἔπεμψας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

"'Αλλ' ἔστω καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς διεφθαρμένους σε βιάσασθαι.\" ὅτε μέντοι τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀναγνωσθεισῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ σοῦ δίκαιον ἐπιτάφιον εἰπόντος ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀκριβεῖ Καίσαρος μνήμη γενόμενοι πῦρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφερον, καὶ φεισάμενοι χάριν τῶν γειτόνων ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἥξειν ἐπὶ ὅπλα συνέθεντο, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ δήμω συνέπραξας καὶ ἐστρατήγησας τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ τῶν ὅπλων ἡ δίκην γε τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐπέγραψας, εἰ δίκης ἔδει κατὰ αὐτοφώρων, καὶ φίλος ὧν Καίσαρι καὶ ὕπατος καὶ ᾿Αντώνιος:

16. " Άλλὰ Μάριος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἀνδροφόνους δὲ ἐκφυγεῖν ὑπερείδες καὶ ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐνίους διαδραμεῖν, ὰς ἀθεμίστως ἔχουσι τὸν δόντα ἀνελόντες. Συρίαν μὲν δὴ καὶ Μακεδονίαν εὖ ποιοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι, σὸ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, καθισταμένων ἄρτι τῶν πραγμάτων περιεσπάσατε ἐς ἑαυτούς. καὶ τοῦδέ σοι χάριν ἡδειν ἄν, εἰ μὴ αὐτίκα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ φυγάδας ἡξιώσατε ἡγεμονίαις αἰεὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Viereck reads ξστων... οἱ διεφθαρμένοι, but approves the reading given above.

impunity for their crime unless some portion of CHAT. the Senate and people had been corrupted by them? Yet you, as consul, ought to have seen what would be for the interest of the majority, and if you had wished to avenge such a monstrous crime, or to reclaim the erring, your office would have enabled you to do either. But you sent hostages from your own family to the murderers at the Capitol for their security.

"Let us suppose that those who had been corrupted forced you to do this also, yet when Caesar's will had been read, and you had yourself delivered your righteous funeral oration, and the people, being thus brought to a lively remembrance of Caesar, had carried firebrands to the houses of the murderers, but spared them for the sake of their neighbours, agreeing to come back armed the next day, why did you not cooperate with them and lead them with fire or arms? Or why did you not bring them to trial, if trial was necessary for men seen in the act of murderyou, Caesar's friend; you, the consul: you, Antony?

16. "The pseudo-Marius was put to death by your order in the plenitude of your authority, but you connived at the escape of the murderers, some of whom have passed on to the provinces which they nefariously hold as gifts at the hands of him whom they slew. These things were no sooner done than you and Dolabella, the consuls, proceeded, very properly, to strip them and possess yourselves of Syria and Macedonia. I should have owed you thanks for this also, had you not immediately voted them Cyrenaica and Crete; had you not preferred these fugitives for governorships, where they can

CAP. δορυφορείσθαι· Δέκμον τε την έγγυς Κελτικήν ύπερορατε έχοντα, καὶ τόνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως αὐθέντην τούμοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε την βουλην έρει τις έγνωκέναι. σὺ δ' έπεψήφιζες καὶ προυκάθησο της βουλής, ώ μάλιστα πάντων ήρμοζε διὰ σαυτὸν ἀντειπείν τὸ γαρ αμνηστίαν δούναι την σωτηρίαν ην εκείνοις χαριζομένων μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὖθις ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ γέρα ὑβριζόντων Καίσαρα καὶ την σην γνώμην ακυρούντων.

" Επὶ τάδε με δη τὸ πάθος εξήνεγκε παρὰ τὸ άρμόζον ίσως έμοὶ τῆς τε ήλικίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ αίδους. είρηται δ' όμως ώς ες ακριβέστερον φίλον Καίσαρι καὶ πλείστης ὑπ' ἐκείνου τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ήξιωμένον καὶ τάχα αν αὐτῷ καὶ θετὸν γενόμενον, εὶ ήδει σε δεξόμενον Αἰνεάδην ἀντὶ Ήρακλείδου γενέσθαι τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν . . . ἐνδοιάσαι, πολύν της διαδοχης λόγον ποιούμενον.

17. "Ές δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ὧ 'Αντώνιε, πρὸς θεῶν τε φιλίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ σοι Καίσαρος, εἰ μέν τι καὶ των γεγονότων μεταθέσθαι θέλεις (δύνασαι γάρ, εὶ θέλεις) εὶ δὲ μή, τά γε λοιπὰ τοὺς φονέας άμυνομένω μοι μετά τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἔτι μοι πατρικών φίλων συνίστασθαι καὶ συνεργείν. εί δέ σε των ανδρων τις ή της βουλης αίδως έχει, μη ἐπιβαρείν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τούτων οἶσθα δ', ὅπως ἔχει μοι καὶ τὰ οἴκοι, δαπάνης τε ἐς τὴν

always defend themselves against me, and had you char not tolerated Decimus Brutus in the command of Hither Gaul, although he, like the rest, was one of my father's slayers. It may be said that these were decrees of the Senate. But you put the vote and you presided over the Senate—you who ought most of all to have opposed them on your own account. To grant amnesty to the murderers was merely to insure their personal safety as a matter of favour, but to vote them provinces and rewards forthwith was to insult Caesar and annul your own judgment.

"Grief has compelled me to speak these words, against the rules of decorum perhaps, considering my youth and the respect I owe you. They have been spoken, however, as to a more fully declared friend of Caesar, to one who was invested by him with the greatest honour and power, and who would have been adopted by him no doubt if he had known that you would accept kinship with the family of Aeneas in exchange for that of Hercules; for this created doubt in his mind when he was thinking strongly of

designating you as his successor.

17. "For the future, Antony, I conjure you by the gods who preside over friendship, and by Caesar himself, to change somewhat the measures that have been adopted, for you can change them if you wish to; if not, that you will in any case hereafter aid and co-operate with me in punishing the murderers, with the help of the people and of those who are still my father's faithful friends, and if you still have regard for the conspirators and the Senate, do not be hard on us. Enough of this topic. You know about my private affairs and the expense I must

<sup>1</sup> The main verb is missing.

CAP. διανομήν, ην ο πατηρ εκέλευσε τῷ δήμω δοθηναι. καὶ ἐπείξεως ἐς αὐτήν, ἵνα μη βραδύνων ἀχάριστος είναι δοκοίην μηδ' όσοι καταλεχθέντες είς τὰς άποικίας ἐπιμένουσι τῆ πόλει, δι' ἐμὲ τρίβοιντο. όσα δη των Καίσαρος εὐθέως ἐπὶ τῷ φόνω πρὸς σὲ μετενήνεκται ώς έπ' ἀσφαλες έξ ἐπικινδύνου τότε οικίας, τὰ μὲν κειμήλια αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον άπαντα κόσμον έχειν άξιω σε καὶ όσα αν έθέλης άλλα παρ' ήμων ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν διανομὴν άποδοῦναί μοι τὸ χρυσίον τὸ ἐπίσημον, δ συνηθροίκει μεν ές τους πολέμους εκείνος, ους έπενόει, ἀρκέσει δ' έμοὶ νῦν ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ανδρών μεριζόμενον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς δαπάνης, εἰ μεν θαρρήσαιμί σοι, παρά σοῦ αν ίσως η διά σοῦ δανεισαίμην έκ των δημοσίων χρημάτων, αν διδώς. διαπεπράσεται δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ ἡ οὐσία."

18. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος ο ᾿Αντώνος κατεπλάγη, τῆς τε παρρησίας καὶ τῆς εὐτολμίας παρὰ δόξαν οἱ πολλῆς καὶ παρὰ ἡλικίαν φανείσης χαλεψάμενος δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει τὸ πρέπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χρημάτων τῆ ἀπαιτήσει, αὐστηρότερον αὐτὸν ὧδε ἡμείψατο " εἰ μὲν ὁ Καῖσάρ σοι μετὰ κλήρου καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ὧ παῖ, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατέλιπεν, εἰκὸς σὲ τῶν κοινῶν τοὺς λογισμοὺς αἰτεῖν κὰμὲ ὑπέχειν. εἰ δὲ οὐδενί πω 'Ρωμαῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔδοσαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων, οὺς ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν μηδ' ἄλλων ἔτι ἀνέξεσθαι, (ὁ καὶ τῷ πατρί σου μάλιστα οἱ φονεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες φασὶν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν βασιλιζόμενον,

incur for the legacy which my father directed to be CHAP. given to the people, and the haste involved in it lest I may seem churlish by reason of delay, and lest those who have been assigned to colonies be compelled to remain in the city and waste their time on my account. Of Caesar's movables, that were brought immediately after the murder from his house to yours as a safer place, I beg you to take keepsakes and anything else by way of ornament and whatever you like to retain from us. But in order that I may pay the legacy to the people, please give me the gold coin that Caesar had collected for his intended wars. That will suffice for the distribution to 300,000 men now. For the rest of my expenses I may perhaps borrow from you, if I may be so bold, or from the public treasury on your security, if you will give it, and I will offer my own property for sale at once.'

18. While Octavian was speaking in this fashion Antony's Antony was astonished at his freedom of speech and reply his boldness, which seemed much beyond the bounds of propriety and of his years. He was offended by the words because they were wanting in the respect due to him, and still more by the demand for money. and, accordingly, he replied in these somewhat severe terms: "Young man, if Caesar left you the government, together with the inheritance and his name, it is proper for you to ask and for me to give the reasons for my public acts. But if the Roman people never surrendered the government to anybody to dispose of in succession, not even when they had kings, whom they expelled and swore never to have any more (this was the very charge that the murderers brought against your father, saying that they killed him because he was no longer a leader

CAP. οὐχ ἡγούμενον ἔτι), ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως δεῖ πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῷ καὶ σὲ κουψίζω, μὴ χάριν ὀφείλειν ἡμῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ἐπράσσετο γὰρ οὐ σοῦ χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ μεγίστου δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἔς τε Καίσαρα καὶ σὲ ἔργου. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔνεκα ἀδεοῦς καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνου περιεῖδον ἐγὰ τιμὰς ψηφιζομένας τοῖς φονεῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις, τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγίγνετο, ῷ μήτε δόξης μήτε τιμῆς τινος ἡ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων βεβαιώσεως ἔτι μετῆν. οὐ διαθήκας εῖχεν ἄν, οὐ παῖδα, οὐκ οὐσίαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ταφῆς ἀξιούμενον, οὐδὲ ἰδιώτου ἄταφα γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τὰ σώματα τῶν τυράννων ὑπερορίζουσι καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ δημεύουσι τὴν περιουσίαν.

19. " Ων έγω δεδιως καστον ὑπερηγωνιζόμην Καίσαρος, ἀθανάτου τε δόξης καὶ δημοσίας ταφής, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐμαυτῷ, τυχεῖν, πρός τε ἄνδρας ταχυεργεῖς καὶ φόνου πλήρεις καὶ, ώς ἔμαθες, ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνομωροσμένους πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀχθομένην σου τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνείεν καὶ παθεῖν ότιοῦν ἡρούμην ἐκὼν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄταφον καὶ ἄτιμον γιγνόμενον περιιδεῖν Καίσαρα, ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ εὐτυχέστατον ἐς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀξιοτιμότατον ἐκ πάντων ἐμοὶ γενόμενον. τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς μου τοῖσδε κινδύνοις καὶ σὺ τὰ νῦν σοι παρόντα πάντα λαμπρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔχεις, γένος, ὄνομα, ἀξίωμα, περιουσίαν. ὧν σε δικαιότερον ἦν ἐμοὶ χάριν εἰδέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ

but a king), then there is no need of my answering CHAP. you as to my public acts. For the same reason I release you from any indebtedness to me in the way of gratitude for those acts. They were performed not for your sake, but for the people's, except in one particular, which was of the greatest importance to Caesar and to yourself. For if, to secure my own safety and to shield myself from enmity, I had allowed honours to be voted to the murderers as tyrannicides. Caesar would have been declared a tyrant, to whom neither glory, nor any kind of honour, nor confirmation of his acts would have been possible; who could make no valid will, have no son, no property, nor any burial of his body, even as a private citizen. The laws provide that the bodies of tyrants shall be cast out unburied, their memory

stigmatized, and their property confiscated.

19. "Apprehending all of these consequences, I entered the lists for Caesar, for his immortal honour. and his public funeral, not without danger, not without incurring hatred to myself, contending against hot-headed, blood-thirsty men, who, as you know, had already conspired to kill me; and against the Senate, which was displeased with your father on account of his usurped authority. But I willingly chose to incur these dangers and to suffer anything rather than allow Caesar to remain unburied and dishonoured-the most valiant man of his time, the most fortunate in every respect, and the one to whom the highest honours were due from me. It is by reason of the dangers I incurred that you enjoy your present distinction as the successor of Caesar, his family, his name, his dignity, his wealth. It would have been more becoming in you to testify your

ΣΑΡ. ἐκλειφθέντα εἰς τὴν τῆς βουλῆς παρηγορίαν ἡ ἐς 
ἀντίδοσιν τῶνδε, ὧν ἔχρηζον, ἡ κατ' ἄλλας χρείας 
ἡ λογισμοὺς ἐπιμέμφεσθαι πρεσβυτέρφ νεώτερον 
ὄντα.

" Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀρκέσει σοι περὶ τῶνδε εἰρῆσθαι ἐνσημαίνη δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας με ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντα μέν, οὐκ ἀπάξιον δὲ ἡγούμενον εἶναι, καὶ ἄχθεσθαι μὴ τυχόντα τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος, ὁμολογῶν μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν

γένος άρκεῖν.

20. "Περί δὲ τῶν σῶν χρειῶν, ἐθέλοντα μέν σε έκ των δημοσίων δανείσασθαι ήγούμην αν είρωνείαν λέγειν, εί μὴ πιθανὸν ἡν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖν σε κενὰ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολελεῖφθαι τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα, τῶν προσόδων, έξ οῦ παρηλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ταμιείου συμφερομένων καὶ εύρεθησομένων αὐτίκα ἐν τῆ Καίσαρος περιουσία. ύταν αὐτὰ ζητεῖν ψηφισώμεθα. ἄδικον γὰρ οὐδέν τούτο ές τὸν Καίσαρα ἔσται, τεθνεῶτά τε ἤδη καὶ ούκ αν είπόντα άδικον είναι, εί και ζων ήτειτο τούς λογισμούς, έπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πολλοίς άμφισβητοῦσί σοι καθ' ἕνα τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἀδήριτον αὐτὴν ἔχων γνώση. τῶν δὲ μετενεχθέντων πρός με χρημάτων ούτε τὸ πληθός ἐστιν, ὅσον εἰκάζεις, οὕτε τι νῦν ἔστι παρ' ἐμοί, πάντα τῶν ἐν άργαις καὶ δυνάμει, πλην Δολοβέλλα καὶ τῶν έμων άδελφων νειμαμένων μέν εὐθύς ώς τυράννου, δι' έμε δε μετατεθέντων ες χάριν των ύπερ Καίσαρος έψηφισμένων, έπεὶ καὶ σύ τὰ λοιπὰ φέρων

gratitude to me for these things than to reproach me CHAP. for concessions made to soothe the Senate, or in compensation for what I needed from it, or in pursuance of other needs or reasons—you a younger

man addressing an older one.

"But enough of that. You hint that I am ambitious of the leadership. I am not ambitious of it, although I do not consider myself unworthy of it. You think that I am distressed because I was not mentioned in Caesar's will, though you agree with me that the family of the Heraclidae is enough to content one.

20. " As to your pecuniary needs and your wishing to borrow from the public funds, I might have thought you must be jesting, had it not been possible to think that you are still ignorant of the fact that the public treasury was left empty by your father; because after he assumed the government the public revenues were brought to him instead of to the treasury, and they will presently be found among Caesar's assets when we vote an investigation into these matters. For such investigation will not be unjust to Caesar now that he is dead, nor would he say that it was unjust if he were living and were asked for the accounts. And as there will be many private persons to dispute with you concerning single pieces of property, you may assume that this portion will not be uncontested. The money transferred to my house was not so large a sum as you conjecture, nor is any part of it in my custody now. The men in power and authority, except Dolabella and my brothers, divided up the whole of it straightway as the property of a tyrant, but were brought round by me to support the decrees in favour of Caesar, and you, if you are wise, when you get possession of the remainder,

CAP. οἴσεις ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἂν σωφρονῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπέμψουσιν, ἂν συμφρονῶσι, τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ὁ δὲ δῆμός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρτιδίδακτος ὢν ἔμαθες, ἀστάθμητον ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσση κῦμα κινούμενον ὁ μὲν ῆλθεν, ὁ δ᾽ ἀπῆλθεν. ὡ λόγω καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰεὶ τοὺς δημοκόπους ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξάρας ἐς γόνυ ἔρριψε."

#### Ш

21. Τούτων τοίς πολλοίς δυσχεράνας ὁ Καίσαρ ές ύβριν είρημένοις ἀπεχώρει, τὸν πατέρα ἀνακαλων θαμινά έξ ονόματος, καὶ την οὐσίαν ές πράσιν αὐτίκα προυτίθει πάσαν, όση κατὰ τὸν κλήρον έγίγνετο αὐτοῦ, προτρέπων ἐπικουρεῖν οί τὸν δημον έκ τησδε της σπουδης φανεράς δε της 'Αντωνίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθρας γενομένης καὶ τῆς βουλής ζήτησιν εὐθὺς είναι τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ψηφισαμένης, οί πολλοί έδεισαν έπὶ τῷ νέφ Καίσαρι της πατρώας ές τους στρατιώτας και τον δημον εὐνοίας ούνεκα καὶ της νῦν ἐπὶ τη χορηγία δημοκοπίας καὶ περιουσίας, ἡ δὴ πάνυ αὐτῷ πολλή προσελθοῦσα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἰδιώτου μέτρω καθέξειν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀντωνίω μάλιστα, μη του Καίσαρα, νέον ἄνδρα καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ πλούσιον, έταιρισάμενος ὑφ' έαυτὸν είναι πρότερος άψαιτο της Καίσαρος δυναστείας. οί

will distribute it among those who are disaffected CHAP. toward you rather than among the people. The former, if they are wise, will send the people, who are to be colonized, away to their settlements. The people, however, as you ought to have learned from the Greek studies you have been lately pursuing, are as unstable as the waves of the sea, now advancing, now retreating. In like manner, among us also, the people are for ever exalting their favourites, and casting them down again."

#### Ш

21. Feeling outraged by the many insulting things CHAP. said by Antony, Octavian went away invoking his III father repeatedly by name, and offered for sale all the ment property which had come to him by the inheritance, at the same time endeavouring by this zeal to induce Octavian the people to stand by him. While this hasty action made manifest Antony's enmity toward him, and the Senate voted an immediate investigation of the public accounts, most people grew apprehensive of the young Caesar on account of the favour in which his father was held by the soldiers and the plebeians. and on account of his own present popularity based on the expected distribution of the money, and by reason of the wealth which had fallen to him in such vast measure that in the opinion of many he would not restrict himself to the rank of a private citizen. But they were most apprehensive of Antony, lest he should bring the young Caesar, distinguished and rich as he was, under his own control, and grasp the sovereignty held by the elder

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CAP. δὲ καὶ τοῖς τότε γιγνομένοις ἐφήδοντο, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδὼν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πλούτου τῆ ζητήσει τῶν χρημάτων αὐτίκα διαλυθησομένου καὶ σφίσι τοῦ ταμιείου περιουσίας πλήρους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσομένου· τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν εὐρήσειν παρὰ Καίσαρι.

22. Πολλοί τε αὐτῶν ἐς δίκας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπῆγον περί γωρίων, έτερος έτέρω ἐπιλέγοντες ἄλλα τε έκαστοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις, ἐκ προγραφής είναι των δημευθέντων ή φυγόντων ή άναιρεθέντων, ήγον τε τὰς δίκας ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον Δολοβέλλαν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς ἐδικάζετο, πανταχοῦ τὰ πολλά όμοίως ό Καΐσαρ είς χάριν 'Αντωνίου ήττατο, τά τε ωνήματα τω πατρί έκ του δημοσίου γενόμενα επιδεικνύς καὶ τὸ τελευταίον ψήφισμα τὸ βεβαιούν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα πάντα. ὕβρεις τε πολλαί παρά τὰς δίκας ήσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζημίας προύκοπτεν ές άπειρον, έστε Πέδιον καὶ Πινάριον (ούτοι γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος διαθηκῶν τοῦ κλήρου μοῖραν εἶχον) μέμψασθαι τῶ 'Αντωνίω περί τε σφών αὐτών καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ώς άδικα πασχόντων παρά τὸ ψήφισμα της βουλης. Θοντό τε αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκλύειν δείν μόνον, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα κυροῦν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι πέπρακται.

Caesar. Others were delighted with the present state CHAP of affairs, believing that the two men would come into conflict with each other; and that the investigation concerning the public money would presently put an end to the wealth of Octavian, and that the treasury would be filled thereby, because the greater part of the public property would be found in Caesar's estate.

22. In the meantime many persons brought law- Litigation suits against Octavian for the recovery of landed over property, some making one claim and some another, estate differing in other respects, but for the most part having this in common, that it had been confiscated from persons who had been banished or put to death owing to the proscription. These suits were brought before Antonius himself or the other consul, Dolabella. If any were brought before other magistrates. Octavian was everywhere worsted for the most part through Antony's influence, although he showed by the public records that the purchases 1 had been made by his father, and that the last decree of the Senate had confirmed all of Caesar's acts. Great wrongs were done him in these judgments, and the losses in consequence thereof were going on without end, until Pedius and Pinarius, who had a certain portion of the inheritance under Caesar's will, complained to Antony, both for themselves and for Octavian, that they were suffering injustice in violation of the Senate's decree. They thought that he ought to annul only the things done to insult Caesar, and to ratify all that had been done by him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The words may perhaps mean "he shewed the deeds of sale executed by the public scribe;" the words bearing some such sense in newly discovered papyri.

CAP. '() δὲ ώμολόγει μὲν τὰ πρασσόμενα ἴσως έναντίον έχειν τι τοῖς συνεψηφισμένοις, καὶ τὰ έψηφισμένα δ' έφη τοῖς τότε δόξασιν έναντίως γεγράφθαι. μόνης γαρ της αμνηστίας επειγούσης, το ' μηδεν άνατρέπειν των προδιφκημένων,' οὐ τοῦδ' 1 αὐτοῦ γε χάριν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἄπασιν άπλῶς μᾶλλον ἡ ές εὐπρέπειαν καὶ παρηγορίαν τοῦ δήμου θορυβουμένου τούτοις, ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἶναι δὲ δικαιότερον τη γνώμη του ψηφίσματος μάλλον ή τῷ ῥήματι χρωμένους μὴ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀντιπράττειν ἀνδράσι τοσοίσδε ιδίων ή προγονικών κτήσεων κατά στάσιν έκπεσούσιν ύπερ νεανίσκου τοσόνδε πλούτον άλλότριον τε καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸν παρ' ἐλπίδα λαβόντος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδεξίως, ἀλλ' ἐς θρασύτητα τῆ τύχη χρωμένου. σφων μέντοι φείσεσθαι το μέρος νειμαμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. ὧδε μὲν ὁ ἀντώνιος τοίς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πινάριον ἀπεκρίνατο. καὶ εὐθὺς ένέμοντο, ίνα μη καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις προσαπόλοιτο, οὐ σφῶν ἔνεκα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόδε του Καίσαρος έμελλον γαρ αὐτῶ μετ' οὐ πολύ πάντα χαριείσθαι.

23. Θέας δὲ πλησιαζούσης, ἢν ἔμελλεν ὑπὲρ Βρούτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐπιδώσειν Γάιος ᾿Αντώνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ᾿Αντωνίου, καὶ τἄλλα τοῦ Βρούτου τῆς στρατηγίας ἐπιτροπεύων ἀπόντος, παρασκευή

Antony acknowledged that his course was perhaps CHAF. somewhat contrary to the agreements voted. The decrees also, he said, had been recorded in a sense different from the original understanding. While it was the amnesty alone which was urgent, the clause "that nothing previously resolved be repealed" was added not for the sake of this provision in itself, nor because it was entirely satisfactory in all matters of detail, but rather to promote good order and to quiet the people, who had been thrown into tumult by these events. It would be more just, he added, to observe the spirit than the letter of the decree, and not to make an unseemly opposition to so many men who had lost their own and their ancestors' property in the civil convulsions, and to do this in favour of a young man who had received an amount of other people's wealth disproportionate to a private station and beyond his hopes, and who was not making good use of his fortune, but employing it in the rashest adventures. He would take care of them (Pedius and Pinarius) after their portion should have been separated from that of Octavian. This was the answer made by Antony to Pedius and Pinarius. So they took their portion immediately, in order not to lose their own share by the lawsuits, and they did this not so much on their own account as on that of Octavian. for they were going to bestow the whole of it upon him soon afterward.

23. The games were now approaching, which Gaius Growing Antonius, the brother of Antony, was about to give of Octavian in behalf of Brutus, the practor, as he attended also to the other duties of the praetorship which devolved on him in the latter's absence. Lavish expense was

CAP. τε ην ές αὐτην δαψιλης καὶ έλπὶς ἐν τῆ θέα τὸν δήμον ἐπικλασθέντα καλέσειν τους ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἀντιθεραπεύων τὸ πλήθος. οσον αργύριον έκ της πράσεως εγίγνετο, αιεί κατά μέρος τοίς φυλάρχοις ανεδίδου νέμειν τοίς φθάνουσι λαβείν καὶ ές τὰ πωλητήρια περιιών άποκηρύσσειν έλεγεν όσου δύναιντο πάντα τους πιπράσκοντας ολιγίστου, διά τε δίκας άμφίβολα ή ἐπίφοβα ἔτι ὄντα καὶ διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σπουδήν. άπερ αὐτῶ πάντα τον δημον εἰς εὐνοιαν ήγειρεν καὶ ές έλεον, ώς αναξίω τοιάδε πάσχειν. ώς δ' έπὶ τη κληρουομία καὶ τὴν ἴδιον αύτοῦ περιουσίαν όση τε παρά 'Οκταουίου τοῦ πατρὸς ή έτέρωθεν ην αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ κλήρου Πινάριου καὶ Πέδιον αἰτήσας, προύθηκεν ές την διανέμησιν πιπράσκεσθαι, ώς της Καίσαρος περιουσίας ούδ' ές τούτο μόνον άρκούσης διά τὰς ἐπηρείας, ὁ δήμος οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ παρά τούδε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λογιζόμενος είναι έκπαθώς αὐτὸν ἡλέει καὶ ἐπήνουν ὧδε πάσχοντα καὶ ὧδε φιλοτιμούμενον δήλοί τε ήσαν οὐκ ές πολύ την ές αὐτὸν 'Αντωνίου ὕβριν ὑπεροψόμενοι.

24. Διέδειξαν δὲ παρὰ τὰς Βρούτου θέας, πολυτελεστάτας δὴ γενομένας ἐμμίσθων γάρ τινων ἀνακραγόντων κατακαλεῖν Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάστου, ἐπεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς θέατρον συνεδημαγω-

incurred in the preparations for them, in the hope CHAP. that the people, gratified by the spectacle, would recall Brutus and Cassius. Octavian, on the other hand, trying to win the mob over to his own side. distributed the money derived from the sale of his property among the head men of the tribes by turns, to be divided by them among the first comers. and went round to the places where his property was on sale and ordered the auctioneers to announce the lowest possible price for everything, both on account of the uncertainty and danger of the lawsuits still pending, and on account of his own haste; all of which acts brought him both popularity and sympathy as one undeserving of such treatment. When in addition to what he had received as Caesar's heir, he offered for sale his own property derived from his father Octavius, and whatever he had from other sources, and all that belonged to his mother and to Philippus, and the shares of Pedius and Pinarius which he begged from them, in order to make the distribution to the people (because in consequence of the litigation Caesar's property was not sufficient even for this purpose), then the people considered it no longer the gift of the elder Caesar, but of the younger one, and they commiserated him deeply and praised him both for what he endured and for what he aspired to be. It was evident that they would not long tolerate the insult that Antony was doing him.

24. They showed their feelings clearly while Brutus' games were in progress, lavish as these were. Although a certain number, who had been hired for the purpose, shouted that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, and the rest of the spectators were thus

CAP. γεῖτο ἐς τὸν ἔλεον, ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι καὶ τὰς θέας ἐπέσχον, μέχρι τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν σβέσαι.

Βρούτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος, ἐπεὶ σφῶν τὰς έλπίδας τὰς ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὁ Καῖσαρ διέχεεν, έγνωσαν είς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ώς πρὸ 'Αντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα σφίσιν έψηφισμένας, χωρείν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τῶνδε φανερῶν γενομένων ηπείνετο καὶ Δολοβέλλας εἰς την Συρίαν, καὶ πρὸ Συρίας ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν, ὡς χρηματιούμενος άπ' αὐτῆς. ὁ δ' Αντώνιος ήγούμενος ές τὰ μέλλοντά οἱ δεήσειν δυνάμεως, τὴν ἐν Μακεδονία στρατιάν, άρετη τε οδσαν άρίστην καὶ πλήθει μεγίστην, - Εξ γαρ ην τέλη (καὶ όσον άλλο πλήθος αὐτοῖς τοξοτών καὶ ψιλών ή γυμνητών συνεζεύγνυτο, ίππος τε πολλή καὶ παρασκευή κατὰ λόγον ἐντελής) δοκοῦντα προσήκειν Δολοβέλλα, Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἐπιτετραμμένω, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐς Παρθυαίους έμελλε χρησθαι — πρὸς έαυτον ἐπενόει μετενεγκείν, ότι καὶ μάλιστα ην άγχοῦ, ώς τὸν Ἰόνιον περάσαντα εὐθὺς ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία εἶναι.

25. "Αφνω δὴ φήμη κατέσκηψε, Γέτας τον θάνατον τον Καίσαρος πυθομένους Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν ἐπιτρέχοντας, καὶ ὁ 'Αντώνιος τὴν βουλὴν ἤτει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς Γέταις ἐπιθήσων δίκην ἔς τε γὰρ Γέτας αὐτὸν πρὸ Παρθυαίων Καίσαρι παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ τὰ Παρθυαίων ἤρεμεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τὴν 562

wrought up to a feeling of pity for them, crowds ran CHAP. in and stopped the games until they checked the demand for their recall.

When Brutus and Cassius learned that Octavian had frustrated what they had hoped to obtain from the games, they decided to go to Syria and Macedonia, which had been theirs before these provinces were voted to Dolabella and Antony, and to seize them by force. When their intentions became Dolabella known, Dolabella hastened to Syria, taking the proceeds province of Asia in his way in order to collect money there. Antony, thinking that he should soon need troops for his own purposes, conceived the idea of transferring to himself the army in Macedonia, which was composed of the very best material and was of large size (it consisted of six legions, besides a great number of archers and light-armed troops, much cavalry, and a corresponding amount of apparatus of all kinds), although it properly belonged to Dolabella, who had been entrusted with Syria and the war against the Parthians, because Caesar was about to use these forces against the Parthians. Antony wanted it especially because it was close at hand, and, by crossing the Adriatic, could be thrown at once into Italy.

25. Suddenly a rumour burst upon them that the Antony Getae, learning of Caesar's death, had made an forthe incursion into Macedonia and were ravaging it. Macedonia Antony asked the Senate to give him an army in order to punish them, saying that this army had been prepared by Caesar to be used against the Getae before marching against the Parthians, and that everything was now quiet on the Parthian frontier. The Senate distrusted the rumour, and

command

CAP. φήμην ὑπενόει καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους ἔπεμψεν· ό δὲ 'Αντώνιος τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν έκλύων έψηφίσατο μη έξειναί πω κατά μηδεμίαν αίτίαν περί δικτάτορος άρχης μήτε είπειν μήτ έπιψηφίζειν μήτε λαβείν διδομένην, ή τὸν ἐκ τωνδέ τινος ύπεριδόντα νηποινεί προς των έντυγόντων αναιρείσθαι, καὶ τώδε μάλιστα έλων τους ακούοντας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα πράττουσι συνθέμενος εν τέλος δώσειν, ήρέθη της έν Μακεδονία δυνάμεως είναι στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων, ὰ ἐβούλετο, Γάιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτίκα σὺν ἐπείξει τὸ δόγμα φέροντα τῷ στρατῷ διεπέμπετο οί δε επισκέπται της φήμης επανελθόντες Γέτας έλεγον οὐκ ίδεῖν ἐν Μακεδονία. προσέθεσαν δέ, εἴτε ἀληθὲς εἴτε ὑπ' ᾿Αντωνίου διδαγθέντες, ότι δέος ην, μη της στρατιάς ποι μετελθούσης οι Γέται την Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδράμοιεν.

26. \* Ωδε μὲν εἶχε τὰ ἐν 'Ρώμη, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν συνέλεγον, καὶ Τρεβώνιος ὁ τῆς 'Ασίας ἡγούμενος τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἐτείχιζε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐλθόντα οὐκ ἐδέχετο οὕτε Περγάμῳ οὕτε Σμύρνη, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀγορὰν ἔξω τείχους ὡς ὑπάτῳ προυτίθει. ἐπιχειροῦντος δ' ἐκείνου σὺν ὀργῆ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνύοντος, ὁ Τρεβώνιος αὐτὸν ἔφη δέξεσθαι 'Εφέσω καὶ ἐς τὴν "Εφεσον εὐθὺς ἀπιόντι τοὺς ἐφεψομένους ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεμπεν, οῖ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπιόντα τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁρῶντες

# THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

sent messengers to make inquiry. Antony, in order CHAP. to dissipate their fear and suspicion, proposed a decree that it should not be lawful for anybody, for any cause whatever, to vote for a dictatorship, or to accept it if offered. If anybody should disregard any of these provisions, he might be killed with impunity by anybody who should meet him. Having deceived the Senate 1 chiefly by this means, and having agreed with the friends of Dolabella to give him one legion, he was chosen absolute commander of the forces in Macedonia; and then when he had obtained what he desired, he sent his brother Gaius with haste to communicate the decree of the Senate to the army. Those who had been sent to inquire into the rumour came back and reported that they had seen no Getae in Macedonia, but they added, either truthfully, or because they were instructed to do so by Antony, that it was feared that they would make an incursion into Macedonia if the army were withdrawn.

26. While these things were taking place at Rome, Cassius and Brutus were collecting troops and money, and Trebonius, governor of the province of Asia, was fortifying his towns for them. When Dolabella arrived, Trebonius would not admit him to Pergamus or Smyrna, but allowed him, as consul, an opportunity of buying provisions outside the walls. However, when he attacked the walls with fury, but accomplished nothing, Trebonius said that he would be admitted to Ephesus. Dolabella started for Ephesus forthwith, and Trebonius sent a force to follow him at a certain distance. While these were observing Dolabella's march, they were overtaken by night, and,

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "having captured his hearers."

# APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ οὐδὰν ἔτι ὑπονοοῦντες, ὀλίγους σφῶν ὑπο-Πιπόντες ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐνεδρεύσας τε καὶ περιλαβὼν ἔκτεινε καὶ ῆλθε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς Σμύρναν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφύλακτον εὐρὼν

είλε διὰ κλιμάκων.

Τρεβώνιος δὲ τοῖς συλλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἔτι εὐναζόμενον ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν ἐκέλευεν. έψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκών. καί τις τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ἐπισκώπτων ἡμείψατο "ἴθι σύ, δεῦρο τὴν κεφαλην καταλιπών ήμιν γάρ οὐ σέ, ἀλλὰ την κεφαλην ἄγειν προστέτακται. καὶ τόδε εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλήν. ἄμα δὲ ἡμέρα Δολοβέλλας μεν αυτήν προσέταξεν επί τοῦ στρατηγικού βήματος, ένθα ο Τρεβώνιος έχρημάτιζε, προτεθήναι ή στρατιά δε σύν όργη και ό οίκετικὸς άλλος όμιλος αὐτης, ἐπεὶ τοῦ φόνου Καίσαρος ὁ Τρεβώνιος μετεσχήκει καὶ κτεινομένου του Αντώνιον εν ομιλία περί θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου περιεσπάκει, είς τε τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα αὐτοῦ ποικίλως ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν οἶα σφαίραν έν λιθοστρώτω πόλει διαβάλλοντες ές άλλήλους έπὶ γέλωτι συνέχεάν τε καὶ συνέτριψαν. καὶ πρώτος όδε των φονέων δίκην τήνδε έδεδώκει.

# THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

having no farther suspicions, returned to Smyrna, CHAP. leaving a few of their number to follow him. III Dolabella laid an ambush for this small number, captured and killed them, and went back the same night to Smyrna. Finding it unguarded, he took it

by escalade. Trebonius, who was captured in bed, told his polabella captors to lead the way to Dolabella, saying that he puts Trebonius was willing to follow them. One of the centurions to death answered him facetiously, "Go where you please, but you must leave your head behind here, for we are ordered to bring your head, not yourself." With these words the centurion immediately cut off his head, and early in the morning Dolabella ordered it to be displayed on the praetor's chair where Trebonius was accustomed to transact public business. Since Trebonius had participated in the murder of Caesar by detaining Antony in conversation at the door of the Senate-house while the others killed him, the soldiers and camp-followers fell upon the rest of his body with fury and treated it with every kind of indignity. They rolled his head from one to another in sport along the city pavements like a ball till it was completely crushed. This was the first of the murderers who received the meed of his crime, and thus vengeance overtook him.

END OF VOL. III.

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