DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

VIII
DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
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IN NINE VOLUMES
VIII

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EPITOME¹ OF BOOK LXI

LX 29 Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐξῆς ἐτεὶ ὁ τε Κλαύδιος τὸ τέταρτον καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος ² Δοῦκιος τὸ τρίτον, ὀκτακοσιοστοῦ τῇ Ἀρώμη ἐτοὺς ὄντος, ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ ἐξῆλασε μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος τινας καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ὅλος ἡ πλείονες οὐκ ἀκοντες ἐξέπεσον ἀλλ' ἔθελονταὶ διὰ πενίαν παρέμενοι,³ ἀντεσήγαγε δὲ ἡ ὁμοίως πολλοὺς. ἐπειδὴ τε Σουρδίνιος τες Γάλλος βουλεύσαι δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐξόκησε, σπουδὴ τε αὐτῶν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἐφὴ ὅτι "Χρυσάῖς σε πέδαις δήσω." καὶ ὁ μὲν σοῦ τῷ ἀξιώματι πεδηθεὶς κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνε· τοὺς μέντοι ἀλλοτρίους ἀπελευθέρωσ ὁ Κλαύδιος, εἷς τοῦ κακουργοῦντας λάβοι, δεινώσ.τιμωρῶν, τοῖς ἱδίοις οὕτω προσέκειτο ὡσθ' ὑποκριτοῦ τινος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποτὲ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον εἰπόντος ὅτι "ἀφόρητος ἐστὶν εὐτυχῶν μαστυγίας," καὶ τοῦ τε δῆμον παντὸς ἐς Πολύβων τὸν ἀπελευθέρων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέψαντος, καὶ ἐκείνου ἐκβοήσαντος ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέντοι ποιηθῆς εἶπεν ὅτι "Βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο χοί ⁴ πρὶν ὄντες αἰτόλοι," ⁴ οὖν δὲν δεινὸν αὐτῶν εἰργάσατο. μηνυθέντων δὲ

² Οὐιτέλλιος Bk., βιτέλλιος VCL' regularly
³ παρέμενοι Reim., παρέμενον MSS.
⁴ χοί Leuncl., οἱ MSS.
In the following year, which was the eight A.D. 47 hundredth year of Rome, Claudius became consul for the fourth and Lucius Vitellius for the third time. Claudius now expelled from the senate certain of its members, most of whom were not sorry to drop out, but willingly resigned on account of their poverty; and he likewise introduced many new men in their place. And when a certain Surdinius Gallus, who was eligible to serve as a senator, emigrated to Carthage, Claudius summoned him back in haste, declaring he would bind him with golden fetters; thus Gallus, fettered by his rank, remained at home. Although Claudius visited dire punishment upon the freedmen of others, in case he caught them in any wrong-doing, he was very lenient with his own, as the following incident will show. Once when an actor in the theatre recited the well-known line,

"A prosperous whipstock scarce can be endured,"

and the whole assemblage thereupon looked at Polybius, the emperor's freedman, the latter shouted out: "Yes, but the same poet said:

'Who once were goatherds now have royal power.'"¹

Yet Claudius did him no harm. Information was

¹ Menander, Epitrepontes, v. 116. The other line (Adespota 487 Kock) is not found in any extant play.
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tiwnων ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιεν αὐτῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν χρή τρόπον ψύλλαν τε καὶ θηρίου ἀμύνον σθαι," ὁ δὲ Ἅσιατικὸς ἐκρίθη μὲν παρ' αὐτῷ 5 ὀλίγον ἃ δὲ δεῖν ἀπέφυγεν. ἀρνούμενον γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι "οὐκ οἶδα οὐδὲ γνωρίζω τῶν καταμαρτυροῦντων μου τούτων οὐδένα," ἐρωτηθεῖσα ὁ στρατιώτης ὁ φάσκων αὐτῶν συγγεγονέναι ὡστὶς ὁ Ἅσιατικὸς εὐής, φαλακρὸν τῶν προσεστῶτα κατὰ τύχην ἔδειξε· τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύμβολον 6 μόνου ἡπίστατο. γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοῦ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ Κλαύδιον ἄπολυειν αὐτὸν μέλλοντος, ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος τῇ Μεσσαλίνῃ χαριζόμενος παρακεκλήθη ζῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁποῖς ἂν βουλθῇ ἀποθανή. ἀκούσας δὲ τούτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐπίστευσε τε αὐτῶν ὄντως ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὸ συνειδὸς κατεγνωκέναι, καὶ κατεχρήσατο.—Xiph. 141, 30–142, 25 R. St.

6a Ἀλλοι δὲ πολλοὺς διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ τὸν Ἅσιατικὸν καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν τὸν Μάγνου ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν μὲν Ἅσιατικὸν διὰ τὴν ὁυσίαν, τὸν δὲ Μάγνου διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ κῆδος. ἐξάλωσαν μέντοι ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισίν.—Zon. 11, 9, p. 30, 1–6 D.

7a Ἀνεφάνη δὲ καὶ νησίδιον τι ἐν τῷ ἑτέρι τούτῳ παρὰ τῇ Θήρᾳ τῇ νῆσῳ, οὐκ δὲν πρότερον.—Xiph. 142, 25. 26 R. St.

7a Ὡτι Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμον προῦθηκε, μὴ δύνασθαι βουλευτὴν ὑπὲρ ἐπτὰ

1 ὀλίγον Bk., καὶ ὀλίγον MSS.
given that some persons were plotting against Claudius, but he paid no attention to most of them, saying: "It doesn't do to take the same measures against a flea as against a wild beast." Asiaticus, however, was tried before him and came very near being acquitted. For he entered a general denial, declaring, "I have no knowledge of nor acquaintance with any of these persons who are testifying against me;" and when the soldier who declared that he had been associated with him, upon being asked to identify Asiaticus, pointed out a baldheaded man who chanced to be standing near him,—for baldness was the only distinguishing mark about Asiaticus of which he was sure,—and a great burst of laughter arose at this, and Claudius was on the point of freeing Asiaticus, Vitellius made the statement, as a favour to Messalina, that the prisoner had sent for him in order to choose the manner of his death. Upon hearing this Claudius believed that Asiaticus had really condemned himself by reason of a guilty conscience, and he accordingly put him out of the way.

Among many others whom he put to death upon false charges brought by Messalina were Asiaticus and also Magnus, his own son-in-law. The former lost his life because of his property, and the latter because of his family and his relationship to the emperor.¹ Nominally, however, they were convicted on other charges.

This year a small islet, hitherto unknown, made its appearance close to the island of Thera.

Claudius, the king of the Romans, promulgated a law to the effect that no senator might travel more

¹ See lx. 5.
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σημείων τῆς πόλεως ὁδεύειν χωρίς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσεως.—Suid. s.v. Κλαύδιος gl. 2.

7a Ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὶ δουλοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας οὐδεμιᾶς θεραπεῖας ἥξιον ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐξέβαλλον, ἐνομοθέτησε πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τουτοῦ περιγενομένουs 1 ἔλευθέρους εἶναι.—Xiph. 142, 26–29 R. St. (Zon., Suid.).

7b Ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ καθήμενον τίνα ἐπὶ ἀρματος διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἑλαύνειν.—Suid. s.v. Κλαύδιος gl. 2.

30 Ἔν δὲ τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ περιστοιχισθέντος 2 τοῦ Ὀὐσπασιανοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ποτὲ καὶ κινδυνεύοντος φθαρῆναι, ὁ Τίτος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῷ πατρὶ δεῖσας τὴν τε περίσχεσιν αὐτῶν παραλόγῳ τόλμῃ διέρρηξε, κακὸ τούτου φεύγοντάς 2 σφας ἐπιδιώξας ἐφθειρεν. ὁ δὲ Πλαύτιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς αὐτῶν χειρίσας καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ ἐπηνέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιον καὶ ἑθριάμβευσε.—Xiph. 142, 29–143, 3 R. St.

34 Ὁτι κατὰ τὴν ὀπλομαχίαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἔνων ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἱ αὐχμάλωτοι οἱ Βρεττανοὶ ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ πολλοὺς ὄσους καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῶ 3 εἰδεὶ τῆς θέας ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐσεμνύνετο.—Exc. Val. 224 (p. 674).

4 Γναῖος δὲ Δομίτιος Κορβυόλων ἐν τῇ Κελτική στρατηγών τά τε στρατεύματα συγκρότησε, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄλλους τε καὶ οὓς ἐκάλουν Καύχους ἐκάκωσε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πολεμία

1 περιγενομένου L’ Zon. Suid., περιγιγνομένου VC.
2 περιστοιχισθέντος Bk., περιστοιχηθέντος MSS.
3 τὸ supplied by Rk.
than seven "markers" from the City without the king's orders.

Since many masters refused to care for their slaves when sick, and even drove them out of their houses, he enacted a law that all slaves who survived such treatment should be free.

He also forbade anybody to drive through the City seated in a vehicle.

In Britain Vespasian had on a certain occasion been hemmed in by the barbarians and been in danger of destruction, but his son Titus, becoming alarmed for his father, managed by unusual daring to break through their enclosing lines and then pursued and destroyed the fleeing enemy. Plautius for his skilful and successful conduct of the war in Britain not only was praised by Claudius but also obtained an ovation.

In the gladiatorial combats many persons took part, not only of the foreign freedmen but also the British captives. He used up ever so many men in this part of the spectacle and took pride in the fact.

Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo while commanding in Germany concentrated his legions and harassed among other barbarians the Cauchi, as they were called. While in the midst of the enemy's territory

1 A mile, according to Mommsen (Staatsrecht, III. p. 912, n. 1), though the use of σμείειον for οτάδιον is not paralleled elsewhere. Another interpretation is "more than seven miles," taking σμείειον in the sense of milestone.

2 A comparison of Suet. Claud. 25 makes it probable that Dio wrote "cities," referring to all the Italian towns.

3 As Titus was born in the year 39 (cf. lxvi. 18, 4), there is manifestly some error here, probably on Xiphilinus' part. Boissevain suggests that Dio in his fuller narrative may have inserted at this point the statement that in the Judaean campaign his life was once saved by Titus.
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...ὅντα ὁ Κλαύδιος ἀνεκάλεσε· τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἁσκησιν μαθῶν οὐκ ἔπετρεψεν ὅ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῆναι. πυθόμενος δὲ τούτο ὁ Κορβούλων ἐπανήλθε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀναβοήσας "ὅ μακάριοι οἱ πάλαι ποτὲ στρατηγήσαντες," ἐς δὴλωσιν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἀκινδύνους ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἔξην, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἐνεποδίσθη. τιμῶν μέντοι ἑπτινικίων 1 καὶ ὃς ἔτυχε. πιστευθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὕδεν ἦττον ἦσκει αὐτό, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε εἰρήνου, διετάφρευσε δι' αὐτῶν πάν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Μόσου, 2 στάδιος ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν μάλιστα, ῥα ἡ οἱ ποτα- μοὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ πλημμυρίδι ἀναρρέοντες πελαγίζωσιν.—Xiph. 143, 3–16 R. St.

6a Γευνθέντος δὲ οἱ ἔγγονον ἐκ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τῆς θυγατρός, ἦν Κορνηλίων Φαύστῳ Σύλλα ἀδελφῷ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ὅντι μετὰ τὸν τοῦ 3 Μάγνου συνφίκετη θάνατον, οὕδεν ἐφῆκε 4 θησισθῆναι μετριοφρονοῦν.

6b Ἡ δὲ Μεσσαλίνα καὶ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ ἐξώγκωντο. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς οἱ μάλιστα τὸ κράτος διειληφότες· ὁ τε Κάλλιστος, δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς βιβλίοις τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἐτέτακτο, καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπεστάτει, διὸ καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον παρεξώνυσε καὶ ὁ Πάλλας, ὃς ἦ τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησις ἐμπεπίστευτο.—Ζειν. 11, 9, p. 30, 10–19 D.

31 "Ὅτι ἡ Μεσσαλίνα ὅσπερ οὐκ ἐξαρκοῦν οἱ ὅτι καὶ ἐμοίχευτο καὶ ἐπορνεύτο (τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα

1 τιμῶν μέντοι ἑπτινικίων Xyl., τῶν μέντοι ἑπτινικίων MSS.
2 Μόσου Xyl., μέσου MSS.
8
he was recalled by Claudius; for the emperor, learning of his valour and the discipline of his army, would not permit him to become more powerful. Corbulo, when informed of this, turned back, merely exclaiming: "How happy those who led our armies in olden times." By this he meant that the generals of other days had been permitted to exhibit their prowess without danger, whereas he himself had been blocked by the emperor by reason of jealousy. Yet even so he obtained the triumphal honours. Upon being placed once more in command of the army he drilled it no less thoroughly, and as the native tribes were at peace, he caused his men to dig a canal all the way across from the Rhine to the Maas, a distance of about twenty-three miles, in order to prevent the rivers from flowing back and causing inundations at the flood-tide of the Ocean.

When a grandson was born to Claudius by his daughter Antonia (after the death of Magnus he had given her in marriage to Cornelius Faustus Sulla, Messalina’s brother), he had the good sense not to allow any decree to be passed in honour of the occasion.

Messalina and his freedmen were puffed up with conceit. There were three of the latter in particular who divided the power among themselves: Callistus, who had charge of Petitions; Narcissus, who was chief Secretary, and hence wore a dagger at his side; and Pallas, who was entrusted with the administration of the Finances.

Messalina, as if it were not enough for her to play the adulteress and harlot,—for in addition to her

3 τοῦ A, om. BCEc. 4 ἐφηκε B3, ἀφηκε MSS.
αἰσχρῶς εἰπραττε, καὶ ἐπ᾿ οἰκήματος ἐστιν ὅτε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αὐτῇ τε ἐκαθέζετο καὶ τάς ἄλλας τὰς πρώτας ἐκάθιζε, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἀνδρας,
2 τούτο δὴ τῷ τοῦ λόγου, πολλοὺς ἔχειν. καὶ σύμπασιν ἀν τοὺς χρωμένοις αὐτῇ κατὰ συμβό- λαια συνώκησεν, εἰ μήπερ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φωράθεισα ἁπόλετο. τέως μὲν γὰρ οἱ Και- σάρειοι πάντες ὁμολόγουν αὐτῇ, καὶ οὖν ὁ τι ὦκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Πολύβιων, καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πλησιάζοντα, καὶ διέβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκέτι αὐτῇ ἐπίστευον, κὰκ τούτῳ ἐρημωθείσα τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐνοίας
3 ἐφθαρη. τὸν τε γὰρ Σίλιον τὸν Γάιον, τὸν τοῦ Σίλιου τοῦ ὑπὸ Τιθερίου σφαγέντος νίκον, ἄνδρα ἐπεγράψατο, καὶ τοὺς τε γάμους πολυτελῶς εἰστίασε καὶ οἰκίαν αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἐχαρίσατο, πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν τοῦ Κλαυδίου κει- μηλίων συμφορήσασα ἐς αὐτὴν, καὶ τέλος
4 ὑπατον αὐτοῦ ἀπέφηνε. ταῦτ᾿ οὖν πρότερον μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀκονόμενα καὶ ὁρόμενα τὸν γοῦν Κλαυδίου ἐλάνθανεν· ὡς δ᾿ οὕτος τε ἐς τὰ "Ωστία πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν σίτου κατέβη, καὶ ἐκεῖνη ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πρόβασιν ὡς καὶ νοσούσα, ὑπελείφθη, συμπόσιών τε τι περι- βόητον συνεκρότησε καὶ κῶμον ἁσελγέστατον ἐκώμασεν, ἐνταῦθα ο Νάρκισσος μονωθέντι τῷ Κλαυδίῳ μηνύει διὰ τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ πάντα

1 αἰσχρῶς Bk., ἰσχυρῶς cod. Peir.
3 αὐτῇ Zon., αὐτὴν cod. Peir.
shameless behaviour in general she at times sat as a prostitute in the palace herself and compelled the other women of the highest rank to do the same,—now conceived a desire to have many husbands, that is, men really bearing that title. And she would have been married by a legal contract to all those who enjoyed her favours, had she not been detected and destroyed in her very first attempt. For a time, indeed, all the imperial freedmen had been hand in glove with her and would do nothing except in agreement with her; but when she falsely accused Polybius and caused his death, even while she was maintaining improper relations with him, they no longer trusted her; and thus, having lost their goodwill, she perished. It came about on this wise. She caused Gaius Silius, son of the Silius slain by Tiberius, to be registered as her husband, celebrated the marriage in costly fashion, bestowed a royal residence upon him, in which she had already brought together the most valuable of Claudius' heirlooms; and finally she appointed him consul.

Now all these doings, though for some time they had been either heard about or witnessed by everybody else, continued to escape the notice of Claudius. But finally, when he went down to Ostia to inspect the grain supply and she was left behind in Rome on the pretext of being ill, she got up a banquet of no little renown and carried on a most licentious revel. Then Narcissus, having got Claudius by himself, informed him through his concubines of all that was

4 τὸν τοῦ Σιλίου τοῦ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου σφαγέντος ύδν Ζων., τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ σφαγέντος ὑν cod. Peir.
5 αὐτῶν Ζων., om. Xiph. cod. Peir.
6 οὔτος τε Χιφ., οὐ τὸτε cod. Peir.
5 τὰ γυνώμενα. καὶ ἐκφοβήσας αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ἐκείνον τε ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ τὸν Σίλιον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντικαθιστάναι μελλούσης, ἀνέπεσε συλλαβεῖν τινας καὶ βασανίσαι. ἀμα τε τοῦτ’ ἐγὼντο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦπείξῃ, καὶ ὦστερ εἰχεν ἐσελθὼν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Μνηστῆρα ἔθανάτωσε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μεσσαλίναν ἕς τοὺς τοῦ 'Ἀσιατικοῦ κήπους, δι’ ὦστερ ὦν ἦκιστα ἀπωλέλει, ἀναχώρησαν ἀπέσφαξεν.—Exc. Val. 225, Xiph. 143, 16–31 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 30, 20–31, 14 D.

5a Μεθ’ ἂν [Μεσσαλίναν] καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑβρίσαντα τινα τῶν ἐν ἄξιόσει διέφθειρεν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 88 M. v. 34, 35.

6 Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν Ἀγριππίναν ἐγήμε, τὴν τοῦ Δομιτίου τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπονομασθέντος μητέρα· καὶ γὰρ καλὴ ἦν καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτῷ 2 προσεφοίτα, μόνη τε ὡς καὶ θείρ συνεγύγνετο, καὶ τρυφερώτερον ἦ κατ’ ἀδελφιδὴν 3 προσεφέρετο.—Xiph. 143, 31–144, 3 R. St.

7 Ὡς τῷ Σιλανδῷ ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς ἐνομίζετο, καὶ ὑπ’ τοῦ Κλαύδιου οὔτως ἐτιμάτω ὡςτε καὶ ἐπιμικρός τιμᾶς ἐν παισὶ λαβεῖν, τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ‘Οκταονίαν ἐγυγύσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνον στρατηγήσαι, 4 τὴν τε πανήγυριν τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐκείνου τέλεσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ αἰτήσαι τινα παρ’ αὐτοῦ ὦστερ τινά στασιάρχην, καὶ ἐκβοήσαι πάνθ’ ὑσα τοὺς ἄλλους βουλομένους ἐώρα.—Exc. Val. 226 (p. 677).

1 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μεσσαλίναν Zon., καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μεσσαλίναν Xiph., αὐτὴν τε τὴν Μεσσαλίναν cod. Peir.
taking place. And by frightening him with the idea that Messalina was going to kill him and set up Silius as ruler in his stead, he persuaded him to arrest and torture a number of persons. While this was going on, the emperor himself hastened back to the city; and immediately upon his arrival he put to death Muster together with many others, and then slew Messalina herself after she had retreated into the gardens of Asiaticus, which more than anything else were the cause of her ruin.

After her Claudius destroyed also his own slave for insulting one of the prominent men.

After a little he married his niece Agrippina, the mother of Domitius, who was surnamed Nero. For she was beautiful and was in the habit of consulting him constantly; and she was much in his company unattended, seeing that he was her uncle, and in fact she was rather more familiar in her conduct toward him than became a niece.

Silanus was regarded as an upright man and was honoured by Claudius to the extent of receiving the triumphal honours while still a boy, of being betrothed to the emperor's daughter Octavia, and of becoming praetor long before the customary age. He was, furthermore, allowed to give, at the expense of Claudius, the festival that fell to his lot, and during it the emperor asked some favours of him as if he were himself the mere head of one of the factions, and uttered any shouts that he saw other people wished him to utter.

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2 αὐτῷ Xyl. (in vers.), αὐτῷ MSS
3 καὶ ἀδελφόν Baumgarten-Crusius, καὶ ἀδελφόν MSS.
4 στρατηγῆσαι Val., στρατηγηκε cod. Peir.
 Dio's Roman History

8 "Οτι ούτω ταίς γυναιξιν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδουλώτο ὡστ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γαμβροὺς δι' αὐτὰς ἀποκτείναι.—Exc. Val. 227 (p. 677).

Ἐκείνης δ' ούτω διαφθαρείσης τὴν Ἀγριππίναν τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν ἐγήμε σπουδὴ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, ὅτι τὸν Δομίτιον ἐς προσήβους ἥδη τελοῦντα εἶχεν νῦν, ὅπως ἔφεδρον αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ τρέφοντες μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ δεινὸν πάθωσιν, ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα τὴν Μεσσαλίναν ἀναρεθῆναι πουίσαντες. δεδογμένου δὲ ἥδη τοῦ γάμου δείσαντες τὸν Σιλανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιου τιμώμενον ὡς ἀνδρὰ ἀγαθόν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταούιαν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης νῦν τῷ Δομίτιον προμνώμενοι, ἐνηγγυημένην τῷ Σιλανῷ, πείθουσι τὸν Κλαύδιον ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ τὸν Σιλανὸν ἀποκτείναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου λόγους ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποιήσατο ὅτι συμφέρει τῷ κοινῷ γῆμαι τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ τὴν Ἀγριππίναν ἐπιτηδείαν εἰς τοῦτο ἀπέφαινε, καὶ βιάσασθαι σφισών αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον συνεβούλευεν. ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμηθέντες οἱ βουλευταὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἤλθον καὶ ἡνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν γῆμαι, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐποιήσαντο ἐξεῖναι Ὀμαῖοις ἀδελφιδάς ἀγεσθαι πρότερον γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 31, 15–32, 4 D.

32 Ὑς δ' ἀπαξ ἐν τῷ βασιλεὶ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἐγένετο, τὸν τῷ Κλαύδιον ἐσφετερίσατο, δεινοτάτη ποὺ οὔσα πράγμασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τινα αὐτοῦ εὔνοιαν ἔχοντας τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ ὑπεργε...

1 τῇ ἀρχῇ BC, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ AE.
Claudius had become such a slave to his wives A.D. that on their account he killed both his sons-in-law. When she had thus been put out of the way, Claudius married Agrippina, his niece. The freedmen zealously aided in bringing about this marriage, since Agrippina had a son, Domitius, who was already nearing man's estate, and they wished to bring him up as Claudius' successor in the imperial office so that they might suffer no harm at the hands of Britannicus for having caused the death of his mother, Messalina. When, now, the marriage had been decided upon, they feared Silanus, who was honoured as an upright man by Claudius, and at the same time they wished to secure Octavia, the emperor's daughter, already betrothed to Silanus, as wife for Agrippina's son, Domitius. So they persuaded Claudius to put Silanus to death, claiming that he was plotting against him. When this had been accomplished, Vitellius made a speech in the senate, declaring that the good of the State required that Claudius should marry; and he kept indicating Agrippina as a suitable woman for this purpose and advised them to force him into this marriage. Thus prompted, the senators came to Claudius and made a show of compelling him to marry. They also passed a decree permitting Romans to wed their nieces, a union previously prohibited.

As soon as Agrippina had come to live in the palace she gained complete control over Claudius. Indeed, she was very clever in making the most of opportunities, and, partly by fear and partly by favours, she won the devotion of all those who were

1 Messalina.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σίαις ἰδεισαγωγῇ. καὶ τέλος 1 τῶν Βρεττανικῶν τῶν παίδα αὐτοῦ ὥς καὶ τῶν τυχόντων τινά τρέφεσθαι ἐποίει. ὁ γὰρ ἔτερος, ὁ καὶ τὴν τοῦ 2 Σείανον 2 θυγατέρα ἐγγυησάμενος, ἐτεθνήκει. τὸν τε Δομίτιον τὸτε μὲν γαμβρὸν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀπέδειξεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐσπεύδησεν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ταύτα τὸ μὲν τι διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἀναπεισασα τὸν Κλαύδιον, τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν γεροσιαν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἐπιτήδειον τι αἰεὶ ποτὲ ἐστὶ συμβοὰν 3 παρασκευάσασα.—Exc. Val. 228 (p. 677), Xiph. 144, 3–7 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 5–13 D.

3 Ὑπὶ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα τὸν νῦν ἐς τὸ κράτος ἐξήσκει καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σενέκα ἐξεπάϊδευε, πλούτον τε ἀμύθητον αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, οὐδὲν οὖτε τῶν σμικροτάτων οὗτε τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρίσμῳ παραλείπουσα, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν καὶ τὸν ἐπωσοῦν εὐποροῦντα θεραπεύουσα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ

4 τοῦτο φονεύουσα. ἡδὴ δὲ τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γυναικῶν ζηλοτυπήσασα ἐθευρε, καὶ τὴν γε Παυλίναν τὴν Δολλίαν, ἐπειδὴ 4 τῷ Γαίῳ συνικήκει καὶ 5 ἐπιόδα τινὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου συνικήσιν ἐσχήκει, ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν τε κεφαλήν αὐτῆς κομισθέασαν αὐτῇ μὴ γυμνίσασα τὸ τε στόμα αὐτῆς αὐτοχειρὰ ἀνέφεξε καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπεσκέψατο ὑδίως πως ἔχοντας.—Exc. Val. 229, Xiph. 144, 7–16 R. St. (Ζον.).

4a Ὑπὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν βασιλεὺς συμβαλὼν Ῥωμαίκῳ στρατεύματι καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπογυνοῦς τε ἐαυτοῦ 7 ἐδεήθη λόγον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι,

1 τέλος Zon., om. cod. Peir.
2 Σείανον (Σηίανον) Val., ἀσιανοῦ cod. Peir.

16
at all friendly toward him. At length she caused his son Britannicus to be brought up as if he were a mere nobody. (The other son, who had betrothed the daughter of Sejanus, was dead.) She made Domitius the son-in-law of Claudius at this time and later brought about his adoption also. She accomplished these ends partly by getting the freedmen to persuade Claudius and partly by arranging beforehand that the senate, the populace, and the soldiers should join together in shouting their approval of her demands on every occasion.

Agrippina was training her son for the throne and was entrusting his education to Seneca. She was amassing untold wealth for him, overlooking no possible source of revenue, not even the most humble or despised, but paying court to everyone who was in the least degree well-to-do and murdering many for this very reason. Indeed, she even destroyed some of the foremost women out of jealousy; thus she slew Lollia Paulina because she had been the wife of Gaius and had cherished some hope of becoming Claudius' wife. As she did not recognize the woman's head when it was brought to her, she opened the mouth with her own hand and inspected the teeth, which had certain peculiarities.

Mithridates, king of the Iberians, having been defeated in a conflict with a Roman army and despairing of his life, begged that a hearing should be granted him in order that he might not...
Iva μήτε βιαίως ἀποθάνη μήτε ἐν ἑπισκίοις εἴσαξθη ὑπὸ τοὺς δὴ γενομένου ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐν Ὑφίμη ἐπὶ βήματος αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο καὶ ἀπειλητικῶς αὐτῷ διελέγετο· ὁ δὲ ἄλλα τε τινα μετὰ παρρησίας ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ τοῦτο προσεπήγαγεν ὅτι "ἐγὼ οὐκ ἴνεχθην πρὸς σέ, ἄλλα ἀφίγμα τι δὲ ἀπιστεῖς, ἄφες με καὶ ζήτει·"—Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 41 (p. 208 Mai. = p. 191, 3–11 Dind.).

33, 1 Kaὶ ἡ μὲν ταχῦ καὶ αὐτὴ Μεσσαλίνα ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ τιμᾶς ἄλλας τε καὶ τὸ καρπέντῳ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι χρῆσθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλαβεν.—Xiph. 144, 16–18 R. St.

2a Metὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἀὐγουστάν τὴν Ἀγριππίναν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐπεκάλεσε.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 22–23 D.

2b Ὅποτε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὸν Νέρωνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐσεποιησάτο τε καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο, τὴν θυγατέρα ἐς ἑτερόν τι γένος ἐκποιήσας ἦμι μὴ ἀδελφοὺς συνοικίζειν δοκῆ, τέρας οὐ μικρὸν ἐγένετο· καίεσθαι γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν ἴμεραν ἐκείνην ἔδοξεν.—Xiph. 144, 19–22 R. St.

2c Τοῦ δὲ Νέρωνος (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπ' αὐτῷ

1 καρπέντῳ Xyl., καρπεντῷ, MSS.
2 Cf. Zon. (11, 10, p. 32, 23–29 D): καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῆς εἰσποιησάμενος μετανόμασε Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα Δροῦνον Γερμανικὴν Καλαρα, μηδὲν φροντίσας ὅτι καίεσθαι ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν ἵμεραν ἐκείνην ἔδοξε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν Ὁκτα-
be summarily executed or led in the triumphal procession. When his request had been granted, Claudius received him in Rome, seated on a tribunal, and addressed threatening words to him. But the king answered him boldly, and ended by saying: "I was not brought to you; I came. If you doubt it, release me and try to find me."

She [Agrippina] quickly became a second Messalina, the more so as she obtained from the senate the right to use the carpentum at festivals, as well as other honours.

After that Claudius gave Agrippina the title of Augusta.

When Claudius had adopted her son Nero and had made him his son-in-law, after having first caused his daughter to be adopted into another family, in order to avoid the appearance of uniting in marriage brother and sister, a mighty portent occurred. The sky seemed to be on fire that day.

Agrippina also banished Calpurnia, one of the most prominent women,—or even put her to death, according to one report,—because Claudius had admired and commended her beauty.

When Nero (to use the one of his names that has

1 Cf. lx. 22.
2 Cf. Zonaras: And adopting her son, he changed his name to Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus Caesar, paying no heed to the fact that the sky seemed to be on fire that day. Afterwards, having introduced his daughter Octavia into another family, in order to avoid the appearance of uniting in marriage brother and sister, he betrothed her to him.

βίαν εἰς ἄτερον τι γένος εἰσαγαγών, ἵνα μὴ ἄδελφους συζυγίζειν δοκῆ, ἐνηγγυήσεν αὐτῷ.
3 Καλπουρίναν Hier. Wolf, καλπουρίναν ABCE.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐξενίκησεν) ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφέντος, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἡ ἐνεγράφη τὸ δαιμόνιον τὴν τε γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐσεισε καὶ φόβον νυκτὸς πᾶσιν ὀμοίως ἐνέβαλε.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 29–33, 7 D.

32, 5 "Ὅτι ὁ μὲν Νέρων νῦξετο, ἐς ὑπερθύμην ὀυτὲ τινὰ τιμὴν ὀυτὲ ἐπιμέλειαν εἰχεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς περίεπονται αὐτόν τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον, ὃ ἦ τε τροφὴ καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ προσετέακτο, κατέσφαξεν ὃς καὶ τῷ ἐς τὸν ἔπιβουλεύοντα. κακὸν τοῦτον παραδούσα αὐτόν οἰς ἡθελεν, ἐκάκου ὡσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ὀυτὲ τῷ πατρὶ συνεῖναι ὀυτὲ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προείναι εἰς, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀδέσμῳ τρόπον τινὰ φυλακῆν εἰχεν."—Exc. Val. 230 (p. 678), Zon. 11, 10, p. 33, 7–14 D.


33, 1 "Ὅτι τής Ἀγριππίνης οὔδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἠπτετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὸν Κλαυδίου ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς βουλομένους ἐπαξετο, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσεγράφετο.—Exc. Val. 231 (p. 678).

3a Ἡδύνατο δὲ πάντα, τοῦ Κλαυδίου κρατοῦσα καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα οἰκεώσα-μένῃ ὁ γὰρ Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ πολὺ προχωρήσας δυνάμεως ἐτελεύτησεν.

3b Οἱ ἀστρολόγοι δὲ ἐς ἀπάσης τής Ἰταλίας ἠλάθησαν, καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς συγγυνόμενοι ἔκολα-θησαν.—Zon. 11, 10 (p. 33, 14–19 D.).
prevailed) assumed the \textit{toga virilis}, the Divine Power A.D. 51 shook the earth for a long time on the very day of the ceremony and by night struck terror to the hearts of all alike.

While Nero was being advanced, Britannicus received neither honour nor care. On the contrary, Agrippina removed or even put to death those who were devoted to him; Sosibius, who had been entrusted with his rearing and education, she slew on the pretext that he was plotting against Nero. After that she handed Britannicus over to those who suited her purpose and did him all the harm she could. She would allow him neither to be with his father nor to appear in public, but kept him in a kind of imprisonment, though without bonds.

Dio, Book LXI: "When the prefects Crispinus and Lusius Geta would not yield to her in everything, she removed them from office."

No one attempted in any way to check Agrippina; indeed, she had more power than Claudius himself and used to greet in public all who desired it, a fact that was entered in the records.

She possessed all power, since she dominated Claudius and had won over Narcissus and Pallas. (Callistus had died, after rising to a position of great influence.)

The astrologers were banished from all Italy and A.D. 52 their associates were punished.

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1 \textit{οτι—ηὔξετο} cod. Peir., \textit{Νέρων μὲν οὖν ηὔξετο} Zon.
2 \textit{φυλακὴ εἶχεν} supplied by Val.
Καράτακος δέ τις βαρβάρων ἀρχηγὸς ἄλοις καὶ εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἀχθείς, καὶ συγγνώμης παρὰ τοῦ Κλαύδιον τυχὼν, εἶτα περισσότερα τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀφεσίν, καὶ ἵδων αὐτῆς τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, "εἰτα" ἐφι "ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα κεκτημένοι τῶν σκηνιδών ἥμων ἐπιθυμεῖτε;" 1—Ζον. 11, 10 (p. 33, 19–25 D.).

"Εν τινι δὲ λίμνη ναυμαχίαι ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐπεθύμησε ποιῆσαι, τείχος τε ἔυλινον περὶ αὐτὴν κατεσκεύασε καὶ ἱκρία ἐπηξε, πλῆθος τε ἀναρίθμητον ἥθροισε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐ ποῦ καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ τε Νέρων στρατιωτικῶς ἐστάλησαν, ἢ τ' Ἀγριππίνα χλαμύδι διαχρύσωσε ἐκοσμήθη. οἱ δὲ ὁ ναυμαχήσων ἰδιάτῳ τὸ 2 καταδεδικασμένο ήσαν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναὸς ἑκάτερον ἐχοῦν, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον συστραφέντες καὶ καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι Κλαύδιον ἀμα προσηγόρευσαν οὕτω "χαῖρε, αὐτοκράτορ; οἱ ἀπολούμενοι σε ἀσπαζόμεθα" ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν σωτήριον ἐὗροντο, ἀλλὰ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ ὁς ἐκελεύθησαν, διέκπλος τέ ἀπλοῖς ἔχρησαντο καὶ ἥκιστα ἀλλήλων ἥψαντο, μέχρις οὐ καὶ ἀνάγκη κατεκόπησαν.—Χιφ. 144, 22–145, 2 R. St.

Caratacus, a barbarian chieftain who was captured and brought to Rome and later pardoned by Claudius, wandered about the city after his liberation; and after beholding its splendour and its magnitude he exclaimed: “And can you, then, who have got such possessions and so many of them, covet our poor tents?”

Claudius conceived the desire to exhibit a naval battle on a certain lake; so, after building a wooden wall around it and erecting stands, he assembled an enormous multitude. Claudius and Nero were arrayed in military garb, while Agrippina wore a beautiful chlamys woven with threads of gold, and the rest of the spectators whatever pleased their fancy. Those who were to take part in the sea-fight were condemned criminals, and each side had fifty ships, one party being styled “Rhodians” and the other “Sicilians.” First they assembled in a single body and all together addressed Claudius in this fashion: “Hail, Emperor! We who are about to die salute thee.” And when this in no wise availed to save them and they were ordered to fight just the same, they simply sailed through their opponents’ lines, injuring each other as little as possible. This continued until they were forced to destroy one another.

1 Cf. Petrus Patricius: The ruler of the Britons, Cartaces, was captured and sent to Rome. He was tried by Claudius, who wore a chlamys and sat on a tribunal; but he obtained pardon and lived in Italy with his wife and children. On wandering about the city once and beholding its magnitude and the splendour of the houses, he exclaimed: “Why do you, who have got so many and so fine possessions, covet our tents?”

2 The Fucine Lake, mentioned in the next paragraph.
5 Ὅτι ο Νάρκισσος τῆς Λίμνης τῆς Φουκίνης ἑπτʼ αὐτῇ μεγάλην ἔλαβεν· ἐπεστάτη γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ ἔδοξε πολὺ ἐλάττω ὡν εἰλήφει δαπανήσας εἰτα ἐξεπέτηδε τὸ σύμπτωμα, ὡς ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὸ κακούργημα αὐτοῦ γένηται, μηχανήσασθαι.—Exc. Val. 232 (p. 678).

6 Ὁ δὲ Ὅρρα πος ὑπέρφα τοῦ Κλαύδιο ὠστε λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ποτε οἱ Βιθυνοὶ, δικάζοντος τοῦ Κλαύδιου, Ἰουνίου Κίλλωνος τοῦ ἄρξαιν τὸν σφῶν πολλὰ κατεβόησαν ὡς οὐ μετρίως δωροδοκησάς, καὶ ἥρετο ἐκεῖνος τῶν παρεστηκότας οἱ καὶ λέγανσιν (οὐ γὰρ συνίει διὰ τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν), εἰπέ τε ὁ Νάρκισσος ὁ νευσάμενος ὧτι χάριν τοῦ Ἰουνίου γιγνώσκονσι, πιστεύσατε τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπὲν ἵνα οὕκου ἐπὶ διετές ἐτι ἐπιτροπεύσει.

7 Ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππίνα καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις αὐτῷ καὶ χρηματίζοντι καὶ προσβείας ἀκρωμένῳ παρῆν, ἐπὶ βῆματος ἰδίου καθημένη. καὶ ἤν καὶ τοῦτο ὑδένος ἐλαττον θέαμα.—Xiph. 145, 2–11 R. St.

8 Ἰουλίω 3 δὲ των Γαλλικῶν 4 ρήτορι δίκην ποτὲ λέγοντι ὁ Κλαύδιος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Τίμεριν ἐμβληθήναι· ἔτυχε γὰρ πλησίον αὐτοῦ 5 δικάζων. ἐφ’ ὧ δὴ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ Ἀφρος, πλεῖστον τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῷ συναγορευέως τισὶν ἵσχύσας, κάλλιστα ἀπέσκοψε· δεσθέντος γὰρ τινος ἀνθρώπων τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας,

1 Φουκίνης Val., Φουκιανῆς cod.
2 εἰλήφει Bk. (?), ἡλπίζει cod.
3 Ἰουλίω Zon., Ιουδαίω Xiph., om. exc. Vat.

24
When the Fucine Lake caved in, Narcissus was A.D. 52 severely blamed for it. For he had been in charge of the undertaking, and it was thought that after spending a great deal less than he had received he had then purposely contrived the collapse, in order that his wrong-doing might not be detected.

Narcissus used to make sport openly of Claudius. A.D. 52-53 Indeed, the report has it that on a certain occasion when Claudius was holding court and the Bithynians raised a great outcry against Junius Cilo, who had been their governor, claiming that he had taken enormous bribes, and the emperor, not understanding them by reason of the noise they made, asked the bystanders what they were saying, Narcissus, instead of telling him the truth, said that they were expressing their gratitude to Junius. And Claudius, believing him, said: “Well, then, he shall be procurator two years longer.”

Agrippina often attended the emperor in public, when he was transacting ordinary business or when he was giving an audience to ambassadors, though she sat upon a separate tribunal. This, too, was one of the most remarkable sights of the time.

On one occasion, when a certain orator, Julius Gallicus, was pleading a case, Claudius became vexed and ordered him to be cast into the Tiber, near which he chanced to be holding court. This incident gave occasion for a very neat jest on the part of Domitius Afer, the most able advocate of his day. When a man who had been left in the

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4 Γαλλίκο Leuncl., γαλλίκω Xiph. Zon. (γαλλικαυδν exc. Vat.).
5 αὐτοῦ L¹, τοῦ αὐτοῦ VC.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY


9 Ὁσόσαντος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Κλαύδιου εἰσήλθεν ὁ Νέρων εἰς τὸ συνεδριον, καὶ εἰ ἀναρ- ρωσθεὶς ὁ Κλαύδιος ἵπποδρομίαν ὑπέσχετο. πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἡ 'Αγριππίνα ἐκίνει ὑπὸ τῷ τε πλήθει χαρίζοιτο καὶ μόνος ἔσεσθαι νομίζοιτο τῆς αὐταρχίας διάδοχος. διὸ τὸν τε ἵππικὸν ἀγώνα, ὁ προσέκειντο μάλιστα, ἐποίησε τὸν Νέρωνα ὑποσχέθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κλαύδιου ὕγειᾳ.

10 ἢν καὶ πάνω ἀπηύχετο· καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν ἄρτων θόρυβόν τινα γενέσθαι παρασκευάσασα ἀνέπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον τῷ τε δήμῳ ἐκ προγραφῆς δηλῶσαι καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπιστείλαι ὅτι, κἂν αὐτός ἀποθάνοι, ὁ Νέρων τὰ κοινὰ ἰκανὸς ἦδη ἐστὶ διοικεῖν. καὶ ὃς πολὺς τε ἐκ τούτου ἢν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἢγετο ἀπασί, τὸν δὲ Βρεττα- νικὸν συχνὸ μὲν οὐδ' εἰ ἢγιον ὤν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ παραπλήγηα· καὶ ἐπίληπτον, ταῦτα κηρυ- 

11 τούσης τῆς 'Αγριππίνης, φώνοτο. ῥαίσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαύδιου τῆν ἵπποδρομίαν ὁ Νέρων μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπετέλεσε, καὶ τῆν 'Οκταβίαν δὲ τότε ἐγνήμεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἄνηρ ἦδη δοκεῖν.

12 Οὐδὲν δὲ ἀρκοῦν τῇ 'Αγριππίνη ἐδόκει· καίτοι ὅσα τε ἡ Λιβία ἔσχε κάκειν ἐδέδοτο καὶ ἀλλ' ἀττα πλέων ἐψήφιστο. ἢ δὲ καὶ ἱσοκρατής τῷ Κλαύδιῳ ἀντικρυν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἦθελε, καὶ ποτὲ
lurch by Gallicus came to Domitius for assistance, A.D. 52—
he said to him: "And who told you that I am a
better swimmer than he?"

Later, when Claudius fell sick, Nero entered the
senate and promised a horse-race in case the emperor
should recover. For Agrippina was leaving no stone
unturned in order to make Nero popular with the
masses and to cause him to be regarded as the only
successor to the imperial power. Hence it was
that she selected the equestrian contest, to which
the Romans were especially devoted, for Nero to
promise in the event of Claudius' recovery—which
she earnestly prayed might not come to pass.
Again, after instigating a riot over the sale of bread,
she persuaded Claudius to make known to the
populace by proclamation and to the senate by
letter that, if he should die, Nero was already
capable of administering the business of the
State. In consequence of this he became a person
of importance and his name was on everybody's
lips, whereas in the case of Britannicus many did
not know even whether he was living, and the rest
regarded him as insane and an epileptic; for this
was the report that Agrippina gave out. When, A.D. 53
now, Claudius recovered, Nero conducted the horse-
race in a magnificent manner; and he married
Octavia at this time—another circumstance that
caused him to be regarded as having at length come
to manhood.

Nothing seemed to satisfy Agrippina, though all
the privileges that Livia had enjoyed had been
bestowed upon her also, and a number of additional
honours had been voted. But, although she exer-
cised the same power as Claudius, she desired to
34 Ὅ δὲ Κλαύδιος τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης ὁρμένων, ὅν γε καὶ ἡθάνετο ἠδὴ, ἀχθόμενος, καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν ἐπιζητῶν, ἐξ ὁφθαλμῶν αὐτῷ ἐπίτηδες ὑπ’ ἑκείνης τὰ πολλὰ γιγνόμενον, Νέρωνι, ὡσ τῷ έαυτής παίδε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Δομιτίου, πάντα τρόπον περιποιουμένης τὸ κράτος, καὶ ὠπότε ἐντύχων φιλοφρόνως συγγνώμενος, οὐκ ἤνεγε κτ γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἑκείνην τε καταλύσας καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐσ τοὺς ἐφίβους ἑσαγαγείν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξαι παρεσκευάζετο, μαθοῦσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἐφοβήθη, καὶ αὐτὸν προκαταλαβεῖν φαρμάκῳ πρὶν τι τοιούτων πραχθῆναι ἐσπούδασεν. ὡς δὲ ἑκείνος οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ οἴου, ὃν πολὺν ἂεί ποτε ἔπυνε, καὶ υπὸ τῆς ἄλλης διαίτης, πάντες ἐπίπαν πρὸς φυλακὴν σφῶν ὁι αὐτοκράτορες χρῶνται, κακοῦσθαι ἥδυνατο, Λουκούσταν τινα φαρμακίδα περιβοῦτον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ νέου ἐαλωκυίαν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ φάρμακον τί ἀφυκτὸν προκατασκευάζασα δι’ αὐτῆς ἔσ τινα τῶν καλουμένων μυκήτων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὴ μεν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἡθεῖν, ἑκείνων δε ἐκ τοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἐχοτος (καὶ γὰρ μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος ἦν)
have his title outright; and once, when a great conflagration was consuming the city, she accompanied him as he lent his assistance.

Claudius was angered by Agrippina’s actions, of which he was now becoming aware, and sought for his son Britannicus, who had purposely been kept out of his sight by her most of the time (for she was doing everything she could to secure the throne for Nero, inasmuch as he was her own son by her former husband Domitius); and he displayed his affection whenever he met the boy. He would not endure her behaviour, but was preparing to put an end to her power, to cause his son to assume the *loga virilis*, and to declare him heir to the throne. Agrippina, learning of this, became alarmed and made haste to forestall anything of the sort by poisoning Claudius. But since, owing to the great quantity of wine he was forever drinking and his general habits of life, such as all emperors as a rule adopt for their protection, he could not easily be harmed, she sent for a famous dealer in poisons, a woman named Lucusta, who had recently been convicted on this very charge; and preparing with her aid a poison whose effect was sure, she put it in one of the vegetables called mushrooms. Then she herself ate of the others, but made her husband eat of the one which contained the poison; for it was the

2 Dio probably says “called” here because the Greek word he uses for “mushrooms” has many other meanings, such as the snuff of a wick, a scab, a knob, etc.
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фаеви épονησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ συμποσίου ὡς καὶ ὑπερκορῆς μέθης σφόδρα ὃν ἐξεκομίσθη, ὃπερ ποὺ καὶ ἀλλὸτε πολλάκις ἐγεγόνει, κατεργασθεῖς δὲ τῷ φαρμάκῳ 1 διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς 2 οὔδεν οὕτ' εἰπεῖν οὖν ἰκουσάι δυνηθεῖς μετήλλαξε, τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ὄκτωβρίου, θῆσας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρία ἐτῇ καὶ μὴνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, 3 αὐτάρχήσας δὲ ἐτή τρία καὶ δέκα καὶ μὴνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας εἰκοσι.—Xiph. 145, 17–146, 5 R. St., Zon. 11, 11, p. 35, 1–25 D.

4 Ταύτα δὲ δὴ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα τοιῆσαι ἡδυνηθῇ ὅτι τὸν Νάρκισσον ἐς Καμπανίαν, προφάσει ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἕδασι τοῖς ἑκεῖ πρὸς τὴν ποιδάγραν χρησόμενον, προαπέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀν ποτὲ αὐτὸ ἔδεδράκει· τοιοῦτος τις φύλαξ τοῦ δεσπότου ἦν. ἐπαπώλετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Κλαύδῳ, μέγιστον τῶν τότε 4 ἀνθρώπων δυνηθείς· μυριάδας τε γὰρ πλείους μυρίων εἶχε, καὶ προσεῦχον αὐτὸ καὶ πόλεις καὶ

5 βασιλείας· καὶ δὴ ἡ τότε ἀποσφαγήσεσθαι μέλην λαμπρὸν ἔργον διεπράξατο· τὰ γὰρ γράμματα τοῦ Κλαυδίου, ὡς ἀπόρρητα κατὰ τε τῆς Ἀγριππίνης καὶ κατὰ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὐα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διοικῶν, εἶχε, πάντα προκατέκαυσεν.—Xiph. 146, 5–15 R. St.

6 Ἑσφάγη δὲ παρὰ τῷ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης μνήμηι, ὃπερ ἐκ συντυχίας συνενεχθὲν ἐδοξέων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνης τιμωρίαν γενέσθαι.—Zon. 11, 11, p. 36, 4–6 D.

35 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος μετήλλαξεν, ὡς τούτῳ τε

1 κατεργασθεὶς—φαρμάκῳ Zon., om. Xiph.
largest and finest of them. And so the victim of A.D. 54 the plot was carried from the banquet apparently quite overcome by strong drink, a thing that had happened many times before; but during the night the poison took effect and he passed away, without having been able to say or hear a word. It was the thirteenth of October, and he had lived sixty-three years, two months, and thirteen days, having been emperor thirteen years, eight months and twenty days.

Agrippina was able to do this deed owing to the fact that she had previously sent Narcissus off to Campania, feigning that he needed to take the waters there for his gout. For had he been present, she would never have accomplished it, so carefully did he guard his master. As it was, however, his death followed hard upon that of Claudius. He had wielded the greatest power of any man of his time, for he had possessed more than 400,000,000 sesterces, and cities and kings had paid court to him. Indeed, even at this time, when he was on the point of being slain, he managed to perform a brilliant deed. Being in charge of the correspondence of Claudius, he had in his possession letters containing secret information against Agrippina and others; all of these he burned before his death.

He was slain beside the tomb of Messalina, a circumstance due to mere chance, though it seemed to be in fulfilment of her vengeance.

In such a manner did Claudius meet his end. It

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2 διά ... νυκτὸς Ζον., Joann. Ant., τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς Χιφ.
3 καὶ μὴνας—τρεῖς καὶ δέκα Τοίον. Αντ., om. Χιφ.
4 τὸτε Λευκολ., πάτε MSS.
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"ο τε ἀστήρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πλείστον ὥθεις, καὶ ἡ ψεκάς ἡ αἵματάδης, ὁ τε σκηνττὸς ὁ ἐς τὰ δορυ-
φορικὰ σημεῖα ἔμπεσάν, καὶ ἡ αὐτόματος τοῦ
ναοῦ τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Νικαίου ἀνοιξις, τὸ τε σμήνος
tὸ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συστραφέν, καὶ ὁτι ἐξ
ἀπασῶν τῶν ἄρχων ἐσ ἁφ' ἐκάστης ἐπελεύθησεν,

2 ἔδοξε σημῆναι. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ὅσων ὁ Ἀὔγουστος, Ἀγριππίνα δὲ καὶ ὁ
Νέρων πενθεῖν προσεποιοῦντο δι᾽ ἀπεκτόνεσαν,2
ἐς τοῦ ὁμαδὸν ἀνήγαγον ὃν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου
φοράδην ἔξευγνόχεσαν. Ὡθευτερ Δούκιος Ἰούνιος 3
Γαλλίων 4 ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφὸς ἀστειοτάτον τι

3 ἀπεφθέγξατο. συνέθηκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας
σύγγραμμα, ἀποκολοκύντωσιν 5 αὐτὸ ὥσπερ τινά
ἀθανάτισιν 6 ὁνομάσας· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν 

4 πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἀπομνημονεύεται. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς
ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ θανατουμένους ἀγκίστροις τις
μεγάλοις οἱ δήμοι εἰς τε τὴν ἄγοραν ἀνείλκον
κάντευθεν 7 ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσύρου, ἐφι τὸν
Κλαύδιον ἀγκίστρῳ ἐς τὸν ὁμαδὸν ἀνενεχθῆναι.

—Xiph. 146, 15–30 R. St.

Καὶ ὁ Νέρων δὲ οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης ἐποι
κατέλιπε· τοὺς γὰρ μῦκητας θεῶν βρῶμα ἔλεγεν
εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τοῦ μῦκητος θεῶς ἐγε-

γόνει. 8—Xiph. 146, 30–32 R. St.

1 ὁ τε supplied by Rk.
2 ἀπεκτόνεσαν St., ἀπεκτόνεσαν MSS.
3 Ἰούνιος Fabr., Ἰούνιος MSS.
4 Γαλλίων R. Steph., λακλὼν MSS.
5 ἀποκολοκύντωσιν L1, corr., ἀποκολοκύντωσιν VC.
6 ἀθανάτισιν VC, ἀπαθανάτισιν.
7 κάντευθεν Rk., κάνταυθα MSS.
Dind.) : δὴ ὁ Νέρων περὶ Κλαύδιου ἀστείως ἑφθέγξατο· ἐν τινὶ γὰρ
seemed as if this event had been indicated by the comet, which was seen for a very long time, by the shower of blood, by the thunder-bolt that fell upon the standards of the Praetorians, by the opening of its own accord of the temple of Jupiter Victor, by the swarming of bees in the camp, and by the fact that one incumbent of each political office died. The emperor received the state burial and all the other honours that had been accorded to Augustus. Agrippina and Nero pretended to grieve for the man whom they had killed, and elevated to heaven him whom they had carried out on a litter from the banquet. On this point Lucius Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca, was the author of a very witty remark. Seneca himself had composed a work that he called "Pumpkinification"—a word formed on the analogy of "deification"; and his brother is credited with saying a great deal in one short sentence. Inasmuch as the public executioners were accustomed to drag the bodies of those executed in the prison to the Forum with large hooks, and from there hauled them to the river, he remarked that Claudius had been raised to heaven with a hook.

Nero, too, has left us a remark not unworthy of record. He declared mushrooms to be the food of the gods, since Claudius by means of the mushroom had become a god.¹

¹ Cf. Petrus Patricius: Nero uttered a witty remark about Claudius. At a certain banquet mushrooms were brought in, and when some one remarked that mushrooms were the food of the gods, he replied: "True enough: my father was made a god as the result of eating a mushroom."
Καὶ τὸν Κλαυδίου κατὰ μὲν τὸν δικαίωταν ἡ ἡγεμονία τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ ἦν (γνήσιος γὰρ τοῦ Κλαυδίου παῖς ἐπεφύκει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῶν ἠτῶν ἄριθμοῦ ἦνθεί), ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι διὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπέβαλλεν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ

2 δικαίωμα τῶν ὄπλων ἱσχυρότερον ἐστιν πᾶσα γὰρ ὁ δυνάμει προούχον δικαίοτερα ἕκαί καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττειν δοκεῖ. Νέρων οὖν τὰς τε διαθήκας τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἡφάνισε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν διεδέσατο, τὸν τε Βρεττανικὸν καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ διεχρήσατο. τί γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν παθήματα κατοδύρατο;—Xiph. 147, 6–19 R. St.; cf. Zon. 11, 12, p. 37, 22–28 D., Suid. s.v. δικαίωμα.

2 Σημεία δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτορχίας τάδε ἐγένετο. ἀκτίνες γὰρ τικτόμενον αὐτοῦ ὕπο τὴν ἔως ἐκ στεφανοὺς τοῦ ἠλίου φανερὰς προσβολὴς περίεσχον καὶ τὴς ἀστρολόγος ἐκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστερῶν φορᾶς τῆς ἐν ἕκεινῷ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμολίας δύο ἄμα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅτι καὶ τα βασιλέασί καὶ ὅτι τὴν μητέρα ὕφευγε. ἀκούσασα δὲ ταῦθ’ ἡ Ἀγρίππινα παραυτικὰ μὲν οὗτος ἐξεφρώθησεν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀναβοήσαι, “ἀποκτεινότας με, μόνον βασιλεὺσάτω,” ὑστερον δὲ καὶ πάνυ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχῇ ἐμελλεν. ἐς γὰρ τούτο μωρίας ἀφικνοῦνται τινὲς ὡςτε, ἃν τι προσδοκήσωσιν ἀγαθὸν κακὸν μεμυγμένον λήψεσθαι, εὕθες μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ κρείττονος καταφρονεῖν τοῦ χειρονος, ἐπεδιαν δὲ καὶ ἐκείνου ὁ καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, δυσκολαινεῖν καὶ μὴ ἄν μηδὲ τὸ βέλτιστον

34
At the death of Claudius the rule in strict justice A.D. 54 belonged to Britannicus, who was a legitimate son of Claudius and in physical development was in advance of his years; yet by law the power fell also to Nero because of his adoption. But no claim is stronger than that of arms; for everyone who possesses superior force always appears to have the greater right on his side, whatever he says or does. And thus Nero, having first destroyed the will of Claudius and having succeeded him as master of the whole empire, put Britannicus and his sisters out of the way. Why, then, should one lament the misfortunes of the other victims?

The following signs had occurred indicating that Nero should one day be sovereign. At his birth just before dawn rays not cast by any visible beam of the sun enveloped him. And a certain astrologer, from this fact and from the motion of the stars at that time and their relation to one another, prophesied two things at once concerning him—that he should rule and that he should murder his mother. Agrippina, on hearing this, became for the moment so bereft of sense as actually to cry out: “Let him kill me, only let him rule!” but later she was destined to repent bitterly of her prayer. For some people carry their folly to such a length that, if they expect to obtain some good thing mingled with evil, they are heedless for the moment of the drawback, in their eagerness for the advantage; but when the time for the evil comes, they are vexed and would prefer never to have secured even

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1 δικαίωτερα Suid., δικαίωτερος VC.
3 εἰληφέναι βεβουλήσθαι. καίτοι καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ πατὴρ ἰκανῶς, οὐκ ἐκ μαντείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τρόπων τῶν τε ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀγριππίνης, προείδετο, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς "ἀδύνατον ἐστιν ἄνδρα τινὰ ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τὴς ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ ταύτης γεννηθῆναι." προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου λεβηρίς περὶ τὸν αὐχένα τοῦ Νέρωνος παιδίου ἐτ' ὄντος εὑρεθεῖσα παρέδωκε τοῖς μάντεσι λέγειν ὧτι ἵσχυν παρά τοῦ γερόντος μεγάλην λήψεται, ἐπείδη τὸ γῆρας διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ ὀφέις ἐκδύσεσθαι νομίζονται.

3 'Επτά δὲ καὶ δέκα ἐτή ἤγεν ὡς ἠρξαν, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἀναγνοσὶ οὐσα ὁ Σενέκας ἐγεγράφει, ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς ὡς ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδώκει. τοσαύτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν, πρὸς τοῦ Σενέκου καὶ αὐτὰ γραφέντα, ἀνέγιν ὡςτε καὶ ἐς ἀργυρᾶν στήλην ἐγγραφῆναι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νέαις τῶν ἦλι ὑπάτων ἀρχαῖς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ψηφισθῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτων ὡς καὶ κατὰ συγγραφῆν τινὰ καλῶς ἀρχηγόσωμενοι παρεσκευ- 2 ἁζοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρωτόν ἢ Ἀγριππίνα πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διώκει, 4 καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους ἁμα ἐποιοῦντο, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φορείῳ κατακείμενοι· τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείον ἢ μὲν ἐφέρετο, ὡ δὲ συμπαρεῖσπετο. ταῖς τε πρεσ-

1 καὶ εἶπεν R. Steph., καὶ εἶπε τε VC, εἶπε τε Bk.
2 τοῦ Leunel., τοῦ C, om. V.
3 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῇ V, αὐτὸ C.
4 Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 37, 29-38, 3 D.) : τοῦ Νέρωνος δὲ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ Ἀγοῦστον ὡς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναγορευθέντος ἡ Ἀγριππίνα πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διώκει τῷ ἐκείνου ὑνόματι καπηλεύουσα πάντα.
the greatest good on such terms. Yet Domitius, A.D. 54
the father of Nero, foresaw clearly enough his son’s
future depravity and licentiousness, and this not
as the result of any oracle but by his knowledge
of his own and Agrippina’s character; for he
declared: “It is impossible for any good man to
be sprung from me and this woman.” As time
went on, the finding of a serpent’s skin around
Nero’s neck while he was still a child caused the
seers to declare that he should receive great power
from an old man; for serpents are supposed to
slough off their old age by discarding their old
skin.

He was seventeen years of age when he began to
rule. He first entered the camp,¹ and after reading
to the soldiers the speech that Seneca had written
for him he promised them all that Claudius had
given them. Before the senate, too, he read a
similar speech,—this one also written by Seneca,—
with the result that it was voted that his address
should be inscribed on a silver tablet and should be
read every time the new consuls entered upon their
office. The senators, accordingly, were getting ready
to enjoy a good reign as much as if they had a
written guarantee of it. At first Agrippina managed
for him all the business of the empire;² and she and
her son went forth together, often reclining in the
same litter, though more commonly she would be
carried and he would walk beside her. She also

¹ The camp of the Praetorians.
² Cf. Zonaras: When now Nero had been proclaimed
emperor and Augustus by the senate and the army, Agrippina at first managed all the business of the empire in his
name, making everything a matter of barter.
beilais ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ ἐπιστολάς καὶ δήμους καὶ ἀρχουσι καὶ βασιλεύσιν ἐπέστελλεν. 1—Xiph. 147, 77–148, 18 R. St.

Οτι ο Πάλλας συνὸν τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ πάντα φορτικὸς καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ἦν.—Exc. U 37.

3 'Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτ’ ἐγίνετο, ἐνυσχέρανεν ο τε Σενέκας καὶ ο Βοῦρρος, φρονιμώτατοι τε ἀμα καὶ δυνατώτατοι τῶν περὶ τῶν Νέρωνα ἀνδρῶν οὐντες (ο μὲν γὰρ ἐπαρχός τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἦν, ο δὲ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ), καὶ ἐπανσάκα τὸ γινόμενον τοιάσθε ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι. πρεσβείας Ἀρμενίων ἐλθούσης καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα, ἂφ’ οὖν σφίνον ὁ Νέρων διελέγετο, ἀναβῆναι ἡθέλησεν. ἴδοντες οὖν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνοι πλησιάζον-

4 σαν ἐπείσαν τὸν νεανίσκον προκαταβῆναι καὶ προαπαντῆσαι τῇ μητρὶ ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δεξιώσει τινός. πραξθέντος τοῦ τούτου οὔτε τὸτε ἐπανήλ-

θον, ἐμβαλόντες τινὰ αἰτίαν, ὡστε μὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἄρχῆς ἐκφανῆναι, 2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπραττὼν ὁπως μηδὲν ἐτ’ αὐτὴ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρέπηται.

4 Κατεργασάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ τῇ ἄρχῃ ἀπασαν παρέλαβον, καὶ διώκησαν ἐφ’ ὅσον ἡδυνή-

θησαν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα, ὥστ’ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίως ἐπαινεθῆναι. ο τε γὰρ Νέρων ὀὐτ’ ἄλλως φιλοπραγματίας ἦν καὶ ἔχαρεν ἐν ῥαστώνῃ διάγων, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῇ τε μητρὶ πρότερον ὑπεπεπτῶκει, 3 καὶ τότε ἡγάπα ὦτι


2 ἐκφανῆναι U 37 (ἐμφανήναι and in marg. γρ. ἐκφανῆναι A), ἐκφηνᾶν VC.

38
received the various embassies and sent letters to A.D. 54 peoples and governors and kings.¹

Pallas in his association with Agrippina was altogether vulgar and objectionable.

When this had been going on for a considerable time, it aroused the displeasure of Seneca and Burrus, who were at once the most sensible and the most influential of the men at Nero's court (the former was his teacher and the latter was prefect of the Praetorian Guard), and they seized the following occasion to put a stop to it. An embassy of Armenians had arrived and Agrippina wished to mount the tribunal from which Nero was talking with them. The two men, seeing her approach, persuaded the young man to descend and meet his mother before she could get there, as if to extend some special greeting to her. Then, having brought this about, they did not re-ascend the tribunal, but made some excuse, so that the weakness in the empire should not become apparent to the foreigners; and thereafter they laboured to prevent any public business from being again committed to her hands.

When they had accomplished this, they took the rule entirely into their own hands and administered affairs in the very best and fairest manner they could, with the result that they won the approval of everybody alike. As for Nero, he was not fond of business in any case, and was glad to live in idleness; indeed, it was for this reason that he had previously yielded the upper hand to his mother, and was now quite content to be indulging in

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch: Agrippina used to attend the meetings of the senate, receive the embassies, etc.

³ ὑπεπτάκει St., ὑπεπτάκει cod. Peir.
2 ἰττον δυνήτορ· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συμφρονήσαντες αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ, τὰ μὲν μετερρύθμισαν τῶν καθεστηκότων, τὰ δὲ καὶ παντελῶς κατέλυσαν, ἀλλὰ τε καὶνὰ προσενομοθέτησαν, τὼν δὲ ἔν Νέρωνα τρυφῶν εἰὼν, ὅπως διακορῆς, ἀνευμεγάλου τινος τῶν κοινῶν πάντων κακοῦ, ὅπερ ἐπεθύμησε γενόμενος μεταβάλληται, ὡσπερ οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι ψυχῇ νέα τε καὶ αὐθάδης ἐν τε τρυφῇ ἀνεπιπλήκτω καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοτελεῖ τραφεῖσα οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κόρον αὐτῶν ἱσχεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξ
3 αὐτῶν τούτων προσδιαφθείρεται. ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Νέρων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπλῶς ποὺς δεῖπνα τε ἐποίει καὶ κόμους ἐκκόμαζε καὶ ἐμέθυσε καὶ ἡρα, ἐπειτὰ δὲ ὡς οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τις ἐπέπληττον οὔτε τὰ κοινὰ χείρον παρὰ τοῦτο διεχειρίζετο, ἐπιστευεῖν ὅτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτὰ ποιεῖ καὶ δύναται
4 καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον σφικτο χρὴσθαι, κακὸ τούτο ταὐτά τε ὡς ἐκαστα ἐκφανέστερον καὶ προπετέστερον πράττειν ἥρξατο, καὶ εἶ δὴ τὶ ἐκεῖνοι παραινοῦντες ἢ ἡ μὴτηρ νουθετοῦσα αὐτῶν ἔλεγε, παρόντας μὲν σφας ἢδεῖτο καὶ ὑποαχεῖτο μεταθησέσθαι, ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἐγεγνετο καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τάναντα αὐτῶν ἀγνουσιν,
5 ἀτε καὶ ἐπὶ πρανεῖς ἐλκοῦσιν, ἐπείθετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν καταφρονήσας, οὐδὲν ποὺ συνεχῶς παρὰ τῶν συνόντων ἄκοιων "σὺ δὲ τοὺτων ἀνέχῃ; σὺ δὲ τούτων φοβῆ; οὐκ οἶδα ὅτι Καίσαρ εἰ καὶ σὺ ἐκείνων ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ
1 τῶν Val., τῶν δὲ cod. Peir.
2 κόμουs cod. Peir., περὶ κόμουs VC.
3 ὡς Val., αἰς cod. Peir.
pleasures while the government was carried on as A.D. 54 well as before. His two advisers, then, after coming to a common understanding, made many changes in existing regulations, abolished some altogether, and enacted many new laws, meanwhile allowing Nero to indulge himself, in the expectation that when he had sated his desires without any great injury to the public interests at large, he would experience a change of heart; as though they did not realize that a young and self-willed spirit, when reared in unrebuked licence and absolute authority, so far from becoming sated by the indulgence of its passions, is ruined more and more by these very agencies. At all events, whereas at first Nero was comparatively moderate in the dinners he gave, in the revels he conducted, and in his drinking and his amours, yet later, as no one reproved him for this conduct and the public business was handled none the worse for it, he came to believe that such conduct was really not bad and that he could carry it even farther. Consequently he began to indulge in each of these pursuits in a more open and precipitate fashion. And in case his guardians ever said anything to him by way of advice or his mother by way of admonition, he would appear abashed while they were present, and would promise to reform; but as soon as they were gone, he would again become the slave of his desire and yield to those who were leading him in the other direction, since they were dragging him downhill. Next, he came to despise the good advice, since he was always hearing from his associates: "And do you submit to them?" "Do you fear them?" "Do you not know that you are Caesar, and that you have
δὲ καὶ φιλονεικῶν μὴτε τῆς μητρὸς ὡς καὶ κρεῖττονος ἐλαπτοῦσθαι μὴτε τοῦ Σενέκου τοῦ τε Βοῦρρου ὡς καὶ φρονιμωτέρων 5 ἡπτάσθαι, τέλος ἀπηρυπρίασε, καὶ πάντα τὰ παραγγέλματα αὐτῶν συγχέας καὶ καταπατήσας πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔτεινεν. ὡς δὲ ἄπαξ ἔσηλεν αὐτὸν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο, νομίζων τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ¹ καὶ τοῦτ ἱσχύος ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς κακίστοις μιθηδενὸς ὑστερίζειν.

2 ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅμιλου, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡδέα ἄκοινον, οὗτ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἶκοι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συνοδεύσαν οἱ ἔχειρούργησεν αὐτὰ, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐδημοσίευσεν, ὡστε πολλὴν μὲν αἰσχύνην παυτὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίοις γένει προσθείναι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 3 δεινὰ αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ βίαι καὶ ὑβρεῖς ἀρπαγαί τε καὶ φόνοι καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔκεινον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ τι παρᾷ αὐτῶ δυναμένων ἀμύθητοι ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ὃ δὲ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔπεται, πολλὰ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, χρήματα ἁνηλίσκετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἄδικως ἐπορίζετο, πολλὰ δὲ βιαίως ἠρπάζετο. ² ἡν μὲν

4 γὰρ οὖν ἄλλως ³ μικρόφρων· τεκμηρίων δε, Δορυφόρῳ τὸ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ βιβλία διέποντι πεντήκοντα ἀμα καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας δοθῆμαι κελεύσας, εἰτ’ ἐπειδὴ ἡ Ἀριστοπλιθοῖνα ἐσώρευσεν αὐτὰς ἵνα ἄθροιν τὸ ἀργύριον ἵδων μεταβάληται, ἣρετο πόσον εἶη τὸ κείμε-
authority over them rather than they over you?" A.D. 54
and he was resolved not to acknowledge that his
mother was superior to him or to submit to Seneca
and Burrus as wiser. Finally he lost all shame,
dashed to the ground and trampled underfoot all
their precepts, and began to follow in the steps of
Gaius. And when he had once conceived a desire
to emulate him, he quite surpassed him; for he held
it to be one of the obligations of the imperial power
not to fall behind anybody else even in the basest
deeds. And as he was applauded for this by the
crowd and received many pleasant compliments from
them, he devoted himself to this course unspar-
ingly. At first he practised his vices at home and
among his associates, but afterwards even indulged
them publicly. Thus he brought great disgrace
upon the whole Roman race and committed many
outrages against the Romans themselves. Innumera-
ble acts of violence and outrage, of robbery and
murder, were committed by the emperor himself
and by those who at one time or another had influ-
ence with him. And, as certainly and inevitably
follows in all such cases, great sums of money
naturally were spent, great sums unjustly procured,
and great sums seized by force. For Nero never
was niggardly, as the following incident will show.
He once ordered 10,000,000 sesterces to be given at
one time to Doryphorus, who was in charge of
Petitions during his reign, and when Agrippina caused
the money to be piled in a heap, hoping that when
he should see it all together he would change his
mind, he asked how much the mass before him

3 ἀλας cod. Peir., ἀλως VC.
νον, καὶ μαθῶν ἐδιπλασίασεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν ὅτι

"ἡγνόησα ὁλίγον οὕτω κεχαρισμένος." πολλῷ
dὲ δῆλον ἔν τούτῳ πλῆθος τῶν δαπανωμένων
ταχύ μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θησαυρὸς
ἐξήνυττησε, ταχύ δὲ πόρων καινὸν ἐδείχθη, καὶ
tέλη τε οὐκ ἐιδισμένα ἐξελέγετο καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι
tῶν ἠ휴ντων τι ἐπολυπραγμονοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἐκεῖνας ἐξ ἑπηρείας ἀπέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ

6 προσαπώλλωντο. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλους, εἰ καὶ
μηδέν μεγά ἕκεκτητο, ἀλλ' ἀρετὴν γῆ τινα ἢ
καὶ γένος εἶχον, ὑποπτεύων ἄχθεσθαί οἱ καὶ
ἐμύσει καὶ διεφθειρε.—Xiph. 148, 18–149, 30 R.
St., Exc. U c 37, p. 390 (p. 21, 13–22, 11), Exc.
Val. 233, p. 678–682 (p. 21, 15–24, 16), Exc. Val.
234, p. 682 (p. 24, 17–25, 6).

6 Τοιοῦτος μὲν τὸ σύμπαν ὁ Νέρων ἐγένετο,
λέξῳ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκαστον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς
ἰπποδρομίας τοσαυτῇ σπουδῇ ὁ Νέρων ἐκέχρητο
ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς ἐπι-
φανείς τοὺς παρβηκότας στολή τε ἀγοραίῳ ὡς
Ἀνδρας τινὰς κοσμῆσαι καὶ χρημασιν ὑπὲρ σι-

2 τηρεσίων τιμῆσαι. ἐπαιρομένων δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν
ἰπποτρόφων καὶ τῶν ἡμίχων τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ
σπουδῇ, καὶ δεινῶς τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς
ὑπάτους ὑβριζόντων, Αὐλος Φαβρίκιος στρα-
τηγῶν ἐκεῖνος μὲν μὴ βουληθείσων ἐπὶ μετρίοις
τισὶν ἀγωνίσασθαι οὐκ ἐχρῆσατο, κύνας δὲ
dιδάξας ἐλκείν ἄρματα ἀντὶ ἵππων ἐστίγματι.

3 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἳ μὲν τῇ λευκῇ τῇ τε πυρρᾷ
σκεῦς χρώμενοι τὰ ἄρματα εὐθὺς καθηκαν, τῶν
dὲ δὴ πρασίων τῶν τε οὐνεντίων μηδ' ὅς ἐσελ-
amounted to, and upon being informed, doubled it, A.D. 54, saying: "I did not realize that I had given him so little." It can clearly be seen, then, that as a result of the magnitude of his expenditures he soon exhausted the funds in the imperial treasury, and soon found himself in need of new revenues. Hence unusual taxes were imposed, and the estates of those who possessed property were pried into; some of the owners lost their possessions by violence and others lost their lives as well. In like manner he hated and brought about the ruin of others who had no great wealth but possessed some special distinction or were of good family; for he suspected them of disliking him.

Such was Nero's general character. I shall now proceed to details. He had such enthusiasm for the horse-races that he actually decorated the famous race-horses that had passed their prime with the regular street costume for men and honoured them with gifts of money for their feed. Thereupon the horsebreeders and charioteers, encouraged by this enthusiasm on his part, proceeded to treat both the praetors and the consuls with great insolence; and Aulus Fabricius, when praetor, finding them unwilling to take part in the contests on reasonable terms, dispensed with their services, and training dogs to draw chariots, introduced them in place of horses. At this, the wearers of the White and of the Red immediately entered their chariots for the races; but as the Greens and the Blues would not participate

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1 πολλαφ δε δηλον VC (corrupt).
2 ταχυ μεν cod. Peir. Zon., τους μεν V, . . . χδ μεν C.
3 οβενετιων R. Steph., οβενετελων VC.
θόντων, ὁ Νέρων τὰ ἄθλα τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτὸς ἔθηκε, καὶ ἡ ἱπποδρομία ἐτελέσθη.—Χιφ. 149, 30–150, 10 R. St.

4 "Оτί ἡ Αγριππίνα οὖτω καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πρῶτευ ἐπεχείρησε ὡστε Μάρκον Ἰούνιον Σιλανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψασα αὐτὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου ὅ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδεδολοφονήκε.——Exc. Val. 235 (p. 682).

5 "Οτί ἡρχε τῆς Ἄσιας Σιλανός, καὶ ἦν οὔδε ἐν 1 τοῖς ἑθεσι τοῦ γένους ἐνδεέστερος. ἀφ’ οὕτερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνα, 2 ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος οὐτω ζῶντος προκριθεί. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκαπήλευσε πάντα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν βραχυτάτων τῶν τε αἰσχίστων ἠγνυρολογεῖ.——Exc. Val. 236 (p. 682).

6 "Οτι Δαιλιανὸς ὁ ἀποστάλεις ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἀρχὴν προσετέτακτο, καὶ ἦν οὔδεν τοῦ Πωλίωνος βελτιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσο τῇ ἄξιόσει αὐτοῦ προείχε, τόσο καὶ ἀπληστότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἐπεφύκει.——Exc. Val. 237 (p. 682).

7 Ἐλυπεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Αγριππίνα μικρεί τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ διὰ τὴν Ἀκτὴν μάλιστα κυριεύουσα. ἦ δὲ δὴ Ἁκτὴ ἐπέτραπε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἄσιας, ἀγαπηθεῖσα δὲ ύπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐς τε τὸ τοῦ Ἀττάλου γένος ἐσῆχθη καὶ πολὺ καὶ ύπὲρ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν γυναῖκα 3 αὐτοῦ ἡγα-

2 πήθη. ἦ οὖν Ἀγριππίνα διὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταύτ' ἀγανακτούσα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο, καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτὸ τούς μὲν πληγαῖς ἥκισε τοὺς δὲ ἐκποδῶν ἐποιεῖτο,

3 ὡς δὲ οὖν ἐπέραινεν, ὑπερήλγησε καὶ εἶπεν
even then, Nero himself furnished the prizes for the A.D. 54 horses and the horse-race took place.

Agrippina was ever ready to attempt the most daring undertakings; for example, she caused the death of Marcus Junius Silanus, sending him some of the poison with which she had treacherously murdered her husband.

Silanus was governor of Asia, and was in no respect inferior in character to the rest of his family. It was for this reason more than any other, she said, that she killed him, as she did not wish him to be preferred to Nero because of her son’s manner of life. Moreover, she made traffic of everything and raised money from the most trivial and the basest sources.

Laelianus, who was sent to Armenia in place of Pollio, had formerly been in command of the night-watch. And he was no better than Pollio, for although surpassing him in rank, he was all the more insatiate of gain.

Agrippina was distressed because she was no longer A.D. 55 mistress of affairs in the palace, chiefly because of Acte. This Acte had been bought as a slave in Asia, but winning the affections of Nero, was adopted into the family of Attalus and was loved by the emperor much more than was his wife Octavia. Agrippina, indignant at this and other things, first attempted to admonish him, and administered a beating to some of his associates and got rid of others. But when she found herself accomplishing nothing, she took it

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1 οὐδὲ ἐν Val., οὐδὲ ἐν cod. Peir.
2 αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι Val. (ἐπικτεῖναι), αὐτῶν ἐπιχθῆναι cod. Peir.
3 γυναῖκα C, om. V (but space left blank).
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αὐτῷ ὁτι “ἐγὼ σε αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέδειξα,” ὡσπερ ἀφελέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν αὐτοῦ δυναμένη ὅν γὰρ ἦπίστατο ὅτι πᾶσα ἱσχὺς αὐταρχὸς, παρ’ ἰδιώτου δοθεῖσα τῷ, τοῦ τε δόντος αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἀπαλλάττεται καὶ τῷ λαβόντι κατέκεινον προσγίνεται.—Xiph. 150, 11–22 R. St.

4 Τὸν δὲ Βρεττανικὸν φαρμάκῳ δολοφονήσας ὁ Νέρων, ἐπειδὴ πελιδνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἐγενήθη, γύψῳ ἔχρισεν. ὡτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς ἁγορᾶς αὐτοῦ διαγομένου πολὺς, ἑγρᾶς ἐτι οὕσης τῆς γύψου, ἐπιπεσών πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπέκλυσεν, ὡστε τὸ δεινὸν μὴ μόνον ἀκούεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀρᾶσθαι.¹

—Xiph. 150, 22–26 R. St.

5 “Ὅτι τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὐκέθ᾽ ² ὁ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βουρρός ἐπιμέλειαν τινα ἀκριβῇ τῶν κοινῶν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ’ ἤγαπων εἰ καὶ μετρίως πως διάγοντες αὖτὰ περισσοθεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ Νέρων λαμπρῶς ἥδη πάντων ὑπὸ ἠθελεῖν

¹ Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 38, 23–32 D.): Τῆς δ’ Ἀγριππίνης, ὅτι μὴ ἄργυρολογεῖν ἥδυνατο φιλαργυρωτάτη οὐσα περιθύμωσ ὄργισθείσης, καὶ ἀπειλησαμένης τὸν Βρεττανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταστήσειν, φοβηθές ὁ Νέρων ἀπέκτεινε φαρμάκῳ αὐτὸν. καὶ ὁ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέψυξε καὶ φοράδην ὡς ἐπίληπτος ἐκκεκόμιστο· ἐν δὲ γε τῇ ἐκφορᾶ ἐπεὶ πελιδνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου γέγονε, γύψῳ χρισθέλες διὰ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἤγετο· κτέ.


² οὐκέθ’ Bk., οὐθ' cod. Peir.
greatly to heart and said to him, “It was I who a.d. 55 made you emperor”—just as if she had the power to take away the sovereignty from him again. She did not realize that any absolute power given to anybody by a private citizen immediately ceases to be the property of the giver and becomes an additional weapon in the hands of the recipient for war against the giver.

Nero now treacherously murdered Britannicus by means of poison and then, as the skin became livid through the action of the poison, he smeared the body with gypsum. But as it was being carried through the Forum, a heavy rain that fell while the gypsum was still moist washed it all off, so that the crime was known not only by what people heard but also by what they saw.¹

After the death of Britannicus, Seneca and Burrus no longer gave any careful attention to the public business, but were satisfied if they might manage it with moderation and still preserve their lives. Consequently Nero now openly and without fear of

¹ Cf. Zonaras: When Agrippina, who was most avaricious, became very angry because she could not levy money, and threatened to make Britannicus emperor, Nero took fright and put him to death by poison. Britannicus, accordingly, straightway breathed his last and was carried out on a stretcher as if he were in an epileptic fit; but at the funeral, in view of the fact that his body had become livid, it was smeared with gypsum and thus borne through the Forum, etc.

Joann. Antioch.: Britannicus, who was regarded as Nero’s brother, was first shamelessly debauched by him and then killed by a powerful poison while at dinner, so that the crime was known by what people saw as well as by what they heard. For he became livid all over and his eyes were wide open, calling upon the rulers for vengeance.
6 ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐνετίμητο. καὶ οὗτο γὰρ ἐκφρο-
νεῖν ἀντικρυς ἤξιατο ὡστε καὶ Ἀντωνίου τινα
ἵππεα αὐτίκα ὡς καὶ φαρμακεά κολάσαι, καὶ
προσεῖκι καὶ τὰ φάρμακα δημοσίᾳ καταφλέξαι:
αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δια-
θήκας τινάς κακοὺργήσας, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις γέλωτα ἰσχυρῶν
παρέσχεν, ὅτι τὰ ἐαυτό τ᾽ ἐργα δ’ ἐτέρων ἐκο-
λασεν.

8 Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἶκοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ
πόλει, νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, ἐπικρυπτόμενος
ηὲ ἡσέλγαινεν, καὶ ἐσ τῆς κατηλεία ἐσῆς, καὶ
πανταχόσε ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτὴς ἐπιλανάτο. πληγαῖ
τε ἐκ τοῦτων καὶ ὑβρεῖς συχναὶ ἐγύγινοντο, ὡστε
καὶ μέχρι τῶν θεάτρων τὸ δείνον προχωρῆσαι.

2 οἳ γὰρ τοι περὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν καὶ περὶ τοῦς
ὑποὺς ἑχοντες οὕτε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὡστε τῶν
ὑπάτων ἐφρόντιζον, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ τε ἐστασίαζοι
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσεπεστώντο, οὐχ ὅτι κωλυ-
ούσος σφας τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὃσον ἀπὸ βοῆς, ἀλλὰ
καὶ προσεκταράσσοντος καὶ γὰρ ἔχαρε τοῖς
δρωμέοις, ἐν τε φορεὶς τινὶ λάθρα ἐς τὰ θέατρα
ἐσκομιζόμενος, κὰ τοῦ ᾠφανοῦς τοῖς ἄλλοις

3 ἐφορῶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς στρα-
τιῶτας τοὺς αἰὲ ποτὲ ταῖς τοῦ δῆμου συνόδοις
παρείναι εἰωθότας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ φοιταν ἐς
αὐτάς, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ
αὐτοὺς μόνα, διὰ χειρὸς ποιεῖσθαι δέον, τὸ δ’
ἄληθες ἐν ὅτι πλεῖστη τοῖς τι βουλομένοις

1 Rk. rejected either καὶ or γὰρ, but some words may
have been omitted by the epitomist.
2 κακούργησας Val., κακούργησαντι cod. Peir.
punishment proceeded to gratify all his desires. A.D. 55

His behaviour began to be absolutely insensate, as was shown by his punishing immediately a certain knight, Antonius, as a dealer in poisons, and furthermore by his burning the poisons publicly. He took great credit to himself for this action as well as for prosecuting some persons who had tampered with wills; but people in general were vastly amused to see him punishing his own deeds in the persons of others.

He indulged in many licentious deeds both at home and throughout the city, by night and by day alike, though he made some attempt at concealment. He used to frequent the taverns and wandered about everywhere like a private citizen. In consequence, frequent blows and violence occurred, and the evil even spread to the theatres, so that the people connected with the stage and the horse-races paid no heed either to the praetors or to the consuls, but were both disorderly themselves and led others to act likewise. And Nero not only failed to restrain them, even by words, but actually incited them the more; for he delighted in their behaviour and used to be secretly conveyed in a litter into the theatre, where, unseen by the rest, he could watch what was going on. Indeed he forbade the soldiers who hitherto had always been present at all public gatherings to attend them any longer. The reason he assigned was that they ought not to perform any but military duties; but his real purpose was to afford those who

3 τῇ πόλει cod. Peir., τῇ ἄνω πόλει VC.
4 στρατηγῶν Madvig, στρα cod. Peir.
5 ὅσον Reim., ὅσα cod. Peir.

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4 ταράσσειν ἐξουσία εὑρ. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ σκῆψει καὶ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐχρήσατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνη συνείναι στρατιώτην τινὰ ἐπέτρεπε, λέγων μηδένα ἄλλον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος φρονεῖσθαι χρήναι. καὶ τούτῳ γε καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολloiς τὴν ἐχθραν αὐτοῦ 1 ἐξέφηνεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ὧσα καθ’ ἐκάστην ὡς εἰπεῖν ἦμεραν καὶ ἔλεγον ἐς ἄλληλους καὶ ἔπραττον, ἐξεῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἐδημοσιεύετο, ἄλλα κατείκαζον αὐτὰ καὶ ἐλογοποίουν ἄλλοι 2 ἄλλως· πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν ποιηρίαν τὴν τε ἀσέλ-γειαν σφον τά τε ἐνδεχόμενα γενέσθαι 3 ὡς γεγονότα διεθροεῖτο καὶ τὰ πιθανότητα τίνα 4

5 λεχθῇναι ἔχοντα ὡς καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐπιστεύετο· τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἴδοντες αὐτὴν ἀυνε πορφύρων οἱ μὲν πολloi ἐφυλάττοντο μηδ’ ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτῆς συμμίξει, εἰ δὲ τοῦ τις καὶ συννέτυχε, διὰ ταχέων ἃν, μηδέν εἰπόνων, ἀπηλλάγη.—Exc. Val. 238 (p. 682), Xiph. 150, 26–151, 8 R. St.

6 Ἐν δὲ τινι θέα αὐνδρέας ταύρους ἀπὸ ἵππων, συμπαραβδοῦντες σφισι, κατέστρεφον, τετρακοσίας τε ἄρκτους καὶ τριακοσίους λέουντας οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Νέρωνος κατηκότσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τέλους τριάκοντα ἐμονομάχησαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ οὖν τῷ φανερῷ ταῦτ’ ἐποίει, κρύφα δὲ νῦκτωρ ἐκώμαζε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὑβρίζων ἐς τὰς γυναίκας καὶ ἀσελγαίνων ἐς τὰ μειράκια, ἀποδύων τε 5 τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, παιών τιτρώσκων φονεύων. καὶ ἔδοκει μὲν πως λαν-

1 καὶ τούτῳ γε—αὐτῶι Bs., καὶ τούτῳ—αὐτὸς cod. Peir.
2 ἀλλοι H. Steph., ἀλλα VC.
3 γενέσθαι R. Steph., γενεσιν . . . CV.

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wished to create a disturbance the fullest scope. A.D. 55 He also used the same excuse in the case of his mother; for he would not allow any soldier to attend her, declaring that no one except the emperor ought to be guarded by them. This revealed even to the masses his hatred of her. Nearly everything, to be sure, that he and his mother said to each other or that they did each day was reported outside the palace, yet it did not all reach the public, and hence various conjectures were made and various stories circulated. For, in view of the depravity and lewdness of the pair, everything that could conceivably happen was noised abroad as having actually taken place, and reports possessing any credibility were believed as true. But when the people now saw Agrippina unaccompanied for the first time by the Praetorians, most of them took care not to fall in with her even by accident; and if any one did chance to meet her, he would hastily get out of the way without saying a word.

At one spectacle men on horseback overcame bulls while riding along beside them, and the knights who served as Nero's bodyguard brought down with their javelins four hundred bears and three hundred lions. On the same occasion thirty members of the equestrian order fought as gladiators. Such were the proceedings which the emperor sanctioned openly; secretly, however, he carried on nocturnal revels throughout the entire city, insulting women, practising lewdness on boys, stripping the people whom he encountered, beating, wounding and murdering. He had an idea that his identity

4 πιθανότητά τινα C², πιθανωτάτα τινα C¹, πιθανωτάτα τινα V.  
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θάνειν (καὶ γὰρ ἐσθῆσι ποικίλαις καὶ κόμαις περιθέτοις ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις ἔχρητο), ἥλεγχετο δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκουλουθίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑργῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀν τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαύτα ἀδεῶς οὕτως ποιήσαι 3 ἐτύλμησεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ οίκοι μένειν ἀσφαλές οὐδεὶς εὐγνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕς ἑργαστήρια καὶ ἕς οἰκίας ἐσεπήδα. Ἰούλιος οὖν τις Μουτανὸς βουλευτῆς, ἀγανακτήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς, προσέπεσε τε αὐτῷ καὶ πληγὰς πολλὰς ἐνεφόρησεν, ὡσθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπωπίων συχνὰς αὐτοῦ 4 ἡμέραις κρυφθῆναι. καὶ ἔπαθεν ἀν’ ἐπὶ τοῦτο δεινὸν οὐδέν (ὁ γὰρ Νέρων ἐκ συντυχίας ἄλλως ὑβοίσθαι νομίσας οὐδεμίαν ὄργην ἐποιεῖτο), εἰ μὴ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ συγγνώμην αὐτούμενος. ὡς γὰρ ἀναγνοῦσ’ ὁ Νέρων τά γράμματα ἐφ’ “οὐκοῦν ὑδει Νέρωνα τύπτων,” αὐτὸν 2 κατεχρήσατο.

5 Ἐν δὲ τινὶ θεάτρῳ θέας ἐπιτελῶν, εἰτὰ πληρώσας ἐξαίφνης τὸ θέατρον ὑδατὸς θαλάσσιον ὡστε καὶ ἱχθύας καὶ κῆτη 3 ἐν αὐτῷ νῆχεσθαι, ναυμαχίαν τε ἐποίησε Περσῶν δὴ τινῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὴν τὸ τε ὕδωρ εὐθὺς ἐξῆγαγε, καὶ ξηράνας τὸ δάπεδον πεζοῦς πάλιν οὐχ ὅπως ἐνα πρὸς ἑνα ἄλλα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀμα πρὸς ἵσοις συνέβαλεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ δικαιικοὶ ἀγώνες, ἔξ ὦν καὶ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ καὶ ἑφυγον καὶ ἀπέθανον.

"Οτι ὁ Σενέκας αἰτίαν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐνεκλήθη 4 ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ Ἀγριππινῇ συνεγύγνετο· οὐ

1 ἀν Reisk., οὐν V, erasure in C, om. cod. Peir.
2 αὐτὸν Xyl., αὐτὸν VC.
3 κῆτη Sylb., κῆτη VC.
4 ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας αἰτίαν ἔσχε καὶ ἐνεκλήθη cod. Peir., ἐνεκλήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ σενέκας VC.

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was not known, for he used various costumes and different wigs at different times; but he would be recognized both by his retinue and by his deeds, since no one else would have dared commit so many and so serious outrages in such a reckless manner. Indeed, it was becoming unsafe even for a person to remain at home, since Nero would break into shops and houses. Now a certain Julius Montanus, a senator, enraged on his wife's account, fell upon him and inflicted many blows upon him, so that he had to remain in concealment several days by reason of the black eyes he had received. And yet Montanus would have suffered no harm for this, since Nero thought the violence had been all an accident and so was not disposed to be angry at the occurrence, had not the other sent him a note begging his pardon. Nero on reading the letter remarked: "So he knew that he was striking Nero." Thereupon Montanus committed suicide.

In the course of producing a spectacle at one of the theatres he suddenly filled the place with sea water so that fishes and sea monsters swam about in it, and he exhibited a naval battle between men representing Persians and Athenians. After this he immediately drew off the water, dried the ground, and once more exhibited contests between land forces, who fought not only in single combat but also in large groups equally matched. On a later occasion some judicial contests were held, and even these brought exile or death to many.

Seneca now found himself under accusation, one of the charges against him being that he was intimate with Agrippina. It had not been enough for him,
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γὰρ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰουλίαν μοιχεύσαι, οὐδὲ βελτίων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνη τοιαύτῃ τε ὀφνη καὶ τοιούτων ὑπὸν

2 ἐχούσῃ ἐπιλησίαζεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα οἷς ἐφιλοσόφει ποιῶν ἠλέγχθη. καὶ γὰρ τυραννίδος κατηγορῶν τυραννοδιδάσκαλος ἐγίνετο, καὶ τῶν συνόντων τοῖς δυνάσταις κατατρέχων ὦκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ παλατίου, τοὺς τε κολακεύοντάς τινα διαβάλλουν αὐτὸς ὥστε τὴν Μεσσαλίναν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Κλαύδιον ἐξελευθέρους ἔθωπευν ὡστε καὶ βιβλίον σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου πέμψαι ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν ἔχον, ὦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης ἀπῆλευσε.

3 τοῖς τε πλουτοῦσιν ἐγκαλῶν οὐσίαν ἐπτακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τάσ πολυτελείας τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιώμενος πεντακοσίους τρίποδας κιτρίνου ἔψεεν ἐλεφαντόποδας ἰσοὺς καὶ ὁμοίους εἶχε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν εἰστία. τούτῳ γὰρ εἰπὼν καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἀκόλουθα αὐτῷ δεδήλωνα παρ’ αἰσχύνης καὶ μειρακίους ἔξωθεν τὸ χαίρε, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξε, καὶ περ τοσαύτη πρόσθεν αὐτηρότητι τῶν τρόπων χρώμενος ὡστε καὶ αἰτήσασθαι παρ’ αὐτὸν

1 αὐτῷ Val., αὐτη cod. Peir.
2 πάντα VC, καὶ πάντα cod. Peir.
3 ἐγένετο VC, ἐγένετο cod. Peir.
4 ἔθωπευν VC, ἔθωπευσεν cod. Peir.
5 πλουτοῦσιν VC, πλουσιοὶ cod. Peir.
6 κιτρίνου Ciaccioni, κεδρίνου VC, κεδρίνου cod. Peir.
7 εἰστία cod. Peir., εἰστίατο VC.

1 See l.x. 8, 5. Dio was disposed to take the worst view of Seneca's character. The charges here made seem like an echo.
it seems, to commit adultery with Julia,\(^1\) nor had he \(A.D. 58\) become wiser as a result of his banishment, but he must establish improper relations with Agrippina, in spite of the kind of woman she was and the kind of son she had. Nor was this the only instance in which his conduct was seen to be diametrically opposed to the teachings of his philosophy. For while denouncing tyranny, he was making himself the teacher of a tyrant; while inveighing against the associates of the powerful, he did not hold aloof from the palace himself; and though he had nothing good to say of flatterers, he himself had constantly fawned upon Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius, to such an extent, in fact, as actually to send them from the island of his exile a book containing their praises—a book that he afterwards suppressed out of shame.\(^2\) Though finding fault with the rich, he himself acquired a fortune of 300,000,000 sesterces; and though he censured the extravagances of others, he had five hundred tables of citrus wood with legs of ivory, all identically alike, and he served banquets on them. In stating thus much I have also made clear what naturally went with it—the licentiousness in which he indulged at the very time that he contracted a most brilliant marriage, and the delight that he took in boys past their prime, a practice which he also taught Nero to follow. And yet earlier he had been of such austere habits that he had asked his pupil to excuse him from kissing of the attack of Publius Suilius, recorded by Tacitus (\textit{Ann.} xiii, 42).\(^3\) The \textit{Consolatio ad Polybium}, still extant, was written during his exile in Corsica. It contains altogether too much adulation of the emperor and of Polybius.

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\(^1\)\text{\footnotesize{\textit{Footnote: It seems, to commit adultery with Julia,\(^1\) nor had he \(A.D. 58\) become wiser as a result of his banishment, but he must establish improper relations with Agrippina, in spite of the kind of woman she was and the kind of son she had.}}}

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5 μήτε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μήτε συσσιτεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν καὶ πρόφασιν τινα ἐσχεν, ἦνα δὴ καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ σχολῆς δύνηται, μηδὲν ύπὸ τῶν δείπνων αὐτοῦ ἐμποδίζομενος, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ φιλήματος οὐκ ἔχω συννοῆσαι διότι ἐξήστῃ. δὲ γὰρ τοι καὶ μόνον ἄν τις ὑποτεύσειεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔθελε τοιοῦτο στόμα φιλεῖν, ἔλεγχεται ἐκ τῶν παιδικῶν αὐτοῦ ψεῦδος οὖν. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς μοιχείας ἐγκληθεῖσι τινα τότε μὲν αὐτὸς τε μηδὲ κατηγορηθεῖσι ἀφείθη καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα τὸν τε Βούρρον ἐξητήσατο, ὡστερον δὲ οὐ καλῶς ἀπηλλαξέν. —Xiph. 151, 8–152, 15 R. St., Exc. Val. 239 p. 685 sq. (p. 29, 17–30, 8; p. 30, 17–32, 6).

1 δὴ Rk., ἦνα cod. Peir.
2 τε supplied by Bk.
3 οὐ καλῶς Val., οὐκάλλως (ou by correction) cod. Peir.
him or eating at the same table with him. For the A.D. 58
latter request he had a fairly good excuse, namely, that he wished to carry on his philosophical studies at leisure without being interrupted by the young man's dinners. As for the kiss, however, I cannot conceive how he came to decline it; for the only explanation that one could think of, namely, his unwillingness to kiss that sort of lips, is shown to be false by the facts concerning his favourites. Because of this and because of his adultery some complaints were lodged against him; but at the time in question he not only got off himself without even being formally accused, but succeeded in begging off Pallas and Burrus besides. Later on however, he did not fare so well.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

LXI Ὅν δὲ τις Μάρκος Σάλονιος Ὀθων, ὃς οὖτως
11, 2 ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν τρόπων καὶ τῆς κοινω-νίας τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τῷ Νέρωνι φικεῖντο ὡστε καὶ εἰπόν ποτε πρὸς αὐτόν "οὖτω με Καίσαρα ἴδοις" οὐδὲν διὰ τούτο κακὸν ἐπαθεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀντήκουσεν ὅτι "οὐδὲ ὑπατόν σε ὑψομαι." τούτῳ τὴν Σαβίναν, εὖ εὐπατριδῶν οὖσαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀποστάσας ἔδωκε, καὶ
3 αὐτῇ ἀμφότεροι ἁμα ἐχρώντο. φοβηθεῖσα οὖν ἡ Ἀγριππίνα μὴ γῆμηται τῷ Νέρωνι (δεινὸς γὰρ ἡδὴ αὐτῆς ἐραύ ἡρξατο), ἔργου ἀνοσιώτατον ἐτόλμησεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανὸν δὲν ἐς μυθολογίαν ὅτι τὸν θείον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐς ἑρωτα αὐτῆς ταῖς τε γοητείαις ταῖς τε ἀκολασίαις καὶ τῶν βλεμμάτων καὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ὑπηγάγετο, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ
4 τὸν Νέρωνα ὁμοίως καταδουλώσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν εὑτ' ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο εἰτε πρὸς τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ἐπλάσθη οὐκ οἶδα· ἀ δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ὁμολογηται λέγω, ὅτι ἔταιραν τινα τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ὁμοίαν ὁ Νέρων δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἡγάπησε, καὶ αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ προσπαί-ζουν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἐλεγεν ὅτι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὁμιλοῖν.

12 Μαθοῦσα δὲ ταῦθ 'ἡ Σαβίνα ἀνέπεισε τὸν

1 ὅν supplied by H. Steph.
2 αὐτῆς H. Steph., αὐτῆς VC.
There was a certain Marcus Salvius Otho, who in the year A.D. 58 had become so intimate with Nero through the similarity of their character and their companionship in crime that he was not even punished for saying to him one day, "As truly as you may expect to see me Caesar!" All that he got for it was the response: "I shall not see you even consul." It was to him that the emperor gave Sabina, a woman of patrician family, after separating her from her husband, and they both enjoyed her together. Agrippina, therefore, fearing that Nero would marry the woman (for he was now beginning to entertain a mad passion for her), ventured upon a most unholy course. As if it were not notoriety enough for her that she had used her blandishments and immodest looks and kisses to seduce her uncle Claudius, she undertook to enslave even Nero in similar fashion. Whether this actually occurred, now, or whether it was invented to fit their character, I am not sure; but I state as a fact what is admitted by all, that Nero had a mistress resembling Agrippina of whom he was especially fond because of this very resemblance, and when he toyed with the girl herself or displayed her charms to others, he would say that he was wont to have intercourse with his mother.

Sabina on learning of this persuaded Nero to get A.D. 59

1 Rufius (or Rufrius) Crispinus; see Tac. Ann. xiii. 45; xv. 71; Suet. Nero 35.
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Nérova ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσάν οἱ αὐτὴν διολέσαι. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, ὡς πολλοῖς καὶ ἀξιοπίστοις ἀνδράσιν εἰρηταί, παρώξυνεν, εἰτ' οὖν τὸ ἐγκλῆμα τὸ καθ' εαυτοῦ ἐπηλυγάσασθαι βουληθεῖς, εἶτε καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ἐς μαιφονίαν ἀνόσιον προαγαγεῖν¹ ἑθελήσας, ἵν' ὡς τάχιστα καὶ πρὸς 2 θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπόληται. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ὥκνουν τὸ ἔργον καὶ κρύφα διὰ φαρμάκων οὐκ εἶχον αὐτὴν ἀνελεῖν (πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνη ἱσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο), ναῦν ἱδόντες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διαλυμένην τε αὐτὴν ἐφ' εαυτῆς καὶ τινὰ θηρία ἀφιείσαν, καὶ συνισταμένην αὐτὸν ὡς τὰτ καὶ ἔρρωσθαι, τοιαύτην ἔτεραν ταχέως 3 ἐναυπηγήσαντο.² ὡς δὲ ἦ τε ναῦς ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἐτεθεράπευτο (πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἐκολάκευεν αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ υποτοπῆσασα φυλάξηται), ἐν μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε ποιῆσαι, μὴ καὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῇ³ τὸ μάσμα, πόρρω δὲ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀπάρας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν μητέρα ἐπέλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νεὸς λαμπρότατα κεκοσμημένης, ὡς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῆς ἐμβαλείν αἰεὶ ποτε τῇ νηλ χρῆσθαι.

13 Ἐλθὼν τε ἐς Βαύλους δεῖπνα τε πολυτελέστατα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐστὴσας καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλοφρόνως ἐςποίησεν, ἀπούσιν τε πάνυ ποθείν ἐπλάττετο καὶ παροῦσαν ὑπερηπαξεῖτο, αὐτείν τε ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ μή 2 αἰτοῦσῃ πολλὰ ἐχαρίζετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα

¹ προαγαγεῖν Bk., προαγαγεῖν VC.
² ἐναυπηγήσαντο Rk., ἐναυπηγήσαντο VC.
³ ἐκδημοσιευθῇ Rk., ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι VC.
rid of his mother, alleging that she was plotting A.D. 59 against him. He was incited likewise by Seneca (or so many trustworthy men have stated), whether from a desire to hush the complaint against his own name, or from his willingness to lead Nero on to a career of unholy bloodguiltiness that should bring about most speedily his destruction by gods and men alike. But they shrank from doing the deed openly and, on the other hand, were unable to put her out of the way secretly by means of poison, since she took extreme precautions against any such possibility. One day they saw in the theatre a ship that automatically parted asunder, let out some beasts, and then came together again so as to be once more seaworthy; and they at once caused another to be built like it. By the time the ship was finished Agrippina had been quite won over by Nero's attentions, for he exhibited devotion to her in every way, to make sure that she should suspect nothing and be off her guard. He did not dare to do anything in Rome, however, for fear the crime should become generally known. Hence he went off to a distance, even to Campania, accompanied by his mother, making the voyage on this very ship, which was adorned in most brilliant fashion, in the hope of inspiring in her a desire to use the vessel constantly.

When they reached Bauli, he gave for several days most costly dinners, at which he entertained his mother with every show of friendliness. If she were absent he feigned to miss her sorely, and if she were present he was lavish of caresses. He bade her ask whatever she desired and bestowed many gifts without her asking. When matters had
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'ν, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου περὶ μέσας νύκτας περιλαμβάνει τε αὐτὴν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ στέρνον προσαγαγόν, καὶ φιλήσας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, "μὴτέρ" τε εἰπὼν, "ἐρρωσο μοι καὶ ὑγίαινε" εὐ γὰρ σοι καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ διὰ σὲ βασιλεῦν," παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἀνίκητῳ ἀπελευθέρω ὡς καὶ κομιοῦντι οἰκάδε ἐπὶ τοὺς πλοίους οὐ κατεσκευάκει. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἤνεγκεν ἡ θάλασσα τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τραγῳδίαν ἔσεσθαι, οὐδὲ ὑπέμεινε τὴν ψευδολογίαν τῆς ἀνο-
σιοργίας ἀναδέξασθαι, διελύθη μὲν ἡ ναῦς καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἐς τὸ ύδωρ ἐξέπεσεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ διακορῆσι μέθης οὖσα, τῶν τε ναυτῶν ταῖς κόπταις ἐπ' αὐτὴν χρωμένων οἴστε καὶ Ἀκερρωνίαν 2 Πόλλαν τὴν σύμπλουν αὐτῆς ἀποκτείναι, διεσώθη. καὶ ἔλθονσα οἴκαδε οὕτε προσεποιήσατο οὐτ' ἐξέφηνε τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν νῦν ἐπεμψε κατὰ τάχος, καὶ τὸ τε συμβεβηκός αὐτῇ ὡς κατὰ τύχην συμπεπττόκος ἔλεγε, καὶ ὁ σῶξετο εὐηγ-
γελίζετο 3 δῆθεν αὐτῷ. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Νέρων οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πεμφθέντα ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ 4 σφαγῇ ἦκοντα ἐκόλασε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὸν 'Ανίκητον εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν ναυτῶν ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς γὰρ δορυφόροις οὐκ ἐπίστευσε τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς. ἦδονσα δὲ σφας ἔκειν ἐγνω τε ἐφ' ἦκουσι, καὶ ἀναπηδήσασα ἐκ τῆς κοίτης τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο, καὶ τὴν

1 ἐνταῦθα ἤν Rk., ἐνταῦθ'; . . V, ἐνταῦθ' . . C.
2 Ἀκερρωνίαν Ryckius, Ἀκερρωνίαν VC.
3 εὐηγγελίζετο Bs., εὐηγγέλιζε H. Stoph., εὐηγγέλικει VC.

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reached this stage, he embraced her at the close of A.D. 59 dinner about midnight, and straining her to his breast, kissed her eyes and hands, exclaiming: “Strength and good health to you,\(^1\) mother. For you I live and because of you I rule.” He then gave her in charge of Anicetus, a freedman, ostensibly to convey her home on the ship that he had prepared. But the sea would not endure the tragedy that was to be enacted on it, nor would it submit to be liable to the false charge of having committed the abominable deed; and so, though the ship parted asunder and Agrippina fell into the water, she did not perish. Notwithstanding that it was dark and that she was glutted with strong drink and that the sailors used their oars against her with such force that they killed Acerronia Polla, her companion on the trip, she nevertheless got safely to shore. When she reached home, she affected not to realize that it was a plot and kept it quiet, but speedily sent to her son a report of the occurrence, calling it an accident, and conveyed to him the good news (as she assumed it to be) that she was safe. Upon hearing this Nero could not restrain himself, but punished the messenger as if he had come to assassinate him and at once despatched Anicetus with the sailors against his mother; for he would not trust the Praetorians to slay her. When she saw them, she knew for what they had come, and leaping up from her bed she tore open her clothing,

\(^1\) Both verbs used in the Greek were common formulas of leave-taking.

\(\text{4 a}^{\text{d}}\text{ro}^{\text{d}}\) Dindorf, \(\text{a}^{\text{d}}\text{ro}^{\text{d}}\) VC.
14  Οὔτω μὲν ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἡ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
θυγάτηρ, ἡ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἔγγονος, ἡ τοῦ Αὐγοῦ-
στον ἀπόγονος, ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νιέος, ὥ τὸ κράτος
ἐδεδώκει, δὲ ὅν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν θείον ἀπεκτόνει,
2 κατεσφάγη. μαθῶν δὲ ὁ Νέρων ὅτι τέθηκεν,
οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τολμη-
ματος ἀπιστία αὐτῷ ὑπεχύθη· καὶ διὰ τούτῳ
αὐτόπτης ἐπεθύμησε τοῦ πάθους γενέσθαι. καὶ
αὐτὴν τε πάσαν εἰδε γυμνόσας καὶ τὰ τραύματα
αὐτῆς ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τέλος πολὺ καὶ τοῦ
φόνου ἀνοσίωτερον ἔπος ἐφθέγξατο· εἶπε γὰρ ὅτι
3 "οὐκ ἱδεῖν ὅτι οὐτὸ καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον." καὶ
τοῖς τε δορυφόροις ἀργύριον ἔδωκεν, ἵνα δῆλον
ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι εὐχούνται, καὶ τῇ
γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τε ὅσα συνήδει αὐτῇ
καταριθμῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ
4 φωραθεῖσα ἐαυτὴν διεχρῆσατο.¹ καὶ τῇ μὲν
βουλῇ ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τε νυξὶν
ἐξεταραττετο ὅστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνής ἐξαπιναίως
ἀναπηδῶν, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων δὴ
tiνων πολεμικῶν τι καὶ θορυβώδες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου
ἐν χ τῇ Ἀγριππίνης ὡστὰ ἐκείστω ἥχουσῶν
ἐδειματοῦτο. διὸ καὶ ἄλλοις ἢν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ
κάνταυθα τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ συνεβαινεν, ἄλλοις
ἐμπλήκτως μεθίστατο.—Χιφ. 152, 15–154, 27
R. St.

11, 1 "Ὅτι ὁ Νέρων, οἰα ἅλθεῖς μὲν μηδὲν παρὰ
μηδενὸς ἀκούων, πάντας δὲ ἐπαινοῦντας τὰ πεπραγ—

¹ διεχρῆσατο VO², κατεχρῆσατο C¹.
exposing her abdomen, and cried out; "Strike here, A.D. 59 Anicetus, strike here, for this bore Nero."

Thus was Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, grand-daughter of Agrippa, and descendant of Augustus, slain by the very son to whom she had given the sovereignty and for whose sake she had killed her uncle and others. Nero, when informed that she was dead, would not believe it, since the deed was so monstrous that he was overwhelmed by incredulity; he therefore desired to behold the victim of his crime with his own eyes. So he laid bare her body, looked her all over and inspected her wounds, finally uttering a remark far more abominable even than the murder. His words were: "I did not know I had so beautiful a mother." To the Praetorians he gave money, evidently to inspire in them the hope that many such crimes would be committed; and to the senate he sent a letter in which he enumerated the offences of which he knew she was guilty, and charged also that she had plotted against him and on being detected had committed suicide. Yet in spite of what he told the senate his own conscience was so disturbed at night that he would leap suddenly from his bed, and by day, when he merely heard the blare of trumpets sounding forth some stirring martial strain from the region where lay Agrippina's bones, he would be terror-stricken. He therefore kept changing his residence; and when he had the same experience in the new place also, he would move in utter fright elsewhere.

Since Nero did not hear a word of truth from anybody and saw none but those who approved of his

1 Near her villa at Bauli.
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μένα ὅρῶν, λανθάνειν τε ἐ'εὶ ὦς ἐδεδράκει ἡ καὶ ὅρθως αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι ἐνόμισε, κάκ τούτου πολὺ χείρων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀλλὰ ἐγένετο. πάντα τε γὰρ ὅσα ἔξθεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, καὶ καλὰ ἦγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς φόβῳ τι ἡ κολακεία αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ὡς καὶ πάνυ ἀληθεύουσι προσείχεν. τέως μὲν γὰρ φόβοι καὶ θορύβοι συνείχετο· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ πρέσβεις πολλὰ καὶ 1 κεχαρισμένα αὐτῷ εἶπον, ἀνεθάρφησε—Exc. Val. 240 (p. 686).

15 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρωμή ἀνθρωποι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, καίπερ ἄχομενοι, ἔχαριον νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτου γε πάντως ἀπολέσθαι. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες προσεποιήσαντο χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι, καὶ συνήδουν δὴθεν τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ ἐψηφίζοντο πολλὰ οίς φόντο αὐτῷ χαριεί-2 σθαί· οἱ Πούτλιος δὲ δὴ Θρασέας Παιτὸς ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπήκουσεν, ἀναγνώσθησις δὲ αὐτῆς ἔκανεστῃ τε ἐνθὰ πρὶν καὶ ὅτι οὐ ἀποφήμασθαι καὶ ἐξῆλθε, διότι ἦ μὲν ἦθελεν 3 εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀ δὲ ἐδύνατο 2 οὐκ ἦθελεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῶ τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διήγειν ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι „εἰ μὲν ἔμε μόνον ὁ Νέρων φοινεύσεων ἔμελλε, πολλὴν ἄν εἴχον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερκολακεύσωσιν αὐτῶν 3 συγγνώμην· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν σφόδρα αὐτῶν ἐπαινοῦσιν πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀνάλοκε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπολέσει, τὴ χρῆ μάτην ἀσχημονοῦντα δουλοπρεπῶς φθαρῆναι, ἔξον ἐλευ-4 θερίως ἀποδοῦναι τῇ φύσει τὸ δειλόμενον; ἐμοῦ

1 καὶ supplied by Bk.
2 ἐδύνατο Bk., ἡδύνατο VC.
3 αὐτῶν Sylb., αὐτῶ VC.
actions, he thought that his past deeds had not been found out, or even, perhaps, that there was nothing wrong in them. Hence he became much worse in other respects also. He came to believe that anything that it was in his power to do was right, and gave heed to those whose words were inspired by fear or flattery, as if they were utterly sincere in what they said. So, although for a time he was subject to fears and disturbances, yet after the envoys had made to him a number of pleasing speeches he regained his courage.

The people of Rome, on hearing of these occurrences, rejoiced in spite of their disapproval of them, thinking that now at last his destruction was assured. As for the senators, all but Publius Thrasea Paetus pretended to rejoice at what had taken place and ostensibly shared in Nero's satisfaction therein, voting many measures by which they thought to win his favour. Thrasea, like the rest, attended the meeting of the senate and listened to the letter, but when the reading was ended, he at once rose from his seat and without a word left the chamber, inasmuch as he could not say what he would and would not say what he could. And indeed this was always his way of acting on other occasions. He used to say, for example: "If I were the only one that Nero was going to put to death, I could easily pardon the rest who load him with flatteries. But since even among those who praise him to excess there are many whom he has either already disposed of or will yet destroy, why should one degrade oneself to no purpose and then perish like a slave, when one may pay the debt to nature like a freeman? As for me, men will talk
μὲν γὰρ πέρι καὶ ἔπειτα λόγος τις ἔσται, τούτων δὲ, πλὴν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὃτι ἐσφάγησαν, οὐδεὶς.”

τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Ὁρασέας ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἀεὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν “ἐμὲ Νέρων ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύναται, βλάψαι δὲ οὐ.”

16 Νέρωνα 1 δὲ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς φόνον ἐσιόντα ἐς τὴν Ἱρώμην δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἐθεράπευον, ἵδια δὲ, ἐν φ. γε καὶ παρρησιάσασθαί τινες ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο, καὶ μᾶλα αὐτὸν ἐσπαραττον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ μολὼν τέ τινα ἀπ’ ἀνδριάντος αὐτοῦ νῦκτωρ ἀπεκρέμασα, ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὃτι ἐς ἐκείνουν

2 αὐτὸν δέοι ἐμβεβλήσθαι: τοῦτο δὲ παιδίον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὅψαντες προσέδησαν αὐτῷ πινάκιον λέγον “οὐκ ἀναιροῦμαι σε, ἵνα μη τῇ μητέρᾳ ἀποσφάξῃς.”—Xiph. 154, 27–155, 19 R. St.


2² Καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν πολλαχόθι ὁμοίως γεγραμμένον

“Νέρων Ὁρέστης Ἀλκμέων μητροκτόνοι,” 3 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀκούειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο λεγόντων ὃτι Νέρων

3 τὴν μητέρα ἀνεχρήσατο· συχνοὶ γὰρ ὡς καὶ λελαληκότας τινάς αὐτῷ ἐσήγγελον, οὐχ οὗτως

1 νέρωνα C, νέρων VC.
2 καθείλου Mai, καθείλεν cod.
3 μητροκτόνοι VC Zon., μητροκτόνοις exc. Vat.
of me hereafter, but of them never, except only A.D. 59 to record the fact that they were put to death."

Such was the man that Thrasea showed himself to be; and he was always saying to himself: "Nero can kill me, but he cannot harm me."

When Nero entered Rome after the murder of his mother, people paid him reverence in public, but in private, so long at least as any could speak their minds with safety, they tore his character to shreds. For one thing, they hung a leathern bag by night on one of his statues to signify that he himself ought to be thrown into one.\(^1\) Again, they cast into the Forum a baby to which was fastened a tag bearing the words: "I will not rear you up, lest you slay your mother."

At Nero's entrance into Rome they pulled down the statues of Agrippina. But there was one that they did not cut loose soon enough, and so they threw over it a garment which gave it the appearance of being veiled. Thereupon somebody at once composed and affixed to the statue this inscription: "I am abashed and thou art unashamed."

In many places alike one could read the inscription:

"Orestes, Nero, Alcmeon, all matricides."

And people could even be heard saying in so many words that Nero had put his mother out of the way; for information that certain persons had talked to this effect was lodged by many men whose

\(^1\) A reference to the well-known punishment prescribed for parricides. The criminal was sewn up in a leather bag together with a dog, a cock, a viper and an ape, and thrown into the water to drown.
ὁν ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωσιν, ὡς ἵνα τὸν Νέρωνα διαβάλωσιν. οθεν οὐδεμίαν τοιαύτην δίκην προσήκατο, ἦτοι μὴ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ πλείων δι’ αὐτῆς τῆς φήμης ἐπαυξῆσαι, ἢ καὶ καταφρονῶν ἦδη
4 τῶν λεγομένων. ο μέντοι ἥλιος σύμπας ἐν μέσαις ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γενομέναις ἐξελιπεν, ὡστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐκφανήμας 1 καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες οἱ τῆν τοῦ Αὐγού-στου ἀρμάμαξαν ἄγοντες ἐς μὲν τὸν ὦποδρομον ἐσῆλθον καὶ μέχρι τῆς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδρας ἀφίκοντο, γενόμενοι δὲ ἐνταύθα ἔστησαν
5 καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ προεχόρησαν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις ἐτεκμήρατο ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γεγονέναι, σκηπτός ποτε τὸ δείπνου αὐτοῦ πάν ἐσφερόμενον οἱ κατέβλεξεν, ἄσπερ τις ἀρπνια τὰ συτία αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος.—Χιφ. 155, 19–156, 2 R. St.

17 "Οτι καὶ τὴν Δομιτίαν τὴν τηθίδα, ἢν καὶ αὐτὴν ὡς μητέρα τιμὰν ἔλεγεν, ἐπαπέκτειεν φαρμάκῳ, οὐδ’ ἀνέμεινεν ὅλιγας ἡμέρας ἐν ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρως ἀποθάνη, ἀλλ’ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ
2 ἐκεῖνην ἀπολέσαι· καὶ ἐσπευσεὶ γε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῆς τὰ ἐν ταῖς Βαλαίς καὶ ἐν τῇ 2 Ραβενυίδι 3 οὔντα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡβητηρία 4 εὐθὺς μεγαλοπρεπὴ κατεσκέυασεν, ἃ καὶ δεύρο ἀνθεῖ.—
Exc. Val. 241 (p. 686), Xiph. 156, 2–6 R. St.

'Επὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐστὲρὶν μεγίστην δὴ καὶ πολυτέλεστάτην ἐποίησεν, ὡστε ἐν πέντε ἡ καὶ 5 ἔξ ἀμα θεάτροις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας πανηγυρίζει, ὡστε δὴ καὶ ἑλέφας ἀνήχθη ἐς τὴν ἀνωτάτω τοῦ

1 ἐκφανήμας Leuncl., ἐκφήμας VC.
2 καὶ ἐν τῇ cod. Peir., τῇ τε VC.
purpose was not so much to destroy the others as A.D. 59 to bring reproach on Nero. Hence he would admit no suit brought on such a charge, either because he did not wish that the rumour should thereby gain greater currency, or because he by this time felt contempt for anything people said. Nevertheless, in the midst of the sacrifices that were offered in Agrippina's honour in pursuance of a decree, the sun suffered a total eclipse and the stars could be seen. Also the elephants which drew the chariot of Augustus, when they had entered the Circus and proceeded as far as the senators' seats, stopped at that point and refused to go any farther. And there was another incident in which one might surely have recognized the hand of Heaven. I refer to the thunderbolt that descended upon Nero's dinner and consumed it all as it was being brought to him, like some harpy snatching away his food.

He also poisoned his aunt Domitia, whom he likewise claimed to revere like a mother. He would not even wait a few days for her to die a natural death of old age, but was eager to destroy her also. His haste to do this was inspired by her estates at Baiae and in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, on which he promptly erected magnificent gymnasiums that are flourishing still.

In honour of his mother he celebrated a most magnificent and costly festival, the events taking place for several days in five or six theatres at once. It was on this occasion that an elephant was led up

3 ἡβενίδι cod. Peir., ἡβενίδι θαλάσση VC.
5 ἦ καὶ V, καὶ C.
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θεάτρου ἀψίδα, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ σχοινίων κατέ-
3 δραμεν ἀναβάτην φέρων. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὅτι ἦν καὶ
αἰσχύστων καὶ δεινότατον ἀμα ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ
ἀνδρες καὶ γυναίκες οὐχ ὅπως τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄλλα
καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν
καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸ τε θεάτρου τὸ κυνηγετι-
κὸν ἐσῆλθον ὅσπερ οἱ ἀτέμοταί, καὶ ἦν ἤστραν
τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὀρχήσαντο τραγῳδίας τε καὶ
κωμῳδίας ὑπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐκιθαρισθηκαν, ὑπονοεῖ
τε ἡλασαν καὶ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐμονομά-
χησαν, οἱ μὲν ἔθελονται οἱ δὲ καὶ πάντα ἄκουσεν.
4 καὶ εἰδον οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι τὰ γένη τὰ μεγάλα,
tοὺς Φούριους τοὺς 'Ορατός 2 τοὺς Φαβίους
τοὺς Πορκίους τοὺς Οὐαλερίους, τάλλα πάντα ὅν
tα τρόπαια ὅν οἱ ναοὶ ἔωρόντο, κάτω τε ἐστηκότας
καὶ τοιαύτα δρόντα ὅν ἐνια οὐδ' ὅπ' ἄλλων
5 γινόμενα ἐθεώρον, καὶ ἐδακτυλοδείκτουν γε
αὐτοὺς ἄλληλοις, καὶ ἐπέλεγον Μακεδόνες μὲν
"οὔτος ἐστιν ο τοῦ Παύλου ἐκγονος," "Ελληνες
δὲ "οὔτος τοῦ Μομμίου," 3 Σικελιώται " ἰδετε τὸν
Κλαύδιον," 'Ἠπειρωταὶ " ἰδετε τὸν "Αππιον,"
'Ασιανοὶ τὸν Λουκίου, 'Ἰβρες τὸν Πούπλιον,
Καρχηδόνοι 'Αφρικανῶν, 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ πάντας,
tοιαύτα γὰρ πον προτέλεια τῆς αὐτοῦ 4 ἀσχημο-
σύνης ποιήσαι ἴδελησεν.

18 Ὀλοφύρωντο δὲ πάντες οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπὶ
tῷ πλῆθε τῶν ἀναλισκομένων. πάντα μὲν γὰρ
tὰ πολυτελέστατα ἀνθρωποὶ ἐσθίουσι, πάντα δὲ
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τιμώτατα, ὑπονοῦσ ἀνδράποδα

1 δὲ δὴ Reim., δὴ V, δεῖξαι C.
2 τοὺς 'Ορατός Antioch., om. VC.
3 Μομμίου Reim., μεμμίου VC.

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to the highest gallery of the theatre and walked A.D. 59 down from that point on ropes, carrying a rider. There was another exhibition that was at once most disgraceful and most shocking, when men and women not only of the equestrian but even of the senatorial order appeared as performers in the orchestra, in the Circus, and in the hunting-theatre, like those who are held in lowest esteem. Some of them played the flute and danced in pantomimes or acted in tragedies and comedies or sang to the lyre; they drove horses, killed wild beasts and fought as gladiators, some willingly and some sore against their will. So the men of that day beheld the great families—the Furii, the Horatii, the Fabii, the Porci, the Valerii, and all the rest whose trophies and whose temples were to be seen—standing down there below them and doing things some of which they formerly would not even watch when performed by others. So they would point them out to one another and make their comments, Macedonians saying: "There is the descendant of Paulus"; Greeks, "There is Mummius' descendant"; Sicilians, "Look at Claudius"; Epirots, "Look at Appius"; Asiatics naming Lucius, Iberians Publius, Carthaginians Africanus, and Romans naming them all. For such, apparently, were the introductory rites by which Nero desired to usher in his own career of disgrace.

All who had any sense lamented likewise the huge outlays of money. For all the costliest viands that men eat and everything else of the highest value—horses, slaves, teams, gold, silver, and raiment

4 οὐδὲν H. Steph., οὐδὲν VC.
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εὐγηνή χρυσίου ἀργύριον ἐσθήτα ποικίλην, ἐδίδον
2 διὰ συμβόλων· σφαιρία γὰρ μικρά, γεγραμμένα
ὡς ἐκαστὰ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα, ὡς τὸν ὄμιλον ἔρρητει,
καὶ ἐδίδοτο ὁ τι τις δι’ ἐκείνων ἔρρησεν. ἔνενόσι
γὰρ ὅτι, ὅποτε τοσαῦτα ἀνήλικεν ἦν ἀσχημο-
νήσῃ, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀποστολάτων ἀφέξεται ἦν τι
κερδάνη. τεράτων δὲ τινων γεγονότων τότε οἱ
μάντεις ὀλεθρόν αὐτῷ ταῦτα φέρειν εἶπον, καὶ
συνεβούλευσαν ἐς ἐτέρους τὸ δεινὸν ἀποτρέψα-
3 σθαί. καὶ συχνοὺς εὐθὺς κατεχρήσατο, εἰ μὴ ὁ
Σενέκας ἐφη αὐτῷ ὅτι “ὅσους ἂν ἀποσφάξῃς, οὐ
δύνασαι τὸν διάδοχον σου ἀποκτεῖναι.”—Χιπ. 156, 6–157, 5 R. St.

Τότε μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα σωτηρία, ως δὴ ἔλεγεν,
ἐὼρτασε, καὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν τῶν ὄψιν, τὸ μάκελλον
19 ἀνομασμένοιν, καθιέρωσε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔτερον
αὐ εἴδος ἐορτῆς ἤγαγεν, ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Ἰουνου-
νάλια ἡ σπερ τινὰ νεανισκεύματα, καὶ ἐτελέσθη
ἐπὶ τῷ γενεῖφι αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τότε
πρώτον ἐξύρατο, καὶ τὰς γε τρίχας ἐς σφαιρίων
tὶ χρυσοῦν ἐμβαλών ἀνέθηκε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπι-
tωλῶν· καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ
2 εὐγενεστάτου πάντως τι ἐπεδείξαντο. τεκμήριον
dὲ, Αἰλία Κατέλλα τοῦτο μὲν γένει καὶ πλοῦτῳ
προῆκουσα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἤλικίᾳ προφέρουσα
(ὄγδοηκοντούτις γὰρ ἦν) ὄρχησατο, οἱ τε λοιποὶ
οἱ διὰ γῆρας ἡ νόσον ἵδια μὴ δὲν ποιήσασι δινάμενοι
ἐχορόδησαν. ἥσκουν μὲν γὰρ πάντες ὁ τι τις

1 Ἰουνουνάλια Bk., iouβενάλια VC.
of divers hues—was given away by means of tokens, A.D. 59 as follows. Nero would throw among the crowd tiny balls, each one appropriately inscribed, and the articles called for by the balls would be presented to those who had seized them. Sensible people, I say, were grieved, reflecting that when he was spending so much in order that he might disgrace himself, he would not be likely to abstain from any of the most terrible crimes, in order that he might gain money. When some portents took place at this time, the seers declared that they meant destruction for him and they advised him to divert the evil upon others. He would accordingly have put numerous persons out of the way immediately, had not Seneca said to him: “No matter how many you may slay, you cannot kill your successor.”

It was at this time that he celebrated so many sacrifices for his preservation, as he expressed it, and dedicated the provision market called the Macellum. Later he instituted a new kind of festival called Juvenalia, or Games of Youth. It was celebrated in honour of his beard, which he now shaved for the first time; the hairs he placed in a small golden globe and offered to Jupiter Capitolinus. For this festival members of the noblest families as well as all others were bound to give exhibitions of some sort. For example, Aelia Catella, a woman not only prominent by reason of her family and her wealth but also advanced in years (she was an octogenarian), danced in a pantomime. Others, who on account of old age or illness could not do anything by themselves, sang in choruses. All devoted themselves to practising any
καὶ ὀπωσδόν οιός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐς διδασκαλεῖα ἀποδεδειγμένα συνεφοίτων οἱ ἐλλογιμώτατοι, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, κόραι, μειράκια, γραίαι, γε- 
3 ροτες· εἰ δὲ τις μή ἐδύνατο ἐν ἑτέρῳ τῷ θέαν 
παρασχεῖν, ἐς τοὺς χοροὺς κατεχωρίζετο. καὶ 
ἐπειδὴ γέ τινες αὐτῶν προσωπεῖα ὑπ' αἰσχύνης, 
ήνα μὴ γνωρίζονται, περιέθεντο, περεῖλεν αὐτά 
τοῦ δήμου δῆθεν ἀξιώσαντος, καὶ ἐπέδειξε καὶ 
τοῖς ὀλίγοιν ἐμπροσθέν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄρχθείσιν 
4 ἀνθρώπωσ. καὶ τότε δὴ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ 
ὁ ἄλλοι τοὺς τεθυγήτατος ἐμακάριζον· πολλοὶ 
ἔραν ἄνδρες τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ ἑτεροτοῦ ἐτε- 
λεύτησαν, ὅν ἐνίους καὶ τὸ Ὑέρου ἐπιβουλεύειν 
ἀιτιαθέντας οἱ στρατιώται περιστάντες ἐλιθοβο-
λήσαν.

20 Καὶ ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸν κολοφῶνα ἄξιον τῶν 
πραττομένων ἐπενεχθῆναι, παρῆλθε τε καὶ αὐτὸς 
ὁ Ὑέρων ἐς τὸ θέατρον, ὅνομαστὶ πρὸς τοῦ 
Γαλλίωνος ἐσκηρυχθεῖς, καὶ ἐστῆ τε ἐπὶ τῆς 
σκηνῆς ὁ Καίσαρ τὴν κιθαρῳδικήν σκευήν ἐυδε-
δυκός, καὶ "κύριοι μου, εὐμενῶς μου ἄκοψατε."

2 εἶπεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκιθαρῳδησε τε Ἄττιν τιμὰ 
ἡ Βάκχας ὁ Ἀὐγουστος, πολλῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν 
παρεστηκότων, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ δήμου, ὅσον οἱ 
ἐδραὶ ἐχώρησαν, καθημένου, καίτοι καὶ βραχὺ 
καὶ μέλαν, ὅσον γε παραδέδοται, φώνημα ἔχων, 
ὥστε καὶ γέλωτα ἀμα καὶ δάκρυα πᾶσι κινήσαι.

3 καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Βούρρος καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, καθάπερ 
τινες διδάσκαλοι, ὑποβάλλοντες τι παρειστήκε-
ςαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς τε χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια, 
ὅποτε φθέγξατο 1 τι, ἀνέσειον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

1 φθέγξατο Reim., φθέγξουτό VC.
talent that they possessed as best they could, and all the most distinguished people, men and women, girls and lads, old women and old men, attended schools designated for the purpose. And in case anyone was unable to furnish entertainment in any other fashion, he would be assigned to the choruses. And when some of them out of shame put on masks, to avoid being recognized, Nero caused the masks to be taken off, pretending that this was demanded by the populace, and exhibited the performers to a rabble whose magistrates they had been but a short time before. Now, more than ever, not only these performers but the rest as well regarded the dead as fortunate. For many of the foremost men had perished in the course of that year; some of them, in fact, charged with conspiring against Nero, had been surrounded by the soldiers and stoned to death.

As a fitting climax to these performances, Nero himself made his appearance in the theatre, being announced under his own name by Gallio. So there stood this Caesar on the stage wearing the garb of a lyre-player. This emperor uttered the words: "My lords, of your kindness give me ear," and this Augustus sang to the lyre some piece called "Attis" or "The Bacchantes," while many soldiers stood by and all the people that the seats would hold sat watching. Yet he had, according to report, but a slight and indistinct voice, so that he moved his whole audience to laughter and tears at once. Beside him stood Burrus and Seneca, like teachers, prompting him; and they would wave their arms and togas at every utterance of his and lead others

1 These are actual titles of poems by Nero.
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προσεπεσπῶντο. ἢν μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἓδων αὐτῷ σύστημα ἢσ πεντακισχίλιοι στρατιώταις παρε-4 σκευασμένοι, Λύγουστειοι τε ὁνομάζοντο καὶ ἐξήρχον τῶν ἑπαύνων ἡναγκάζοντο δὲ σφιξι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ ἄκοντες, πλὴν τοῦ Ἡρασέα, ἐκβοάν. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε αὐτῶν συγκαθῆ-κεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλισθ’ οἱ ἐπιφανεῖς, σπουδὴ καὶ ὀδυρόμενοι συνελέγοντο, καὶ πάνθ’ ὀσαπερ οἱ Λύγουστειοι, ὅς καὶ χαῖροντες, συνε-5 βόων καὶ ἢν ἀκούειν πως αὐτῶν λεγόντων "ὀ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Λύγουστος, εἶς ὡς Πύθιος. μά σε, Καῖσαρ, οὐδεὶς σε νικᾶ." ποιή-σας δὲ ταῦτα ἐδείπνισε τὸν δήμουν ἐπὶ πλοῖον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν φῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λύγουστου ἐγεγόνει· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς μεσούσης ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν διὰ τάφρον κατέπλευσε.—Xiph. 157, 5–158, 16 R. St., Exc. Val. 242.

21 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ γένειον ψυλισθῆναι ἡ ἑπραξεν. ύπὲρ δὲ δὴ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς τε δια-μονῆς τοῦ κράτους αὐτοῦ (οὗτῳ γάρ ποι προεγρα-ψεν) ἀγώνα πενταετηρικὸν κατεστήσατο, Νε-ρώνεια αὐτῶν ὁνομάσασα, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον ϕύκοδόμησεν, ἔλαιον τε ἐν τῇ καθιερώσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσι
2 προῖκα ἐνειμε. τοὺν μέντοι στέφανον τῶν τῶν κιθαρωδῶν ἀνικε ἐλαβε, πάντων ὅς καὶ ἀναξίων τῆς νίκης ἐκβληθέντων, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐν τῇ στολῇ σφων ἑσεγράφη. κακὸ τούτο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶ στέφανοι οἱ τῆς κιθα-ρῳδίας ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἠγοώνων ὅς καὶ μόνῳ ἀξιούκῳ ἐπέμπουτο.—Xiph. 158, 16–24 R. St., Exc. Val. 243 (p. 689).
to do the same. Indeed, Nero had got ready a.D. 59 special corps of about five thousand soldiers, called Augustans; these would lead the applause, and all the rest, however loath, were obliged to shout with them. Thrasea was the single exception, since he would never help Nero in these matters; but all the rest, and especially the prominent men, assembled with alacrity, grieved though they were, and joined in all the shouts of the Augustans, as if they were delighted. And one might have heard them exclaiming: "Glorious Caesar! Our Apollo, our Augustus, another Pythian! By thyself we swear, O Caesar, none surpasses thee." After this performance he entertained the people at a feast on boats on the site of the naval battle given by Augustus; thence at midnight he sailed through a canal into the Tiber.

These things, then, he did to celebrate the shaving of his beard; and in behalf of his preservation and the continuance of his power, as his proclamation put it, he instituted some quadrennial games, which he called Neronia. In honour of this event he also erected the gymnasium, 1 and at its dedication made a free distribution of olive oil to the senators and knights. The crown for lyre-playing he took without a contest; for all others were debarred, on the assumption that they were unworthy of being victors. And immediately, wearing the garb of this guild, he entered the gymnasium itself to be enrolled as victor. Thereafter all other crowns awarded as prizes for lyre-playing in all the contests were sent to him as the only artist worthy of victory.

1 Gymnasium here means a school of music.

1 ψιλισθήναι Reim., ψιληθήναι VC.
2 ἐκβιληθέντων cod. Peir., ἐκκληθέντων VC.
LXII 1 'Εν ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπαίζετο, πάθος ἐν τῇ Βρεταννίᾳ δεινὸν συνηνέχθη. δύο τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπορθήθησαν, καὶ μυριάδες ὁκτὼ τῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν, ἥ τε νῆσος ἡλιοτριώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείστην αὐτοὺς αἰσχύνη συμβῇναι, ὡς ποὺ καὶ τὸ θεῖον τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς 2 προεσήμανεν. ἐκ τε γὰρ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θόρυβος μετ᾽ οἰμογῆς ἐξηκουντεί γηδένος ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγομένου μήτε στένοντος, οἰκίαι τε τίνες 1 ἐν τῷ Ταμέσα ποταμῷ ὕψαρχοι 2 ἔφυροντο, καὶ ὁ ὠκεάνος ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς τε νῆσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ἡμέρᾳ.

2 Πρόφασες δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο ἡ δήμευσις τῶν χρημάτων ἀ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἐδεδωκεν καὶ ἐδει καὶ ἐκείνα, ὡς γε Δεκιανὸς Κάτος ὁ τῆς νῆσου ἐπιτροπεύων ἔλεγεν, ἀναπόμπιμα γενέσθαι. διὰ τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν 3 ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τόκων δανείσας ἐπειτ' ἀδρόας τε ἀμα αὐτὰς καὶ βιαῖως ἐσέπτρασσεν, ἐπα-2 νέστησαν. 4 ἦ δὲ μᾶλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσασα καὶ ἐναντία Ῥωμαίων πολεμεῖν ἀναπείσασα, τῆς τε προστατείας αὐτῶν ἀξιωθεῖσα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου

1 tines C (?), tinos V.
2 ὕψαρχοι Blancus (in transl.), ἔφυροι VC.
3 ἄκουσιν VC, probably corrupt. Naber proposed αἰ-τοῦσιν.
4 ἐπανέστησαν supplied by Rk.
While this sort of child's play was going on at A.D. 61 Rome, a terrible disaster occurred in Britain. Two cities were sacked, eighty thousand of the Romans and of their allies perished, and the island was lost to Rome. Moreover, all this ruin was brought upon the Romans by a woman, a fact which in itself caused them the greatest shame. Indeed, Heaven gave them indications of the catastrophe beforehand. For at night there was heard to issue from the senate-house foreign jargon mingled with laughter, and from the theatre outcries and lamentations, though no mortal man had uttered the words or the groans; houses were seen under the water in the river Thames, and the ocean between the island and Gaul once grew blood-red at flood-tide.

An excuse for the war was found in the confiscation of the sums of money that Claudius had given to the foremost Britons; for these sums, as Decianus Catus, the procurator of the island, maintained, were to be paid back. This was one reason for the uprising; another was found in the fact that Seneca, in the hope of receiving a good rate of interest, had lent to the islanders 40,000,000 sesterces that they did not want, and had afterwards called in this loan all at once and had resorted to severe measures in exacting it. But the person who was chiefly instrumental in rousing the natives and persuading them to fight the Romans, the person who was thought worthy to be their leader and who

1 The text, ἀκομοποιος, does not give a very satisfactory meaning; Naber would read αἰτοῦσιν, "at their request."
παντὸς στρατηγήσασα, Βουδουίκα 1 ἤ, γυνὴ Βρεττανίς γένους τοῦ βασιλείου, μεῖζον ἦ κατὰ 3 γυναῖκα φρόνημα ἔχουσα. αὕτη γὰρ συνήγαγε τε τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ὄν, καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐξ ἐδάφους 2 ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίκον τρόπον πεποιημένου. ἤν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη καὶ τὸ εἴδος βλοσυρωτάτη τὸ τε βλέμμα δριμυ- 4 τάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ εἶχε, τὴν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην οὐσάν μέχρι τῶν γλυκῶν καθεύτω, καὶ στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν ἐφὸρε, χιτώνα τε παμποίκιλον ἐνεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπ’ 3 αὐτῶ παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρπητο. οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ ἐνεσκενάζετο· τότε δὲ καὶ λόγχην λαβοῦσα, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον πάντας ἐκπλήττειν, ἔλεξεν οὖδε.

3 "Πέπεισθε μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἐλευθε- ρίᾳ τῆς δουλείας διαφέρει, ὡστ’ εἰ καὶ πρότερον τις ὑμῶν ύπὸ τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπερίας. ἐπαγωγοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡπάτητο, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε ἐκατέρω πεπειραμένοι μεμαθήκατε μὲν ὅσον ἡμαρτήκατε δεσποτεῖαν ἐπισταστῶν πρὸ τῆς πατρίου διαίτης προτιμήσαντες, ἐγνώκατε δὲ ὡσ εἰ καὶ πενία ἀδέσποτος πλοῦτον δουλεύσαντος 2 προφέρει. τί μὲν γὰρ οὗ τῶν αἰσχίστων, τί δ’ οὗ τῶν ἀλγίστων, ἐξ οὗτοι εἰς τὴν Βρεττανίαν οὕτω παρέκυψαν, πεπόνθαμεν; οὗ τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων ὀλῶν ἕστε- 3 ρήμεθα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν; οὗ πρὸς τῷ τάλλα πάντα καὶ νέμεις καὶ γεωργεῖν

1 Βουδουίκα Bs., Βουδουίκα VC (Βουδουίκα ch. 7, 1; 8, 2; 12, 6, Βουδουίκα ch. 6, 1).
2 ἐξ ἐδάφους Bs., ἐκ γῆς ἐλάδους VC.

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directed the conduct of the entire war, was Buduica, a Briton woman of the royal family and possessed of greater intelligence than often belongs to women. This woman assembled her army, to the number of some 120,000, and then ascended a tribunal which had been constructed of earth in the Roman fashion. In stature she was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and her voice was harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch. This was her invariable attire. She now grasped a spear to aid her in terrifying all beholders and spoke as follows:

"You have learned by actual experience how different freedom is from slavery. Hence, although some among you may previously, through ignorance of which was better, have been deceived by the alluring promises of the Romans, yet now that you have tried both, you have learned how great a mistake you made in preferring an imported despotism to your ancestral mode of life, and you have come to realize how much better is poverty with no master than wealth with slavery. For what treatment is there of the most shameful or grievous sort that we have not suffered ever since these men made their appearance in Britain? Have we not been robbed entirely of most of our possessions, and those the greatest, while for those that remain we pay taxes? Besides pasturing and tilling for them

1 Commonly known as Boadicea.

3 ἔπι' Rk., ἐν VC.
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ἐκεῖνοις, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν δασμοῦ ἐτήσιον φέρομεν; καὶ πόσῳ κρείττον ἢν ἀπαξ τισὶν πεπρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ μετά κενῶν ἐλευθερίας ὄνομάτων κατ' ἐστος λυτροῦσθαι; πόσῳ δὲ ἐσφάχθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον ἢ κεφαλὰς ὑποτελεῖς περιφέρειν; καίτοι τί τούτῳ εἴπον;

4 οὔδε γὰρ τὸ τελευτήσαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄξιόμοιν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἵστε ὅσον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν τελοῦμεν παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τούς δουλεύοντάς τισιν ὁ θάνατος ἐλευθεροί, Ἦρωμαιόις δὲ δὴ μόνοις καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ᾧσι πρὸς τὰ λήμματα. τί δ' ὅτι, καν μὴ ἔχῃ τις ἡμῶν ἀργύριον (πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν), ἀποδούμεθα καὶ σκυλευόμεθα ὦσπερ οἱ φονεύόμενοι; τί δ' ἂν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου μετριάσαμεν, οὔτως ἢμῖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθύς, ὅτε 1 πάντες καὶ τὰ θηριά τὰ νεάλωτα θεραπεύονσι, προσευνηγμένοι;

5 Ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αὐτοῖς, ὡς γε τάληθες εἰπέων, γεγόναμεν, οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐπιβήναι τὴν ἁρχήν τής νήσου ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ οὐ παραχρήμα αὐτούς, ὦστερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰουλίου ἐκεῖνον, ἐξηλάσαμεν οὕτως οὐ πάρρωθεν σφίσιν, ὦσπερ καὶ τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ Καλυγόλα, φοβερὸν τὸ καὶ πειράσαι τὸν

4 πλοῦν ἐποιήσαμεν. τοιγαροῦν νήσου τηλικαύτην, μᾶλλον δὲ ἣπειρον τρόπον τινὰ περιρρυτον νεμόμενοι καὶ ἰδίαν οἰκομένην ἑχοντες, καὶ τοσούτων ὕπο τοῦ ἁκανοῦ ἄφ' ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀφωρισμένοι ὅστε καὶ γῆν ἄλλην καὶ

1 ὅτε Sylb., ὅτι VC.
all our other possessions, do we not pay a yearly A.D. 61 tribute for our very bodies? How much better it would be to have been sold to masters once for all than, possessing empty titles of freedom, to have to ransom ourselves every year! How much better to have been slain and to have perished than to go about with a tax on our heads! Yet why do I mention death? For even dying is not free of cost with them; nay, you know what fees we deposit even for our dead. Among the rest of mankind death frees even those who are in slavery to others; only in the case of the Romans do the very dead remain alive for their profit. Why is it that, though none of us has any money (how, indeed, could we, or where could we get it?), we are stripped and despoiled like a murderer’s victims? And why should the Romans be expected to display moderation as time goes on, when they have behaved toward us in this fashion at the very outset, when all men show consideration even for the beasts they have newly captured?

"But, to speak the plain truth, it is we who have made ourselves responsible for all these evils, in that we allowed them to set foot on the island in the first place instead of expelling them at once as we did their famous Julius Caesar,—yes, and in that we did not deal with them while they were still far away as we dealt with Augustus and with Gaius Caligula and make even the attempt to sail hither a formidable thing. As a consequence, although we inhabit so large an island, or rather a continent, one might say, that is encircled by the sea, and although we possess a veritable world of our own and are so separated by the ocean from all the rest of mankind
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ουρανὸν ἄλλον οἰκεῖν πεπιστεύσθαι καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς σοφωτάτους γε ¹ μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἡμῶν ἀκριβῶς πρότερον ἐγνωκέναι, κατεφρο- νήθημεν καὶ κατεπατήθημεν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν 3 ἄλλο ἡ πλεονεκτεῖν εἰδότων. ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν ἔτι, ὡ πολίται καὶ φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς (πάντας γὰρ ύμᾶς συγγενεῖς, ἀτε καὶ μᾶς νῆσου οἰκήτωρας ὄντας καὶ ἐν ὄνομα κοινὸν κεκλημένους, ² νομίζομεν), τὰ προσήκοντα πράξωμεν, ἐως ἔτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας μνημονεύομεν, ἴνα καὶ τὸ πρόσρημα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς τοῖς παισὶ κατα- λίπωμεν. ἀν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῆς συντρόφου εὐδαιμονίας παντελῶς ἐκλαθόμεθα, τί ποτε ἐκεῖνοι ποιήσουσιν ἐν δουλεία τραφέντες;

5 Δέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐχ ἵνα μισήσητε τὰ παρόντα (μεμισήκατε γὰρ), οὐδ’ ἵνα φοβηθῆτε τὰ μέλλοντα (πεφόβησθε γὰρ), ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἐπαινέσω τε ύμᾶς ὅτι καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς πάνθ’ ὅσα δεὶ προαιρεῖσθε, καὶ χάριν ύμῶν γνῶ ὅτι καὶ ἔμοι καὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἐτοίμως συναίρεσθε. φοβεῖσθε δὲ μηδαμώς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

2 οὕτε γὰρ πλείους ἡμῶν εἶσιν οὕτ’ ἀνδρεῖστεροι. τεκμηρίων δὲ ὅτι καὶ κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ κυνηγόν ἐσκέπασθε καὶ προσέτι καὶ σταυρώμασι καὶ τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις ἐσκέυασθε ³ πρὸς τὸ μῆτιστά σχεῖν εὖ ἐπιδρομής τῶν πολεμίων. τοῦτο γὰρ

¹ γε R. Steph., τε VC.
² κεκλημένους v. Herw. (cf. Thuc. 4, 64, 3), κεκτημένους VC.
³ A corrupt passage. ᾧσπερ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐσκέπασθε . . .
<br>οὐκ ἐσκεύασθε H. Stephanus; τεκμηρίων δὲ το τε ὅτι ὅτι <αὐτοὺς> . . . ἐσκέπασθαί . . . ἐσκεύασθαί Reiske; τεκμηρίων δὲ τὸ , . . 88
that we have been believed to dwell on a different A.D. 61
earth and under a different sky, and that some of
the outside world, aye, even their wisest men, have
not hitherto known for a certainty even by what
name we are called, we have, notwithstanding all
this, been despised and trampled underfoot by men
who know nothing else than how to secure gain.
However, even at this late day, though we have not
done so before, let us, my countrymen and friends
and kinsmen,—for I consider you all kinsmen, seeing
that you inhabit a single island and are called by
one common name,—let us, I say, do our duty while
we still remember what freedom is, that we may
leave to our children not only its appellation but
also its reality. For, if we utterly forget the happy
state in which we were born and bred, what, pray,
will they do, reared in bondage?
"All this I say, not with the purpose of inspiring
you with a hatred of present conditions,—that hatred
you already have,—nor with fear for the future,—
that fear you already have,—but of commending you
because you now of your own accord choose the
requisite course of action, and of thanking you for
so readily co-operating with me and with each other.
Have no fear whatever of the Romans; for they are
superior to us neither in numbers nor in bravery.
And here is the proof: they have protected themselves
with helmets and breastplates and greaves and yet
further provided themselves with palisades and walls
and trenches to make sure of suffering no harm
by an incursion of their enemies. For they are

\[\varepsilon\kappa\kappa\varepsilon\rho\nu\delta\theta\alpha\iota\iota\iota\quad \varepsilon\kappa\kappa\varepsilon\rho\nu\delta\theta\alpha\iota\iota\ Boissevain\]
The translation follows
Reiske and Boissevain.

\[\mu\nu\tau\iota\ V,\ \mu\nu\kappa\varepsilon\tau\iota\ C.\]
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3 ἄρα τοῦ προχείρως ὡσπερ ἥμεις. τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσία ἀνδρίας χρόμεθα ὡστε καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀσφάλεστερας τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας πολυαρκεστέρας τῆς ἐκείνων πανοπλίας νομίζειν. ἐξ οὕτω ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ κρατοῦντες ἀιρούμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ βιασθέντες ἐκφεύγομεν, κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἀναχωρήσαι ποιελόμεθα, ἐσ τοιαῦτα ἔλη καὶ ὅρη καταδνόμεθα ὡστε μήτε εὐρεθήναι

4 μήτε ληφθῆναι. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὕτε διώξατι τινὰ ὅπο τοῦ βάρους οὗτε φυγεῖν ἔνναυται, κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἐκδράμωσι ποτε, ἐς τε χωρία ἀποδεδειγμένα καταφεύγουσι, κἂν ταῦθα ὡσπερ ἐς γαλαύγρας

5 κατακλείονται. ἦν τε οὖν τούτων παρὰ πολὺ ἡμῶν ἔλαττονται, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνωσ, ὅτι οὕτε λιμῶν οὗτε δίφος, οὐ ψύχωσ οὐ καβά μυροφέρουσιν ὡσπερ ἥμεις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ σκιάς καὶ σκέψης σίτου τε μεμαγμένου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἔλαιον δέονται, κἂν ἄρα τι τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπη διαφθείρονται, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ πᾶσα μὲν πόα καὶ ρίζα σῖτος ἔστι, πᾶς δὲ χυμὸς ἔλαιον, πάν δὲ

6 ύδωρ οἴνος, πάν δὲ δένδρον οἰκία. καὶ μὴ καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὲν συνήθη καὶ σύμμαχα, ἐκείνωσ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀγνώστα καὶ πολέμα καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἥμεις μὲν γυμνοὶ διανέομεν, ἐκεὶνοι δὲ οὐδὲ πλοίοις βαδίως περαίονται. ἀλλ' ἵωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅγαθῆ τύχη θαρροῦντες. δείξωμεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι λαγών καὶ ἀλώπεκες οὔτε κυνῶν καὶ λύκων ἄρχειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν.

6 Ταῦτα εἰποῦσα λαγῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου

1 φυγεῖν R. Steph., φυγῆς VC.
influenced by their fears when they adopt this kind of fighting in preference to the plan we follow of rough and ready action. Indeed, we enjoy such a surplus of bravery, that we regard our tents as safer than their walls and our shields as affording greater protection than their whole suits of mail. As a consequence, we when victorious capture them, and when overpowered elude them; and if we ever choose to retreat anywhere, we conceal ourselves in swamps and mountains so inaccessible that we can be neither discovered nor taken. Our opponents, however, can neither pursue anybody, by reason of their heavy armour, nor yet flee; and if they ever do slip away from us, they take refuge in certain appointed spots, where they shut themselves up as in a trap. But these are not the only respects in which they are vastly inferior to us: there is also the fact that they cannot bear up under hunger, thirst, cold, or heat, as we can. They require shade and covering, they require kneaded bread and wine and oil, and if any of these things fails them, they perish; for us, on the other hand, any grass or root serves as bread, the juice of any plant as oil, any water as wine, any tree as a house. Furthermore, this region is familiar to us and is our ally, but to them it is unknown and hostile. As for the rivers, we swim them naked, whereas they do not get across them easily even with boats. Let us, therefore, go against them trusting boldly to good fortune. Let us show them that they are hares and foxes trying to rule over dogs and wolves.”

When she had finished speaking, she employed a

2 καταφεύγουσι Sylb., καταφεύγωσι VC.
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προήκατο μαντεία ταύτι χρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδῇ ἐν αἴσιῳ σφίσιν ἔδραμε, τὸ τε πλῆθος πάν ἧσθεν ἀνεβόησε, καὶ ἡ Βουδούικα τὴν χειρά ἐς τὸν 2 οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνασα εἰπε “χάριν τέ σοι ἓχω, ὁ Ἀνδράστης, καὶ προσεπικαλούμαι σε γυνὴ γυναῖκα, οὐκ Αὐγιπτών ἀχθοφόρων ἀρχουσα ὡς Νίτωκρις, οὔδ’ Ἀσυρίων τῶν ἐμπόρων ὡς Σεμίραμις (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ’ ἢδι παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων 3 μεμαθήκαμεν), οὐ μὴν οὔδὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ὡς πρότερον μὲν Μεσσαλίνα ἔπειτ’ Ἀγριππίνα νῦν δὲ καὶ Νέρων (ὀνομα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει, ἔργῳ δὲ γυνὴ ἐστιν σημεῖον δὲ, ἅδε καὶ κιθαρίζει καὶ καλλωπίζεται), ἄλλα ἀνδρῶν Βρεττανῶν, γεωργείν μὲν ἡ δημοουργεῖν οὐκ εἰδότων, πολεμεῖν δὲ ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότων, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα κοινὰ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναίκας κοινὰς νομιζόντων, καὶ διὰ τότο καὶ ἑκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν" 4 τοῖς 4 ἄρρεσιν ἀρετὴν ἐχοὺσῶν. τοιοῦτων οὖν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοιούτων γυναικῶν βασιλεύουσα 4 προσεύχομαι τέ σοι καὶ αἰτῶ 5 νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν κατ’ ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν ἀδίκων ἀπλήστων ἀνυσίων, εἰ γε καὶ ἀνδρας χρή καλεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὑδατι θερμὸν λουμένους, ὥσα σκευαστὰ ἐσθίοντας, οἶνον ἄκρατον τίνοντας, μύρῳ ἀλειφόμενους, μαλθακοὺς κοιμωμένους, μετὰ μειρακίων, καὶ τούτων ἐξώρων, καθεύδοντας, κιθαρῳδῷ, καὶ τούτῳ κακῷ, δουλεύοντας. μὴ γὰρ

1 ἀνδράστη C cor., ἀδράστη VC.
2 γὰρ supplied by Bs.
species of divination, letting a hare escape from the a.d. 61
fold of her dress; and since it ran on what they
considered the auspicious side, the whole multitude
shouted with pleasure, and Buduica, raising her hand
toward heaven, said: "I thank thee, Andraste,¹ and
call upon thee as woman speaking to woman; for
I rule over no burden-bearing Egyptians as did
Nitocris, nor over trafficking Assyrians as did Semi-
ramis (for we have by now gained thus much learning
from the Romans!), much less over the Romans
themselves as did Messalina once and afterwards
Agrippina and now Nero (who, though in name a
man, is in fact a woman, as is proved by his singing,
lyre-playing and beautification of his person); nay,
those over whom I rule are Britons, men that know
not how to till the soil or ply a trade, but are
thoroughly versed in the art of war and hold all
things in common, even children and wives, so that
the latter possess the same valour as the men. As
the queen, then, of such men and of such women,
I supplicate and pray thee for victory, preservation
of life, and liberty against men insolent, unjust,
insatiable, impious,—if, indeed, we ought to term
those people men who bathe in warm water, eat
artificial dainties, drink unmixed wine, anoint them-
selves with myrrh, sleep on soft couches with boys
for bedfellows,—boys past their prime at that,—and
are slaves to a lyre-player and a poor one too.

¹ A goddess of the Britons.

³ τὴν αὐτὴν C², τῶν αὐτὴν C¹, τῶν ἐς τὴν V.
⁴ βασιλεύουσα R. Steph., βασιλεύουσαν VC.
⁵ αἰτῶ Sylb., αὐτῶ VC.
⁶ λουμένους Dind., λουμένους VC.
Τοι μήτ' ἐμοῦ μηθ' ὑμῶν ἔτι βασιλεύσειν ἡ Νερώνις ἡ Δομιτία, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνη μὲν ἩΡωμαῖοι ἄδουσα δεσποζέτω (καὶ γὰρ ἄξιοι τοιαύτη γυναικὶ δουλεύειν, ἢς τοσοῦτον ἧδη χρόνον ἀνέχονται τυραννοῦσης), ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ, ὦ δέσποινα, ἀεὶ μόνη προστατεῖς.”

7 Τοιαύτ' ἀττα ἡ Βουδοῦικα δημηγορήσασα ἐπῆγε τοῖς ἩΡωμαῖοι τὴν στρατιάν· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἀναρχον ὀντες διὰ τὸ Παυλῖνον τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν εἰς νήσον τινα Μῶνναν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Βρεττανίας κειμένην ἐπιστρατεύσα. διὰ τούτο πόλεις τε δύο ἩΡωμαῖκὰς ἐξεπόρθησε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ φόνον ἀμύθητον, ὡς ἐφη, εἰργάσατο· τοῖς τε ἀλισκομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔστιν ὁ τι οὐκ ἐγκεντό. καὶ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηριωδέστατον ἐπράξαν· τὰς γὰρ γυναικὰς τὰς ἑυγενεστάτας καὶ ἑυπρεπεστάτας γυμνὰς ἐκρέμασαν, καὶ τοὺς τε μαστοὺς αὐτῶν περιέτεμον καὶ τοὺς στόματι σφῶν προσέρρασαν, ὥπως ὡς καὶ ἑσθλοῦσα αὐτοὺς ὀρφόντο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο πασσάλοις ὄξεις διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μήκος ἀνέπεφραν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, θύντες τε ἀμα καὶ ἑστιώμενοι καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, ἐν τε τοῖς ἅλλοις σφῶν ἰεροῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρδάτης μάλιστα ἄλσει ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε γὰρ τὴν Νίκην ὑνώμαζον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιπτότατα.

8 Ὅ δὲ Παυλῖνος ἐτυχε μὲν ἦδη τὴν Μῶνναν παραστησάμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν συμφορὰν ἀπέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Μῶννης. καὶ διακινδυνεύσας μὲν αὐτίκα πρὸς

1 μήτ' Bk., μη VC.
2 προστατεῖς Sylb., παραστατεῖς VC.

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Wherefore may this Mistress Domitia-Nero reign no longer over me or over you men; let the wench sing and lord it over Romans, for they surely deserve to be the slaves of such a woman after having submitted to her so long. But for us, Mistress, be thou alone ever our leader."

Having finished an appeal to her people of this general tenor, Buduica led her army against the Romans; for these chanced to be without a leader, inasmuch as Paulinus, their commander, had gone on an expedition to Mona, an island near Britain. This enabled her to sack and plunder two Roman cities, and, as I have said, to wreak indescribable slaughter. Those who were taken captive by the Britons were subjected to every known form of outrage. The worst and most bestial atrocity committed by their captors was the following. They hung up naked the noblest and most distinguished women and then cut off their breasts and sewed them to their mouths, in order to make the victims appear to be eating them; afterwards they impaled the women on sharp skewers run lengthwise through the entire body. All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets and wanton behaviour, not only in all their other sacred places, but particularly in the grove of Andate. This was their name for Victory, and they regarded her with most exceptional reverence.

Now it chanced that Paulinus had already brought Mona to terms, and so on learning of the disaster in Britain he at once set sail thither from Mona. However, he was not willing to risk a conflict with the

\[^3\]\textit{kal} V, om. C. \quad \[4\]\textit{tē} V, \textit{kal} C.
τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἦθελε, τὸ τε πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν φοβούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐσ ἐπιτη-
δειότερον καυρὸν τὴν μάχην ὑπερετήσετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ
σῖτου τε ἐστάνιζε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐγκείμενοι
οὐκ ἄνισον, ἦναγκάσθη καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς
2 συμβαλείν. ἦ μὲν 1 οὖν Βουδονίκα ἐς τρεῖς καὶ
ἐίκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν στράτευμα ἔχουσα αὐτή
μὲν ἐφ' ἁρματος ὡχεῖτο, 2 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς
ἐκάστους διέταξεν· οὗ δὲ Ἔπαυλίνος μήτε ἀντι-
παρατείναι οἱ τὴν φάλαγγα δυνηθείς (οὐδὲ γὰρ
οὐδ' εἰ ἐφ' έια ἐτάχθησαν ἐξικονύμω τοσού-
3 τον ἠλπττούντο τῷ πλῆθεί) μήτ' αὐ' καθ' ἐν 3
συμβαλείν, μὴ καὶ περίστοιχισθεὶς 4 κατακοπῇ,
τολμῆσας, τριχῇ τε ἐνειμὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅπως
πολλαχόθεν ἀμα μάχοιτο, καὶ ἐπύκνωσεν ἐκα-
στον τῶν μερῶν ὡστε δύσρηκτον εἶναι.
Συντάττων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστὰς προσπαρ-
9 ἦνει, λέγων· "ἀγετε, ἀνδρεὶς συστρατιῶταί,
ἀγετε, ἀνδρεὶς Ῥωμαίοι, δείξατε τοῖς ὁλέθροις
τούτοις ὅσον καὶ δυστυχοῦντες αὐτῶν προφε-
ρομεν· αἰσχρόν γὰρ ἐστίν ὑμῖν, ἀ μικρῷ πρόςθεν
ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκτήσασθε, νῦν ἀκλεώς ἀπολέσαι.
πολλάκις τοῖς τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐλάττους ὄντες
τολύ πλείονας ἀντιπάλους καὶ ἤμεῖς αὐτοῖ καὶ
2 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐνίκησαν. μήτ' οὖν τὸ πλῆθος
αὐτῶν φοβηθῆτε καὶ 5 τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν (ἐκ
γὰρ ἀόπλου καὶ ἀμελητήτου προπετειας θρασύ-
νονται), μήθ' ὅτι πόλεις τινὰς ἐμπεπρήκασιν· οὐ

1 ἦ μὲν C2, ἡμᾶς VC1.
2 ὡχεῖτο R. Steph., ὡχεῖτο VC.
3 ἐν Bk., ἐνα VC.
4 περιστοιχισθεὶς Reim., περιστοιχηθεὶς VC.

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barbarians immediately, as he feared their numbers A.D. 61 and their desperation, but was inclined to postpone battle to a more convenient season. But as he grew short of food and the barbarians pressed relentlessly upon him, he was compelled, contrary to his judgment, to engage them. Buduica, at the head of an army of about 230,000 men, rode in a chariot herself and assigned the others to their several stations. Paulinus could not extend his line the whole length of hers, for, even if the men had been drawn up only one deep, they would not have reached far enough, so inferior were they in numbers; nor, on the other hand, did he dare join battle in a single compact force, for fear of being surrounded and cut to pieces. He therefore separated his army into three divisions, in order to fight at several points at one and the same time, and he made each of the divisions so strong that it could not easily be broken through.

While ordering and arranging his men he also exhorted them, saying: "Up, fellow-soldiers! Up, Romans! Show these accursed wretches how far we surpass them even in the midst of evil fortune. It would be shameful, indeed, for you to lose ingloriously now what but a short time ago you won by your valour. Many a time, assuredly, have both we ourselves and our fathers, with far fewer numbers than we have at present, conquered far more numerous antagonists. Fear not, then, their numbers or their spirit of rebellion; for their boldness rests on nothing more than headlong rashness unaided by arms or training. Neither fear them because they have burned a couple of cities; for they did not capture

5 καὶ R. Steph., μὴν τρία V, καὶ τε C.
γὰρ κατὰ κράτος οὔδὲ ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν προδοθείσαν τὴν δὲ ἐκλειψθείσαν εἶλον· ἀνθ᾽ ὅν νῦν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν δίκην λάβετε, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐκμᾶθωσιν οἶνος ὄντας ἰμᾶς ὅτι ὄντες ἡδικήκασι ."

10 Ταῦτα τίσιν εἰπὼν ἔφε ἔτεροις ἤλθε, καὶ ἔφη· "νῦν καιρός, ὃ συστρατιῶται, προθυμίας, νῦν τόλμης. ἂν τῇ μεροῦ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένησθε, καὶ τὰ προειμένα ἀναλήψεσθε· ἂν τούτων κρατήσητε, οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἤμων οὔδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιστήσεται. διὰ μιᾶς τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα βεβαιώσεσθε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψεσθε· πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀλλοί ποὺ ὄντες στρατιῶται ξηλώσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔχθροι φοβηθήσονται. ὥστε ἐν ταῖς χερσίν ἔχοντες ἑπάντων ἄνθρωπων ἁδεῖς ἄρχειν ὅν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς προσπεκτήσασθε, ἡ πάντως αὐτῶν στερηθήναι, ἔλεσθε ἐλεύθεροι ἐὰν εἰναι, ἄρχειν πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ τάναντια αὐτῶν βαθμιμήσαντες παθεῖν ."

11 Τοιαύτα δὲ καὶ τούτοις εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς τρίτους ἐπιπαρῆλθε, καὶ ἐλέες καὶ ἐκεῖνοι· " ἤκούσατε. μὲν οὶ σὺν ἦμᾶς οἱ κατάρατοι οὕτω δεδράκασι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ ἐδετε. 2 ὡς θ᾽ ἔλεσθε πότερον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνοι παθεῖν καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐκπεσεῖν παντελῶς

1 ἐλεύθεροι late corr. in C, ἐλέβροι VC.
2 πότερον C, πότεροι V.
them by force nor after a battle, but one was betrayed A.D. 61 and the other abandoned to them. Exact from them now, therefore, the proper penalty for these deeds, and let them learn by actual experience the difference between us, whom they have wronged, and themselves.”

After addressing these words to one division he came to another and said: “Now is the time, fellow-soldiers, for zeal, now is the time for daring. For if you show yourselves brave men to-day, you will recover all that you have lost; if you overcome these foes, no one else will any longer withstand us. By one such battle you will both make your present possessions secure and subdue whatever remains; for everywhere our soldiers, even though they are in other lands, will emulate you and foes will be terror-stricken. Therefore, since you have it within your power either to rule all mankind without a fear, both the nations that your fathers left to you and those that you yourselves have gained in addition, or else to be deprived of them altogether, choose to be free, to rule, to live in wealth, and to enjoy prosperity, rather than, by avoiding the effort, to suffer the opposite of all this.”

After making an address of this sort to these men, he went on to the third division, and to them he said: “You have heard what outrages these damnable men have committed against us, nay more, you have even witnessed some of them. Choose, then, whether you wish to suffer the same treatment yourselves as our comrades have suffered and to be driven

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3 H. Steph. supplied ὑπάλλησθε or ὑπάλλητε after πότερον. Such a word is required either there or after παθεῖν.
ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἡ κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλοσὶ τιμωρήσανται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπασί παράδειγμα ποιήσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ πειθαρ-χοῦν εὑμενοὺς ἐπιεικεῖας καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζον

3 ἀναγκαίας τραχύτητος.¹ μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἔγγυς νυκήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζω καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμμαχία (τοῖς γὰρ ἀδικουμένοις ὡς τὸ πολὺ συναίρονται) καὶ τῇ πατρῷᾳ ἡμῶν ἀνδρίᾳ, Ῥωμαίοις τε ὄντας καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κεκρατηκότας, καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις (καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τούτους τούς νῦν ἀντικαθεστῶτας ἡπτήσαντες κεχειρώμεθα), τῷ τε ἄξιώματι (οὐ γὰρ ἀντισπάλιοι τισὶν ἄλλα δούλους ἤμετέρους συμβαλούμεν, οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτούς-

4 μους ² ὅτας ἐνικήσαμεν ³). ἄν δὲ δὴ παρ’ ἐπτίδα τι συμβῇ (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ⁴ τούτῳ εἰπεῖν ὅκνησιν), ἁμεινὸν ἐστὶ μαχομένους ἡμᾶς ἀνδρείως πεσεῖν ἢ ἀλώντας ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκτμηθέντα ἱδεῖν, πασσάλοις διαπύριος ἀναπαρῆναι καὶ ὑδατι ξέοντε τηρομένους ἀπολέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐς θηρία τινὰ ἀγρία ἄνομα

5 ἀνύσια ἐμπεπτωκότας. ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθάνωμεν. καλὸν τὸ μνη-μεῖον τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἔχομεν, καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίοι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκπέσωσιν τοῖς γὰρ σώμασι τοῖς ἤμετέρους πάντως αὐτὴν ἀεὶ καθέ-ξομεν.”

12 Τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτους εἰπὼν ἦρε τὸ σημεῖον τῆς μάχης· καὶ τοῦτον συνήλθον,

¹ τραχύτητος C, ταχύτητος V.
² αὐτονόμουs R. Steph., αὐτομάλουs VC.
³ ἐνικήσαμεν Reim., ειᾶσαμεν VC.

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out of Britain entirely, besides, or else by conquering A.D. 61 to avenge those that have perished and at the same time furnish to the rest of mankind an example, not only of benevolent clemency toward the obedient, but also of inevitable severity toward the rebellious. For my part, I hope, above all, that victory will be ours; first, because the gods are our allies (for they almost always side with those who have been wronged); second, because of the courage that is our heritage, since we are Romans and have triumphed over all mankind by our valour; next, because of our experience (for we have defeated and subdued these very men who are now arrayed against us); and lastly, because of our prestige (for those with whom we are about to engage are not antagonists, but our slaves, whom we conquered even when they were free and independent). Yet if the outcome should prove contrary to our hope,—for I will not shrink from mentioning even this possibility,—it would be better for us to fall fighting bravely than to be captured and impaled, to look upon our own entrails cut from our bodies, to be spitted on red-hot skewers, to perish by being melted in boiling water—in a word, to suffer as though we had been thrown to lawless and impious wild beasts. Let us, therefore, either conquer them or die on the spot. Britain will be a noble monument for us, even though all the other Romans here should be driven out; for in any case our bodies shall for ever possess this land.''

After addressing these and like words to them he raised the signal for battle. Thereupon the armies
οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι κραυγὴ τε πολλὴ καὶ φῶδαις ἀπειλητικαῖς χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σιγὴ καὶ κόσμῳ, μέχρις οὗ ἐς ἀκοντίου βολὴν ἀφίκοντο.

2 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἦδη βάδην τῶν ¹ πολεμίων προσι- οντων σφίσιν ἐξάειντες ² ἀμα ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ προσμιέξει ὀρὼς τὴν ἀντίταξίν σφων διέρρηξαν, περισχεθέντες δὲ τῷ πλῆθει πανταχόθεν ἀμα

3 ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἢν ὁ ἀγωνισμὸς αὐτῶν πολύ- τροπος: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ ψιλοὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀντέβαλλον, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ ὄπλιται τοῖς ὄπλίταις ἀνθίσταντο, οὗ τε ἱππεῖς τοῖς ἱππεύσι συν- εφέροντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἁρματα τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τοξόται τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντηγεύζοντο. τοὺς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίους οἱ βάρβαροι ρύμη τοῖς ἁρμασὶ προσπέπτοντες ἀνέτρεπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἀτε καὶ δίχα θωράκων μαχόμενοι, ἀνεστέλλοντο: ἱππεὺς τε πεζὸν ἀνέτρεπε, καὶ

4 πεζὸς ἱππεά κατέβαλλε: πρὸς τε τὰ ἁρματα συμφραζόμενοι τινες ἐχώρουν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάωνυτο. τοὺς τε τοξότας οἱ μὲν ὀμόσε σφίσιν ἱόντες ἐτρεπον, οἱ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἐφυλάσσοντο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ’ ἐν ἄλλα τριχῇ

5 πάνθ’ ὀμοίως ἐγίνετο. ἡγοῦντο δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἁμφότεροι προθυμίας καὶ τόλ- μης. τέλος δὲ ὅψε ποτε οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἁμάξαις τῇ τε ὑλῇ κατεφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ

6 καὶ ξώντας ἐλλο. συχνοὶ δ’ οὖν καὶ διέφυγον, καὶ παρασκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ αὕθις μαχοῦ-

¹ βάδην τῶν Sylh., βα . . . τῶν C, . . . τῶν V.
² ἐξάειντες Bk., ἐξάραντες C, ἐπάραντες V.

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approached each other, the barbarians with much shouting mingled with menacing battle-songs, but the Romans silently and in order until they came within a javelin's throw of the enemy. Then, while their foes were still advancing against them at a walk, the Romans rushed forward at a signal and charged them at full speed, and when the clash came, easily broke through the opposing ranks; but, as they were surrounded by the great numbers of the enemy, they had to be fighting everywhere at once. Their struggle took many forms. Light-armed troops exchanged missiles with light-armed, heavy-armed were opposed to heavy-armed, cavalry clashed with cavalry, and against the chariots of the barbarians the Roman archers contended. The barbarians would assail the Romans with a rush of their chariots, knocking them helter-skelter, but, since they fought without breastplates, would themselves be repulsed by the arrows. Horseman would overthrow foot-soldier and foot-soldier strike down horseman; a group of Romans, forming in close order, would advance to meet the chariots, and others would be scattered by them; a band of Britons would come to close quarters with the archers and rout them, while others were content to dodge their shafts at a distance; and all this was going on not at one spot only, but in all three divisions at once. They contended for a long time, both parties being animated by the same zeal and daring. But finally, late in the day, the Romans prevailed; and they slew many in battle beside the wagons and the forest, and captured many alive. Nevertheless, not a few made their escape and were preparing to fight again. In the meantime, however,
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μενοι, ἀποθανοῦσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς Βουδούκης νόσῳ ἐκείνην μὲν δειών ἐπένθησαν καὶ πολυ-
τελῶς ἔθαψαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὡς καὶ τότε ὄντως ἦπτη-
θέντες διεσκεδάσθησαν.—Xiph. 158, 24–165, 20
R. St.

13 Καὶ τὰ μὲν Βρεττανικὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐν δὲ
tῇ Ῥώμῃ ὁ Νέρων Ὁκταβίαν τὴν Ἀὐγουσταν
ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν πρότερον διὰ Σαβίναν τὴν
παλλακίδα, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε,1 καίτοι
tοῦ Βούρρουν ἐναντιουμένου αὐτῷ καὶ κωλύοντος
2 ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ ποτε εἰπόντος "οὐκοῦν καὶ
tὴν προῖκα αὐτῇ" τοῦτ' ἐστι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
"απόδοσ." οὕτω γάρ πως ἐρρωμὼν αὐτῇ 2 ἐχρήτῳ
ὡστε ποτέ δεύτερον ἔρωτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γνώμην
περὶ δὲν ἀπεφήματο, εἰπὲν ἀντικρυ ότι "περὶ
δὲν ἄν ἀπαξὶ τι εἶπω, μηκέτι μοι αὖθις πύθη."—
Xiph. 165, 20–28 K. St.

3 Τούτον μὲν οὖν φαρμάκῳ διώλεσε, Τιγελλίνον
dὲ τινα Σωφρόνιον, ἀσελγεία τε καὶ μιαφονία
πάντας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράραντα,
σὺν ἐτέρω τινὶ 3 ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχῆς
κατέστησεν.—Xiph. 165, 28–31 R. St.

1 Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 39, 12-20 D.): καὶ τὴν Ἀὐγουσταν
'Οκταβίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτὸν γυναίκα ἀπε-
πέμψατο τῆς γὰρ Σαβίνας ἐρών ἠθελεν αὐτῇ συνεῖναι ἃς γαμετῆ.
δεῖσατα δὲ ἡ Σαβίνα μὴποτε ἡ 'Οκταβία μετακληθῇ, κατηγόρους
ἐπὶ αὐτῇ καὶ μοιχείας καὶ γοητείας ψευδοὺς παρεσκευάσατο.
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φυγαδευθήναι αὐτὴν, ἑπείτα καὶ σφαγήναι
ἐποίησεν.

Joann. Antioch. (fr. 90 M. v. 93–96): καὶ τὴν ἑαυτὸν γαμε-
τὴν 'Οκταβίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα, δι' ἥν εἰς τὴν ἄρχην
οὐχ ἤκιστα παρεληλύθει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο ἑπείτα καὶ
ἀπέκτεινεν.

2 αὐτῇ, ὡς εἰς τῇ παρρησίᾳ. Dio had probably used this word
Buduica fell sick and died. The Britons mourned her deeply and gave her a costly burial; but, feeling that now at last they were really defeated, they scattered to their homes. So much for affairs in Britain.

In Rome Nero first divorced Octavia Augusta, on account of his concubine Sabina, and later he put her to death. He did this in spite of the opposition of Burrus, who endeavoured to prevent him from divorcing her, and once said to him, "Well, then, give her back her dowry," by which he meant the sovereignty. Indeed, frankness of speech was characteristic of Burrus and he employed it with such boldness that once, for example, when he was asked by the emperor a second time for his opinion on matters regarding which he had already declared himself, he answered bluntly: "When I have once spoken about anything, don't ask me again."

So Nero disposed of him [Burrus] by poison; and he appointed as one of two men to command the Praetorians a certain Sophronius Tigellinus, who had outstripped all his contemporaries in licentiousness and bloodthirstiness.

1 Cf. Zonaras: And he divorced his wife, Octavia Augusta, the daughter of Claudius; for being enamoured of Sabina, he wished to live with her as his wife. And Sabina, fearing that Octavia might be recalled some day, suborned persons to accuse her falsely of adultery and witchcraft; she thus brought about her exile at first and later her murder.

Joann. Antioch.: He first divorced and afterwards put to death his wife Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, who had been of no slight assistance to him in gaining the throne.

2 A mistake for Ofonius.

earlier in the passage; cf. Petr. Patric. (exc. Vat. 53) μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπεν, τινι V, εἴνι C.
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'Οτι ὁ Τιγελλίνος διεδέχατο τὸν Βούρρον, ἀσελγεία καὶ μιαφονία πάντας τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις ὑπεράρας. τὸν τε Νέρωνα ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα 'Ρούφον παρ' οὔδὲν ἐτίθετο.—Exc. Val. 244 (p. 689).

Πρὸς τούτον 1 καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθιάδος ἀπόφθεγμα 4 γενέσθαι λέγεται. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ὀκ-
tασίαν ἄντων οἱ ἄλλοι 2 πάντες πλὴν Πυθιάδος συνεπέθεντο μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης αὐτῆ, τῆς μὲν, ὅτι ἐδυστύχει, καταφρονήσαντες, τὴν δὲ, ὅτι ἰσχυε, κολακεύσαντες, μόνη 3 ἡ Πυθίας οὔτε τι κατεψεύσατο αὐτῆς, καὶ περὶ πικρότατα βασα-
νισθεῖσα, καὶ τέλος ὡς ὁ Τιγελλίνος ἐνέκειτο αὐτῇ, προσέπτυσε τε αὐτὸ καὶ εἰπε' "καθα-
ρώτερον, ὁ Τιγελλίνε, τὸ αἰδοῖον ἡ δέσποινα μου τοῦ σοῦ στόματα ἔχει."—Xiph. 165, 31–166, 6
R. St.

14 'Ο δὲ δὴ Νέρων καὶ γέλωτα καὶ σκώψματα τὰ τῶν συγγενῶν 4 κακὰ ἔποιεῖτο. τὸν γοῦν Πλατ-
tουν ἀποκτείνας, ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ προσ-
eνεχθεῖσάν οἱ ἰδών, "οὔκ ἥδειν" ἔφη "ὅτι οὔτω 5 
μεγάλην ρίνα εἶχαν," ὡσπερ φεισάμενος ἃν αὐτοῦ
2 εἰ τούτο προηγίστατο. 6 πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν 
βίον ἐν καπηλικῇ διαίτῃ ποιούμενος ἀπεῖπε τοῖς
ἀλλοίς μηδὲν ἐφθόν ἐν καπηλείῳ, πλὴν λαχάνων
3 καὶ ἔτνους, πιπράσκειν. τὸν δὲ Πάλλαντα διε-
χρίσατο, ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον πολλῶν ἐκέκτητο, ὡστε 
καὶ ἐς μυρίας μυριάδας αὐτὸν ἀριθμεύσαι. καὶ 
δυσκολία τρόπου πολλῆ ἐχρήτο, ὡστε μήτε τοῖς 
οἰκέταις μήτε τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις διαλέγεσθαι τι

1 τούτον R. Steph., τούτο VC.

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Tigellinus, who had outstripped all his contemporaries in licentiousness and bloodthirstiness, succeeded Burrus. He won Nero away from the others and made light of his colleague Rufus.

It was to him that the famous retort is said to have been made by Pythias. When all the other attendants of Octavia, with the exception of Pythias, had taken sides with Sabina in her attack upon the empress, despising Octavia because she was in misfortune and toady ing to Sabina because she had great influence, Pythias alone had refused, though cruelly tortured, to utter lies against her mistress, and finally, as Tigellinus continued to urge her, she spat in his face, saying: “My mistress’s privy parts are cleaner, Tigellinus, than your mouth.”

Nero made the misfortunes of his relatives a subject for laughter and jests. For example, after killing Plautus he took a look at his head when it was brought to him and remarked: “I didn’t know he had such a big nose”—as much as to say that he would have spared him, had he been aware of this fact beforehand! And though he spent practically his whole existence amid tavern life, he forbade others to sell in taverns anything boiled save vegetables and pea-soup. He put Pallas out of the way because he had amassed a great fortune that was estimated at 400,000,000 sesterces. He would often give way to peevishness; for instance, he would refuse to talk with his servants or freed-

2 ἄλλοι V, ἄγγελοι C.
3 μόνη Bk. (?), μόνη δ’ VC.
4 συγγενῶν cod. Peir. exc. Vat., γεναίκῶν VC.
5 οὕτω supplied by v. Herwerden.
6 προηπιστατό St., προηπιστατό VC.
15, 7 "Оти έκ τῶν συναχθέντων ἐς τὸ Ἀντίον πολλῶν ἀπολομένων οἱ Νέρων ἐν ἐσφαλέως μέρει τούτῳ ἐποιεῖτο.—Exc. Val. 246 (p. 689).
1а "Οτι Θρασέας τις γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο ἀνδρὶ 

1 Такиау' д' ἢν ἢ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀκολασία ὡστε καὶ ἀρματα δημοσία ἦλανο. καὶ ποτε θηρία ἀποκτέινας ύδωρ τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἔπωχε 

tευσε καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπέτελεσε, καὶ μετά τούτῳ τὸ ύδωρ ἄφεις μονομαχίαν ἐπιδιέθηκε, καὶ τέλος ἐσαγαγὼν αὐτὸ αὕθις δείπνον δημοσία πολυτελεῖ 

2 ἐδείπνησεν. ἐστιάτωρ μὲν ὁ Τιγελλίνως ἀπεδέ 

dεικτό, καὶ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα πολλὴ ἐπετορίστο. ἐσκευάσθη δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ἐν μὲν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ύδατι τά τε σκεύη τὰ οἰνηρὰ τὰ ξύλινα τὰ μεγάλα προκαθείτο, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν σανίδες 

3 ἐπετήγεσαν, πέριξ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ καπηλεία καὶ 

οἰκήματα ἐπεποίησε, ὡστε τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ τὸν 

Τιγελλίνον τοὺς τε συσσίτους αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον ἔχοντας ἐπὶ τε ταπητῶν πορφυρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ στρω 

μάτων ἄπαλῶν ἐπενωχεύσθαι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλου 

4 πάντας ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις εὐθυμεῖσθαι. ἐς τε τὰ 

πορνεία ἐσήγησαν, καὶ συνεγίγνοντο πάσαις ἀνέδην 

ἄπλως ταῖς ἐνταῦθα καθημέναις ἤσαν δὲ αὐτὲ 

1 ἐδείπνησεν Rk., ἐδείπνησεν VC.
men, but instead would jot down all his wishes and A.D. 62 commands on tablets.

When many of those who had assembled at A.D. 63 Antium perished,¹ Nero made this an occasion for a festival.

A certain Thrasea expressed the opinion that for a senator the extreme penalty should be exile.

To such lengths did Nero's licence go that he A.D. 64 actually drove chariots in public. And on one occasion after exhibiting a wild-beast hunt he immediately piped water into the theatre and produced a sea-fight; then he let the water out again and arranged a gladiatorial combat. Last of all, he flooded the place once more and gave a costly public banquet. Tigellinus had been appointed director of the banquet and everything had been provided on a lavish scale. The arrangements made were as follows. In the centre of the lake there had first been lowered the great wooden casks used for holding wine, and on top of these, planks had been fastened, while round about this platform taverns and booths had been erected. Thus Nero and Tigellinus and their fellow-banqueters occupied the centre, where they held their feast on purple rugs and soft cushions, while all the rest made merry in the taverns. They would also enter the brothels and without let or hindrance have intercourse with any of the women who were seated there, among whom were the most beautiful and

¹ On the occasion of the birth of Nero's daughter at Antium, the entire senate hastened thither to congratulate him (Tac. Ann. xv. 23); and many others no doubt did the same. In what manner so many perished we can only conjecture.
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περικαλλέσταται καὶ ἐκφανέσταται,¹ δοῦλαί τε καὶ ἐλεύθεραι, ἑταῖραι, παρθένοι, γαμεταί τινων, οὕτως δημότιδες ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ ἀι ἐγενέ-5 σταται καὶ κόραι καὶ γυναικες. καὶ ἢν ἐξουσία παντὶ τῷ θεομονέω σχεῖν ἢν ἢθελεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆς αὐταῖς οὐδένα ἀπαρνήσασθαι. ὡστε, οἰα συρφε-τώδης ὁμίλος, ἀπλήστως τῇ ἄμα ἔτυμον καὶ ἀσελγῶς ὑβρίζουν, καὶ τις καὶ δούλος τῇ δεσπόινῃ παρόντος τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ μονομάχος εὐγενεῖ.

6 κόρη ὁρῶντος τοῦ πατρὸς συνεγίνοντο. ὥθισμοι τε καὶ πληγαὶ καὶ θόρυβοι, τοῦτο μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐσιόντων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξωθεὶν περι-εστήκότων, αἰσχροὶ συνέβαινον, καὶ ἀνδρείς τε ἐκ τούτων συχνοὶ ἐφθαρμέναν καὶ γυναικες, αἱ μὲν ἀποτυγχαίσαι αἱ δὲ διαρπαγεῖσαι.

16 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεθύμησεν ὅπερ ποι ἢν χεῖν—τὴν τε πόλιν ὄλην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σὺν ἀναλώσαι· τὸν γοῦν Πρίαμον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθαν-μαστὸς ἐμακάριζεν ὧδε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἄμα

2 καὶ τὴν ἄρχην ἀπολομένας εἶδεν. λάθρα γάρ τινας ὡς καὶ μεθύωντας ἢ καὶ κακουργοῦντάς τι ἄλλως διαπέμπων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ποι καὶ δύο καὶ πλείονα ἄλλα ἀλλοθεν ὑπεπίμπρα,⁴ ὡστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν παντὶ ἀπορίας γενέσθαι, μητ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν μήτε τέλος ἐπαγαγεῖν δυναμένους ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὀρῶντας πολλὰ δὲ

¹ περικαλλέσταται καὶ ἐκφανέσταται Sylb., περικαλλέστατοι καὶ ἐκφανέστατοι VC.
² καὶ αὐτὸς VC, probably corrupt; κατ' αὐτὸ τούτο Polak.
³ ἐμακάριζεν H. Steph., ἐμακάρισεν VC.
⁴ ὑπεπίμπρα Dind., ὑπεμπίμπρα VC.

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distinguished in the city, both slaves and free, A.D. 64 courtesans and virgins and married women; and these were not merely of the common people but also of the very noblest families, both girls and grown women. Every man had the privilege of enjoying whichever one he wished, as the women were not allowed to refuse anyone. Consequently, indiscriminate rabble as the throng was, they not only drank greedily but also wantoned riotously; and now a slave would debauch his mistress in the presence of his master, and now a gladiator would debauch a girl of noble family before the eyes of her father. The pushing and fighting and general uproar that took place, both on the part of those who were actually going in and on the part of those who were standing round outside, were disgraceful. Many men met their death in these encounters, and many women, too, some of the latter being suffocated and some being seized and carried off.

After this Nero set his heart on accomplishing what had doubtless always been his desire, namely to make an end of the whole city and realm during his lifetime. At all events, he, like others before him, used to call Priam wonderfully fortunate in that he had seen his country and his throne destroyed together. Accordingly he secretly sent out men who pretended to be drunk or engaged in other kinds of mischief, and caused them at first to set fire to one or two or even several buildings in different parts of the city, so that the people were at their wits' end, not being able to find any beginning of the trouble nor to put an end to it, though they constantly were aware of many strange

1 The text is probably corrupt; see critical note.
3 ἁκούοντας ἀτόπα. οὔτε γὰρ θεώσασθαι ἄλλο τι ἢν ἢ πυρὰ πολλὰ ὁσπέρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, οὔτε ἁκούσαι λεγόντων τινῶν ἢ ὧτι "τὸ καὶ τὸ καίε- 
tai." "ποῦ?" "πῶς?" "ὑπὸ τίνος?" "βοη-
θεῖτε." θόρυβός τε οὖν ἐξαισίοις πανταχοῦ πάν-
tας κατελάμβανε, καὶ διέτρεχον οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ 
4 τῇ ὁσπέρ ἐμπλήκτοι. καὶ ἄλλοις τινὲς ἐπαμύ-
nυντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τὰ οἴκα χαϊδεσάντως καὶ ἐτεροι 
πρὶν καὶ ἁκούσατο ὧτι τῶν σφετέρων τι ἐμπέπη-
stai, ἐμάνθασαν ὧτι ἀπόλωλεν. οἱ τε ἐκ τῶν 
οἰκίων ἐς τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐξέτρεχον ὡς καὶ ἔξωθεν 
αὐταἰς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὀδῶν εἰσώ 
5 ἐσέθεον ὡς καὶ ἐνδο τι ἀνύσουτες. καὶ ἦν ἦ 
τε κραυγῆ καὶ ὀλολυγὴ παίδων ὁμοῦ γυναικῶν 
ἀνδρῶν γερόντων ἄπλετος, ὡστε μῆτε συνιδεῖν 
μῆτε συνείναι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τῆς 
κραυγῆς δύνασθαι· καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὁρᾶν ἦν τινα 
6 ἀφώνους ἐστώτας ὁσπέρ ἐνεοὺς ὄντας. κἂν 
τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐκκομιζόμενοι, 
pολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλοτρια ἀρπάζοντες ἄλληλοις 
tε ἐνεπλάζοντο καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκεῦσειν ἐσφάλ-
λοντο, καὶ οὔτε προϊέναι ποι οὔθ' ἐστάναι εἰχον, 
7 ἀλλ' ὀθόνιον ὀθοῦντο, ἀνέτρεπον ἀνετρέποντο. καὶ 
συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπεπνίγοντο συχνοὶ δὲ συνετρίβοντο, 
ὡστε σφίσι μηδὲν ὃ τι τῶν δυναμένων ἀνθρώποις 
ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθει κακῶν συμβῆναι μὴ συνε-
νεχθῆναι. οὖδὲ γὰρ οὔδ' ἓ ἀποφυγεῖν ποι ῥαδίως

1 οὔθ' Bk., οὔθ' VC.
sights and sounds. For there was naught to be seen but many fires, as in a camp, and naught to be heard from the talk of the people except such exclamations as “This or that is afire,” “Where?” “How did it happen?” “Who kindled it?” “Help!” Extraordinary excitement laid hold on all the citizens in all parts of the city, and they ran about, some in one direction and some in another, as if distracted. Here men while assisting their neighbours would learn that their own premises were afire; there others, before word reached them that their own houses had caught fire, would be told that they were destroyed. Those who were inside their houses would run out into the narrow streets thinking that they could save them from the outside, while people in the streets would rush into the dwellings in the hope of accomplishing something inside. There was shouting and wailing without end, of children, women, men, and the aged all together, so that no one could see anything or understand what was said by reason of the smoke and the shouting; and for this reason some might be seen standing speechless, as if they were dumb. Meanwhile many who were carrying out their goods and many, too, who were stealing the property of others, kept running into one another and falling over their burdens. It was not possible to go forward nor yet to stand still, but people pushed and were pushed in turn, upset others and were themselves upset. Many were suffocated, many were trampled underfoot; in a word, no evil that can possibly happen to people in such a crisis failed to befall them. They could not even escape anywhere easily; and if anybody
Ἀδύνατον καὶ ἐὰν τοῦ παρόντος τις περιεσώθη, ἐς ἔτερον ἐμπεσὼν ἐφθείρετο.

17 Καὶ ταῦτα οὖν ἐν μιᾷ μόνον ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ πλείους καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ὦμοιώς ἐγίνετο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἴκοι ἔρημοι τοῦ βοηθήσωντος σφισὶν ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπικουροῦντων προσκατεπρήσθησαν. οἱ γὰρ στρατεύονται, οὐ γε άλλοι καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακες, πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἄφοροντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεσβέναν πάντα ἄλλα καὶ προσεξέκαιον. τοιούτων δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ἀλλοθι συμβαίνοντων, ύπελάβετο ποτὲ τὸ πῦρ ἄνεμος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀμοῦ πάντα ἤγαγεν, ὡστε σκευῶν μὲν πέρι ἡ οἰκίῶν μηδένε οἵτινες ἐπὶ φροντίζαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λουποὺς ἐστῶτας πον ἐν ἄσφαλει τινὶ ὀρᾶν ὅσπερ νῆσους τινὰς καὶ πόλεις ἀμα πολλὰς φλεγομένας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις μηδὲν ἐπὶ λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ δημόσιον ὦδυρομένους ἀναμμηνήσκεσθαι οτι καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ ὄντως ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸ πλεῖον τῆς πόλεως διεφθάρῃ. πάντων δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω διακειμένων, καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐμπηδώντων, ὁ Νέρων ἐς τε τὸ ἀκρον τοῦ παλατίου, ὁδεῖς μάλιστα σύνοπτα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καυματών ἦν, ἀνήλθε, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαρικήν λαβὼν ἦσεν ἄλωσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, Ἡλίον, ὡς δὲ ἐωράτο, Ὁρώμης.

18 τοιοῦτω μὲν δὴ πάθει τότε ἡ πόλις ἔχρησατο οἵων οὕτε πρότερον ποτὲ οὔθ' ὑστερον, πλὴν τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ. τὸ τε γὰρ Παλάτιου τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν

1 ἑδύνατο Bk., ἑδύνατο VC.
2 τοιούτων V, ταῦ C.
3 ὡμοῦ C, ἡμῶν V.

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did save himself from the immediate danger, he A.D. 64 would fall into another and perish.

Now this did not all take place on a single day, but it lasted for several days and nights alike. Many houses were destroyed for want of anyone to help save them, and many others were set on fire by the very men who came to lend assistance; for the soldiers, including the night watch, having an eye to plunder, instead of putting out fires, kindled new ones. While such scenes were occurring at various points, a wind caught up the flames and carried them indiscriminately against all the buildings that were left. Consequently no one concerned himself any longer about goods or houses, but all the survivors, standing where they thought they were safe, gazed upon what appeared to be a number of scattered islands on fire or many cities all burning at the same time. There was no longer any grieving over personal losses, but they lamented the public calamity, recalling how once before most of the city had been thus laid waste by the Gauls. While the whole population was in this state of mind and many, crazed by the disaster, were leaping into the very flames, Nero ascended to the roof of the palace, from which there was the best general view of the greater part of the conflagration, and assuming the lyre-player's garb, he sang the "Capture of Troy," as he styled the song himself, though to the eyes of the spectators it was the Capture of Rome.

The calamity which the city then experienced has no parallel before or since, except in the Gallic invasion. The whole Palatine hill, the theatre of
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καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς τε λούτρης πόλεως 
tὰ δύο ποὺ μέρη ἐκαύθη, καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀναρίθ-
3 μητοὶ διεφθάρσαν. ὦ μέντοι δήμοι οὐκ ἔστιν ὦ 
tι 1 οὐ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἥρατο, τὸ μὲν ἄνωμα 
αὐτοῦ μη ὑπολέγων, ἀλλὰς δὲ δὴ τοῖς την πόλιν 
ἐμπρήσασι καταρώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστ' ὦτι αὐτοὺς 
ἡ μνήμη τοῦ λογίου τοῦ 2 κατὰ τὸν Τιβέριών ποτε 
ἀσθέντος ἐθορύβει. ήν δὲ τούτο

"τρίς δὲ 3 τριήκοσίων 4 περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν 
Ῥωμαίους ἐμφυλὸς 5 ὀλεὶ στάσις."

4 ἐπειδὴ τε ὦ Νέρων παραμυθοῦμενος αὐτοὺς 
οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη εὐρέσθαι 6 ἐλεγε, μετα-
βαλόντες ἐτερον λόγιον ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειων ὄντως 
ὅν ἤδον· ἔστι δὲ τούτο

"ἔσχατος Αἰνεάδῶν μητροκτόνος ἠγεμονεύει." 
καὶ ἔσχεν οὗτος, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομαντεῖα 
τινὶ προλεχθέν, εἴτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου 
πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θειασθέν τελευταίοις γὰρ τῶν 
Ἱουλίων τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου γενομένων ἐμονάρχησε. 
5 χρήματα δὲ ὦ Νέρων παμπληθῆ καὶ παρὰ τῶν 
ἰδιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων, τὰ μὲν βία ἐπὶ 
τῇ προφάσει τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' 
ἐκόντων δὴθεν ἡγυρυρολόγησαν, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων 
αὐτῶν τὸ συτηρέσιον παρεσπάσατο.—Xiph. 166, 
17—169, 10 R. St.

1 6 τι Reim., δὲ VC.
2 τοῦ supplied by H. Steph.
3 6 R. Steph., δὲ δὴ V, δὲ καὶ C.
4 τριήκοσίων C, τριάκοσίων V.
5 ἐμφυλὸς R. Steph., ἐμφύλιος VC.
6 εὐρέσθαι Bs., εὐρασθαῖ VC.

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EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

Taurus, and nearly two-thirds of the remainder of A.D. 64 the city were burned, and countless persons perished. There was no curse that the populace did not invoke upon Nero, though they did not mention his name, but simply cursed in general terms those who had set the city on fire. And they were disturbed above all by recalling the oracle which once in the time of Tiberius had been on everybody's lips. It ran thus:

"Thrice three hundred years having run their course of fulfilment,
Rome by the strife of her people shall perish."

And when Nero, by way of encouraging them, reported that these verses could not be found anywhere, they dropped them and proceeded to repeat another oracle, which they averred to be a genuine Sibylline prophecy, namely:

"Last of the sons of Aeneas, a mother-slayer shall govern."

And so it proved, whether this verse was actually spoken beforehand by some divine prophecy, or the populace was now for the first time inspired, in view of the present situation, to utter it. For Nero was indeed the last emperor of the Julian line, the line descended from Aeneas. He now began to collect vast sums from private citizens as well as from whole communities, sometimes using compulsion, taking the conflagration as his pretext, and sometimes obtaining it by voluntary contributions, as they were made to appear. As for the Romans themselves, he deprived them of the free dole of grain.

1 Cf. lvii. 18.
19 Πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἀγγελία ἐξ' Ἀρμενίας καὶ δὰφνη ἔπι τῇ νύκῃ αὖθις ἤλθεν. ὁ γὰρ τοις Κορβούλων1 συστήσας τε τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐσκεδασμένα2 καὶ ἀσκήσας ἠμέλημένα, τὸν τε Ὀὐσολόγαϊσον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων καὶ τὸν Τιριδάτη3 τὸν τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἡγούμενον καὶ 2 ἀγγελθεὶς μόνον ἐξεφόβησεν. ὁμοία γὰρ ἢ τοῖς πρώτοις Ἰορμαίους, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ γένει λαμπρὸς ἢ τῷ σῶματι ἱσχυρὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρτίφρων ἢν, καὶ πολὺ μὲν τὸ ἀνδρεῖον πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ τε πιστὸν ἐς πάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους
3 καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλεχεν. ὕψ' ὀπέρ καὶ ὁ Νέρων ἐπὶ τοὺς πόλεμον αὐτοῦ ἄνθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ ἀπέστειλε, καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ ὅσην οὖνδεϊ ἄλλῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πιστεύσας ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους αὐτὸν κατεργάσεσθαι4 καὶ αὐτῷ5 μὴ ἑπανα-
ṣτήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐψεύσθη,
4 τοὺς μέντοι ἄλλους ἄνθρώπους καθ' ἐν τούτο
μόνον ὁ Κορβούλων ἐλύπησεν, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς
tὸν Νέρωνα πίστιν ἐτήρησεν. οὖτοι γὰρ αὐτὸν
ἀυτοκράτορα ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἢθελον ὡστε
καὶ κακὸν τὸ μέρος τοῦτο γενέσθαι μόνον
ηξίουν.—Xiph. 169, 10–25 R. St., Exc. Val. 247
(p. 689).
Οὔτος οὖν ὁ Κορβούλων6 ἀκοινὶ τὰ Ἀρτάξεατα
20 λαβῶν τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε. πράξας δὲ τούτο
πρὸς τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἠλάσε, πάσης μὲν τῆς
tῶν ἐνδιδόντων σφᾶς χώρας φειδόμενος, πάντα
δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων πορθῶν, καὶ ἐλαβει καὶ

1 Κορβούλων R. Steph., κορβούλων V, κορβούλων C.
2 ἐσκεδασμένα Sylb., ἐσκεδασμένα VC.
3 Τιριδάτην Dind., τηριδάτην VC.

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While he was thus engaged he received tidings A.D. 64 from Armenia accompanied by a laurel crown in honour of another victory there. For Corbulo, after uniting the bodies of soldiers that had been scattered and training them after a period of neglect, had then by the very report of his approach terrified both Vologaesus, the king of Parthia, and Tiridates, the Armenian leader. He resembled the early Romans in that, besides coming of a brilliant family and possessing great strength of body, he was still further gifted with a shrewd intelligence; and he displayed great bravery and great fairness and good faith towards all, both friends and enemies. For these reasons Nero had sent him to the war in his own stead and had entrusted to him a larger force than to anybody else, feeling equal confidence that this leader would subdue the barbarians and would not revolt against him. And Corbulo belied neither of these expectations, though he grieved everybody else in this one particular, that he kept faith with Nero; for people were so anxious to secure him as emperor in place of Nero that his conduct in this respect seemed to them his only defect.

Corbulo, accordingly, had taken Artaxata without a struggle and had razed the city to the ground. This exploit finished, he marched in the direction of Tigranocerta, sparing all the districts that yielded but devastating the lands of all such as resisted him. Tigranocerta submitted to him voluntarily. He

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4 κατεργάσεσθαι R. Steph., κατεργάσασθαί VC cod. Peir.
5 αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῷ VC cod. Peir.
6 Κορβούλλων R. Steph., κορβούλλων V (so below), κουβούλλων C (so below).
"ΟΤΙ Ο ΟΥΟΛΟΓΑΙΣΟΣ ¹ ΆΚΟΥΣΑΣ ΩΣ ΤΗΝ 'ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΝ ο Νέρων άλλοις διένεμει καὶ τὴν 'Αδιαβηνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου πορθομένην, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κορβούλωνα ² στρατεύσων ὑπομάζετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν 'Αδιαβηνῶν βασιλέα Μονόβαζον καὶ Μοναίσθην Πάρθου ἐς τὴν 'Αρμενίαν ἐπεμψεν. οὕτω δὲ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐς τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα καθείρζαν. καὶ ἔπει ἐν τῇ προσε- δρείᾳ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐλύσουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσάκις προσμύξειάν οἱ ἄπεκρουόντο καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Κορβούλων ἀκριβὴ φρουρᾶν τῆς Συρίας ἐποίη- σατο, ἐγνωσιμάχησε καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν ἀφίκε, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἀνοχῆς ἐτυχεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς τε τοῦ Νέρωνα αὕθις προσβεύσασθαι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσαι καὶ τῶς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς 'Αρμενίας ἔξαγαγείν. Νέρων δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδὲ ταχὺ οὐδὲ σαφὲς ³ ἀπεκρί- νατο, Δούκιοι καὶ Καισέννιον Παίτον ⁴ ἐς τὴν Κατπαδοκίαν, ὅπως μηδὲν περὶ τὴν 'Αρμενίαν νεοχμωθῆ, ἀπέστειλεν.—Exc. U⁶ 38 (p. 391).

¹ "ΟΤΙ Ο ΟΥΟΛΟΓΑΙΣΟΣ ΤΟΪΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΚΕΡΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΕ- μίξε, καὶ τὸν Παίτον ἐπιβοηθήσαντά σφισιν ἀπεώσατο, φεύγοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώξας τὴν τέ ἐπὶ ⁵ τοῦ Ταύρου καταλειφθείσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουρᾶν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ ἐκείνου ἐς 'Ράνδειαν πρὸς
also performed other brilliant and glorious deeds, A.D. 64 crowning them all by inducing the formidable Vologaesus to accept terms that accorded with the dignity of the Romans.

Vologaesus, on hearing that Nero had assigned Armenia to others and that Adiabene was being ravaged by Tigranes, made preparations to take the field himself against Corbulo, in Syria, and sent into Armenia Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and Monaeses, a Parthian. These two shut up Tigranes in Tigranocerta. But since they found that they could not harm him at all by their siege, but, on the contrary, as often as they tried conclusions with him, were repulsed by both the native troops and the Romans that were in his army, and since Corbulo guarded Syria with extreme care, Vologaesus swallowed his pride and abandoned the expedition. Then he sent to Corbulo and obtained a truce on condition that he should send a new embassy to Nero, raise the siege, and withdraw his soldiers from Armenia. Nero did not give him even then either a speedy or a definite reply, but despatched Lucius Caesennius Paetus to Cappadocia to see to it that there should be no uprising in the region of Armenia.

Vologaesus attacked Tigranocerta and drove back Paetus, who had come to its aid. When the latter fled, he pursued him, cut down the garrison left by Paetus at the Taurus, and shut him up in

1 Οὐολόγαιος Reim., Βολόγαιος MSS. (so below).
2 Κορβφούλωνα Urs., κορβφούλωνα MSS. (so below).
3 οὐδὲ τότε οὔδὲ ταχύ οὔδὲ σαφές corrupt.
4 δὲ Καισένιον Παῖτον Reim., δὲ σένιον παῖτον A, δέσμιον παι... B, δὲ σένιον παίδα τὸν M.  5 ἐπὶ V, ὑπὸ BM.
2 τοῦ Ἀρσανία ποταμῷ οὗσαν κατέκλεισε. καὶ ἀπανέστη μηδὲν περάνας (οὔτε¹ γὰρ πελάσαι πη² τῷ ἐρύματι ἀτε χωρὶς ὀπλιτῶν ὑπ ἐδύνατο, οὔτε τῆς τροφῆς, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ πλῆθει πολλῶ ἀνέυ παρασκευῆς σιτίων ἄφηγμένοις, εὐπόρει), εἰ μὴ ὁ Παῖτος τὴν τε τοξείαν αὐτοῦ³ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ στρατιόπεδον ἀφικνουμένη καὶ τὴν ἤπτον πανταχοῦ φαινομένην δείσας λόγους τε ὑπὲρ σπουδῶν αὐτῷ ἐπεμψε καὶ ἤμολογησε, καὶ ὁμοσε ἀυτὸς ⁴ τε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπασαν ἐκλείφειν καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα τὸ Τιμιδάτη αὐτῆς δώσειν.  
3 ἀγαπήσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος ὡς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπονεῖλη ληψόμενοι καὶ ἔνεργεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους μεγάλην καταθησόμενοι, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὸν Κορβούλωνα, ὅπερ ὁ Παῖτος πρὶν περιστοιχισθήναι μετεπέμπετο, πλησίαζειν πυθόμενος,  
4 ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῦς, προδιομολογησάμενος ὅπερ τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῶ Ἀρσανίαν ξεύξωσιν, οὐχ ὅτι γεφύρας ἔδειτο (πεζῇ γὰρ αὐτὸν διεληλύθει), ἀλλ' ἤνα εὐδειξήτας σφίσιν ὅτι κρείττων αὐτῶν ἦν. ἀμέλει οὐδὲ τότε διὰ τοῦ ξεύγματος ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὀσπερ Καὶ πρότερον.  
22 Ἀρτι τε ἡ ἰμολογία ἐγεγονεί, καὶ ὁ Κορβούλων ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθ' ὑπέμεινεν. ὅτε δ' οὖν συνεγένοντο ⁵ ἀλληλοίς, πλείστον ἂν τις τὸ διάφορον τῶν στρατιόπεδων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, τῶν μὲν χαίροντων τε καὶ

¹ οὔτε Bk., μὴτε MSS. ² πη VB, ἐπὶ M. ³ οὔτοι Urs., αὐτῶ MSS. ⁴ αὐτὸς Urs., αὐτῶς MSS. ⁵ συνεγένοντο Reim., συνελήγνυτο V, συνελήγνυτο B, συνέγνυτο M.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

Rhandea, near the river Arsanias. Then he was on A.D. 64 the point of retiring without accomplishing anything; for, destitute as he was of heavy-armed soldiers, he could not approach close to the wall, and he had no large stock of provisions, particularly as he had come at the head of a vast host without making arrangements for his food supply. But Paetus stood in fear of his archery, which took effect in the very camp itself, as well as of his cavalry, which kept appearing at all points, and accordingly sent to him proposals for a truce, accepted his terms, and took an oath that he would himself abandon the whole of Armenia and that Nero should give it to Tiridates. The Parthian was glad enough to make this agreement, seeing that he was to obtain control of the country without a contest and would be making the Romans his debtors for a very considerable kindness. And, as he also learned that Corbulo (whom Paetus had repeatedly sent for before he was surrounded) was drawing near, he dismissed the beleaguered Romans, having first made them agree to build a bridge over the river Arsanias for him. He did not really need a bridge, for he had crossed on foot, but he wished to show them that he was their superior. At any rate, he did not retire by way of the bridge even on this occasion, but rode across on an elephant, while the rest got over as before.

The capitulation had scarcely been made when Corbulo with inconceivable swiftness reached the Euphrates and there waited for the retreating force. When the two forces met, the vast difference between the troops and their generals would have struck the attention of anybody: the former were
λαμπρονομένων ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ, τῶν δὲ λυπουμένων τε καὶ αἰσχυνομένων ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ,
2 κατενόησεν. ὁ δὲ Οὐολόγαισσος Μοναίσθην πρὸς Ἐρμίαν ἐκλήθησαν ἐκεῖνοι πολλὰ ἀλλήλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Εὐφράτου
3 γεφύρα, τὸ μέσον αὐτῆς λύσαντες. ὑποσχομένου
dὲ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἀπαλλαγήσεθαι ἐκ τῆς
χώρας, ἂν καὶ ὁ Πάρθος τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκλείπῃ,
ἐκατερον ἐγένετο, μέχρι οὗ ὁ Νέρων τὰ πραξάντα
πυθόμενος, καὶ τοῖς πρόσβεσι τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου,
οὕς αὕθες ἐπεμψε, χρηματίσας, τούτοις 1 μὲν
ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν Ἀρμενίαν δώσειν 2 τῷ Τιριδάτῃ,
4 ἃν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέλθη, τὸν δὲ δὴ Παύτων τῆς
ἀρχῆς παύσας, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τοὺς σὺν
αὐτῷ γενομένους ἀλλοσὲ ποι πέμψας, τὸν
Κορβούλωνα αὕθες τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν 3 πολέμῳ προσεταξέν. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς συστρατεύσας, 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ θύων ἐπεσεν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐξορμήσαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔμεινεν.—
Exe. URB 12 (p. 392).
23 Ὁτι ὁ Κορβούλων ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ τὸν πρὸς
Οὐολόγαισσον πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ πέμψας
ἐκατοντάρχην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγήνα τῆς
χώρας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευσαν οἱ τὸν ἄδειφὸν ἐς
τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψαι, καὶ ἐπεισεν, ἐπειδὴ κρείττων
2 αὐτοῦ τῇ διψάμει ἐδόκει εἶναι. συνῆλθον οὖν ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥανδείᾳ ὁ τε Κορβούλων καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης,
tούτω γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἀμφοτέροις ἔρεσε, τῷ μὲν ὦτι
ἀπολαβόντες ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑποσπόνδους

1 τούτοις URS., τούτους MSS.
rejoicing and exulting in their speed, the latter were grieved and ashamed of the compact that had been made. Vologaesus sent Monaeses to Corbulo with the demand that he abandon the fort in Mesopotamia. So these two held a prolonged conference together on the very bridge over the Euphrates, after first destroying the centre of the structure. Corbulo agreed to quit the country if the Parthian would also abandon Armenia, and both of these stipulations were carried out provisionally, until Nero could learn of the engagements made and receive the second embassy that Vologaesus sent. The answer given them by the emperor was that he would bestow Armenia upon Tiridates if that prince would come to Rome. Paetus was deposed from his command and the soldiers that had been with him were sent elsewhere, but Corbulo was again assigned to the war against the same foes. Nero had intended to accompany the expedition in person, but he fell while performing a sacrifice, so that he did not venture to set out, but remained at home.

Corbulo, therefore, was officially preparing for war upon Vologaesus and sent a centurion bidding him depart from the country; but privately he was advising the king to send his brother to Rome, a suggestion that the other followed, since Corbulo seemed to have the stronger force. Accordingly, Corbulo and Tiridates held a conference at Rhandea, a place satisfactory to both—to the king because his troops had there cut off the Romans and had sent

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2 δώσειν supplied by Urs.
3 αὐτῶν Urs., αὐτὴν MSS.
4 συστρατεύσαι Urs., εὐ στρατεύσαι MSS.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀφήκαν, πρὸς ἐνδείξιν ὧν εὐηργέτητο, τῷ δὲ ὧτι τὴν δύσκλειαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πρότερον συμβᾶσάν
3 σφῖσιν ἀποτρίψεσθαι ἐμελλον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς λόγον τινὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βῆμα ψηλὸν ἤγερθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἰκόνες τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐστάθησαν, ὦ τε Τιριδάτης πολλῶν μὲν Ἀρμενίων πολλῶν δὲ Πάρθων καὶ Ῥωμαίων παρόντων προσήλθε τε αὐταῖς καὶ προσεκύνησεν, θύσας τε καὶ ἐπευφημήσας τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς
4 ἄφειλε καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐταῖς· καὶ ὁ Μονόβαζος καὶ ὁ Οὐσιολόγαισος πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἠλθον καὶ ὁμήρους αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Νέρων αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις ἐπεκλήθη, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψε παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον.—Exc. UG 39 (p. 391).

5 Κορβούλων μὲν οὖν, καίτοι καὶ ἴσχυν μεγάλην καὶ δόξαν οὔκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἀν ῥάστα καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἀτε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τε Νέρων δεινὸς ἀχθομένων καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως θαυμαζόντων, ἀποδεικθήναι,
6 οὔτε ἐνεωτέρισε τι οὔτε ᾑτιάθη. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἂν ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμετριάζει, καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Ἀννιον ὑποστρατιγγοῦντα οἱ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, προφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν Τιριδάτην ἀνάξοντα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐφ' ὁμηρεία τῷ Νέρωνι ἔκων ἐπεμψεν. οὔτω γὰρ πον ἐπεπίστευτο μηδὲν νεοχωμάσειν ὡστε καὶ τὸν γαμβρόν, καὶ πρὶν στρατηγήσαι, ὑπαρχον 2 λαβέων.—Xiph. 169, 32–170, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 248 (p. 689 f.).

27, 2 ὁτι Ἰουνίος Τορκουάτος, ἀπόγονος τοῦ

1 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα cod. Peir., ἄλλο VC.
them away under a capitulation, a visible proof of A.D. 64
the favour that had been done them, and to Corbulo
because he expected his men to wipe out the ill
repute that had attached to them there before. Indeed, the proceedings of the conference were not
limited to mere conversations, but a lofty platform
had been erected on which were set images of Nero,
and in the presence of crowds of Armenians, Par-
thians, and Romans Tiridates approached and paid
them reverence; then, after sacrificing to them and
calling them by laudatory names, he took off the
diadem from his head and set it upon them. Mono-
bazus and Vologaesus also came to Corbulo and gave
him hostages. In honour of this event Nero was
saluted as imperator a number of times and held a
triumph, contrary to precedent.

Corbulo, then, though he had a large force under
him and enjoyed no small reputation, so that he
might easily have been made emperor (since men
thoroughly detested Nero, but all admired him in
every way), neither headed any rebellion nor was
accused of doing so. In fact, he now conducted
himself more prudently than ever. For example, he
voluntarily sent to Rome his son-in-law Annius, who
was acting as his lieutenant; this was done with the
ostensible purpose that Annius might escort Tiridates
thither, but actually in order to put a hostage in
Nero's hands. To be sure, the emperor had been
so firmly persuaded that his general would not revolt,
that Corbulo had obtained his son-in-law, even before
he had been praetor, as lieutenant.

Junius Torquatus, a descendant of Augustus, was

2 ὑπαρχων Bs., ὑπατον cod. Peir.
Διονυσίου ὁ ὁμ. ἐπὶ 1 θαυμαστὸς δὴ 2 τῶι ἐγκλήματι παρεδόθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀσωτότερον τῇ οὐσίᾳ, εἴτε ἐκ φύσεως εἴτε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ὅπως μὴ πάνω πλουτοῖ, κατεχρῆσατο, τῶι τε ἀλλοτρίων αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄτε καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενον ὁ Νέρων ἡφη, κακὸς τοῦτον ὡς καὶ 3 τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς ἐφιέμενον συκοφαντηθῆναι ἐποίησεν.—Exc. Val. 249 (p. 690).

24 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος ὁ ἔσπαρχος ἀλλοι τε τινες τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀπολευσαν τῷ Νέρωνι. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην οὔτε τὴν ἀσέλγειαν οὔτε τὴν ὁμότητα αὐτοῦ ἐτι φέρειν ἐδύναντο. αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ἀμα τῶν κακῶν τοῦτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι κακεῖνον ἔλευθερωθῆναι ἢθέλησαν, ὥσπερ ἀντικριν Σουλπίκιος τε "Ασπρος 4 ἐκατονταρχὸς καὶ Σοῦβριος Φλάουνος 5 χιλιαρχὸς, ἐκ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων οὗτες, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Νέρωνα ὑμολόγησαν. ἐκεῖνοι τε γὰρ ἔρωτηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως εἴπεν ὅτι "ἀλλας σοι βοηθῆσαι οὐκ ἐδυνάμην," καὶ ὁ Φλάουνος "καὶ ἐφίλησα σε" εἶπε "παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμίσησα. ἐφίλησα μὲν ἐπίσεις ἀγαθὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐσεθαι, ἐμίσησα δὲ ὅτι τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεὶς οὔτε γὰρ ἀρματηλάτη οὔτε κυθαρώδω δουλεύειν δύναμαι." μηνύσεως οὖν γενομένης οὗτοι τε 3 ἐκολάσθησαν καὶ ἀλλοι δὲ αὐτοὺς πολλοὶ. πάν γὰρ ὁ τι τις ἐγκαλέσαι τῷ ἐκ περιχαρείας καὶ λύτης ρημάτων τε καὶ νεμμάτων οἶδε τῇ ἡ, καὶ ἐπεφέρετο καὶ ἐπιστεύετο. οὖν ἔστιν ὁ τι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, εἰ καὶ ἐπέπλαστο, ἀπιστείσθαι διὰ

1 ἐπὶ supplied by Bs. 2 δὴ Val., δὲ cod. Peir.
handed over for punishment on a remarkable charge, A.D. 64. He had squandered his property rather prodigally, whether following his native bent or with the deliberate intention of not being very rich. Nero therefore declared that, as he lacked many things, he must be covetous of the goods of others, and consequently caused a fictitious charge to be brought against him of aspiring to the imperial power.

Seneca, however, and Rufus, the prefect, and some other prominent men formed a plot against Nero; for they could no longer endure his disgraceful behaviour, his licentiousness, and his cruelty. They desired, therefore, to rid themselves of these evils and at the same time to free Nero from them—as, indeed, Sulpicius Asper, a centurion, and Subrius Flavius, a military tribune, both belonging to the body-guards, admitted outright to Nero himself. Asper, when asked by the emperor the reason for his attempt, replied: “I could help you in no other way.” And the response of Flavius was: “I have both loved and hated you above all men. I loved you, hoping that you would prove a good emperor; I have hated you because you do so-and-so. I can not be slave to a charioteer or lyre-player.” Information was lodged against these men, then, and they were punished, and many others likewise on their account. For everything in the nature of a complaint that could be entertained against anyone for excessive joy or grief, for words or gestures, was brought forward and was believed; and not one of these complaints, even if fictitious, could be refused

3 ὡς καὶ Dind., ὡς Bk., καὶ VC.
4 Ἀσπρος exc. Vat., ἄπρως VC.
5 Φλάδινος Bk., φλάδινος VC exc. Vat.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος ἔργων ἐδύνατο. 1
4 καὶ διὰ τούτων ἔτοιμα οἷς τε φίλοι οἱ
πουρροί καὶ οἰκέται πυθῶν ἐννησαν τοὺς μὲν
γὰρ ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς τε ἐχθροὺς ὑποπτεύον-
tες ἐφυλάσσοντο, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς συνόντας καὶ
ἀκοντες ἐγμυνοῦντο.

25 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολολότων
πολὺ ἔργων εἶπειν· οὗ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας ἠθέλησε μὲν
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Παυλίναν ἀποκτείναι, λέγοις
πεπείκεναι αὐτὴν τοῦ τε βανάτου καταφρονῆσαι
καὶ τῆς συν αὐτῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ
2 ἔσχασε 2 καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης 3 φλέβας, δυσθανατήσας
δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
tῶν ἐπειχθέοις προαπηλλαγή αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως
ἡ Παυλίνα περιεγένετο, οὔ μὲντοι πρότερον
ἔαυτον 4 ἠψατο πρὶν τὸ τε βιβλίον ὁ συν-
έγραφεν ἐπανορθώσας καὶ τάλλα (ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ
καὶ ἐς τὸν Νέρωνα ἔλθοντα φθάρῃ) παρακατα-
3 θέσθαι τισίν, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε,
καίτερ τὴν τε συνουσίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ
ἀσθενῶν προειμένος, 5 καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀφθαλ-
ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν οἰκοδομουμένων προφάσης κεχαρι-
μένος, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὕστερον ἐπαπώλωντο.

26 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἡρασέας καὶ ὁ Σωρανός, καὶ γένους
καὶ πλοῦτον τῆς τε συμπάσης ἀρετῆς ἐσ 6 τὰ
πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες, ἐπιβουλής μὲν αὐτίαν οὐκ ἔσχον,

1 ἐδύνατο H. Steph. (ἠδύνατο), ἠδύναντο VC.
2 ἔσχασε Bk., ἔσχασε VC.
3 ἐκείνης Sylb., ἐκείνου VC.
4 ἐαυτοῦ Rk., ἐαυτῆς VC.
5 προειμένος Bk., πρὸ . . . ιομ . . . V1, προφερόμενος V2, πρὸ
. . . . C.
6 ἐς supplied by H. Steph.

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credence in view of Nero's actual deeds. Hence A.D. 65
faithless friends and house servants of some men
flourished exceedingly; for, whereas persons were
naturally on their guard against strangers and foes,
by reason of their suspicions, they were bound to
lay bare their thoughts to their associates whether
they would or not.

It would be no small task to speak of all the
others that perished, but the fate of Seneca calls for
a few words. It was his wish to end the life of his
wife Paulina at the same time with his own, for he
declared that he had taught her both to despise
death and to desire to leave the world in company
with him. So he opened her veins as well as his own.
But as he died hard, his end was hastened by the
soldiers; and she was still alive when he passed
away, and thus survived. He did not lay hands
upon himself, however, until he had revised the book
which he was writing\(^1\) and had deposited his other
books with some friends, fearing that they would
otherwise fall into Nero's hands and be destroyed.
Thus died Seneca, notwithstanding that he had
on the pretext of illness abandoned the society of
the emperor and had bestowed upon him his entire
property, ostensibly to help to pay for the buildings
he was constructing. His brothers, too, perished
after him.

Likewise Thrasea and Soranus, who were among
the foremost in family, wealth, and every virtue,
met their death, not because they were accused of

\(^1\) Tacitus (Ann. xv. 63) describes Seneca as dictating in
his very last moments words that were later published, but
he does not identify them.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸι τότε, ὁτι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῦ γε Σωρανὸν Πούπλιος 'Εγνάτιος 2 Κέλερ 2 φιλόσοφος κατεψευδομαρτύρησε. δύο γὰρ ἀνδρῶν συνόντων αὐτῶ, Κασσίου 3 τε Ἀσκληπιιδότου Νικαέως καὶ ἐκείνου Βηρυτίου, ὁ μὲν Ἀσκληπιιδότους οὐχ ὡς κατείπε τι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον καλοκἀγαθίαν οἱ προσεμαρτύρησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν, ὥστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Γάλβου κατήχηθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Πούπλιος ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ συνοψαντίᾳ καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμᾶς ἐλαβε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τοιούτων τι ποιήσαντε, μετὰ δὲ 3 τοῦτο ἔξωρίσθη. Σωρανὸς μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ μαγευματί τι νὰ διὰ τὴς θυγατρὸς κεχρημένος, ἐπειδὴ νοσήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινὰ ἐθύσαντο, ἐσφάγη.

Θρασέας δὲ ὅτι οὔτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνεχὸς ὡς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις αἵττητα, οὔτε ἥκουσέ ποτε αὐτοῦ κιθαριστοῦτος, οὔτε ἔθυσε τῇ ἱερᾷ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ ὃσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, 4 οὔτε ἐπεδείξατο οὐδέν, καὶ τὸν Παταουίφ 4 τῇ πατρίδι τραγῳδίαν κατὰ τὸ πᾶτριον ἐν ἑορτῇ τινὶ τριακονταετηρίδι υποκρινόμενος ἔντερμόν. οὖν τὴν ψλέβα ἀνέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἔφη "σοι τοῦτο τὸ αἴμα, ὁ Ζεῦ Ἐλευθερίε, σπένδων."

27, 1 Καὶ τὶ ἂν τις θαυμάσειεν 5 εἰ τοιαῦτα . . . 6 ἐπήχθη, ὅποτε τις, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ ἁγορᾷ ἤκει 7 καὶ ἐργαστήρια ἐξεμίσθου ἥ καὶ φίλους τινὰς εἰς

1 τότε Reim., πότε V, ποτὲ C.
2 'Εγνάτιος R. Steph., ἀγνάτιος C, αἰγνάτιος V.
3 Κασσίου Reim., κασσίου VC.
4 Παταουίφ Xyl. (παταβιφ), ποταμία VC.
5 θαυμάσειεν St., θαυμάσοι VC.
6 Space of about 7 letters left in V, of about 10 in C; αὐτοῖς supplied by Reim., αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήματα Bs.

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EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

conspiracy, but because they were what they were. A.D. 65
Against Soranus, Publius Egnatius Celer, a philoso-
pher, gave false evidence. The accused had had two
associates, Cassius Asclepiodotus of Nicaea and this
Egnatius of Berytus. Now Asclepiodotus, so far from
speaking against Soranus, actually bore witness to his
noble qualities; and for this he was exiled at the
time, though later restored under Galba. Publius,
in return for his false charges, received money and
honours, as did others of the same profession; but sub-
sequently he was banished. Soranus, then, was slain
on the charge of having practised a kind of magic
through the agency of his daughter, the foundation
for this story being that when Nero was sick they
had offered a certain sacrifice. Thrasea was executed
because he failed to appear regularly in the senate,—
thus showing that he did not like the measures passed,
—and because he never would listen to the emperor’s
singing and lyre-playing, nor sacrifice to Nero’s
Divine Voice as did the rest, nor give any public
exhibitions; yet it was remarked that at Patavium,
his native place, he had acted in a tragedy given
in pursuance of some old custom at a festival held
every thirty years. As he made the incision in his
artery, he raised his hand, exclaiming: “To thee,
Jupiter, Patron of Freedom, I pour this libation of
blood.”

And why should one be surprised that such [com-
plaints] were brought [against them], seeing that one
man ¹ was brought to trial and slain for living near

¹ Salvidienus Orfitus (according to Suetonius, Nero, 37).

⁷ ἃκεὶ C, space of 4 letters left in V.
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αὐτὰ ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ ἄλλος, ὅτι τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ τῶν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείναντος εἰκόνα εἶχε, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν καὶ ἐφονεύθησαν;

3 Ὅτι δὲ μινθήναι καὶ γυναικός τινος ἑπιχάριτος αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ συνώμοσίᾳ ἔξετασθεῖσα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς πιστεύθεῖσα οὐδὲν 1 τὸ παράπαν, καίπερ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς Τιγελ.

4 λίνυν δεινότητος βασανισθεῖσα, ἐξέφηνε. τί δὲ ἀν τις καταλεγοῖ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ταύτη ἢ τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐδόθη ἢ τῷ τε Νέρωνι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις ὑπέροργα ἐψηφίσθη; Ὄρουφος μέντοι Μουσώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπὶ τούτους ἐφυγα-

dεύθη.—Xiph. 170, 4–172, 1 R. St.

Καὶ ἡ Σαβίνα 2 ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος τότε ἀπέθανεν· κυνύσῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ λάξ, εἶτε ἔκων εἶτε καὶ 3 ἀκων, 28 ἐνέθορεν.4 ἡ δὲ ἡ Σαβίνα αὐτὴ οὕτως ὑπερτρύφησεν (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν βραχυτάτων πᾶν δηλο-
θήσεται) ὅστε τὰς τῇ ἡμιόνους τὰς ἁγούσας αὐτὴν ἐπίχρυσα σπαρτία ὑποδείσθαι, καὶ ὅνους πεντακοσίας ἀρτιτόκους καθ' ἡμέραν ἀμέλγεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῷ γάλακτι αὐτῶν λούηται· τὴν τε γὰρ ὥραν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ σώματος ἰσχυρὸς 5 ἐσπουδάκει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁπνευσσέτη ποτε αὐτὴν ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἵδοσα ἡγιάζω τελευτήσαι 2 πρῶς παρηβήσαι. καὶ οὕτω γε αὐτὴν ὁ Νέρων ἐπόθησεν ὅστε μετὰ τῶν 6 θάνατον αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γυναικά τινα προσφερῇ οἱ μαθὼν οὕσαν μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἔσχεν, ἔπειτα καὶ παῖδα ἀπε-

1 οὐδὲν H. Steph., οὐδὲ VC.
2 Σαβίνα Reim., σαβίνη VC.
3 καὶ V, om. C.
4 ἐνέθορεν Zon., ἐνέθορεν VC.

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the Forum, and letting out some shops or for receiv-\textsuperscript{A.D. 6} ing a few friends in them; and another\textsuperscript{1} because he possessed an image of Cassius, the slayer of Caesar?

The conduct of a woman named Epicharis also deserves mention. She had been included in the conspiracy and all its details had been entrusted to her without reserve; yet she revealed none of them, though often tortured in all the ways that the skill of Tigellinus could devise. And why should one enumerate the sums given to the Praetorians on the occasion of this conspiracy or the excessive honours voted to Nero and his friends? Suffice it to say that Rufus Musonius, the philosopher, was banished for his connexion with these events.

Sabina also perished at this time through an act of Nero's; either accidentally or intentionally he had leaped upon her with his feet while she was pregnant. The extremes of luxury indulged in by this Sabina I will indicate in the briefest terms. She caused gilded shoes to be put on the mules that drew her and caused five hundred asses that had recently foaled to be milked daily that she might bathe in their milk. For she bestowed the greatest pains on the beauty and brilliancy of her person, and this is why, when she noticed in a mirror one day that her appearance was not comely, she prayed that she might die before she passed her prime. Nero missed her so greatly after her death that on learning of a woman who resembled her he at first sent for her and kept her; but later he caused a boy

\textsuperscript{1} C. Cassius Longinus (\textit{ibid.}).

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{i}σχυρώς Reim., \textit{λαμμπρώς} VC.
\textsuperscript{6} τὸν supplied by Bk. (?)
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λεύθερον, δεν Σπόρον ὅνομαζεν, ἐκτεμῶν, ἔπειδή 3 καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ Σαβίνῃ προσέφεκε, τά τε ἄλλα ὡς γυναίκι αὐτῷ ἐχθρῖτο καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἔγγεμεν αὐτὸν, καίπερ Πυθαγόρα τινὶ ἐξε-λευθέρων 1 γεγαμημένος, καὶ προίκα αὐτῷ κατὰ συνγραφήν ἔνειμε, 2 καὶ τοὺς γάμους σφῶν δημοσία ὀ":{"τε ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἑώρτασαν. —Xiph. 172, 1-15 R. St., Exc. Val. 250α (p. 690).

"Ὅτι τὸν Σπόρον τὸν ἐκτομίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος ὡς γυναίκα εἰς τις τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνόν-των αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν παρεσκευασμένος, ἑρωτηθέεις εἰ ἀρέσκεται τοῖς γάμοις καὶ τὸ συνοι-κεσίῳ, "ἐν γε" ἐφι "ποιεῖς, ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοιαύταις συνοικίων. αἰθε καὶ ὁ σὸς πατήρ τὸν αὐτὸν ξῆλον ἔσχεν καὶ τοιαύτη συνφίκησε γαμετῇ," δεικνὺς ὡς εἰ τοῦτο ἐγεγόνει, ὅτι ἀν οὕτως ἐτέχθη καὶ μεγά-λων κακῶν ἡλευθεροῦτο ἡ πολιτεία.—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 63 (p. 213 Mai. = p. 195, 1-9 Dind.).

'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν, ὦσπερ εἰπον, ἐθανατώθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ Τιγελλίνου ἐκτριάμενοι ἀπελύθησαν.—Xiph. 172, 15-18 R. St., Exc. Val. 250β (p. 690).

29 'Ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἄλλα τε γελοία ἐπραττε, καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ὀρχήστραν ἐν πανδήμῳ τινὶ θέα κατέβη καὶ ἀνέγρω Τρωϊκὰ τινα ἕαυτον ποιήματα· καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς θυσίας πολλαὶ, ὦσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν οἷς ἐπραττεν, ἐγένοντο.

2 παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὡς καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἀπάσας συγγράψων ἐν ἔπεσιν, καὶ περὶ 3 γε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Βιβλίων, πρὸν καὶ ὅτιοιν αὐτῶν συνθεῖναι, ἐσκέψατο, παραλαβῶν ἄλλονς 136
of the freedmen, whom he used to call Sporus, to be A.D. 65 castrated, since he, too, resembled Sabina, and he used him in every way like a wife. In due time, though already "married" to Pythagoras, a freedman, he formally "married" Sporus, and assigned the boy a regular dowry according to contract; and the Romans as well as others publicly celebrated their wedding.

While Nero had Sporus, the eunuch, as a wife, one of his associates in Rome, who had made a study of philosophy, on being asked whether the marriage and cohabitation in question met with his approval, replied: "You do well, Caesar, to seek the company of such wives. Would that your father had had the same ambition and had lived with a similar consort!" —indicating that if this had been the case, Nero would not have been born, and the state would now be free of great evils.

This, however, was later. At the time with which we are concerned many, as I stated, were put to death, and many others, purchasing their lives from Tigellinus for a great price, were released.

Nero continued to do many ridiculous things. Thus, on the occasion of a certain popular festival, he descended to the orchestra of the theatre, where he read some Trojan lays of his own; and in honour of these, numerous sacrifices were offered, as was the case with everything else that he did. He was now making preparations to write an epic narrating all the achievements of the Romans; and even before composing a line of it he began to consider the proper number of books, consulting among others

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1 ἐξελευθέρω HC Zon., ἐξελευθέρων cod. Peir.
2 ἐνείμε HC, ἐδωκέ cod. Peir.
3 καὶ πεῖρ HC, καὶ πεῖρ VC.
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.τε καὶ Ἀμναῖον 1 Κορνυότου εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε
3 ἐπὶ παιδείας. καὶ αὐτὸν ὅλιγον μὲν καὶ ἀπέ-
κτεινεν, ἐς νήσον δ' οὐν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅτι τινῶν
tετρακόσια ἁξιούντων αὐτὸν βιβλία 2 γράφαι,
pολλά τε αὐτὰ εἶναι ἔφη καὶ μηδένα αὐτὰ
ἀναγινώσεσθαι, καὶ τινὸς εἰπόντος "καὶ μὴν
Χρύσιππος, ὃν ἐπαινεῖς καὶ ζηλοῖς, πολὺ πλεῖον
συνεθῆκεν" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "ἅλλ' ἐκείνα χρήσιμα
4 τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ ἑστίν." ὡ μὲν οὖν Κορνυ-
τοσ φυγὴν ἐπὶ τούτω ὄφλεν, ὥ δὲ δὴ Λουκάνδος 3
ἐκωλύθη ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἵσχυρὸς ἐπὶ 4 τῇ ποιήσει
ἐπηρεῖτο.

LXIII 'Επὶ δὲ Γαίου Τελεσίνου καὶ ἐπὶ Σουητωνίου 5
1, 1 Παυλίνου υπάτων εὐδοξώτατον τε ἁμα ἔργον καὶ
ἐτερον αὐξηστὸν ἐγένετο. τοῦ γὰρ Νέρων ἐν
τοῖς κιθαρῳδοῖς ἡγούμενο, καὶ νικητήρια αὐτῷ
Μενεκράτους 6 τοῦ τῆς κιθαρῳδίας διδασκάλου
2 ἐν τῷ ἐπιποδρόμῳ ποιήσαντος ἤμιόχησε. καὶ ὁ
Τιριδάτης ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην, οὔχ ὅτι τους ἐαυτοῦ
παιδὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ὀὐολογαῖσον τοῦ τε
Πακόρου καὶ τοῦ Μουβάζου ἄγων, ἀνήχθη, καὶ
ἐγένετο αὐτῶν πομπὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
2 Ἐὐφράτου γῆς ὄσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίους. αὐτὸς τε
γὰρ ὁ Τιριδάτης καὶ ἡλικία καὶ κάλλει καὶ γέιει
καὶ φρονήματι ἤθει, καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἤ τε παρα-
σκευή ἡ βασιλικὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ συνηκολούθει,
προσχίλιοι τε ἐπιπέδω τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χωρίς
2 ἐτεροί Ρωμαίοις συνηπο συνείποντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς
αἱ τε πόλεις λαμπρῶς κεκοσμημέναι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι

1 Ἀμναῖον Η. Steph., Ἀμναῖον VC, ἀννέας exc. Vat.
2 τετρακόσια—Βιβλία Sylb., τετρακοσίων—Βιβλίων VC.
3 Λουκάνδος R. Steph., λουκιάνδος VC.
Annaeus Cornutus, who at this time was famed for A.D. 65 his learning. This man he came very near putting to death and did deport to an island, because, while some were urging him to write four hundred books, Cornutus said that this was too many and nobody would read them. And when someone objected, “Yet Chrysippus, whom you praise and imitate, composed many more,” the other retorted: “But they are a help to the conduct of men’s lives.” So Cornutus incurred banishment for this. Lucan, on the other hand, was debarred from writing poetry because he was receiving high praise for his work.

In the consulship of Gaius Telesinus and Suetonius A.D. 66 Paulinus one event of great glory and another of deep disgrace took place. For one thing, Nero contended among the lyre-players, and after Mencrates, the teacher of this art, had celebrated a triumph for him in the Circus, he appeared as a charioteer. On the other hand, Tiridates presented himself in Rome, bringing with him not only his own sons but also those of Vologaesus, of Pacorus, and of Monobazus. Their progress all the way from the Euphrates was like a triumphal procession. Tiridates himself was at the height of his reputation by reason of his age, beauty, family and intelligence; and his whole retinue of servants together with all his royal paraphernalia accompanied him. Three thousand Parthian horsemen and numerous Romans besides followed in his train. They were received by gaily decorated cities and by peoples who shouted

4 επι H. Steph. ἐπὶ VC.
5 Σουτωνίου Bk., σουτωνίου V, σουτωνίου or σουτωνίου C.
6 Μενεκράτους Reim., μὲν ἐκρότου VC.
To σήμερον ο Χριστός αναδίδεται όπως έμεινε, ο Νέρων μετέτρεψε τον Πολλά και χαρίστα της ἁναβοδώτες ὑπεδέχοντο τι
τε ἐπιτήδεια πάντα προϊκά εἶχαν, ὡστε ἔικος
µυρίάδας τὸ ἡµερήσιον ἀνάλωµα τῷ δηµοσίῳ
λογισθήµαν. καὶ τούτο ἐπ' ἐννέα µήνας, οἱ
3 ὠδούπορσαν, ὁµοίως ἔγενετο. ἦπευσε δὲ παν-
ταχῇ µέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὶ
συµπαρίππευε, κράνος χρυσοῦν ἀντὶ καλύττρας
ἐχουσα, ὡστε µὴ ὄρασθαι παρὰ τὰ πάτρια. εἰ
δὲ τῇ Ἰταλία ξεύγεσθαι πεµφθεῖσιν ὕπο τοῦ
Νέρωνος ἐκοµµόθη, καὶ διὰ Πικέντων ἐς Νέαν
4 πόλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο. οὔ µεντοι καὶ τὸν
ἀκινάκην, ὅτε προσήη τούτῳ, καταθέσθαι καὶ περ
κελευσθεὶς ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἡλίοις αὐτὸν τῷ κολέῳ
προσέπηξε, καὶ οὕ τοι γῆν τὸ γόνυ καθεὶς καὶ
τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαλλάξας, δεσπότην τε αὐτὸν ὄνο-
3 μάσας καὶ προσκυνήσας. οὔ οὖν Νέρων καὶ ἐπὶ
tοῦτῳ αὐτῶν θαυµάσας τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐδεξιώσατο
καὶ µονοµαχίας ἐν Πουτέολοις ἑθετο. ἡγονο-
θέτησε δὲ Πατρόβιοις ἐξελέυθερος αὐτοῦ, καὶ
τοσαύτη γε τῇ λαµπρότητι καὶ τῇ δαπάνῃ
ἐχρήσατο ὡστε ἐν µιᾷ ἡµέρᾳ µηδένα ἄλλου πλῆ
�述όπων, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν,
2 ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσελθείν. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ τῷ
Πατροβίῳ τιµήν τινα διὰ ταύτα γενέσθαι, ἐτο-
ξευσεν ὁ Τιριδάτης ἀνωθὲν ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας θηρία,
καὶ δύο γε ταύρους µιὰ ἀµα βολη, εἰ γε τῷ
πιστών, διέτρωσε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε.
4 Μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώµην αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων
ἀνήγαγε καὶ το διάδηµα αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε. καὶ
πᾶσα µὲν ἤ πόλις ἔκεκοσµητο καὶ φως καὶ
στεφανώμασιν, οὔ τε ἀνθρωποὶ πολλοὶ πανταχὸν

1 Πουτέολοις R. Steph., ποτόλοις VC.
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Provisions were furnished AD. 66 them free of cost, a daily expenditure of 800,000 sesterces for their support being thus charged to the public treasury. This went on without change for the nine months occupied in their journey. The prince covered the whole distance to the confines of Italy on horseback, and beside him rode his wife, wearing a golden helmet in place of a veil, so as not to defy the traditions of her country by letting her face be seen. In Italy he was conveyed in a two-horse carriage sent by Nero, and met the emperor at Neapolis, which he reached by way of Picenum. He refused, however, to obey the order to lay aside his dagger when he approached the emperor, but fastened it to the scabbard with nails. Yet he knelt upon the ground, and with arms crossed called him master and did obeisance. Nero admired him for this action and entertained him in many ways, especially by giving a gladiatorial exhibition at Puteoli. It was under the direction of Patrobius, one of his freedmen, who managed to make it a most brilliant and costly affair, as may be seen from the fact that on one of the days not a person but Ethiopians—men, women, and children—appeared in the theatre. By way of showing Patrobius some fitting honour Tiridates shot at wild beasts from his elevated seat, and—if one can believe it—transfixed and killed two bulls with a single arrow.

After this event Nero took him up to Rome and set the diadem upon his head. The entire city had been decorated with lights and garlands, and great crowds of people were to be seen everywhere, the

1 Cf. ch. 7, 1 inf.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 ἐσῆλθεν, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἐπεπλήρωτο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος λευχεῖμονῶν καὶ δαφνηφορῶν κατὰ τέλη ἐιχθέ, τὰ δ' ἀλλὰ οἱ στρατιῶται λαμπρότατα ὀπλισμένοι, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀστράπτειν. οἳ τε κέραμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντων τῶν τῇ δε οἰκο- 

dομημάτων ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων.

3 τούτων δ' οὖτως ἐκ νυκτὸς προπαρασκευασθέντων ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀγοραν ὁ Νέρων ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, 

tὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐνδεδυκῶς, σὺν τῇ 

bouλή καὶ σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις, καὶ ἐπὶ τε τὸ 

βῆμα ἄνεβη καὶ ἐπὶ δίφρον ἅρχικον ἐκαθήξετο. 

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ τε Τιρεδάτης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ 

dιὰ τε στοίχων ὅπλιτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παραταγμένων διήλθον καὶ πρὸς τῷ βήματι προσ- 

στάντες 2 προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν, ὡσπερ καὶ πρὸτε- 

ρον. κραυγὴς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῆς συμβάσιας 3 ἐξεπλάγη τε ὁ Τιρεδάτης, καὶ ἄφωνος χρόνον 

tινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος ἐγένετο. ἐπειτα σιωπῆς 

κηρυχθείσης ἐπεθάρρησε τε, καὶ ἐκβιασάμενος τὸ 

φρόνημα τῷ τε καρυῷ καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ ἐδούλευσε, 

μηδὲν φροντίσας εἰ τι ταπεινὸν ἠθέγξατο, πρὸς 

2 τὴν ἐλπίδα ὅπειρο τεύξιοτο. 4 εἰπὲ γὰρ οὖτως: "ἐγὼ, 

dέσποτα, Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἐκγενός, Οὐσολογαίον δὲ 

καὶ Πακόρου τῶν βασιλέων ἅδελφος, ὡς δὲ 

dουλὸς εἰμι. καὶ ἥλθον τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἔμω 

θεόν, προσκυνήσων σὲ ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ 

ἔσομαι τοῦτο ὁ τι ἂν σὺ ἐπικλάσῃς· σὺ γὰρ μοι 

3 καὶ μοῖρα εἰ καὶ τύχῃ." ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἡμείσατο 

αὐτὸν ὄδε. "ἀλλ' εὐ τοι ἐπόησας αὐτὸς δεύρο

1 σὺ C, om. V.

2 προστάντες R. Steph., προστάντες VC.

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Forum, however, being especially full. The centre a.d. 66 was occupied by the civilians, arranged according to rank, clad in white and carrying laurel branches; everywhere else were the soldiers, arrayed in shining armour, their weapons and standards flashing like the lightning. The very roof-tiles of all the buildings in the vicinity were completely hidden from view by the spectators who had climbed to the roofs. Everything had been thus got ready during the night; and at daybreak Nero, wearing the triumphal garb and accompanied by the senate and the Praetorians, entered the Forum. He ascended the rostra and seated himself upon a chair of state. Next Tiridates and his suite passed between lines of heavy-armed troops drawn up on either side, took their stand close to the rostra, and did obeisance to the emperor as they had done before. At this a great roar went up, which so alarmed Tiridates that for some moments he stood speechless, in terror of his life. Then, silence having been proclaimed, he recovered courage and quelling his pride made himself subservient to the occasion and to his need, caring little how humbly he spoke, in view of the prize he hoped to obtain. These were his words: “Master, I am the descendant of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologaesus and Pacorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras. The destiny thou spinnest for me shall be mine; for thou art my Fortune and my Fate.” Nero replied to him as follows: “Well hast thou done to come hither in person, that meeting me

3 συμβάσης Dind., ξυμβάσης VC.
4 τεύξειτο Sylb., τεύξειτο VC.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐλθὼν, ἵνα καὶ παρὼν παρόντος μου ἀπολαύσης· ἀ γὰρ σοι οὔτε ὁ πατήρ κατέλυπεν οὔτε οἱ ἀδελφοί δόντες ἐτήρησαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ χαρίζομαι καὶ βασιλέα τῆς Ἀρμενίας ποιῶ, ἵνα καὶ σὺ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μάθωσιν ὅτι καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βασιλείας 4 καὶ δωρεῖσθαι δύναμαι.” ταῦτ’ εἴπων ἀνελθεῖν τε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἄνωδον τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐμπρόσθεν τοῦ βῆματος πεποιημένην ἐκέλευσέ, καὶ καθιζήθεντι 1 αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν πόλα τὸ διάδημα ἐπέθηκε. βοια τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλαὶ καὶ 6 παντοδαπαὶ ἐγένοντο. ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ Ψήφισμα καὶ πανήγυρις θεατρική. καὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡ σκηνὴ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ περιφέρεια αὐτοῦ πάσα ἐνδοθεν ἐκεχρύσωτο, καὶ τάλλα ὡς ἐσήμει χρυσὸ ἐκεκόσμητο· ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὴν χρυσῆν

2 ἐπωνύμασαν. τά γε μὴν παραπετάσματα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος διαταθέντα, 2 ὅπως τὸν ἡλιον ἀπερύκοι, 3 ἀλουργὰ ἦν, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ἄρμα ἑλαύνον ὁ Νέρων ἐνέστικτο, πέριξ δὲ ἀστέρες χρυσοὶ ἐπέ- λαμπον.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ συμποσίῳ πολυτελεί ἐχρήσαντο· ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐκιθαρόδησε δημοσία καὶ ἡμιατηλά- τησε, τῆν τε στολὴν τῆς πράσινου ἑνδεδυμένος 4 καὶ τὸ κράνος τὸ ἴπποχικὸν περικείμενος. ἐφ’ ὅις ὁ Τιριδάτης αὐτῶν μὲν δυσχεράινων τὸν δὲ Κορβούλωνα ἐπαινῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτο μόνον ἦτιατο, ὅτι τοιοῦτον δεσπότην ἔχων ἔφερεν. οὐκον οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Νέρωνα ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλ’ εἰπὲ ποτὲ αὐτῷ “ἀγαθόν, ὦ δεσπότα, 5 ἀνδράποδον Κορβούλωνα ἔχεις.” ταῦτα μὲν

1 καθιζήθεντι V, καθιζέντι С.
face to face thou mightest enjoy my grace. For what a.d. 66 neither thy father left thee nor thy brothers gave and preserved for thee, this do I grant thee. King of Armenia I now declare thee, that both thou and they may understand that I have power to take away kingdoms and to bestow them." At the close of these words he bade him ascend by the approach which had been built in front of the rostra expressly for this occasion, and when Tiridates had been made to sit beneath his feet, he placed the diadem upon his head. At this, too, there were many shouts of all sorts. By special decree there was also a celebration in the theatre. Not merely the stage but the whole interior of the theatre round about had been gilded, and all the properties that were brought in had been adorned with gold, so that people gave to the day itself the epithet of "golden." The curtains stretched overhead to keep off the sun were of purple and in the centre of them was an embroidered figure of Nero driving a chariot, with golden stars gleaming all about him.

Such, then, was this occasion; and of course they had a costly banquet. Afterwards Nero publicly sang to the lyre, and also drove a chariot, clad in the costume of the Greens and wearing a charioteer's helmet. This made Tiridates disgusted with him; but he praised Corbulo, in whom he found only this one fault, that he would put up with such a master. Indeed, he made no concealment of his views even to Nero himself, but said to him one day: "Master, you have in Corbulo a good slave." But this remark

2 διατεθέντα R. Steph., διατεθέντα VC.
3 ἀπερύκωι Xyl., ἀπερύκει VC.
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οὔδὲ συνιέντι αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκολάκευσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπέδραμε δεινότατα, καὶ διὰ τούτο δώρα τε παντοδατὰ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ἀξία, ὡς φασίν, ἔλαβε, καὶ Ἀρτάξατα

6 ἀνοικοδομήσαι ἐπετράπη· δημουργοῦσ τε πρὸς τούτοις πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρήμασι πέσας, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξήγαγεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορβούλων ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διαβῆναι ἐφηκεν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτῷ δοθεῖσιν· ὅθεν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Τιριδάτης τοῦτον τε ἑθαύμασε καὶ ἐκείνου κατέγνω. ἀνεκομίσθη δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἢλθε διὰ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰόνιον, ἄλλ' ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντσίου πλέοσας· καὶ εἰδε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὡστε καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων την τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καταπλαγῆναι καὶ ἵσχυος ἐνεκα καὶ κάλλους.—Xiph. 172, 18–175, 26 R. St.

1a "Ὅτι θεώμενος Τιριδάτης ποτὲ παγκράτιον ἔπειδῇ εἰς ἔνθετον τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν πε- σόντα καὶ τυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, ἐφὶ "ἀδικός ἡ μάχη· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τῶν πεσόντα τύπτεσθαι."—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 68 (p. 214 Mai. = p. 196, 6–9 Dind.).

2 Ὅ μὲν δὴ Τιριδάτης τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἀνοικοδο- μήσας Νερώνεια προσηγόρευσεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ὑπολό- γαίας οὔτε ἔλθειν πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα, καίτοι πολλάκις μεταπεμφθεῖς, ἡθέλησε, καὶ τέλος, ὡς ὀχληρὸς αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, ἀνυπεστείλειν οἱ ὁτι πολὺ σοι ῥάν ἡ ἐμοὶ ἐστὶ τοσαύτην θάλασσαν πλεύσαι. ἀν οὖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔλθης, τότε συνθησόμεθα

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fell on uncomprehending ears. In all other matters he flattered the emperor and ingratiated himself most skilfully, with the result that he received all kinds of gifts, said to have been worth 200,000,000 sesterces, and obtained permission to rebuild Artaxata. Moreover, he took with him from Rome many artisans, some of whom he got from Nero, and some of whom he persuaded by offers of high wages. Corbulo, however, would not let them all cross into Armenia, but only those whom Nero had given him. This caused Tiridates both to admire him and to despise the emperor more than ever. The king did not return by the route that he had followed in coming,—through Illyricum and north of the Ionian Sea,—but instead he sailed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium. He viewed also the cities of Asia, which served to increase his amazement at the strength and beauty of the Roman empire.

Tiridates one day viewed an exhibition of the pancratium, at which one of the contestants after falling to the ground was being struck by his opponent. When the king saw this, he exclaimed: "The fight is unfair. It is not fair that a man who has fallen should be struck."

Tiridates rebuilt Artaxata and named it Neronia. But Vologaesus, though often summoned, refused to come to Nero, and finally, when the latter's invitations became burdensome to him, sent back a despatch to this effect: "It is far easier for you than for me to traverse so great a body of water. Therefore, if you will come to Asia, we can then arrange where we

1 εἰδέ Mai, εἰδευ cod.
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8 Ἡ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας, ὡσπερ ἐνενόει τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ κατασκόπους ἐκατέρωσε ἐπεμψεν, ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν καὶ χρόνου καὶ πόνου ὅρῶν δεόμενα ἥλπιζεν αὐτοῦ· τά δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη, οὕτι γε ὡς Φλαμίνιος ἡ καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἀὔγουστος οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα ἐπὶ τε ἤνιοχήσει καὶ κιθαρῳδήσει κηρύξει τε καὶ 3 τραγῳδιὰς ὑποκρίσει. οὐ γὰρ ἡρκεῖ αὐτῷ ἡ 'Ρώμη, οὔδε τὸ τοῦ Πομπήιον θέατρον, οὔδ' ὁ μέγας ἰππόδρομος, ἄλλ' εἴδεθη καὶ ἐκστρατείας τινός, ἵνα καὶ περιοδικής, ὡς ἐλεγε, γένηται καὶ τοσοῦτον γε πλῆθος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Ἀὔγουστείων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐπηγάγετο ὅσον, εἴπερ ἐμπολέμιον ἦν, καὶ Πάρθος ἄν καὶ τὰ 4 ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο. ἄλλ' ἦσαν οἱ Νερώνειοι ἀν στρατιῶτω δένεωτο, καὶ ὅπλα κιθάρας τε καὶ πλήκτρα προσωπεία τε καὶ ἐμβάτας ἐφερον καὶ ἐνίκησε νίκας οίς στρατοπέδω τοιοῦτῳ ἐπετρεπε, καὶ κατέλυσε Τέρπυν καὶ Διόδωρον καὶ Παμμένην ὡς Φίλιππον ἡ Περσεά ἡ 6 'Αντίοχον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε, ὡς ἐσικε, καὶ τὸν Παμμένην ἐκείνον ἐπὶ

1 ἐνενόει VC, ἐνεβεί cod. Peir.
2 Φλαμίνιος Sylb., φλαμίνιος VC cod. Peir.
3 Μόμμιος cod. Peir., μέμμιος VC.
4 ἤνιοχήσει VC cod. Peir., ὧρχήσει Zon.
5 προσωπεία Rk., πρόσωπα VC cod. Peir.

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shall be able to meet each other.” Such was the A.D. 66
message which the Parthian wrote at last.
Nero, though angry at him, did not sail against him, nor yet against the Ethiopians or the Caspian Gates, as he had intended. He did, indeed, among other things, send spies to both places, but seeing that the subjugation of these regions demanded time and labour, he hoped that they would submit to him of their own accord. But he crossed over into Greece, not at all as Flamininus or Mummius or as Agrippa and Augustus, his ancestors, had done, but for the purpose of driving chariots, playing the lyre, making proclamations, and acting in tragedies. Rome, it seems, was not enough for him, nor Pompey’s theatre, nor the great Circus, but he desired also a foreign campaign, in order to become, as he said, victor in the Grand Tour. And a multitude not only of the Augustans but of other persons as well were taken with him, large enough, if it had been a hostile host, to have subdued both Parthians and all other nations. But they were the kind you would have expected Nero’s soldiers to be, and the arms they carried were lyres and plectra, masks and buskins. The victories Nero won were such as befitted that sort of army, and he overcame Terpnus and Diodorus and Pammenes, instead of Philip or Perseus or Antiochus. It is probable that his purpose in forcing this Pammenes to compete also, in spite of his age (he had been in

1 Literally “victor of the periodos.” This was a term applied to an athlete who had conquered in the Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean and Olympian games.
2 See lxii (lxii), 20.

4 8—8 VC, 8s—8s cod. Peir.
9 Καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει, γέλωτα ἀν ὀφλήκει. καίτοι πῶς ἂν 2 τις καὶ ἄκουσι, μὴ ὁτι ἴδειν, ὑπομείνειεν ἄνδρα Ἡρωμαιον Βουλευτὴν εὐπατρίδην ἄρχιερεά Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα Ἀὐγουστον ἐς τὸ τελεύκωμα ἐν τοῖς ἁγωνισταῖς ἐγγραφόμενον καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἄσκοιντα, μελέτῳ τῶντά τε τινας φῶδας, καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κο-2 μόνα τὸ δὲ γένειον ψυλιζόμενον, ἵματιον ἀναβαλλόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, μεθ’ ἐνὸς ἡ δύο ἀκολούθων βαδίζοντα, τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ὑποβλέ-ποντα καὶ ἀεὶ τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθ’ ἀφιμαχίας λέγοντα, τοὺς ἁγωνοθέτας τοὺς τε μαστιγοφόρους φοβούμενον, καὶ χρήματα αὐτοῖς κρύφα ἄπασιν ἀναλίσκοντα μὴ καὶ ἐλεγχθεῖς μαστιγωθῆ, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ποιοῦντα ἵνα τὸν τῶν κιθαριστῶν καὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν καὶ τῶν κηρύκων 3 ἀγώνα νικήσας ἢττηθῇ τὸν τῶν Καίσαρον; τίς γὰρ ἀν προοράφη 3 ταύτης χαλεπωτέρα γένοιτο, ἐν ἢ ὃν 4 Σύλλασ μὲν ἄλλους Νέρων δὲ ἐαυτὸν προέγραψεν; τίς δὲ νίκη ἀτοπωτέρα, ἐν ἢ τὸν κότινον ἢ τὴν δάφνην ἢ τὸ σέλινον ἢ τὴν πίτυν 5 4 λαβὼν ἀπόλλεσε τὸν πολιτικόν; καὶ τί ἂν τίς ταῦτα αὐτοῦ μόνα ὀδύρατο, ὅποτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας ἀναβαίνων κατέπιπτεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον ὑποδύνων ἀπέβαλλε τὸ τῆς

1 καίτοι VC, καίσερ cod. Peir.
2 καίτοι πῶς ἃν VC, πῶς γὰρ ἃν cod. Peir.
3 προοράφη Val., ἀποοράφη cod. Peir.
4 οὐ supplied by Rk.
his prime in the reign of Gaius), was that he might \( A.D. 66 \) overcome him and vent his dislike by mutilating the statues that had been erected to him.

Had he merely done this, he would have been the \( A.D. 67 \) subject of ridicule. Yet how could one endure even to hear about, let alone behold, a Roman, a senator, a patrician, a high priest, a Caesar, an emperor, an Augustus, named on the programme among the contestants, training his voice, practising various songs, wearing long hair on his head the while his chin was smooth-shaven, throwing his toga over his shoulder in the races, walking about with one or two attendants, looking askance at his opponents, and constantly uttering taunting remarks to them, standing in dread of the directors of the games and the wielders of the whip and lavishing money on them all secretly to avoid being brought to book and scourged? And all this he did, though by winning the contests of the lyre-players and tragedians and heralds he would make certain his defeat in the contest of the Caesars. What harsher proscription could there ever be than this, in which it was not Sulla that posted the names of others, but Nero that posted his own name? What stranger victory than one for which he received the crown of wild olive, bay, parsley or pine and lost the political crown? Yet why should one lament these acts of his alone, seeing that he also elevated himself on the high-soled buskins only to fall from the throne, and in putting on the mask threw off the dignity of his sovereignty to beg in the guise of a runaway slave, to be led about as a blind man, to be

\[ ^5 \pi\tau\nu \text{ Val., } \pi\tau\eta \text{ cod. Peir.} \]
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ἡγεμονίας ἀξίωμα, ἐδείτο ὡς δραπέτης, ἐποδήγετο ὡς τυφλός, ἐκύει ἐτικτευ ἐμαίνετο ἧλάτο, τὸν τε Οἰδίπόδα καὶ τὸν Θυέστην τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκμέωνα τὸν τε Ὀρέστην ὡς 5 πλήθει ὑποκρινόμενος. καὶ τὰ γε προσωπεία 4 τοτὲ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοτὲ 5 δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ εἰκασμένα ἐφερε· τὰ γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν πάντα πρὸς τὴν Σαβίναν ἐσκεῦστο, ὅπως κάκειν καὶ 6 τεθυνκυία πομπεύῃ. καὶ πάντα ὅσα οἱ τυχόντες ὑποκρίνονταί, κάκεινος καὶ ἑλεγε καὶ ἐπράττε καὶ ἐπασχε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον χρυσαῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἐδεσμεύτο· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπρεπεν, ὡς ἐσικεν, αὐτοκράτορι Ῥωμαίων σιδηραῖς δεισθαί.

10 Καὶ τάντα μέντοι πάντα οὐ τε ἀλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ὀρώντες ἐφερον ἐπῆνον, Πυθιονίκην τε αὐτὸν καὶ Ὡλυμπιονίκην καὶ περιοδονίκην παντονίκην, πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οἰς εἰώθεσαν, ἀπεκάλουν, συμμιγνύντες ἔθελον ὅτι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνόματα, ὡστε ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τὸν τε Καλσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἀὔγουστον ἀκροτελεύτιον εἶναι.—Xiph. 175, 31–177, 10 R. St., Exc. Val. 251 (p. 690 f.).

1 Οἰτ ἄγανακτῆσαιντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινὰ ὅτι Λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐσκυθρόπασε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ὑπερ-

1 ἐκύει cod. Peir., ἐκυεν VC.
2 ἧλατο cod. Peir., om. VC.
3 τὸν τε VC, καὶ cod. Peir.
4 προσωπεία Rk., πρόσωπα VC cod. Peir.
5 τοτὲ—τοτὲ cod. Peir., πότε—πότε V, ποτὲ—ποτὲ C.

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heavy with child, to be in labour, to be a madman, or to wander an outcast, his favourite rôles being those of Oedipus, Thyestes, Heracles, Alcmeon and Orestes? The masks that he wore were sometimes made to resemble the characters he was portraying and sometimes bore his own likeness; but the women's masks were all fashioned after the features of Sabina, in order that, though dead, she might still take part in the spectacle. All the situations that ordinary actors simulate in their acting he, too, would portray in speech or action or in submitting to the action of others—save only that golden chains were used to bind him; for apparently it was not thought proper for a Roman emperor to be bound in iron shackles.

All this behaviour, nevertheless, was witnessed, endured, and approved, not only by the crowd in general, but also by the soldiers. They acclaimed him Pythian Victor, Olympian Victor, Victor in the Grand Tour, Universal Victor, besides all the usual expressions, and of course joined to these names the titles belonging to his imperial office, so that every one of them had "Caesar" and "Augustus" as a tag.

He conceived a dislike for a certain man because while he was speaking the man frowned and was not over-lavish of his praises; and so he drove him

1 With the addition of Canace (from the Aeolus) from ch. 10, the characters here named may possibly suffice for all the situations just described. For Thyestes as a beggar see Aristophanes Ach. 433; yet little is known of this play, and it is more natural to think of the famous Telephus. Alcmeon and Orestes could each serve for both the madman and the outcast. It is to be noted that all the plays, except the Oedipus Coloneus, are by Euripides.

2 See ch. 8.
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2 Οὔδὲ ἐτολμησεν οὔδεὶς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐλεησαί τὸν κακοδαίμονα οὔτε μισῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς μέν τις στρατιώτης ἱδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένου ἡγανάκτησε καὶ προσδραμὼν ἐλυσεν, ἔτερος δὲ ἔρομένου τινὸς "τί ποιεῖ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "τίκτει" καὶ γὰρ τὴν 2 Κανάκην ὑπεκρίνετο.

3 ἔργον δ' οὐδέν ἄξιον Ἦρωμαίων οὔδεὶς σφών ἐποίησε: τοσαῦτα γάρ που χρήματα διελάγ-χανον ὥστε καὶ εὐχεσθαι αὐτόν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα δρᾶν, ἦν ἐτὶ 3 πλείονα λαμβάνωσιν.—Xiph. 177, 10–177, 16 R. St.

11 Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταῦτα μόνα οὕτως ἐγεγόνει, αἰσχύνη τε ἀν 4 καὶ χλευασία τὸ πράγμα ἀκίνδυνον 5 ἐνενόμισεν. νῦν δ' ὡς ἁληθῶς, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ σταλείς, πάσαν μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλεη-λάτησε, καὶ πέπεψά ἐλευθέραν ἀφείς, παμπληθείς δὲ 2 ἐφόνευσεν ἀνδρὰς γυναῖκας παῖδας, καὶ πρό-τερον μὲν τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς οὐσίας ἐκέλευσέν οἱ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους τῶν θανα-τουμένων ἀποθνήσκοντας καταλείπειν, αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις διαθήκας γράφειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ὁπώς μὴ τῶν χρημάτων ἐνεκα αὐτούς ἀποκτείνειν δοκῇ (πάντως δὲ πάντα ἡ τά γε πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἐλάμ-βανεν· εἰ γοῦν 6 τις ἐλαττὸν τι αὐτῷ ἡ τῷ

1 οὐδὲ Sylb., οὐδὲν VC.
2 τὴν exc. Vat., τὸν VC.
away and would not let him come into his presence. A.D. 67
He persisted in his refusal to grant him audience, and when the man asked, "Where shall I go, then?" Phoebus, Nero's freedman, replied, "To the deuce!"

None of them ventured either to pity or to hate the wretched man. One of the soldiers, to be sure, on seeing him in chains, grew indignant, ran up, and set him free. Another in reply to a question, "What is the emperor doing?" replied, "He is in labour"; for Nero was then acting the part of Canace. Not one of them conducted himself in a way at all worthy of a Roman. Instead, because so much money fell to their share, they offered prayers that he might give many such performances, so that they might receive still more.

Now if this had been all that he did, the affair, while being a source of shame and of ridicule, would still have been thought harmless. But, as it was, he devastated the whole of Greece precisely as if he had been sent out to wage war, notwithstanding that he had left the country free; and he slew great numbers of men, women and children. At first he commanded the children and freedmen of those who were executed to leave him half their property at their death, and allowed the victims themselves to make wills, in order that he might not appear to be killing them for their money. He invariably took all that was bequeathed

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3 ἔτι Sylb., ἄτι VC.
4 ἄν Bk. (?), ἀμα VC.
5 ἀκινδύνος (changed to ἀκινδύνον) C, ἀκινδύνον V.
6 εἰ γοῦν Bk., εἰτ' οὖν cod. Peir., εἰ δ' οὖν Rk.
Τιγέλλάων ὄν ἦλπιζον κατέλειπεν, οὔδὲ τῶν δία-3 θηκῶν ἀνύνατο 1). ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ολὰς τὰς οὐσίας ἀφηρεῖτο, τούς τε παίδας σφων πάντας ἀμα δι' ἐνὸς δόγματος ἐξήλασεν. οὔδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἄλλα καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν φευγόντων ἐφθείρευ. ἐπεὶ τάς γε οὐσίας ὅσα καὶ ζώντων τινῶν 2 ἐδήμενε, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα καὶ εἶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ναὸν ἑσύλησεν, οὔδὲ ἐξαριθμήσει 4 σειεν ἄν τις. διέτρεχον γὰρ γραμματοφόροι μηδέν ἄλλο διαγγέλλοντες ἢ ὅτι “τόνδε ἀπόκτεινον,” 3 “οὖδε τεθύνειν” ἔξω γὰρ δὴ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμμάτων οὔδεν ἴδιωτικὸν διεπέμπετο. συχνοὺς γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν πρώτων ἐξήγα-γεν ὡς τι αὐτῶν δεόμενος, ἵν’ ἐκεῖ ἀποθάνονσιν.

12 τοὺς μέντοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντας Ἑλίῳ τινὶ Καίσαρει ἐκδότοι σπαρέδωκε· πάντα γὰρ ἀπλῶς αὐτῷ ἐπετέτραπτο, ὅστε καὶ δημεύειν καὶ φυγαδεύειν καὶ ἀποκτείνων, καὶ πρὶν δηλῶσα τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ ἴδιωτὰς ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπτέας καὶ βουλευτάς.—Χιφ. 177, 17–26 R. St., Exc. Val. 252, 253 (p. 693).

2 ὁὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὰ δύο αὐτοκράτοροι ἀμα ἐδούλευσε, Νέρωνι καὶ Ἑλίῳ. οὔδὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁπότεροι αὐτῶν χείρον ἢν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου πάντα ἐπραττοῦν, ἐν ἐνὶ δὲ τοῦτῳ διηλλασσα, ὅτι ῥ μὲν τοῦ Ἀνγοῦστον ἀπόγονος κυθαρώδους καὶ τραγῳδοῦς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ 3 Κλαυδίου ἀπελεύθερος Καίσαρας ἐξῆλ. τοῦ γὰρ

1 ὅννατο Bk., ὅννετο cod. Peir.
2 καὶ ζώντων τινῶν VC, τῶν ζώντων cod. Peir.
3 ἀπόκτεινον VC, ἀπέκτεινν cod. Peir.
to him, or at least the greater part, and in case A.D. 67 anyone left to him or to Tigellinus less than they were expecting, his will was of no avail. Later he took away the entire property of those who were executed, and banished all their children at one time by a single decree. Nor was he content with even this, but he also destroyed not a few of those who were living in exile. As for the possessions that he confiscated from people while they were living and the votive offerings that he stole from the very temples in Rome, no one could ever enumerate them all. Indeed, despatch-bearers hurried back and forth bearing no other communications than "Put this man to death!" or "So-and-so is dead"; for no private messages, only royal communications, were carried to and fro. Nero, it seems, had taken away many of the foremost men to Greece, under the pretence of needing some assistance from them, merely in order that they might perish there. As for the people in Rome and Italy, he had handed them all over to the tender mercies of a certain Helius, an imperial freedman. This man had been given absolutely complete authority, so that he could confiscate, banish or put to death ordinary citizens, knights, and senators alike, even before notifying Nero.

Thus the Roman empire was at that time a slave to two emperors at once, Nero and Helius; and I am unable to say which of them was the worse. In most respects they behaved entirely alike, and the one point of difference was that the descendant of Augustus was emulating lyre-players and tragedians, whereas the freedman of Claudius was emulating Caesars. As regards Tigellinus, I con-
Τιγελλίνου 1 εν προσθήκης μέρει τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὅτι σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν, τίθημι. χωρὶς δὲ ὁ τε Πολύκλειτος καὶ Καλούσιδα Κριστίνίλλα 2 ἤγον ἐπόρθουν ἐσύλων πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἐνεδέχετο, ἐκείνος μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη, αὕτη δὲ μετὰ τε τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης τοῦ Σπόρου. τὴν τε γὰρ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπεῖαν τὴν περὶ ἐσθήτα, καίπερ γυνὴ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς οὕσα, ἐπετίστευτο, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς πάντες ἀπέδυντο.

13 Ὑνόμασε δὲ Σαβίναν τὸν Σπόρον οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον ὃτι διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα αὐτῆς ἐξετέρμητο, ἀλλ᾽ ὃτι καὶ ἐγήματο αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκείνη, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατὰ συμβόλαιον, ἐκδόντος αὐτὸν τὸν Τιγελλίνου, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἐκέλευε. καὶ τοὺς 3 γάμους αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐώρτασαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα οία εἰκὸς ἢν ἐπιλέγοντες, καὶ γυνῆισι πόσι παιδὰς γεννηθῆναι εὐχόμενοι.

2 καὶ τοῦτον συνεγίνοντο ἁμα τῷ Νέρωνι Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὡς ἄνηρ, Σπόρος δὲ ὡς γυνή̑ πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ κυρία καὶ βασιλίς καὶ δέσποινα ἤσυχαζετο. καὶ τί τοῦτο θαυμάσειν ἄν τις, ὅποτε καὶ μειράκια καὶ κόρας σταυροὶς γυμνὰς προσδέων θηρίον τὴν χαὶ βορὶ ἀνελάμβανε καὶ προσπί-3 πτων σφίνων ἱσέλθαμεν ὥσπερ τι ἐσθίων. τοι-αὕτα μὲν ὁ Νέρων ἡσχημόνει.

Τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς χιτώνιον τῷ ἐνδεδυκώς ἀνθίνου καὶ συνδόνιον περὶ τὸν αὐξένα ἐχὼν ἡσπᾶσατο. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἡδὴ παρημοίει, ὡστε καὶ ἀξιώστοις χιτώνιος ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἑυδυ-εσθαί. λέγεται δ᾽ ὃτι καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ

1 Τιγέλλινου R. Steph., τιγελλινον VC.
2 Κριστίνιλλα Bk., κριστινιλα VC. 3 τοὺς Bk., τοὺς τε VC.

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sider him a mere appendage of Nero, because he a.d. 67 was constantly with him; but Polycleitus and Calvia Crispinilla, apart from Nero, plundered, sacked and despoiled everything that it was possible to pillage. The former was associated with Helius at Rome, and the latter with the “Sabina” who was known as Sporus. Calvia had been entrusted with the care of the boy and with the oversight of the wardrobe, though a woman and of high rank; and through her all were stripped of their possessions.

Now Nero called Sporus “Sabina” not merely because, owing to his resemblance to her he had been made a eunuch, but because the boy, like the mistress, had been solemnly married to him in Greece, Tigellinus giving the bride away, as the law ordained. All the Greeks held a celebration in honour of their marriage, uttering all the customary good wishes, even to the extent of praying that legitimate children might be born to them. After that Nero had two bedfellows at once, Pythagoras to play the rôle of husband to him, and Sporus that of wife. The latter, in addition to other forms of address, was termed “lady,” “queen,” and “mistress.” Yet why should one wonder at this, seeing that Nero would fasten naked boys and girls to stakes, and then putting on the hide of a wild beast would attack them and satisfy his brutal lust under the appearance of devouring parts of their bodies? Such were the indecencies of Nero.

When he received the senators, he wore a short flowered tunic and a muslin neck-cloth; for in matters of dress, also, he was already transgressing custom, even going so far as to wear ungirded tunics in public. It is reported also that the members of
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tέλους ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἐφιππίοις ἐν τῇ ἑτησίᾳ σφῶν ἐξετάσει ἐξήγησαντο.

14 Ἔν ὁ δὲ τοις Ὁλυμπίοις ἢρμα ἐλάσσας καὶ πεσῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅλγουν δεῖν συντριβεῖς δόμως ἐστεφανόθη, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλανοδίκαις τὰς πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσι μυριάδας, ἂς ὑστερον Γάλβας παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπήτῃσε, ἐδωκε.—Xiph. 177, 26–178, 25 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ο ἄυτὸς τῇ Πυθία δέκα μυριάδας ἐδωκεν, ὅτι τινὰ κατὰ γνώμην ἄυτον ἐθέσπισεν ἃς ὁ Γάλβας ἐκομίσατο. τοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἄπόλλωνος, εἰτ' οὐν ἄγανακτήσας ὅτι λυπηρά τινα προείπεν αὐτῷ, εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως μανείς, τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Κυρραίαν ἀφείλετο καὶ στρατιώταις ἐδωκε, καὶ τὸ μαντείον κατέλυσεν, ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὸ στόμιον ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεύμα ἀνήει σφάξας.

3 ἡγονύσατο δὲ ἐν πάσῃ ὁμοίως πόλει ἄγωνα ἐχούσῃ, κήρυκι πρὸς πάντα τὰ κηρύξεως δεόμενα Κλουνιώ  Ἡρόφω ἀνδρὶ ὑπατευκότι χρησάμενος, πλην Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Λακεδαίμονος. ταύταις γὰρ μόναις οὔδε ἐπεφοίτησε τὴν ἀρχὴν, τῇ μὲν διὰ τοὺς Λυκούργου νόμους ὡς ἀνατίνους τῇ προαίρεσε αὐτοῦ ὑντας, τῇ δὲ διὰ τὸν περὶ τῶν Ἐρυνύων λόγον. τὸ δὲ δὴ κήρυγμα ἦν "Νέρων Καῖσαρ νικᾷ τόνδε τὸν ἀγώνα, καὶ στεφανοὶ τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δήμον καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην." ἐχων γὰρ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, οἰκουμένην, ἐκιθαρίσθει τε καὶ ἐκήρυττε καὶ ἐτραγοφῆ. —Xiph. 178, 25–179, 5 R. St., Exc. Val. 254 (p. 694).

* Υφπίοις Leuncl., ἐφ' ἵπποις VC.
* Ολυμπίοις H. Steph., ἰλυμπίοις VC.
* Κλουνιώ Bk., κλουβίω VC.
* Λακεδαίμονος Rk., λακεδαιμονίων VC.

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the equestrian order used saddle-cloths in his reign A.D. 67 for the first time at their annual review.

At the Olympic games he fell from the chariot he was driving and came very near being crushed to death; yet he was crowned victor. In acknowledgment of this favour he gave to the Hellanodikai the million sesterces which Galba later demanded back from them.

This same emperor gave 400,000 sesterces to the Pythia for uttering some oracles that suited him; this money Galba recovered. But from Apollo, on the other hand, whether from vexation at the god for making some unpleasant predictions to him or because he was merely crazy, he took away the territory of Cirrha and gave it to the soldiers. He also abolished the oracle, after slaying some people and throwing them into the fissure from which the sacred vapour arose. He contended in every city alike that held any contest, always employing Cluvius Rufus, an ex-consul, as herald whenever the services of a herald were required. Athens and Sparta were two exceptions, being the only places that he did not visit at all. He avoided the latter city because of the laws of Lycurgus, which stood in the way of his designs, and the former because of the story about the Furies. The proclamation always ran: "Nero Caesar wins this contest and crowns the Roman people and the inhabited world that is his own." Thus, though possessing a world, according to his own statement, he nevertheless went on playing the lyre, making proclamations, and acting tragedies.

1 The chief judges at the Olympic games.
15 ῾Ην δὲ γερονίσαν οὕτως δεινῶς ἐμύσει ὡστε καὶ τῷ Ὄνατινῳ ὥς μάλιστα χαῖρειν, ὅτι ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ "μισῶ σε, Καῖσαρ, ὅτι συγκλητικὸς εἰς" χρήσομαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ λεχθέντι ὑπ’ 

2 αὐτοῦ ῥήματι. ἐτηροῦντο δὲ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰεὶ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἐσόδοι καὶ αἱ ἔξοδοι τά τε σχήματα καὶ τά νεῦματα καὶ τά ἐπιβοήματα, καὶ οἱ μὲν αἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ σπουδαῖαι ἀκροφόμεναι τορῶς τε ἐκβοῶντες ἐπηνοοῦντο καὶ ἐτίμοντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καὶ ἡτιμάζοντο 

3 καὶ ἐκολάξοντο, ὡστε τινὰς μη δυναμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν (πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ παρετείνοντο) προσποιεῖσθαί τε ἐκθνήσκειν καὶ νεκρῶν δίκην ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων ἐκφέρεσθαι.

16 Πάρεργον δὲ δὴ τῆς ἐπιθημίας τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐποιήσατο τὸν ἱσθμὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι ἐπιθυμήσας, καὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ ἐργου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅκνοιντων αἰμά τε γὰρ τῶν πρῶτος ἀφαμένου τῆς γῆς ἀνέβλυσεν, καὶ οἱ μωγαὶ μυκηθημοὶ τέ τινες ἐξηκούσαντο, καὶ εἰδωλα 

2 πολλὰ ἐφαυτάξετο. λαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς δίκελλαν καὶ τί καὶ ἀνασκάψας ἐπεισε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη αὐτοῦ μιμήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τούτο τὸ ἐργον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν μετεπέμψατο.

17 Ἔσ τε οὕν τάλλα καὶ ἐς ταῦτα χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐνεμένοις, καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ μεγαλόδωρος ὁμοίως ὄν, καὶ ἄμα φιβούμενος τοὺς δυνατωτάτους μὴ ἐπίθωνται οἱ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντι, 

2 πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἄγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐφθειρεν. ὃν

1 Ὅνατινῳ Lipsius, Ὅνατινῳ VC.
His hatred for the senate was so fierce that he a.d. 67 took particular pleasure in Vatinius, who was always saying to him: "I hate you, Caesar, for being of senatorial rank." (I give his very words.) Both the senators and all others were constantly subjected to the closest scrutiny in their entrances, their exits, their attitudes, their gestures, and their shouts. The men that were always in Nero's company, listened attentively and loudly cheered him, were commended and honoured; the rest were both dis-honoured and punished. Some, therefore, being unable to hold out until the end of his performances (for often the spectators would be kept on a strain from early morning until evening), would pretend to swoon and would be carried out of the theatres as if dead.

As a secondary achievement connected with his sojourn in Greece he conceived a desire to dig a canal across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus, and actually began the task. Men shrank from it, however, because, when the first workers touched the earth, blood spouted from it, groans and bellowings were heard, and many phantoms appeared. Nero himself thereupon grasped a mattock and by throwing up some of the soil fairly compelled the rest to imitate him. For this work he sent for a great multitude of men from other nations as well.

For this and other purposes he needed great sums of money; and as he was at once a promoter of great enterprises and a giver of great gifts, and at the same time feared an attack from the persons of most influence while he was thus engaged, he made away with many excellent men. Of most of
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ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐάσω (πάσι τε γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῷ δημόσιον ἐγκλήμα ἢν ἀρετή τε καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ γένος, καὶ πάντες ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεκτίνωσαν ἢ ύπ’ ἄλλων ἐφονεύουντο), τούτῳ δὲ Ἡ Κορβούλωνος ¹ καὶ Σουλπτικίων Σκριβωνίων, Ρούφου τε καὶ Πρὸ-3 κλου, μνημονεύσω, τούτων μὲν ὡς ἁδελφοί τε καὶ ἡλικιωταὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὄντες, καὶ μὴδὲν μηδέποτε ἄνευ ἄλληλων πράξαντες, ἀλλ’ ὀστὲρ τῷ γένει ὦτῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ τε οὕσια συμπεφυκότες, καὶ τὰς Γερμανίας δὲ ἀμφοτέρας ἑπὶ πολὺ ἀμα διφ-κησαν, ἦλθόν τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετάπεμπτοι ὡστε 4 αὐτῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος δεομένου, καὶ ἐγκλήματα οία ὃ καιρὸς ἐκείνος ἐφερε λαβόντες, καὶ μήτε λόγου τυγχάνοντες μήτε ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀφικνοῦμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ὑφ’ ἀπάντων ὀμοίως ἀτιμαζόμενοι, ἀποθανεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ 5 ἐτελεύτησαν τὰς φλέβας αὐτῶν ² σχάσαντες, τούτῳ δὲ Ἡ Κορβούλωνος ὡς καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐντιμότατα μεταπεμψάμενος, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πατέρα καὶ ἐνεργήτην αὐτὸν ἄει ὀνομάζων, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Κεγχρείᾳ ³ προσέσχε, σφαγῆναι, πρὶν καὶ ὡς ὥσιν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, προσέταξε· κιθαρῳδίσειν γὰρ ἦμελλεν, ὡς τινες λέγουσι, καὶ ὅποι ὑπέμεινεν 6 αὐτῷ τὸ ὀρθοστάδιον ἔχων ὀφθήναι. καὶ ὁς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὸ προστεταγμένον ἔγνω, ξίφος τε ἐλαβε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔρρωμένων παῖνων ἔλεγεν “ἀξίος,” τότε γὰρ δή, τότε πρῶτον ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεποίηκε καὶ φεισάμενος τοῦ κιθαρῳ-

¹ Κορβούλωνος R. Steph., κορβούλλωνος VC (so below).
² αὐτῶν Sylb., αὐτῶν VC.
³ Κεγχρεία Sylb., κεγχρεία VO.

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these I shall omit any account, inasmuch as the A.D. 67 stock complaint under which all of them were brought before him was excellence, wealth, or family; and all of them either killed themselves or were slain by others. I shall, however, mention Corbulo and the two Sulpicii Scribonii, Rufus and Proculus. The latter two were brothers of about the same age, and had never done anything separately but had remained united in purpose and in property as they were in family; they had for a long time administered the two Germanies together, and now came to Greece at the summons of Nero, who pretended to want them for something. Complaints of the kind in which that period abounded were lodged against them, but they could neither obtain a hearing nor get within sight of Nero; and as this caused them to be slighted by everybody alike, they began to long for death and so met their end by opening their veins. I mention Corbulo, because the emperor, after sending him also a most courteous summons and invariably calling him, among other names, "father" and "benefactor," then, when this general landed at Cenchreae, commanded that he should be slain before he had even entered his presence. Some explain this by saying that Nero was about to appear as a lyre-player and could not endure the idea of being seen by Corbulo while he wore the long ungirded tunic. The condemned man, as soon as be understood the order, seized a sword, and dealing himself a lusty blow exclaimed: "Your due!" Then, indeed, for the first time he was convinced that he had done wrong both in

1 Generally used in acclaiming a hero: "Thou art worthy."
18 δοὺ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν ἀνοπλὸς. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ἐλλάδι ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο· τί γὰρ δει λέγειν ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὅρχηστὴν ἀποθανεῖν εἰκέ¬ λευσεν, ὅτι ὁρχείσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν θεσπήσας οὐκ ἡδυνήθη; τί δ' ὅτι Καικίναν ὑπερώρισεν, ὅτι τῆς Ἀιγύπτου ἄρχων ἐλούσατο ἐν τῷ βαλανεῖρῳ ἐκείνῳ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάν¬ δρειαν ἥξιοντι ἐποίηθη;

2 'Εν δὲ τῇ Ρώμῃ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὁ Ἡλίος άλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργάσατο, καὶ Σουλπίκιον Καμερίνον ἄνδρα τῶν πρῶτων μετὰ τοῦ νιέος ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐγκαλέσας σφίσιν ὅτι Πυθικοὶ ἐκ προγόνων ἐπικαλοῦμενοι οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο τὸ πρόσρημα τούτ' ἐχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς τοῦ Νέρωνος νίκας τὰς Πυθικὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμονομίας ἠσέβουν.

3 τῶν δὲ Αὐγούστειὼν ἁγαλμα αὐτοῦ χιλίων λιτρῶν ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένων, πάν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἡναγκάσθη συντελέσαι σφίσι τὸ ἀνάλομα. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῆς γερουσίας ἔργον καθ' ἐκαστόν ἔπεξελθεῖν· τοσάντα γὰρ αἱ τε θυσίαι καὶ ἱερομνήμαι ἐπηγ¬ γέλθησαν ὡστε μηδ' ὅλον τὸν ἐναυτὸν ἐξαρκέσαι.

19 Ὅ δὲ Ἡλίος πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ, παραίνων ὅτι τάχιστα ἀνακο¬ μισθήμαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθετο, ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρα, καὶ ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτὸν εἰπὼν μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ παρασκευάζοντε κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὡστε παρευθύς ἐς 2 τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀποπλεῦσαι. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν τις

1 Καικίναν Lipsius, καὶ κινναν VC.

1 i.e. without his army.
2 See lxii (lxiii), 20.
sparing the lyre-player and in going to him un-
armed. This was what was going on in Greece. Is it worth while adding that Nero ordered Paris, the pantomimic dancer, to be slain because the emperor had wished to learn dancing from him but had not the capacity? Or that he banished Caecina Tuscus, the governor of Egypt, for bathing in the bath that had been specially constructed for the emperor's intended visit to Alexandria?

In Rome during this same period Helius committed many terrible deeds. Among other things he put to death one of the foremost men, Sulpicius Camerinus, together with his son, the complaint against them being that they would not give up their title of Pythicus, received from some of their ancestors, but showed irreverence toward Nero's Pythian victories by their use of this same title. And when the Augustans proposed, to make a statue of the emperor weighing a thousand pounds, the whole equestrian order was compelled to help to defray the expense they had undertaken. As for the doings of the senate, it would be a task to describe them all in detail; for so many sacrifices and days of thanksgiving were announced that the whole year would not hold them all.

Helius had for some time been sending to Nero many messages urging him to return as quickly as possible, but when he found that no attention was paid to them, he went himself to Greece in seven days and frightened him by reporting that a great conspiracy against him was on foot in Rome. This report caused Nero to embark for Italy at once.

3 The statue was probably of gold, as was the case with a similar statue erected to Commodus (cf. lxxii. 15, 3).
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εἰπὼς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος αὐτὸν φθαρῆσθαι, μάτην δὲ πολλοὶ ἠσθησαν ἐσώθη γὰρ. καὶ τοιοὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διέθρον αὐτίων ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ εὐ-
20 ξαντὸ καὶ ἤλπισαν αὐτῶν ἀπολεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλασε, τοῦ τε τείχους τι καθηρέθη καὶ τῶν πυλῶν περιερράγη, νεομίσθαι τινῶν λεγόντων ἐκάτερον τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων
2 στεφανηφόροις γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἐσεφωτήσαν πρώ-
tοι μὲν οἱ τοὺς στεφάνους οὐς ἀνήρητον κομίζοντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἔτεροι σανίδια ἐπὶ δοράτων ἀνατείνοντες, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεγέργαστο τὸ τε ὁνόμα τοῦ ἀγώνου καὶ τὸ εἴδος τοῦ ἀγωνισματος, ὅτι τε Νέρων Καίσαρ πρῶτος πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ
3 τοῦ αἰῶνος Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησεν αὐτό, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐπινικίου, ἐν δ' ποτε ὁ Ἀὔγουστος τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα νικητήρια ἐπετόμφει, ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον ἔχων καὶ κότινον ἐστεφανωμένος, τὴν Πυθικὴν δάφνην προτείνων καὶ αὐτῷ
4 ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ κιθαρώδος παρωχεῖτο. καὶ ὦτῳ διὰ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μετὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων τῆς τε Βουλῆς διελθῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον, πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐστεφανωμένης καὶ λυχνοκαυτούσης καὶ θυμιώ-
5 σης, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄνθρωπων, καὶ αὐτῶν βουλευτῶν ὅτι μάλιστα, συμβοώντων "Ολυμ-
pιονικα οὐ, Πυθιονικά οὐ, Αὔγουστε Αὔγουστε. Νέρων τῷ Ἦρακλεῖ, Νέρων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. ὡς εἰς περιοδονίκης, εἰς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Αὔγουστε

1 ἀνήρητο Rk., ἀνήρουν VC.
2 σανίδια Bk., σανίδια τε VC,
There was, indeed, some hope of his perishing in a storm and many rejoiced, but to no purpose, as he came safely to land; and for certain men the very fact that they had prayed and hoped that he might perish furnished a motive for their destruction. When he entered Rome, a portion of the wall was torn down and a section of the gates broken in, because some asserted that each of these ceremonies was customary upon the return of crowned victors from the games. First entered men bearing the crowns which he had won, and after them others with wooden panels borne aloft on spears, upon which were inscribed the name of the games, the kind of contest, and a statement that Nero Caesar first of all the Romans from the beginning of the world had won it. Next came the victor himself on a triumphal car, the one in which Augustus had once celebrated his many victories; he was clad in a vestment of purple covered with spangles of gold, was crowned with a garland of wild olive, and held in his hand the Pythian laurel. By his side in the vehicle rode Diodorus the lyre-player. After passing in this manner through the Circus and through the Forum in company with the soldiers and the knights and the senate he ascended the Capitol and proceeded thence to the palace. The city was all decked with garlands, was ablaze with lights and reeking with incense, and the whole population, the senators themselves most of all, kept shouting in chorus: "Hail, Olympian Victor! Hail, Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero, our Hercules! Hail to Nero, our Apollo! The only Victor of the Grand Tour, the only one from the beginning of
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1. Auguste. 'Ierâ phovh' makaríou oí sou akou-6 ontes." tî gâr dei periplékein kai ouk avûtã tâ leixhênta dhlouû; oude gâr ou'dâ aîskhûn-6 twn tê sughgraflh' tâ rîhênta, allla kai kòsmou to µhdein avûtov apokrufhîmei fêrein.

21. 'Ekteleâsas de tâutâ ippodromiâs épîggeile, kai toûs steфанous, toùtoûs te kai toûs allous pántas ósous ármâsi nikîsas eîlîfhei, ès tòn ippodromon ësînvege kai tê oîbelísôf tê Lîgnuptîf periêthike: kai ësau anktô kai òkta-kósiw kai xîlîw.1 poîsasas de tâutâ ëmyîkhse.

2. Lârkios de tis Avdòs prôsîlthein autô pênte kai eîkosi mußiâdas prôsfëroû ëna kîtharôfthôs1 kai òs tê meû ãrghûriou ouk ëlabev, âpaxiòwgas miostû-6 tî poîhse (kai dea toûto Tîgellîwos autô ësépraxev, ëna ùi autôn apokteîn), ès mênwto tê òtaphron kai òs èsèlwv kai ëkîtharôfthse kai ètragîfðhsev, ëtpè toûs ge ìpsouoi ouk ëstîn òte ou'x ëmmllâto. ëstî de òte kai êkouv ëttâto, òpouw tâ ge ìllâ ta plëiôw pîstévna2 èp' álithêiâs krateîn.—Xîph. 179, 5–182, 6 R. St.


1 òktauksîw kai xîlîw Sylb., òktauksîa kai xîlîa VC.
2 pîstévna St., pîstévnaî VC.
time! Augustus! Augustus! O, Divine Voice! A.D. 68
Blessed are they that hear thee.” I might, to be
sure, have used circumlocutions, but why not de-
clare their very words? The expressions that they
used do not disgrace my history; rather, the fact
that I have not concealed any of them lends it
distinction.

When he had finished these ceremonies, he
announced a series of horse-races, and carrying into
the Circus these crowns as well as all the others
that he had secured by his victories in chariot-racing,
he placed them round the Egyptian obelisk. The
number of them was one thousand eight hundred
and eight. And after doing this he appeared as
a charioteer. Now a certain Larcius, a Lydian,
approached him with an offer of a million sesterces
if he would play the lyre for them. Nero, however,
would not take the money, disdaining to do any-
thing for pay (albeit Tigellinus collected it, as the
price of not putting Larcius to death), but he did
appear in the theatre, nevertheless, and not only
played the lyre but also acted in a tragedy. (As
for the equestrian contests, he never failed to take
part in them.) Sometimes he would voluntarily let
himself be defeated, in order to make it more
credible that he really won on most occasions.

Dio, Book LXII: “And he inflicted countless
woes upon many cities.”
EPITOME OF BOOK LXIII

22, 11 'O μὲν οὖν Νέρων οὖτω τε ἔξη καὶ οὖτως ἐμονάρχει, λέξω δὲ καὶ ὅπως κατελύθη καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχῆς ἐξέπεσεν.—Xiph. 182, 6–8 R. St.

1a "Ετι δ' ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι οὖτος τοῦ Νέρωνος 'Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς προύπτον ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Οὐσεπασιανὸν ἐπεμψε. καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ Γαλάται βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς ἦσχαλλον ἐκ πλείονος καὶ ἐφλέγμαινον.

—Zon. 11, 13, p. 41, 5–9 D.

12 Ἡν τὶς 1 Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ Γάιος 'Ιουλίος Οὐῖνδιξ, 2 εκ μὲν προγόνων 'Ακυτανὸς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φύλου, 3 κατὰ δὲ τὸν πατέρα Βουλευτῆς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, τὸ τε σῶμα ἵσχυρός καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν συνετὸς, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρὸς καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον μέγα εὐτολμός: τὸ τε φιλελεύθερον καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον πλείοντον εἴχεν· ὅς προέστη τῶν Γαλατῶν.—Xiph. 182, 8–11 R. St., Exc. Val. 256 (p. 694).

2 Οὕτως ὁ Οὐῖνδιξ συναθροίσας τοὺς Γαλάτας 4 πολλὰ πεπονθότας τοὺς ταῖς συχναῖς ἐσπράξεσι τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἑτὶ πάσχοντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ βῆμα μακρὰν διεξῆλθε κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ῥήσιν λέγων δεῖν ἀποστήμαι τε 3 αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμα οἱ ἐπιστιχίαι αὐτῷ, "ὅτι" φησὶ "πάσαν τὴν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων οἰκουμένην σεσύληκεν,

1 Ἡν τὶς V 2, space left in VC.
2 Οὐῖνδιξ Zon. Antioch. regularly, βινδιξ VC cod. Peir. regularly.
3 φύλου cod. Peir., γένους VC.
Such was the life led by Nero and such was the way he ruled. I shall now relate how he was put down and driven from his throne.

While Nero was still in Greece, the Jews revolted openly, and he sent Vespasian against them. Also the inhabitants of Britain and of Gaul, oppressed by the taxes, were becoming more vexed and inflamed than ever.

There was a Gaul named Gaius Julius Vindex, an Aquitanian, descended from the royal race and by virtue of his father’s status a Roman senator. He was powerful in body and of shrewd intelligence, was skilled in warfare and full of daring for any great enterprise; and he had a passionate love of freedom and a vast ambition. This was the man who stood at the head of the Gauls.

This Vindex called together the Gauls, who had suffered much by the numerous forced levies of money and were still suffering at Nero’s hands. And ascending a tribunal he delivered a long and detailed speech against Nero, saying that they ought to revolt from the emperor and join the speaker in an attack upon him, “because,” as he said, “he has despoiled the whole Roman world, because he

1 Cf. Zonaras: (Vindex,) seeing his fellow-Gauls eager for rebellion, aroused them by an harangue that he delivered.
ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἀνθός τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολόλεκεν, ὅτι τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἦσχυνε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἄγερμονίας
4 σώζει. σφαγαί μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀρπαγαί καὶ ὑβρεῖς καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλῶν πολλαὶ πολλάκις ἐγένοντο· τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ πῶς ἀν τις κατ' ἄξιαν εἰπεῖν δυνηθεῖ; εἶδον, ὡς ἀνδρὲς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, πιστεύσατε μοι, εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἑκείνον, εὖγε ἀνὴρ ὁ Στόρον γεγαμηκός, ὁ Πυθαγόρα γεγαμηκός, ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεάτρου κύκλῳ καί ἐν τῇ ὁρχήστρᾳ ποτὲ μὲν κιθάραν ἔχοντα καὶ ὀρθοστάδιον καὶ κοθόρνους, ποτὲ δὲ ἐμβάτας καὶ
5 προσωπεῖον. ἢκουσα αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ἄδοντος, ἢκουσα κηρύττοντος, ἢκουσα τραγῳδοῦντος. εἶδον αὐτὸν δεδεμένον, εἶδον συρόμενον, κῦντα δὴ, τίκτοντα δή, πάντα ὅσα μυθολογεῖται καὶ λέγοντα καὶ ἀκούοντα καὶ πάσχοντα καὶ δρόντα.

εἰτά τις 1 τὸν τοιοῦτον Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Ἀὔγουστον ὀνομάσει; μηδαμῶς μηδεῖς
6 ὑβριζέτο τὰ ἱερὰ ἑκείνα ὑνόματα. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ Ἀὔγουστος καὶ Κλαύδιος ἔσχον, οὕτος δὲ δὴ Ἐνέστης τε καὶ Οἰδίπους Ἀλκμέων 2 τε καὶ Ὀρέστης δικαίοτατ' ἀν καλοῦτ' τούτους γὰρ ὑποκρίνεται, καὶ ταύτας ἀντ’ ἑκείνων τὰς ἑπωνυμίας 3 ἀντεπιτεθεῖται. ἀνάστητης οὖν ἦδη ποτὲ, καὶ ἐπικουρήσατε μὲν ύμίν 4 αὐτοῖς, ἐπικουρήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ὀμοιοῖς, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ 5 πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην.”—Xiph. 182, 11–183, 3 R. St.

1 εἰτά τις H. Steph., εἰτά τίς VC.
2 Ἀλκμέων Bs., ἀλκμαίων VC.
3 ἑπωνυμίας Sylb., ἑπιθυμίας VC.
4 ύμίν R. Steph., ἤμιν VC.
has destroyed all the flower of their senate, because he debauched and then killed his mother, and does not preserve even the semblance of sovereignty. Many murders, robberies and outrages, it is true, have often been committed by others; but as for the other deeds committed by Nero, how could one find words fittingly to describe them? I have seen him, my friends and allies,—believe me,—I have seen that man (if man he is who has married Sporus and been given in marriage to Pythagoras), in the circle of the theatre, that is, in the orchestra, sometimes holding the lyre and dressed in loose tunic and buskins, and again wearing high-soled shoes and mask.¹ I have often heard him sing, play the herald, and act in tragedies. I have seen him in chains, hustled about as a miscreant, heavy with child, aye, in the travail of childbirth—in short, imitating all the situations of mythology by what he said and by what was said to him, by what he submitted to and by what he did.² Will anyone, then, style such a person Caesar and emperor and Augustus? Never! Let no one abuse those sacred titles. They were held by Augustus and by Claudius, whereas this fellow might most properly be termed Thyestes, Oedipus, Alcmeon, or Orestes; for these are the characters that he represents on the stage and it is these titles that he has assumed in place of the others. Therefore rise now at length against him; succour yourselves and succour the Romans; liberate the entire world!"

¹ The kóðorvos seems to have been worn by Nero only when singing, the ἐμβάτης while acting.
² See lxii (lxiii), 9 and note.

⁵ ἄδε supplied by Bk.
23 Τοιαύτα ἵνα τοῦ Οὐίνδικος εἰπόντος ἀπαντῆσαι συνεφρύνησαν. οὐχ ἦαυτῷ δὲ τὴν άρχην πράττων ὁ Οὐίνδικς τὸν Γάλβαν τὸν Σέρουιον τὸν Σουλπίκιον ἐπιεικείᾳ τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμων διαπρέποντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀρχόντα, δύναμίν τε οὐ μικράν ἔχοντα, εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προεχειρίσατο· κάκεινος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀνηγορεῦθη.—Xiph. 183, 3–9 R. St.

24 Ῥοῦφος δὲ ἅρχον τῆς Γερμανίας ὀρμήσε μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ Οὐίνδικι τὸν Πολεμῆσών, γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Οὐεσσοτίωνι ταύτην ἐπολιόρκει, πρόφασιν 2 ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδέξατο αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ Οὐίνδικος πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς πόλεως ἀντεπιόντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ πόρρω στρατοπεδέσαυσαντος ἀντεπέστειλαν μὲν ἀλλήλους τινά, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς λόγους ἠλθον μόνοι καὶ μηδενὸς 5 σφισι τῶν ἄλλων παρόντος, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὡς εἰκάζετο, συνέδετο 3 πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μετὰ δὲ τούτο ὁ Οὐίνδικς ὀρμήσε

1 Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 41, 12–19 D.): καὶ ἅρχοντα πάντα ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιήσεν, καὶ ἦαυτόν, ἀν τι παρὰ ταύτα πράξῃ, φονεύσειν. αὐτοκράτορα δὲ Γάλβαν τὸν Σέρουιον τὸν Σουλπίκιον προεχειρίσατο, γενόμενον εἰς εὐπατρίδαν, καὶ τότε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχοντα· καὶ ὃς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐδέξατο, οὔκ ἤθελησε δὲ ταύτῃ τῆς αὐτορχίας ἐπικλῆσει προσλαβεῖν τότε.


2 Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 91 Muell. v. 10–22): ὁ γὰρ Νέρων, ὃς μετριώς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταραχθεῖς, στρατηγὸν τῶν πολέμου Ῥοῦφον Γάλλον ἑκτέμετε· ὡς οὔδε ἐς χειρᾶς ἔλεγην ἀναχώμενος πρὸς τὸν Γάλλαν, ὄμολογεῖ τε καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Γαλλίων ἄρχειν ἐπιλεξάμενος, Οὐίνδικι δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν προσήκειν καὶ τῷ Γάλβῳ τἀσαν ὅμω τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ
Such words falling from the lips of Vindex met A.D. 68 with the approval of all. Now Vindex was not working to get the imperial office for himself but selected Servius Sulpicius Galba for that position; this man was distinguished for his upright behaviour and skill in warfare, was governor of Spain, and had a military force of no small size. And he was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers.

Rufus, the governor of Germany, set out to make war on Vindex; but when he reached Vesontio, he proceeded to besiege the city, for the alleged reason that it had not received him. But Vindex came to the aid of the city against him and encamped not far off, whereupon they sent messages back and forth to each other and finally held a conference by themselves at which no one else was present and came to a mutual agreement against Nero, as was conjectured. After this Vindex set out with his

1 Cf. Zonaras: And he made them swear to do everything in the interest of the senate and the Roman people and to slay him in case he should do anything contrary to this purpose. For emperor he chose Servius Sulpicius Galba, who came of a patrician family and was at the time governor of Spain. This man accepted the power but declined to assume the imperial titles at that time.

Joann. Antioch.: And having associated with himself many of the senate who were in exile, he appointed Galba king. This man immediately armed the forces and made all his preparations for war, after which he marched upon Rome.

2 Cf. Joann. Antioch.: At any rate, Nero, being greatly alarmed at this, sent out Rufus Gallus to conduct the war. But Rufus, not venturing even to engage in battle with Galba, came to terms and made a compact with Vindex, in which he chose to rule the Gauls himself and agreed that Spain should belong to Vindex and that Galba should receive all Italy together with the remaining provinces that owed allegiance to the Roman empire. After these terms had been
metà τού στρατοῦ ὡς τὴν πόλιν καταληψάμενος· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὦ τοῦ Ῥούφοι στρατιῶται προσιόντας αὐτοθάμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀντικρὶς χωρείν, ἀντεξώρισιν αὐτοκελευστοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες σφίσιν ἀπροσδόκητοι τε καὶ ἀσων·

4 τάκτοις οὕτω παμπόλλους κατέκοψαν. ἔδων δὲ τούτῳ καὶ περιαλγήσας ο Οὐίνδιξ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔσοφαξε.—Χιφ. 183, 12–25 R. St.

4 Τῆς δ’ ἀποστασίας παρατεινομένης ο Οὐίνδιξ ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσοφαξε, τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν κινδυνευόντων ὑπεραλγήσας καὶ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοσοῦτον πράγματος ὄργινηθείς, τοῦ τὸν Νέρωνα καθελεῖν 1 καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔλευθερωσάι, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσεν αὐτό.—

Zon. 11, 13 (p. 41, 19–24 D.).

4 Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατατρώσαντες, δόξα τισὶ μάτην ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεκτονότες αὐτὸν παρέσχον.

25 Ῥοῦφος 2 δὲ τούτων μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπένδυσε, τὴν

1 καθελεῖν BCε, καταλίσαι AE.


ὅσα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσυπακούειν (πρὸς ὑπακοὴν cod. Par., πρὸς ὑπακοεῖν cod. Esc.) ἦνη τυχάνει. τούτων αὐτοῖς διομολογηθέντων, τινὲς τῶν τοῦ Ῥούφου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιβουλεύουσι τῷ Οὐίνδικι, ἀγνοίᾳ μὲν τῶν ὀμιληθέντων, ἁλὼ δὲ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν δυναστέλας. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Οὐίνδιξ κοίτοι πρεσβίων δυνάμενος σωθήναι, ἀγανακτήσας καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ὀμφοφονοῦντων ἐκακωθή, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία ἀμφότεροι τῷ Νέρωνι πράττοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπώλεσαν, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ ἀνθρωποῦ βίου καταγεών, καὶ τὶ πρὸς τὸ δαίμονιν εἰπὼν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον πράγματος ἄρξαμεν οὐκ ἐπῆλθοςεν, ἑαυτὸν προσκατειργάσατο.

3 Οὐίνδικι R., Steph. (Bvndik), Bvndikov VC.

4 Οὐεσσωντίων Bk., Bessontiowi VC.

5 μηδενός V corr., space left in VC.

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army ostensibly to occupy the town; and the soldiers A.D. 68 of Rufus, becoming aware of their approach and thinking the force was marching straight against them, marched out in their turn, on their own initiative, and falling upon them while they were off their guard and in disarray, cut down great numbers of them. Vindex on seeing this was so overcome by grief that he slew himself.

As the revolt continued, Vindex slew himself; for he felt exceedingly grieved because of the peril of his soldiers and was vexed at Fate because he had not been able to attain his goal in an undertaking of so great magnitude, namely the overthrow of Nero and the liberation of the Romans.

This is the truth of the matter; but many afterwards inflicted wounds on his body, and so gave rise to the false impression that they themselves had killed him.

Rufus\(^1\) mourned his death greatly, but refused to

\(^1\) Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Rufus at any rate grieved terribly over this disaster and punished some of the troops, after which he fell to brooding in silence.

agreed upon by them, some of Rufus' troops plotted against Vindex, being ignorant of the agreement their leaders had made and eager to secure the supreme power for their general. Vindex, now, might easily have saved his life; but he was indignant and bewailed the fact that he had been injured by those who were of the same mind as he and that, although both Rufus and he were working against Nero, they were destroying each other, and he was disgusted, moreover, with this mortal life and even had something to say against Fate because, having put his hand to so great an undertaking, he had not been able to carry it through; and so he made away with himself.

\(^1\) Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Rufus at any rate grieved terribly over this disaster and punished some of the troops, after which he fell to brooding in silence.
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de autokratora ἀρχήν, καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλάκις αὐτῶ έγκειμένων, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δέξασθαι, δυνηθεὶς ἄν ῥαδίως ἐπιτυχῆς αὐτῆς γενέσθαι. δραστήριός τε γὰρ ἀνήρ ἤν καὶ ἰσχύν μεγάλην καὶ πρόθυμον εἶχε, καὶ οἱ στρατιώται τὰς μὲν τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰκόνας καθείλον καὶ συνέτριψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ Κάισαρα καὶ Αὐγούστουν

2 ὀνόμαζον. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἐνταῦθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις ἐν τῶν σημείων αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων ἐπέγραψε· καὶ δ' ἐκεῖνα τέ ἀπῆλευψε, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ αὐτοὺς καταστήσας ἐπείσε τὴν ἀρχήν¹ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι, 3 εἰτ' οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἦξίον τοὺς στρατιώτας τινὶ τὸ κράτος διδόναι (τῇ τε γὰρ γεραυσία καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσήκειν τούτ' ἐλεγεν), εἰτε καὶ παντελῶς μεγαλογνωμονῶν,² ὡς οὔδεν τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὲρ ἢς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντα³ ἐπραττον, καὶ αὐτῶς δεόμενος.⁴—Xiph. 183, 25–184, 8 R. St.

26 "Οτι ο Νέρων μαθὼν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Οὐίνδικα ἐν Νέα πόλει τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνα ἀπ' ἀρίστον θεωρῶν, οὐκ ἐλυπήθη, ἀλλὰ καταπήθη σας ἐκ τῆς ἐδρας ἀθλητὴ τίνι συνεπούδασεν· οὐδὲ⁵ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἥπειρχηθή, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα ἀπλῶς τῇ βουλῇ πέμψας παρητήσατο ὅτι οὐκ ἄφικετο, λέγων βραγχάν, καθάπερ τι ἄσαι καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς

2 δεόμενος. καὶ τὴν γε αὐτῆν φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς τε φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ἁσμάτων τῶν τε κιθαρισμάτων, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ οὔτε τι εξ' ἐκείνων

¹ τὴν ἀρχήν supplied by Reim.
² μεγαλογνωμονῶν Reim., μεγαλογνωμῶν VC.
³ πάντα Sylb., πάντες VC.

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accept the office of emperor, although his soldiers A.D. 68
frequently urged it upon him and he might easily
have obtained it. For he was an energetic man and
had a large and zealous military force, and his soldiers
threw down and shattered the images of Nero and
called Rufus by the titles of Caesar and Augustus.
When he would not heed them, one of the soldiers
thereupon quickly inscribed these words on one of his
standards. He erased the words, however, and after
a deal of trouble brought the men to order and per-
suaded them to submit the question of the throne
to the senate and the people. It is hard to say
whether this was merely because he did not deem
it right for the soldiers to bestow the supreme power
upon anyone (for he declared this to be the pre-
rogative of the senate and the people), or because
he was entirely high-minded and felt no desire him-
self for the imperial office, to secure which others
were willing to do anything and everything.
Nero was informed of the uprising of Vindex as
he was viewing the gymnastic contest in Neapolis
just after luncheon; but, far from showing any grief,
he leaped down from his seat and vied in prowess
with some athlete. Nor did he hurry back to Rome,
but merely sent a letter to the senate, in which he
asked them to excuse him for not coming, pleading
a sore throat, implying that he would like, even at
this crisis, to sing to them. And he continued to
devote the same care and attention to his voice, to
his songs, and to his lyre-playing, not only at that
juncture but also later. Because of this he would

4 καλ αὐτὸς δεόμενος V corr. (δευμενος), . . . μενος VC.
5 οὐδὲ Bk., ὁβτε cod. Peir.
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23, 2 Δέγεται ἕ θετε οὗ τοῦ Ὅουρονος διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐπικηρύξατο τῷ Ὅουνδικῷ ἀκούσας ὁ Ὅουνδιξ ἔφη ὅτι "ὁ Ὅουρων ἀποκτείνας τὴν τε κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ κομίσας μοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἀντιλήφθηκαί." τοιούτος μὲν τις ὁ Ὅουνδιξ ἔγενετο.—Xiph. 183, 9–12 R. St.

26, 3 Τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα εἰσώθηκεν ὁμοίως ἐποίει, χαίρων τοῖς ἡγεμόνεις ὅτι ἄλλως τε κατακρατήσειν τοῦ Ὅουνδικοῦ ἠπτίζειν καὶ ὑπόθεσιν ἀργυρισμοῦ καὶ φόνων εἰληφέραν εἶδοκεν. καὶ ἐτρύφα, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀπάννης ἠρῷον ἐκποιηθέν καὶ κοσμηθέν λαμπρῶς ὀσίωσεν, ἐπιγράψας αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἀπάνην 4 αὐτὸ θεά Ἀφροδίτη αἱ γυναῖκες ἐποίήσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἠληθεύσεν ἐκ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ἅ πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσεύλητο ἐξεργάσθησθαι συχνὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ήθου, ὅπως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλεύψω, ἐν δὲ εὔπω. νύκτωρ ποτὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐξαιτίας ἐπιδόθη, ὥς καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων τι κοι-


2 τῷ Οὐνδικῷ Ῥκ., τῷ Βίνδικον VC, τῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ κομίζοντι τοῦ Οὐνδικοῦ Ζον.
not utter a word in a loud voice, and if he was at A.D. 68 any time compelled by the circumstances in which he now found himself to shout out anything, yet somebody would promptly remind him that he was to sing to the lyre and would thus curb and control him.

It is stated that when Nero set a price of ten million sesterces upon the head of Vindex, the latter upon hearing it remarked: "The one who kills Nero and brings his head to me shall get mine in return." That was the sort of man Vindex was.

In general, Nero still behaved in his accustomed manner and he was pleased with the news brought him, because he was expecting in any event to overcome Vindex and thought he had now secured a ground for levies of money and murders. He continued his luxurious practices; and upon the completion and adornment of the shrine of Sabina he gave it a brilliant dedication, having first inscribed upon it the statement that the women had built it to the deified Sabina, Venus. Now in this matter he told the truth, since the building had been constructed with money of which a great part had been stolen from the women; but he also had his numerous little jokes, of which I will mention only one, omitting the rest. One night he suddenly summoned in haste the foremost senators and knights, as if to make some communication to

1 Cf. Petrus Patricius: The senate, learning of the course of Vindex and Galba, passed against Vindex all the usual decrees against rebels, and Nero offered a reward of ten million sesterces to the one who should slay Vindex and bring his head to him. Vindex, on learning of this, replied to his informants: "And for my part, to the one who brings the head of Domitius I offer my own in exchange for it."
νώσων σφίσει, μεταπέμψας "ἐξεύρηκα" ἐφ' "πῶς ἦ ὑδρανλις" (αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ρήθην γραφῆσεται)
5 "καὶ μείζον καὶ ἐμμελέστερον φθέγχεται." τοι-ἀυτὰ μὲν καὶ τότε ἐπαίζειν,1 οὐδὲ ἐμελέν2 αὐτῷ ὅτι αἱ θύραι ἀμφότεραι, αἱ τε τοῦ μνημείου τοῦ Ἀγνουστείου καὶ αἱ τοῦ κοιτώνος τοῦ ἐκείνου, αὐτόματα ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἀνεφάχθησαν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ τοσοῦτο δὴ των αἵματι ὑστετεκε ὡστε καὶ ποταμὸς ῥύησαι, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Ἀγνύττου ὑπαναχώρησασα ἐπὶ πολυ ἡ θάλασσα
27 μέρος μέγα τῆς Δυκίας κατέκαβεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τε τοῦ Γάλβα ἱκουσεν ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνερρήθη,3 περὶ τοῦ Ρούφου ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη, ἐν δέει τε μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐν Ρώμῃ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους Ρούβριον Γάλλον καὶ ἄλλους τινάς ἐπεμψεν.—
Exc. Val. 257b, Xiph. 184, 8–23 R. St.
1α 'Ο δὲ Νέρων μαθὼν καὶ τοῦ Πετρώνιον, ὅν κατὰ τῶν ἑπαναστάντων μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος προσεπεπομφεὶ στρατεύματος, τὰ τοῦ Γάλβου φρονήσαντα, οὐκέτ' οὔδεμιαν ἐλπίδα τῶν ὀπλῶν ἑσχεν.—Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 1–4 D.
2 Ἡπὶ πάντων δὲ ὁμοίως ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν4 τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς ἀποκτείναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι5 ἐς τὸ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλεύσαι, ὑπειπῶν ὅτι "ἀν καὶ 6 ἐκ 7 τῆς ἀρχῆς

1 ἐπαίζειν cod. Peir., ἥθυρε VC.
2 ἐμελέν R. Steph., ἐμελλείν VC.
3 ἀνερρήθη Bk., ἀναρρήθη VC.
4 ὑπὸ πάντων—μὲν VC, ὅτι ἄλλων ἄλλα λεγόντων ὁ Νέρων ἐγὼ cod. Peir., καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλα λεγόντων τέλος ἐγὼ Joann. Ant.
them regarding the political situation, and then said A.D. 68 to them (I quote his exact words): "I have discovered a way by which the water-organ will produce louder and more musical tones." In such jests did he indulge even at this crisis. And little did he reek that both sets of doors, those of the mausoleum of Augustus and those of his own bedchamber, opened of their own accord on one and the same night, or that in the Alban territory it rained so much blood that rivers of it flowed over the land, or that the sea retreated a long distance from Egypt and covered a great portion of Lycia. But when he heard about Galba having been proclaimed emperor by the soldiers and about the desertion of Rufus, he fell into great fear, and not only made preparations himself at Rome, but also sent against the rebels Rubrius Gallus and some others.

On learning that Petronius, whom he had sent ahead against the rebels with the larger portion of the army, had also espoused the cause of Galba, Nero reposed no further hope in arms.

Now that he had been abandoned by everybody alike, he began forming plans to kill the senators, burn down the city, and sail to Alexandria. He dropped this hint in regard to his future course: "Even though we be driven from our empire, yet

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1 P. Petronius Turpilianus.
2 Cf. Joann. Antioch. and Exc. Val.: When one advised one thing and another another, Nero finally decided to kill, etc.
3 Joann. Antioch. adds "by night."

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εκπέσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ γε τέχνιον ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ δια-
θρέψειν" ἐστοῦτο γὰρ ἀνοίας ἐληλύθει ὡστε καὶ
πιστεύσαι ὅτι ἄλλως τε ἰδιωτεύσαι καὶ προσέτι
καὶ κιθαρωδεῖν δυνήσεται.—Xiph. 184, 23–28 R.
St., Exc. Val. 258 (p. 696).

2b Μέλλοντος ἔτη ταῦτα πράσσειν ἢ βουλή τὴν
περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα φρουρᾶν ἀποκαλέσασα εἰσῆλθεν
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸν μὲν πολέμιον ἀπέ-
ϕηνε, τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀνθείλετο αὐτοκράτορα.—
Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 8–11 D.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾧθετο ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σωματο-
φυλάκων ἐγκαταλέλειπται (ἐν κήποις δὲ τοιῶν ἐ-
τύγχανε καθεύδων), φυγεῖν ἐπέχειρησεν. ἐσθητά
τε ὅπων φαύλην ἠλαβέ 4 καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπὸν οὐδὲν
βελτίων ἀνέβη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατακεκαλυμμένος
πρὸς χωρίον τι Φάώνος Καισαρείου, μετὰ τε
αὐτὸν ἐκείνου καὶ μετὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τοῦ τε
28 Σπόρου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὕσης ἦλασε. καὶ αὐτοῦ
ταῦτα πράσσοντος σεισμὸς ἑξαίσιος ἑγένετο,
ὡστε καὶ δόκησιν παρασχεῖν ὅτι ἢ τε γῆ
πᾶσα διαρρήγνυται καὶ αἱ τῶν πεφονεμένων
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ψυχαὶ πᾶσαι ἁμα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀναθορ-

βουλῆς ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
οἱ τὴν βασίλειον φρουροῦσαν αὐλήν προσδιαλεχθέντες, πελθοῦσι τε
αὐτοῖς ἁμα γενέσθαι, καὶ μεταποίησαν τῆς Ἦρωμαν ἐπικρα-
τείας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῆς τῶν βουλευσάντων ἐγένοτο
γνώμης, αὐτῖκα μὲν τῶν τοῦ στρατόπεδου ἐπαρχῶν Σκιπούλον
ἀναιροῦσιν, ἄφισται δὲ τῆς τῆς βασιλείου φρουρᾶ.
ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων κατελείφθη, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἐαυτὸν οὐκ
ἐτόλμησεν, ἵνα τὴν αἰσχύνην κερδάνη, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐπεχείρησε,
ἐπὶ τετηροῦν κεραυνωθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς τραπέζης.
3 τισιν Sylb., τις VC.
this little talent shall support us there." To such a A.D. 68
pitch of folly, indeed, had he come as to believe that
he could live for a moment as a private citizen and
especially as a lyre-player.

He¹ was on the point of putting these measures
into effect when the senate withdrew the guard that
surrounded him and then, entering the camp, de-
clared him an enemy and chose Galba as emperor
in his place.

But² when he perceived that he had been deserted
also by his body-guards (he happened to be sleeping
in a certain garden), he undertook to flee. Accord-
ingly, he put on shabby clothing, mounted a horse
no better than his attire, and with his head covered
he rode while it was yet night towards an estate of
Phaon, an imperial freedman, in company with
Phaon himself, Epaphroditus and Sporus. While he
was on the way a terrible earthquake occurred,
so that one might have thought the whole world
was bursting asunder and all the spirits of those
murdered by him were leaping up to assail him.

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch.: The members of the senate upon
hearing this held conversations with the Praetorians and the
other troops that guard the royal court and persuaded them
to join with them and lay claim to the Roman dominion.
And when these troops also fell in with the plan of the
senators, they straightway slew Scipulus, the prefect of the
camp, and deserted their post as guardians of the king.

² Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Nero, when he was deserted also
by his body-guards, did not have the courage to kill him-
self, so that he might avoid the shame, but undertook to flee,
after his table had been struck by a thunderbolt.

⁴ ἔλαβε VC, ἐνέδυ Zon. (cf. ἐνδυνάμενος Joann Ant.).
⁵ ἐτι οὐσίς Bs., ἐπιούσις VC.
νύσσυ. γνωρισθεῖς οὖν καὶ ὃς ὑπὸ τινος, ὃς φασι, τῶν ἀπαντησάντων καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ προσ-
αγορευθεῖς, ἐκ τε τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπετράπη καὶ ἐς
2 καλαμώδη τόπον τινα κατεκρύφθη. καὶ ἐνταῦθα
μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινεν ἔρριμμένος, ὅπως
ὡς ήκιστα διορθω. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὸν παρ
ιόντα 1 ὡς καὶ ἕφ' ἐαυτὸν ἦκοντα ὑποπτεύων,
πᾶσαν δὲ φωνήν ὡς καὶ ἀναξητοῦσαν αὐτὸν 2
ὑποτρέμων, εἰ τε ποι κυνίδιον ὑλαξεν ἤ καὶ
ἀρνήθοιον ἐφθέγξατο ῥοσίον τε καὶ κλάδος ὑπ'
3 αὑρας ἑσεῖσθη, δεινὸς ἔταράττετο, καὶ οὐθ' ἰσ-
χάζειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔδυνατο, οὔτ' αὐ λαλεῖν τινι
τῶν παρώντων, μὴ καὶ ἐτερός τις ἀκούσῃ, ἔτολμα,
ἂν' αὐτός καθ' ἐαυτὸν τὴν τύχην 3 καὶ ἐθρήνει
καὶ ὁλοφύρετο. ἐλογιζέτο γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ
προσέτι ὅτι πολυανθρωποτάτῃ ποτε θεραπεία
γαυρωθεῖς μετὰ τριῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἐκὕπταξε.
4 τοιοῦτον γὰρ δράμα τότε τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ
παρεσκεύασεν, ὑνα μηκέτι τοὺς ἄλλους μητρο-
φόνους καὶ ἀλήτας ἄλλ' ἡδη καὶ ἐαυτὸν ὑπο-
κρίνηται καὶ τότε μετεγίνωσκεν ἐφ' ὦς ἐτε-
τολμήκει, καθάπερ ἀπρακτόν τι αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι
5 δυνάμενος. Νέρων μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ἑτραγύδει,
καὶ τὸ ἐπός ἔκεινο συνεχῶς ἐνενύει,

"οἰκτρῶς θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος πατήρ."

ὁψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀναξητῶν
ἐξορᾶτο, μετῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ἄντρον, κἀνταῦθα καὶ
ἐφαυλεῖ πεινήσας ἄρτον ὅποιον οὐδεπώτωτε ἐβε-
βρώκει, καὶ ἔπιε διψήσας ὑδρω ὅποιον οὐδεπώ-

1 παρίοντα Sylb., παρίοντα VC.
2 αὐτὸν Bk., αὐτὸν VC.
Being recognized, they say, in spite of his disguise, A.D. 68 and saluted as emperor by someone who met him, he turned aside from the road and hid himself in a place full of reeds. There he waited till daylight, lying flat on the ground so as to run the least risk of being seen. Everyone who passed he suspected had come for him; he started at every voice, thinking it to be that of someone searching for him; if a dog barked anywhere or a bird chirped, or a bush or branch was shaken by the breeze, he was greatly excited. These sounds permitted him no rest, and he dared not speak a word to any one of those that were with him for fear someone else might hear; but to himself he lamented and bewailed his fate, considering among other things how he had once prided himself on so vast a retinue and was now skulking out of sight in company with three freedmen. Such was the drama that Fate now prepared for him, so that he should no longer play the roles of other matricides and beggars, but only his own at last, and he now repented of his past deeds of outrage, as if he could undo any of them. Such was the tragic part that Nero now played, and this verse constantly ran through his mind:

"Both spouse and father bid me cruelly die." 2

After a long time, as no one was seen to be searching for him, he went over into the cave, where in his hunger he ate bread such as he had never before tasted and in his thirst drank water such as he

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1 From an unknown tragedy, the speaker being Oedipus; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. 2, p. 839, Adesp. 8.

3 τῆν τὸχην Rk., τῆ ψύχη VC.
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ποτε ἐπεπώκει. ἐφ' ὦ δυσανασχετήσας εἶπε "τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτὸν τὸ ἐμὸν τὸ ἀπεφθον." 2—Χιφ. 184, 28–185, 26 R. St.

29 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ὁ δὲ δήμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐβούθυτε καὶ ὑπερέχαιρε καὶ τινὲς καὶ πιλία 3 ὡς ἥλευθερωμένοι ἐφερον. καὶ τῷ Γάλβα τὰ τῇ αὐτοκράτορι ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ἐψηφήσαντο. 4

Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ξήτησιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐποιοῦντο, 5 καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινὰ ἥπόρησαν ὅπου ποτὲ ἀπεληλυθός εἰη, ἐπείτα μαθόντες ἐπεμψαν ἡμᾶς. καὶ οὖτως ἐκεῖνος προσιόντας

1 ἐπεπώκει: H. Steph., πεπώκει C, τέπώκει V.
2 ἀπεφθον Reim. following Sylb. (Ἄφεκτον), ἀφθονον VC.


5 Zonaras supplies the subject ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἄλλοι. 190
had never drunk before. This gave him such a qualm that he said: "So this is my famous cold drink!" ¹

While he was in this plight the Roman people were offering sacrifices and going wild with delight. Some even wore liberty caps, signifying that they had now become free. And they voted to Galba the prerogatives pertaining to the imperial office. ²

For Nero himself they ³ instituted a search in all directions and for some time were at a loss to know where he could have betaken himself. When they finally learned, they sent horsemen against him. He, then, perceiving that they were drawing

¹ Called decocta. It was water that had first been boiled, then cooled by being placed in a glass vessel and plunged into snow. Pliny (N. H. xxxvi. 40) states that Nero was the first to cool the water in this manner.

² Cf. Zonaras: But the people in Rome, when day came, were wild with delight and filled the city with garlands, and some even wore liberty caps, signifying that they had now become free. And the senate voted to Galba the prerogatives belonging to the throne. The populace jeered at Nero and slew and dragged away the bodies of many of those who had been powerful with him.

Joann. Antioch.: And the city was gay with garlands and torches and the people were offering prayers and holding celebrations of genuine thanksgiving. They proceeded to kill those who had been powerful under the tyrant and to pull down his images and statues, as if they were thereby mishandling the despot himself. The Roman senate declared him an enemy and decreed that he should pay the penalty imposed on those who have committed high crimes while in office, which was of the following nature. It is prescribed that the culprit shall be led to the prison naked with a forked stick fastened about his neck, and then, after his body has been soundly flogged, he shall be hurled down from a rock.

³ Zonaras says "the soldiers and others."
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αὐτοὺς αἰσθόμενος ¹ προσέταξε τοὺς παρούσιν ἑαυτὸν ² ἀποκτείναι. ἐπεί τε οὐχ ὑπῆκοισαν, ἀνεστέναξε τε καὶ ἐφή "ἐγὼ μόνος οὐτε φίλον οὐτε ἐχθρον ἔχω." ³ καὶ τούτων πελασάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸ βρυλοῦμενον ἐκεῖνο εἰπὼν, "ὁ Ζεῦ, οἰος τεχνίτης παραπόλλυμαι," καὶ αὐτὸν δυσθανατοῦντα ὁ 'Εσπαφρόδιτος προσκατειργάσατο.

3 Ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ μήνας ἑκάτερα, ἀφ' ὅν ἦρξεν ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μήνας ὀκτώ, ⁴ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀινείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀνγοῦστου γεγονότων, καθάπερ ⁵ ποιοὶ διάφοροι καὶ αἱ δαφναί


² ἐαυτῶν Χιψ., καὶ ἐαυτῶν καὶ σφᾶς Ζών., καὶ ἐαυτῶν καὶ ἐαυτοῦ Joann. Ant.


⁵ Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 43, 1–6 D.): ὃ μὲν οὖν οὖτω κατὰ τὸν Ἰουλίον ἐτελεύτησε μήνα βιοῦς ἐτή τριάκοντα πρὸς μης πέντε καὶ ἡμέραις εἰκοσι, ἀφ' ὅν ἦρξεν ἔτη τρισκαλδέκα καὶ μήνας ὀκτώ δύοιν ἡμερῶν δέοντας.


⁵ καθάπερ Sylb., ἐπερ V, καὶ περ C.

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near, commanded his companions to kill him. And when they refused, he uttered a groan and said: “I alone have neither friend nor foe.” By this time the horsemen were close at hand, and so he killed himself, after uttering that oft-quoted remark: “Jupiter, what an artist perishes in me!” And as he lingered in his agony, Epaphroditus dealt him the finishing stroke.

He had lived thirty years and nine months, out of which he had ruled thirteen years and eight months. Of the descendants of Aeneas and of Augustus he was the last, as was plainly indicated

1 Cf. Joann. Antioch. : Nero, becoming aware of this [the punishment decreed by the senate] beforehand and fearing those who were coming against him, commanded, etc.
2 Zonaras and Joann. Antioch. have “both him and themselves.”
3 Zonaras: And when they refused, he uttered a loud groan. Then, wishing to destroy Sporus and being unable to do so, he said.
4 Zonaras: So he died in this manner in the month of July [an error for June], having lived thirty years, five months and twenty days, out of which he had ruled thirteen years and eight months, lacking two days.
5 Thirty years, five months and twenty-five (or twenty-six) days was probably Dio’s reading. Nero was born Dec. 15, A.D. 37, and perished apparently on the 9th of June, 68. Zonaras’ estimate of the length of his reign will then be correct, counting (inclusively) from Oct. 13, 54.
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αὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Διονίας φυτευθεὶσαι τὸ τε γένος τῶν λευκῶν ὁρνίθων προδιαφθαρέντα αὐτοῦ ἐσώμανεν.
—Xiph. 185, 27–186, 10 R. St.

4 Ὅτι οὖν ἐκεῖ ἤνεξπιστος ἦν ἡ ἐγχείρησις τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τηλικαύτῃ γενομένῃ ταραχῇ.—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 79 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 197, 22, 23 Dind.).

5 Ὅτι ὁ Ροῦφος πρὸς Γάλβαν ἦλθε, καὶ παρὰ μὲν ἔκε ἦν οὖν οὔδὲν ὃ τι ἦν οἰνοποιεῖ διέφερα, εἰ μὴ τὶς αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκλογίσατο ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοκράτωρ ὁμομασθεὶς ἐξῆς; παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ μείζον ἡ εἶπερ ὑπεδέδεκτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐκτήσατο, ὅτι οὖν ἠθέλησεν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν.—Exc. Val. 259 (p. 697).

6 Γάλβας δ', ἐπεὶ δ' τε Νέρων διέφθαρτο καὶ η βουλή τὴν ἀρχήν οἱ ἐψηφίσατο καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος αὐτῶ προσεχώρησεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος ἄνελαβεν ὄνομα πρὸς τούς τῆς βουλῆς πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. ἄλλ᾽ οὖν τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρότερον εἰς οὖν γράμμα ἐνεγεγράφει.—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 10–15 D.

LXIV 1 Οὔτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Γάλβας αὐτοκράτωρ ἀπε- δείξθη, ὡσπερ ποιεῖτε μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, φῆσας ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἡγεμονίας παραγεύεσθαι, προεῖπε δὲ καὶ σημεῖα ἐναργε- 2 στατα. τὴν τε γὰρ Τύχην ἐσεῖεν εἴλατο 2 λέγειν ὅτι χρόνον ἦδη συχνὸν αὐτῶ πάρηκμένου καὶ ὅτι οὖν εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσδέχοιτο, καὶ δὴ ἐόν ἐπὶ πλείον εὑρήκῃ, πρὸς ἐπέρον των μετα- στήσεται καὶ πλοῦτα ὅπλων μεστὰ πρὸς Ἱβηρίαν ὕπ' αὐτάς ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτόματα, μηδενὸς 194
by the fact that the laurels planted by Livia and A.D. 68
the breed of white chickens 1 perished shortly before
his death.

There was no one who might not hope to lay
hands on the sovereignty in a time of so great
confusion.

Rufus came to Galba and could obtain from him
no favour of any importance, unless one reckons it
as such that a man who had frequently been hailed
as emperor was allowed to live. Among the rest of
mankind, however, he had acquired a great name,
greater, in fact, than if he had accepted the sove-
reignty, for refusing to receive it.

Galba, now that Nero had been destroyed and the
senate had voted him the imperial power and Rufus
had joined him, plucked up courage. He did not
adopt the name Caesar, however, until the senate’s
envoys had come to him. In fact, he had not hitherto
even styled himself emperor in any communication.

Thus Galba was declared emperor, just as Tiberius
had foretold when he said to him that he also should
have a taste of the sovereignty. 2 The event was
likewise foretold by unmistakable omens. For it
seemed to him in a vision that Fortune told him
that she had now remained by him for a long time,
yet no one would grant her admission into his house,
and that, if she should be barred out much longer,
she would take up her abode with somebody else.
At about this very time, also, ships full of weapons
under the guidance of, no human hand came to

1 See xlviii. 52.
2 See lvii. 19.

1 τοῦτο Val., ταῦτα cod. 2 aὐτῷ Bk., aὐτῷ VC.
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3 ἀνθρώπων ἄγοντος αὐτά, προσωρμίσθη. ἦμιονός τε ἔτεκεν, ὅπερ αὐτῷ σύμβολον τοῦ κράτους ἔσεσθαι ἐτεθέσπιστο. καὶ παῖς λιβανωτὸν αὐτῷ θύοντι προσφέρων πολιάς ἤξαίφης ἔφυσεν, καὶ οἱ μάντεις τὴν τοῦ νεωτέρου ἄρχην πρὸς τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ μεταστήσεσθαι ἔφησαν.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ φέροντα προεδείχθη· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετρίως ἤρχε καὶ ἀνεπαχθῆς ἦν, νομίζων οὐκ εἰληφέναι τὴν ἄρχην ἄλλα δεδόσθαι αὐτῷ (τούτῳ γὰρ συνεχῶς ἔλεγε), πλὴν ὅτι χρήματα τε ἀπλήστως, ἀτε καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἦθροιζε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλάχιστα ἀνήλικρεν, ὡστε μηδὲ δραχμᾶς ἔστιν οἷς ἄλλῃ ὑβολοὺς χαρίζεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι

2 αὐτοῦ πάμπολλα ἐπλημμέλουν, ὡστε καὶ ἐς ἐκείνουν αὐτὰ ἀναφέρεσθαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἱδιώταις ἀπόχρη μηδὲν ἄδικεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐχοῦσιν ἀνάγκη προνοεῖν ὅπως μηδ' ἄλλος κα-κουργῇ· οὔδε γὰρ διαφέρει τι τοῖς κακῶς

3 πάσχοσιν ύπ' ὅτου ἄν καὶ κακώνται. ὡστ' εἰ καὶ ἐξω τοῦ τι δεινὸν ποιεῖν οἱ Γάλβας ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκείνοις ἄδικεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν ἡ ὅτι ἦγνοε τὰ γινόμενα, οὐ καλῶς ἦκουν. Νυμφίδιος δὲ τις καὶ Καπίτων οὐτως ἐξεφρόνησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡστε οἱ Καπίτων, ἑφέντος τινὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποτὲ δικά-ξοντος, μετεπήδησε τε ἐπὶ δίφρον ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἔφη "λέγε τὴν δίκην παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι,"

1 1 τε, Bk., γε VC.

1 Literally obols.

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anchor off the coast of Spain. And a mule brought A.D. 68
forth young, an event which, as had been foretold,
was to be a sign to him of the supreme power.
Again, the hair of a boy who was bringing him
incense when he was offering sacrifice suddenly
turned white, whereupon the seers declared that the
sovereignty held by the younger man should be
transferred to the old age of Galba.

These, then, were the signs that appeared before-
hand pointing to his sovereignty. As for Galba
himself, his rule was in most respects moderate and
free from offence, for he considered that he had not
seized the power but that it had been given to him
(indeed, he was constantly making this statement),
but he collected money insatiably, since he required
much, and spent of it very little, sometimes giving
people as presents, not denarii, but sesterces\(^1\); his
freedmen, however, committed many offences, the
responsibility for which was laid at his door. For,
whereas it is enough for ordinary citizens to abstain
from wrong-doing, those, on the other hand, who
hold positions of command must see to it that no
one else does any mischief, either. For it makes
no difference to those who are wronged at whose
hands they suffer the injury. Hence it was that,
though Galba was not guilty of any violence, he was
nevertheless ill spoken of because he allowed these
others to do wrong; or else was ignorant of what was
going on. A certain Nymphidius and Capito quite
lost their heads as the result of this weakness of his.
Capito, for instance, when one day a man appealed
a case from his jurisdiction, changed his seat to a high chair and then said: "Now plead your
case before Caesar." He then passed sentence and
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dιαγνούσ τε ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν. τούτως μὲν δὴ
dιὰ ταύτα ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεξήλθεν.

2 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπλησίασε τῇ πόλει, ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ
οἱ δορυφόροι τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἦξιον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
στρατείᾳ φυλακθῆναι. καὶ ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα

3 ἅνεβάλετο ὡς καὶ σκεψόμενος περὶ τούτου, ὡς δὴ
οὐκ ἐπέθυμον ἄλλ' ἐθορύβουν, ἐφήκε σφίσι τῷ
στρατεύμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐστὶν ἐπτα-
κισχύλους ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεκα-
τευθέντες. οὖτως, εἰ καὶ ἡ ἡλικία τῇ τε νόσῳ
ἐκεκμῆκει, ἄλλα τῇ διανοίᾳ ἤκμαζεν, οὐδ' ἦξιον

3 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγκαζόμενον τι ποιεῖν. ἀμέ-
λει καὶ τοῖς δορυφόροις ἀπαίτούσι τὰ χρήματα
ἀ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Νυμφίδιος, οὐκ ἐδωκε, καὶ ἔφη
γε ὃτι "καταλέγειν στρατιώτας ἄλλ' οὖκ ἄγο-
ράζειν εἰσώθα." τῷ δὲ δῆμῳ σφόδρα ἔξωθυντι
τὸν τε Τεγελλίνου καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πρῶτον
ὕβρισάντων ἀποδιάλεεν οὖχ ὑπείξε, τάχα ἄν
ἀποκτείνας αὐτούς εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτ' ἤτήκεσαν.

4 τὸν μέντοι Ὅλιον καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον τὸν τε
Πατρόβιον καὶ τὴν Δουκούσταν τὴν φαρμακίδα
καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπιπο-
λασάντων κατά τε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν δεδεμένους
περιαχθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κολασθῆναι ἐκέλευσε.
Vat. 80 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 198, 8–10 Dind.).

4 Καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι οἱ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν πράξαντές
τι ἡ εἰπόντες αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ τιμωρία παρε-
δόθησαν.—Ζων. 11, 14, p. 43, 15–19 D.

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put the man to death. For this conduct Galba A.D. 63 punished the men I have named.

As he drew near the City, the guards of Nero met him and asked to be retained in the same service. At first he put them off, ostensibly to take the matter under advisement; and when they would not listen to this but kept up a disturbance, he sent the army against them. As a result about seven thousand of them perished on the spot and the survivors were later decimated. This shows that even if Galba was bowed down with age and disease, yet his mind was vigorous and he did not believe that an emperor should submit to compulsion in anything. Further proof is found in the fact that when the Praetorians demanded of him the money that Nymphidius had promised them, he would not give it, but replied: “I am accustomed to levy soldiers, not to buy them.” And when the populace insistently demanded that Tigellinus and certain others who had lately been so insolent should be put to death, he did not yield, though he would probably have killed them if their enemies had not made this demand. In the case, however, of Helius, Narcissus, Patrobius, Lucusta, the sorceress, and others of the scum that had come to the surface in Nero’s day, he ordered them to be led in chains throughout the whole city and then to be executed.

The slaves, likewise, who had been guilty of any act or word against their masters were handed over to these very masters for punishment.

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1 ei Kai R. Steph., eikaw VC.
2 απαιτοῦσι ex. Vat., αἰτοῦσι Xiph.
3 & ὑπέσχετο δ Νυμφίδιος Petr. Patr., om. Xiph.
"Οτι τινες των ιδίων δούλων κατεφρόνησαν βουλόμενοι κακών δούλων ἀπαλλαγήναι.—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 81 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 198, 11, 12 Dind.).

Καὶ τὰ χρήματα δὲ καὶ τὰ κτήματα ὅσα τινές παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰλήφεσαν ἀπητεῖτο. τοὺς γε μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου φυγαδευθέντας ὡς ἥσσεβηκότας τι εἰς αὐτοῖν κατήγαγε, καὶ τὰ ὁστὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους σφαγέντων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦ-

στοῦ μνημείου μετεκόμισε, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἀποκατέστησεν.—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 19–25 D.

Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις ἐπηνεῖτο, ὅτι δὲ ξέφος μέγα διὰ πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξηρτάτω καὶ γέραν καὶ ἀσθενῆς τὰ νεῦρα ὄν, καὶ πάνω πολὺν γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανε.

Δέξω δὲ καὶ ὁποίως αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος συνέβη. οἱ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις στρατιῶται, οὓς εἰχε Ῥοῦφος, μηδεμίαν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα εὑρόμενοι ἕπτα πλεῖον ἐφλέγμηναν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ τέλους τῆς ἐπιθυμίας σφῶν ἀμαρτόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥοῦφον, ἐξήτων αὐτὴν ἐφ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς ἀποπληρῶσαι, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοῦτο· προστησάμενοι γὰρ Αὐλον Οὐστέλλιου τῆς κατω Γερμανίας ἄρχουτα ἐπιτη-

στήσαν, πρὸς μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτῶν ἀπιδόντες, ἔπει ὅτι γε παιδικὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὅτι ἀκολούθως τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ ταύτῃ ἐξ ὁ νῦν ἐνειόησαν, καὶ καὶ μᾶλλον δι’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἄρμοζεν

σφίσιν αὐτόν ἐνόμισαν. ἀμέλειι οὕτως οὗδ’ αὐτῶς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιον ἐαυτὸν ἐκρίνειν εἶναι ὡστε δια-

σκόπως τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τεκμηρίως κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐχρῆτο, λέγων ὅτι "οὗ δὲν ἐπίστανται οὐ γε καὶ eὑρόμενοι Bs., εὑρόμενοι VC.
Some disdained to receive their own slaves, A.D. 68 wishing to be rid of rascally slaves.

Galba demanded the return of all gifts of money or property that any persons had received from Nero. Moreover, he restored all those who had been exiled by his predecessor on the charge of *maiestas* against the emperor, and he also transferred to the mausoleum of Augustus the bones of members of the imperial family who had been murdered, and he once more set up their images.

For these acts he was praised; on the other hand, he provoked much merriment by wearing a large sword at his side during the entire march, old and weak of sinew as he was.

I shall relate also how he met his end. The soldiers in the Germanies who had been under the command of Rufus became more and more exasperated because they could not obtain any favours from Galba. Having failed to secure the object of their desire under Rufus, they sought to obtain it under some other leader; and in this they succeeded. They placed Aulus Vitellius, governor of Lower Germany, at their head, and revolted. All that they had regard to in him was his noble birth, for they ignored the fact that he had been a favourite of Tiberius and was living a life in keeping with that licentious beginning; or perhaps they believed that on this very account he would suit their purposes all the better.

Vitellius himself, for that matter, held himself as of so little account that he scoffed at the astrologers and used their prediction as evidence against them, saying: "Certainly they know nothing when they declare

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2 οὐτέλλιον Ζον. Α., οὐτέλλιον Ζον. BC(E)°, βιτέλλιον VC (always).
5 'Ο οὖν Γάλβας τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος Δούκιον Πίσονα, ¹ νεανίσκον εὐγενῆ ἐπιεικῆ 2 φρόνιμον, ἐποίησατο καὶ Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἡθων ² ὁ ³ Μάρκος ὁ Σάλουιος, ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι ⁴ μὴ αὐτός ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα ἐπετύχησε, ἀρχὴν αὐθίς μυρίων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κακῶν παρέσχε. καὶ οὖτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐτιμάτο ὅστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ήμέρᾳ, ἐν ἡ ἀπέθανε, θυμόμενος ⁵ τῷ αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῶν βούλευτῶν παρέστη. ὑπ’ οὖτερ καὶ τὰ 3 μάλιστα συνετύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἱερότητις ἐπιβουλευθῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔφη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ οὖν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς προσεθεῖν παρῆγεσεν, ἀκούσας τοῦτ’ ἐκείνος κατέθραμε τε εὐθὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι, καὶ ὑπὸ τινῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγων, οἱ συνωμομόκεσαν ⁶ αὐτῷ, ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσῆχθη, κάνταυθα καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἀτε καὶ ἀχθομένους τῷ Γάλβα προσαναπέσας, ⁷ μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκπραμενος πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσει, ⁸ παρά τε ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραχρῆμα ἔλαβε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ⁹ παρά τῶν ἄλλων. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Γάλβας τὰ πρασ- σόμενα ἐπέμψε τινας ἕς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὦς καὶ ² μεταπείσαί σφας δυνησύμνους. καὶ τούτῳ στρα- ¹ Πίσονα Βκ., πείσωνα VC Zon. ² Cf. Zonaras (11, 14. p. 44, 1–4 D.). ὁ δὲ Ἡθων . . . ἐπ- ανέστη αὐτῷ, τρίακοντα μόνους στρατιώτας ἑτοιμασάμενος. ³ ὁ Ζόν., om. VC. ⁴ ὁτι Zon., om. VC. ⁵ θυμόμενῳ Βκ., θύμωνι Zon. ⁶ παρῆγεσεν Xyl. (in vers.), παρῆγεσαν VC, παρανοοῦντος (τοῦ ἱερόπτου) Zon.
that even I shall become emperor." Nero, when A.D. 69 he heard of it, also laughed and felt such contempt for the fellow that he did him no harm.

Galba, on being informed of the uprising of Vitellius, adopted Lucius Piso, a youth of good family, promising and intelligent, and appointed him Caesar. Thereupon Marcus Salvius Otho, angered because he himself had not been adopted by Galba, set on foot once more countless evils for the Romans. And yet he was always honoured by Galba, so much so, in fact, that on the very day of the latter's death he was the only one of the senators who attended him while he was sacrificing; and this circumstance was largely responsible for what happened. For when the soothsayer declared that Galba would be the victim of a plot and accordingly urged him never on any account to leave the palace, Otho heard it and hastening down immediately, as if on some other errand, was admitted into the camp by some few soldiers who were in the conspiracy with him. Then he won over the rest, too, since they were displeased at Galba, or rather he bought them with many promises. Thus he received the imperial office from these at once and afterwards from the others. Galba, on learning what was taking place, sent some emissaries to the camp, thinking that he would be able to persuade the soldiers to give him their allegiance again. Meanwhile a soldier, holding aloft his bare

1 Zonaras: But Otho ... rebelled against him, having got at his command only thirty soldiers.
τιώτης τις γυμνών τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἡμαγμένων ἀνατείνων προσήλθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔφη “θάρσει, ἀυτοκράτορ. Ὤθωνα γὰρ ἀπέκτεινα, καὶ ἐστι σοι δεινόν ἐτι οὐδέν.” πιστεύσας οὖν ὁ Γάλβας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνου εἶπε “καὶ τῖς σοι τοῦτο ποιήσαι
3 ἐκέλευσεν;” αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτῶλον ὦς καὶ θύσων ἀρμήσε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ ἀπαντήσαντες ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν γέροντα τὸν ὑπατόν τὸν ἄρχιερεά τὸν Κάίσαρα 1 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πολλῶν μὲν βουλευ-
tῶν παμπόλλων δὲ δημοτῶν παρόντων, 2 κατέ-
κοψαν, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐλυμή-
4 ναντο, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοψάντες περὶ κοινὸν ἀνέπειραν. 3 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ἀκοντισθεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν δίφρον ἐν φίν εἴφερετο καὶ προκύψας ἐς αὐτοῦ, ἐτρώθη 4 τούτῳ μόνον εἰπών, “καὶ τί κακὸν ἐποίησα;” καὶ αὐτὸ Σεμπρόνιος Δήνσος ἐκατόν-
tαρχος ἐπαμύνας ἐς ὅσον ἦδυνήθη, τέλος, ὦς οὐδὲν
5 ἠνυσεν, ἐπεσφάγη. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ γε καὶ τὸ ὅνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνέγραψα, ὅτι ἀξιώτατος ἐστὶ μνημονεύ-
σθαι: ἀπέδανε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πίσων καὶ ἄλλοι συνχοὶ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπικουροῦντες τὸν αὐτοκρά-
tορο.—Xiph. 187, 31–189, 14 R. St., Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 26–44, 26 D.

5a Πράξαντες δὲ ταύτα οἱ στρατιώται, τάς τε κεφαλὰς ἐκείνων ἀποτεμόντες, πρὸς τε τὸν Ὅθωνα αὐτάς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκόμισαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατα-
πλαγέντας χαίρειν τε προσποιεῖσθαι κτλ.—Zon. 11, 14, p. 44, 26–29 D.

8 Ὁ μὲντοι βουλή πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα ἐψηφίσατο: βεβιάσθαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐς 204
sword covered with blood, approached him and said: A.D. 69
"Be of good cheer, emperor; I have killed Otho, and no further danger awaits you." Galba, believing this, said to him: "And who ordered you to do that?" He then set out for the Capitol to offer sacrifice. As he reached the middle of the Roman Forum, horsemen and foot-soldiers met him and then and there cut down, in the presence of many senators and crowds of plebeians, this old man, their consul, high priest, Caesar, and emperor; and after abusing his body in many ways they cut off his head and stuck it on a pole. Thus it was that Galba was struck by a javelin in the very chair in which he was being carried, and as he leaned out of it, was wounded, merely saying: "Why, what harm have I done?" Sempronius Densus, a centurion, defended him as long as he could, and finally, when he could accomplish nothing, let himself be slain over Galba's body. This is why I have recorded his name, for he is most worthy of being mentioned. Piso, also, was killed and numerous others, but not in aiding the emperor.

When the soldiers had done this, they cut off the heads of their victims, which they then carried to Otho in the camp and also into the senate-house; and the senators, though terror-stricken, affected to be glad, etc.

The senate, however, voted to Otho all the privileges pertaining to the sovereignty. He claimed, it is

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1 τὸν ὑπατὸν and τὸν Καὶςαρα Ζον., om. VC.
2 παρόντων VC, ὄρων Ζον.
3 ἀνέπειραν Rk., ἐνέπειραν VC Ζον.
4 ἑτρώθη VC, ἑφονεύθη Ζον.
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to teichos akou eisichai kantaouda antilegon
kekivnunhvekénav elenve, kai tay te allo epieikos
epithégeto, kai sy upokriose tov schýmatos
emetríažhe, filhmatá te ws ekástois diá toun
21 daktyúlon èpempe, kai upiosxneito pollá. ouk
éláthave de ws kai 1 aselugéstero kai pikróteron
to Nórvonos ärxein emelle: to gowv óvoma autov
autó evthys épetheito.—Xiph. 190, 25–31 R. St.

6, 52 Ἕξησε δὲ Γάλβας ἔτη δύο καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα
καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν, 2 αὖ ὃν ἦρξε μῆνας
ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας δεκατρεῖς. καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Πίσων
προσαπώλετο, τιμωρίαν ὑποσχὼν ὅτι Καῖσαρ
ἀπεδείχθη.—Xiph. 189, 14–17 R. St., Zon. 11, 14,
p. 45, 3–5 D.

7 Γάλβα μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, ἐμελλέ
δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα ἢ δίκη οὐκ ἐς μακράν
μεθῆξειν, ὡς που παραχρῆμα ἔμαθε. τούντι τὲ
γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν πρότην τὰ ἱερὰ ποιηρᾶ
ὡφθη, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν μεταγνώντα ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγ-
μένοις εἴπειν "τί γὰρ με ἔδει μακροὺς αὐλοῖς
αὐλεῖν;" ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο δημῶδες, ἐς παροιμίαι
φέρου, ἐπὶ τῶν ἕξω τι τοῦ προσφόρου σφίζαι
2 ποιοῦντων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς νυκτὸς οὖτω δὴ
ti en tois úpnois ìptarachthì òuste kai ek tis
eunhès ekpesein toui te prrokoutontas épklhiai
ësphtô̂̂santès ouin eúron autôn xamai keîmenon.
άλλι ὦν γὰρ εἰχὲν ἀπαξ ἐς 3 tis árxhèn éseletho
3 vàndvnav, kal enèmeinein en autì kai dikhì ëdóke,
kaitoi pollà kai métria pròs ðerapeian toun

1 ouk eláthave de ws kai VC, ouk eláthave de 8ti autós tis
boulhìn ebditéo kai ws Zon.
2 kal hēmeras trei kai ekhoun, Zon., om. VC.
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true, that he had acted under compulsion, that he had been taken into the camp against his will, and had there actually risked his life by opposing the soldiers. Furthermore he was kindly in his speech and affected modesty in his deportment, and he kept throwing kisses on his fingers to everybody and making many promises. But men did not fail to realize that his rule was sure to be even more licentious and harsh than Nero's. Indeed, he immediately added Nero's name to his own.

Galba had lived seventy-two years and twenty-three days, out of which he ruled nine months and thirteen days. Piso perished after him, thus paying the penalty for having been appointed Caesar. This was the end that befell Galba. But retribution was destined shortly to overtake Otho in his turn, as he promptly learned. For as he was offering his first sacrifice, the omens were seen to be unfavourable, so that he repented of what had been done and exclaimed: "What need was there of my playing on the long flutes?" (This is a colloquial and proverbial expression applying to those who do something for which they are not fitted.) Later he was so disturbed in his sleep at night that he fell out of bed and alarmed the guards who slept at the door; so when they rushed in, they found him lying on the floor. However, once he had entered upon the imperial office, he could not retreat; and he remained in it and paid the penalty, in spite of many temperate acts intended

1 Zonaras reads: "that he was himself using compulsion on the senate and that his rule," etc.

3 is Zon., πι V, space left in C.
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ἀνθρώπων ποιήσας, οὐχ ὅτι οὕτως ἐπεφύκει, ἀλλὰ ὅτι οἴδοντων αὐτῶν διὰ τὸν Οὐντέλλων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἦθελε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπολεμῶσαι.

—Xiph. 190, 8–25 R. St.

8, 2

Πλὴν τότε καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν συνειδός τοῖς μὲν καταδίκας ἄνει τοῖς δὲ ἀλλ' ἄττα ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ ἐς τὰ θέατρα συνεχῶς ἐσεφότα θωπεύων τὸ πλήθος, τοῖς τε ξένοις πολιτείαν ἐδίδον καὶ ἀλλὰ 3 πολλὰ ἐπηγγέλλετο. οὐ μὴν καὶ οἰκειώσασθαι τούδεν πλὴν ὅλων τινῶν ἡδυνήθη ὡμοίων αὐτῶ, τὸ τε γὰρ τάς τῶν ἐπαιτίων εἰκόνας ἀποκαταστήσαι, καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα, 1 τὸ τε τῷ Σπόρῳ συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ τοῖς λουποῖς τοῖς Νερώνειοις 9 χρῆσαι πάνυ πάντας ἐξεφόβει. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμίσουν ὅτι τὴν τε ἄρχην ὄνιον ἐπεδε- δείχει 3 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς θρασυτάτοις ἐπε- ποίηκε, καὶ τὴν μὲν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρ' 2 οὔδεν ἤγε, τούς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἐπεπείκει καὶ τοῦθ', ὅτι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι Καῖσαρα καὶ ποιῆσαι δύνανται. τοὺς μὲντοι στρατιώτας ἐς τοσοῦτον τόλμης καὶ παρανομίας προήγαγεν ἐκ τε ὄν ἐδίδον καὶ ὃν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐκολάκευεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ποτε, ὃσπερ εἶχον, ἐσεβιά- σαντο, ἐπειδὴ συχνοὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὀθωνι συνεδείπνουν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συμπόσιον, προαποκτείνατε τοὺς εὐργοντάς 3 σφας, ἐσεπήδησαν καὶ πάντας ἀν τοὺς ἐνδον ὄντας ἐφόνευσαν εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐξανέστησαν

1 τὸ τε γὰρ τὰς . . . δίαιτα βς., ὅτι τὸ τὰς τῶν ἐπαιτίων εἰκόνας τῶν Ὀθωνι ἀποκαταστήσας καὶ ἡ δίαιτα cod. Peir., δ ὁ τε γὰρ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα VC.

2 ὄνιον βκ., ὄνιον τε VC.

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to conciliate the people. It was not his nature to a.d. 69 behave that way, but since he had a troublesome situation on his hands because of Vitellius, he did not wish to alienate everybody else.

At this time, however, he was endeavouring to conciliate the senate by remitting the sentences against several of its members and by granting various favours to others; he constantly frequented the theatres in his effort to please the multitude, granted citizenship to foreigners, and in general made many attractive promises. Yet he did not succeed in winning the attachment of any save a certain few who were like himself. For there were several circumstances, such as his restoration of the images of those under accusation, his life and habits, his intimacy with Sporus and his keeping in his service the rest of Nero's favourites, that alarmed everybody. They hated him most of all, however, because he had shown that the imperial office was for sale and had put the City in the power of the boldest spirits; also because he held the senate and the people in slight esteem, and had convinced the soldiers of the fact that they could both kill and create a Caesar. Moreover, he brought the soldiers to such a daring and lawless state by his gifts and his excessive attentions that they once forced an entrance into the palace, just as they were, while a number of the senators were dining there with Otho; and finally they rushed into the banquet-room itself, first killing those who strove to bar their progress. Indeed they would have slain everybody in the room had not the guests jumped up and hidden themselves


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καὶ κατεκρύφθησαν. ¹ καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χρήματα, ὡς καὶ δὲ εἴχοναν αὐτὸ τοῦ "Οθώνος πεποιηκότες, ἔλαβον· ἐάλω ² δὲ τις καὶ Νέρων εἶναι πλασάμενος κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καίρον, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Δίωνι ήγυνότατο, καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ δίκην ἐδωκεν.—Xiph. 190, 31–191, 15 R. St., exc. Val. 260 (p. 697).

10 Ὅ ³ δὲ Ὀθών ἐπειδή καὶ μὴ ἐπειθεὶ τὸν Οὐίτελλιον, ἐς κοινωνίαν αὐτὸν τῇς ἄρχῃς πολλάκις παρακαλῶν, ἐς πόλεμον λοιπὸν φανερῶν καθίστατο καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπέμπεν, ἡγεμόνιν αὐτοῖς πλείσσο παραδοῦσα· δὴ καὶ αὐτώτατον τῶν σφαλμάτων αὐτῷ ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 191, 15–19 R. St.

"Ὅτι ὁ Οὐάλης οὖτω περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὖτως ἔξ ἀπαντὸς τρόπον ἠθροίζεν ὡστε καὶ τὸν δεκαρχίου ⁴ τὸν κατακρύβατα τε αὐτὸν καὶ διασώσαντα ⁵ ἀποσφάξαι διὰ χιλίας δραχμάς, ὡς ἐκ τῶν σκευῶν αὐτοῦ ύφηρήσθαι ἐδοξεῖν.—Exc. Val. 261 (p. 607).


² Cf. Zonaras (11, 15, p. 45 11–16 D.): ἐν τούτοις δὲ τίς πλασάμενος Νέρων εἶναι ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα οὕτης ἐμφέρετας αὐτῷ, τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλίγου πάσαν ἐτάραξε, καὶ χεῖρα κακούργων ἀνδρῶν ἀθροίσας πρὸς τά ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ στρατόπεδα ἀρμῆσαι. ἐν Κύδων (Κύδων Bs., κύδων MSS.) δὲ περαιούμενον αὐτὸν ὁ Καλπουρνίος (Καλπουρνίος Wolf, καλπουρνίος MSS.) συνέλαβε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.

in season.\(^1\) Even for this behaviour the men received A.D. 69 money, it being assumed that their act was due to their liking for Otho. About \(^2\) this time also a man was caught who pretended to be Nero. His name was unknown to Dio. And at last he paid the penalty.

Otho,\(^3\) not succeeding by frequent invitations in persuading Vitellius to share the imperial office, was at last plunging into open war against him, and sending out troops under several different leaders,—an arrangement to which his reverses were largely due.

Valens was so eager for money and collected it so assiduously by every means that he even put to death the decurion who had concealed him and had saved his life—all because of a thousand denarii which he thought had been purloined from his baggage.

\(^1\) Petrus Patricius: The soldiers became bold in their utterances and attempted to slay the senators, declaring that Otho never could be sovereign while this assembly existed.

\(^2\) Zonaras: At this juncture a man who pretended to be Nero, from his resemblance to that emperor, threw practically all Greece into a ferment, and after assembling a band of criminals set out for the legions in Syria. But as he was passing through Cythnus, Calpurnius arrested him and put him to death.

\(^3\) Zonaras: Otho secretly sent many friends to Vitellius to seek a reconciliation, and when no heed was paid to them, he sent envoys openly. But Vitellius neither gave them any answer nor sent them back. Then Otho sent a force by land and by sea; but he was defeated, as a result of the large number of his commanders rather than by the weakness of his force. He set out from Rome himself and took with him the foremost men.
10. 2 Ὁτι 1 ὁ Ὄθων ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, λέγων μὴ δύνασθαι μάχην ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφύλων ἰδεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐκ δικαίας τινὸς πράξεως αὐταρχῆς, ἀλλ' οὖ τοὺς τε ὑπάτους καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν τε αὐτοκράτορα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ φονεύσας.—Exc. Val. 262 (p. 697).

3 Ἑπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Κρεμώνι 2 γενομέναις· ὅπου γε 3 φασὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἄλλα τε φανῆσαι σμηνεία, καὶ τινὰ ὄρην ἔξασιον, ὅποιον οὐπάστωτε ἐωράκεσαν, 4 ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὄφθηναί.—Xiph. 191, 19–23 R. St.

11 Ἑπεὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐκρατήθησαν, ἤγγειλε μὲν ἱπποὺς τις τῷ πάθος τῷ Ὄθωνι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἡ πιστείτο πρὸς τῶν παρόντων (ἐτυχον γὰρ πολλοὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡθροισμένοι) καὶ οἱ μὲν δραπέτην οἱ δὲ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν, “εἰθε γάρ” ἔφη “ψευδή ταύτα, Καίσαρ, ἢν.

2 ἣδεστα γὰρ ἀν υικώντος σου ἐτελεύτησα. νῦν δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν πάντως οἰχήσομαι, ὡς τὸν πολεμίου ὡς τὸν πολεμίου οὐκ ἔσεσθι, ὅ τι γε παράξει” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτ’ εἰπὼν ἑαυτὸν

12 διεχρήσατο. 5 πιστευσάντων δ' αὐτῷ ἐκ τούτου πάντων καὶ ἑτοίμως ἐχόντων ἀναμαχέσασθαι


3 γε Sylb., τε VC.

4 ἐωράκεσαν v. Herw., ἐωράκασι VC.

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Otho withdrew from the battle, declaring that A.D. 69 he could not witness a battle between kindred—just as if he had become emperor in some legitimate fashion and had not murdered the consuls and the Caesar and the emperor in Rome itself.

There fell in the battles which took place near Cremona 40,000 men on each side. Here, they say, various omens appeared before the battle, most noteworthy being an unusual bird, such as men had never before beheld, that was seen for a number of days.

After the forces of Otho had been worsted, a horseman brought word of the disaster to Otho. When the bystanders refused to credit his report—it chanced that there were many gathered there—and some were calling him a renegade and others an enemy, he exclaimed: "Would that this news were false, Caesar; for most gladly would I have died hadst thou been victor. As it is, I shall perish in any case, that no one may think that I fled hither to secure my own safety; but as for thee, consider what must be done, since the enemy will be here before long." With these words, he slew himself. This act caused all to believe him, and they were ready to renew the conflict. For not only were the troops which were already there

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1 Zonaras: Handing over a part of his force to Proculus, he himself withdrew, saying he could not endure to witness a battle between kindred. Hence the soldiers and their commanders, despising him for his weakness, failed altogether in their duty, and being defeated, made overtures to the troops of Vitellius and fraternized with them.

2 Piso and Galba.

5 διεξήγησατο VC Zon. BC, κατεξήγησατο Zon. AE.
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(αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ συχνὸι ἦσαν καὶ ἕτεροι οὐκ ὅλιγοι ἕκ Παννονίας 2 παρῆσαν· ὀ τε μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐστίν, ἐφιλουν τε τὸν Ὄθωνα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν εὐνοιαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γλώττης μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶχον), καὶ ἰκετεύοντων αὐτῶν μήθε ἐκαίτο μήτε σφάς προδοῦναι, 3 ἐπέσχε μέχρις οὐ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄγγελιαν συνεδραμοῦν, καὶ τι πρὸς ἐκαίτο διαλαλήσας ἐπειτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδημηγόρησεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα.

13 "Ἄρκει τὰ γεγονότα, ἄρκει. μισῶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, καὶ κρατῶ· φιλῶ πάντας Ἑρωμαίους, κἂν μὴ ὁμολογῶσί μοι. νικᾶτο Οὐιτέλλιος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐδοξε· σωζέσθωσαν καὶ οἱ ἑκείνου 2 στρατιώται, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πολὺ γάρ ποι ἔγγυσ θεοῖς καὶ δικαιότερον ἐστιν ἕνα υπὲρ πάντων ἡ πολλοὺς υπὲρ ἐνὸς ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι δι’ ἐνα ἄνδρα τὸν δήμον τῶν Ἑρωμαίων στασιάξειν καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον ἄνθρωπων φθείρεσθαι. 4 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούκιος καὶ Δέκιος καὶ Κοῦρτιος καὶ Ῥήγουλος μᾶλλον ἀν ἐλοίμην ἣ Μάριος καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοὺς 3 ἄλλους εἴπω, γενέσθαι. μήτ’ 5 οὐν βιασησθὲ με ἐνα τούτων δὲν μισῶ γενέσθαι, μήτε φθονησθέ μοι ἕνα ἑκείνων δὲν ἐπαινῶ μιμησάθαι· ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἀπίτε καὶ ἑκείνων θεραπεύετε, ἐγὼ δ’ αὐτῶς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσω, ὅπως καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ ἀπαντεῖ ἄνθρωποι μάθωσιν ὅτι τοιούτων ἀυτοκράτορα ἐίλεσθε ὅστις οὐχ

1 οὐκ ὅλιγοι Ζον., om. VC.
2 Παννονίας R. Steph., παννονίας V, πανονίας C.
numerous, but others in considerable numbers had A.D. 69 arrived from Pannonia; and—what is most important in such situations—they loved Otho and were quite devoted to him, not in words only, but in their hearts as well. When, however, they besought him not to abandon either himself or them, he waited until the rest had come running up at the news, and then, after muttering some words to himself, he harangued the soldiers at length, saying among other things:

"Enough, quite enough, has already happened. I hate civil war, even though I conquer; and I love all Romans, even though they do not side with me. Let Vitellius be victor, since this has pleased the gods; and let the lives of his soldiers also be spared, since this pleases me. Surely it is far better and far more just that one should perish for all than many for one, and that I should refuse on account of one man alone to embroil the Roman people in civil war and cause so great a multitude of human beings to perish. For I certainly should prefer to be a Mucius, a Decius, a Curtius, a Regulus, rather than a Marius, a Cinna, or a Sulla—not to mention other names. Therefore do not force me to become one of these men that I hate, nor grudge me the privilege of imitating one of those that I commend. But as for you, be off to the victor and pay court to him; as for me, I shall free myself, that all men may learn from the event that you chose for your emperor one

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3 καὶ—προδοὺναι Zon., om. VC.
4 καὶ μὴ—φθεῖρεσθαι Zon., om. VC.
5 μὴτ' Bk., μὴ VC.
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"..."—Xiph. 191, 23-192, 18 R. St., Zon. 11, 15, p. 46, 1-12 D.

14 Τοιαύτα μὲν "Οθων εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιώται, ἐξ ὧν ἤκονον, καὶ ἑθαύμαζον ἀμα καὶ ἥλεον εἰ τι πείσοιτο, καὶ διάκροσι τε ἐκλαιον καὶ ἔθρηνον, πατέρα τε ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ παιδιῶν καὶ γονέων φίλτερον ὑμομάζοντες. 2 "ἐν σοί" τε "καὶ ἥμεις σωζόμεθα" ἠλεγον, "καὶ ύπέρ σου πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλέξθη, τοῦ τε "Οθωνος τελευτήσαι δεομένου καὶ ἐκείνων μὴ ἐφιέντων αὐτῷ τὸν ποιήσαι, πρὶν δὴ σιγάσαι αὐτοὺς ἐφή "ἐγὼ μὲν ὁκ ἐστὶν ὅπως χείρον τοῦ στρατιώτου τοῦν γενήσομαι, ὅπως ἐωράκατε ὅπως ἀντί νοῦν ἄπεσφαξέν, ὅτι τὴν ἡτταν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ αὐτοκράτορι ἡγείειν· ἀλλ' ἀκολούθησώ πάντως αὐτῷ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐτί τοιοῦτον μήτε ὑδὸ μήτε ἀκούσω. ὑμεῖς δέ, εἴπερ ὄντως φιλεῖτέ με, ἐάσατε με ἀποθανεῖν ὡς βούλομαι, καὶ μή με ξῆσαι ἀκοντα ἀναγκάσητε, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἀπίτε καὶ ἐκείνου κολακεῦσε."—Xiph. 192, 18-30 R. St., Exc. Val. 263 (p. 698).

15, 11, Ταῦτ' εἶπὼν ἔστε τὸ δωμάτιον ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τινὰ τοὺς τε οἰκείους καὶ τῷ Ὀὐντελλίῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιστείλας, τά τε γράμματα ὅσα τινὲς αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκείνον ἐγεγράφεσαν ἐκαυσεν, ὡστε μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν φωραθέντα κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ καλῶν ἐνα ἐκαστὸν τῶν παρόντων ἡσπάζετο αὐτῶς καὶ ἐδίδουν σφίσι χρήματα. καὶ τοῦτο ταραχῆς γενομένης στρατιωτῶν ἐξῆλθε, καὶ
who would not give you up to save himself, but A.D. 69 rather himself to save you.”

Such were the words of Otho. The soldiers, when they heard them, felt both admiration for the man and pity for what might befall him; and they shed tears of sorrow and grief, calling him father and terming him dearer than children and parents. “Upon thee our lives depend,” they said, “and for thee we will all die.” And thus they continued to argue for most of the day, Otho begging to be allowed to die and the soldiers refusing to permit him to carry out his wish. Finally, he reduced them to silence and said: “Surely I cannot show myself inferior to this soldier, whom you have seen kill himself for the single reason that he had borne news of defeat to his emperor. I shall certainly follow in his footsteps, that I may never see or hear any such thing again. And as for you, if you really love me, let me die as I desire, and do not compel me to live against my will, but be off to the victor and curry favour with him.”

At the close of this speech he retired to his apartment, and after sending some messages to his intimate friends and also to Vitellius in their behalf, he burned all the letters that anybody had written to him expressing hostility to Vitellius, not wishing them to serve as damaging evidence against anybody. Then calling those who were present one by one, he embraced them, and gave them money. Meantime there was a disturbance made by the soldiers, so that

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1 ὃμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν VC.
2 ἀνακαλοῦντες—ὑνομάζοντες VC, ἀνεκάλουν—ὡνόμαζον cod. Peir.
3 συγάσας αὐτούς Reim., σιγήσας αὐτοῖς VC.
καταστήσας αὐτοὺς οὐ πρότερον ἀνεχώρησε πρὶν ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ πέμψαι. καὶ
1² οὕτως ἔπει μηδὲν ἐτὶ ταραχῶδες ἐγίνετο, τι ξιφί-
διον λαβὼν ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.¹ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ
σῶμα οἰ στρατιώται ἀνείλοντο πενθοῦντες καὶ ἔθαψαν, καὶ τινες ἐαυτοὺς ἐπέσφαξαν αὐτῷ.
2¹ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῷ Ὄθωνι ἐγένετο ζήσαντι μὲν ἐπὶ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτή, ἐνδεκα ἡμέρῶν δέοντα,
2α ἀρξαντί δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνενήκοντα. ὦθεν καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν τοῦ βίου συνεσκίασε.
2² κάκιστα γὰρ ² ἀνθρώπων ζῆσας κάλλιστα ἀπέ-
θανε, καὶ κακουργότατα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσας ἀριστα αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάγη.³

2b Οἱ δὲ στρατιώται εὐθύς μὲν ἐταραχθησαν καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλληλων πολλοῖ ἀνηρέθησαν, ἐπεῖτα ἡμοῦνήσαν καὶ προσκεχωρήκεσαν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσις.—Χιφ. 192, 30—193, 5, Ζον. 11, 15, p. 46, 12—32 D.

¹ διεχρήσατο VC Ζον. Α, κατεχρήσατο Ζον. ΒΣΕζ.
² γὰρ Ζον., γε μὴν VC.
³ Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 95 M. ν. 15—18) : καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν βίων ἐν τούτοις θαυμαστῶς συνεσκία-
σάτο, βεβαίως τὸν τοιόνδε πόλεμον τῷ ἕαυτοι κατασβέσας αἶματί.
he was obliged to go out and quiet them, and he did A.D. 69 not come back until he had sent them to places of safety, some here, some there. So then, when quiet had been completely restored, he seized a dagger and killed himself. The grief-stricken soldiers took up his body and buried it, and some slew themselves upon his grave. This was the end that befell Otho, after he had lived thirty-seven years, lacking eleven days, and had reigned ninety days; and his death threw into the shadow the impiousness and wickedness of his life.¹ Thus after living most disgracefully of all men, he died most nobly; and though he had seized the empire by a most villainous deed, his taking leave of it was most honourable.

The soldiers immediately fell to rioting and many perished at one another's hands, but afterwards they reached an agreement and set out to meet the victors.

¹ Joann. Antioch. : So by this action he threw into the shadow to a remarkable degree the licentiousness of his former life, thoroughly quenching this great war in his own blood.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXIV

LXV 1. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὡς ἤκουσαν τὸ τοῦ Ὀθωνος πάθος, παραχρήμα, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, μετεβάλοντο τὸν τε γὰρ Ὀθωνα, ὅν πρότερον ἐπήγγευσεν καὶ νικὰν ἡχόντο, ἐλοιδόρους ὡς πολέμιοι, καὶ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον, ὃς κατηρώντο, καὶ ἐπῆγγυσν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἄνηγόρευον. οὕτω ποι τούς πάγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ' ὅμοιος οὐ τε ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ ἐν τῷ ταπεινοτάτῳ ὄντες ἀστάθμητα τε ἀἱροῦνται, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τύχας σφῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ τοὺς ψόγους τὰς τε τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας λαμβάνονσι.—Xiph. 193, 12–23 R. St.

2α Ὅντι δ' ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ θάνατος ἡγγέλθη τοῦ Ὀθωνος. ἤλθε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος Γερμανικὸν τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἐπωνόμασεν, ἔξαετες ὅν.—Zon. 11, 16, p. 47, 3–7 D.

3 Ὅτι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος εἶδεν ἐν Δουγδούφῳ μουσικοῦς ἀγώνιας καὶ ἐν Κρεμώνι, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἀρκούντος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολογοῖ τοῦ καὶ τότε καὶ ἐτὶ ἀτάφων ἐρριμένου, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἑθεάσατο. διεξήλθε γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ὃ ἐκείνω, ἐμπιμπάμενος τῆς θέας ὡσπερ τότε νικῶν, καὶ οὖν ἐκείνου σφας οὐδ' ὡς ταφήναι.—Exc. Val. 264α (p. 698).

4 Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ἐπει ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τἀλλὰ 220
EPITOME OF BOOK LXIV

When the people in Rome heard of the fate of Otho, they naturally transferred their allegiance forthwith. And so Otho, whom they had previously been lauding and for whose victory they had been praying, was now abused as an enemy, whereas Vitellius, upon whom they had been invoking curses, was lauded and proclaimed emperor. So true is it that there is nothing constant in human affairs; but alike those who are most prosperous and those who are in the humblest station make an unstable choice and receive praise or blame, honour or dishonour, according as their fortunes shift.

News of Otho's death was brought to him while he was in Gaul. There he was joined by his wife and son; and he placed the boy on a tribunal and gave him the titles of Germanicus and imperator, though he was only six years old.

Vitellius witnessed gladiatorial combats at Lugdunum and again at Cremona, as if the crowds of men who had perished in the battles and were even then lying unburied where they had been cast did not suffice. He beheld the slain with his own eyes, for he traversed all the ground where they lay and gloated over the spectacle as if it were still the moment of his victory; and not even then did he order them to be buried.

Vitellius, upon reaching Rome and arranging affairs
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2 εἰ—χωρίσαι VC, εἰ ἀπάσης ἐκχωρήσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας Zon.

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to suit him, issued an edict banishing the astrologers A.D. 69 and commanding them to leave the whole of Italy by a certain specified day. They answered him by putting up at night another notice, in which they commanded him in turn to depart this life before the end of the very day on which he actually died. So accurate was their foreknowledge of what should come to pass.

Vitellius, addicted as he was to luxury and licentiousness, no longer cared for anything else either human or divine. He had indeed always been inclined to idle about in taverns and gaming-houses, and devote himself to dancers and charioteers; and he used to spend incalculable sums on such pursuits, with the result that he had many creditors. Now, when he was in a position of so great authority, his wantonness only increased, and he was squandering money most of the day and night alike. He was insatiate in gorging himself, and was constantly vomiting up what he ate, being nourished by the mere passage of the food. Yet this practice was all that enabled him to hold out; for his fellow-banqueters fared very badly. For he was always inviting many of the foremost men to his table and he was frequently entertained at their houses. It was in this connexion that one of them, Vibius Crispus, uttered a very witty remark. Having been compelled for some days by sickness to absent himself from the convivial board, he said:

1 Zonaras: Though he had a great regard for omens, and did nothing however trivial without consulting them, he banished the astrologers at this time and later the sorcerers.
2 According to Suetonius (Vit. 14) they named the very same day that had been appointed by Vitellius.

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3 μη ἐνενοσήκειν, πάντως ἂν ἀπωλόλειν." καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ χρόνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ σύμπας οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἢ μέθαι τε καὶ κόμοι. πάντα τε γὰρ τὰ τιμώτατα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὥκεανοῦ, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω πλέον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης συνήγετο, καὶ πολυτελῶς οὗτος ἐσκενάζετο ὡστε Ὄὐτελλιανα καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ πέμματα καὶ
2 ἄλλα τινὰ βρώματα ὅνομαξεσθαι. καὶ τὶ ἂν τις καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν καταλέγοι, ὅποτε πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως ὀμολογηται δύο τε αὐτῶν μυριάδας μυριάδων καὶ δισχιλίας 1 πεντακοσίας ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ ἐς τα δεῖπνα δεδαπανηκέναι; ἐπέλυσε τε γὰρ πάντα τὰ πολυτίμητα δι' ὀλίγου, 3 καὶ ἐδει πάντως αὐτὰ εἶναι. μίαν γοῦν ποτε λοπάδα πέντε καὶ ἐκοσι μυριάδων ἐσκενάσε, γλώττας τε καὶ ἐγκεφάλους καὶ ἡπατα καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὄρνιθων τινῶν ἐμβαλὼν. καὶ ἔπειθε ἀδύνατον ἡν κεραμεᾶν τηλικεῖτην γενέσθαι, ἄργυρον τε ἐποιήθη καὶ ἔμεινε πολὺν χρόνον ὡσπερ τι ἀνάθημα, μέχρις οὗ Ἄδριανος αὐτὸν ἱδ' ὑπενεχώνευσεν.—Χιρ. 193, 30-194, 25 R. St., Exc. Val. 264b (p. 698).

4 Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἄπαξ τούτων ἐμνημόνευσα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσθήσω ὅτι οὔδε τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Νέρωνος τῇ χρυσῇ ἡρκεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καίτοι σφόδρα καὶ τὸ ὅνομα καὶ τὸν βίον τὰ τε ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν πάντα καὶ ἀγαπῶν καὶ ἐπαίνων, ὁμοι ἠτιότο αὐτῶν κακῶς τε ἄκηκέναι καὶ κατασκευῇ καὶ ὀλίγη καὶ ταπείνη κεχρήσθαι 2 λέγων: νοσήσας γοῦν ποτε ἔξητησεν οὐκῆμα ἐν ὧν κατοικήσεις.
2 οὔτως αὐτῶν οὔδε τῶν ἐκείνου τι ἢρεσεν. ὁ γανή δὲ αὐτῶν Γαλερία ὡς ὀλίγου ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ 224
“If I had not fallen ill, I surely should have perished.” A.D. 69

The entire period of his reign was nothing but a series of carousals and revels. All the most costly viands were brought from as far as the Ocean (not to say farther) and drawn from both land and sea, and were prepared in so costly a fashion that even now certain cakes and other dishes are named Vitellian, after him. And yet why should one name over all the details, when it is admitted by all alike that during the period of his reign he expended 900,000,000 sesterces on dinners? There soon was a famine in all costly articles of food, yet it was absolutely imperative that they should be provided. For example, he once caused a dish to be made that cost a million sesterces, into which he put a mixture of tongues and brains and livers of certain fishes and birds. As it was impossible to make so large a vessel of pottery, it was made of silver and remained in existence for some time, being regarded somewhat in the light of a votive offering, until Hadrian finally set eyes on it and melted it down.

Now that I have once touched on this subject, I will also add that not even Nero’s Golden House could satisfy Vitellius. For though he admired and lauded the name and the life and all the practices of Nero, yet he found fault with him for living in such a wretched house, so scantily and meanly equipped. At any rate, when he fell ill one time, he looked about for a room to live in; so little did anything even of Nero’s satisfy him. And his wife Galeria ridiculed the small amount of decoration found in the royal

1 δισχιλίας VC Ant., χιλίας Zon. The larger figure is confirmed by Tac., Hist., ii. 95.
2 κεχρήσθαι Rk., χρήσθαι VC cod. Peir.
κόσμου εὐρεθέντος κατεγέλα. ἀλλ' οὖτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀναλύσκοντες οὐδ' ἥριθμον τι ἐκ τῶν δαπανωμένων, οἱ δὲ δὴ δευτνύζοντες σφας ἐν μεγάλῳ κακῷ ἐγέννοντο, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἷς τι ἀντ-3 απεδίδον. καὶ περ οὖδ' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ αὐτοί εἰστίνων αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι μὲν ἀκρατίσσασθαι παρείχον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀριστήσασθαι, ἔτεροι δὲ δεῖπνων, ἔτεροι μεταδοτικά τίνα πλησιμονής παραμυθιά-πάντες γὰρ οἱ δυνάμενοι ἐστίν αὐτὸν ἐσπούδαζον· ὡστε ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ἐκατόν ἐς τὸν δεῖπνον μυριάδας ἀναλὼσαι.1 καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἑωρτάζετο, καὶ θηρία καὶ ἀνδρές πολλοὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν.—Xiph. 194, 25-195, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 265 and 266 (p. 698).

6 Οὔτω δὲ βιοὺς οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἢν παντάπασι καὶ καλῶν ἔργων. τὸ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Γάλβου τοῦ τε Ὄθωνος κοπτέν νόμισμα ἐτήρησεν, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν ταῖς ἐκόσιν αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅσα τισὶν ἐδεδώρητο ἐφύλαξε, μηδένα μηδὲν ἀφελόμενος, καὶ οὕτε τὰ ἐκ τῶν συντελεῦσιν ἐποφληθέντα ἀπήτησεν οὕτε οὕσιαν τινὸς ἐδημευσεν, ὀλίγους μὲν πάνω τῶν τὰ Ὄθωνος πραξάντων ἀποκτείνας, μηδὲ τὰς ἑκείνων μὲντοι οὕσια τοὺς προσηκόντας σφόν ἀποστηρίζατο, καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δὲ τῶν πρῶτον ποτε θανατωθέντων ἐδωρήσατο πάντα ὅσα ἔτι ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ εὕρητο.2

3 ἀλλ' οὖν τὰς διαθήκας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων ἥτιάσατο. ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς

1 ἀστε—ἀναλῶσαι VC, καὶ ἐκατὸν δὲ αὐτῶν φασὶ μυριάδας ἐς δεῖπνον ἀναλῶσαι cod. Peir.
2 εὕρητο St., εὕρητο MSS.
apartments. This pair, then, as they were spending A.D. 69 other people’s money, never stopped to count the cost of anything; but those who invited them to meals found themselves in great embarrassment, excepting a few to whom he gave something in return. Yet the same persons would not entertain him for the entire day, but one set of men furnished breakfast, another luncheon, another dinner, and still another certain kinds of dessert, “consolations for a jaded appetite.”¹ For all who were able to do so were eager to entertain him, so that in the course of a few days they spent four million sesterces for dinner.² His birthday celebrations lasted over two days and many wild beasts and men, too, were slain.

Though he lived this kind of life, he was not entirely without good deeds. For example, he retained the coinage minted under Nero, Galba and Otho, evincing no displeasure at their likenesses; and any gifts that they had bestowed upon any persons he held to be valid and deprived no one of any such possession. He did not collect any sums still owing of former levies, and he confiscated no one’s property. He put to death but very few of those who had sided with Otho, and did not withhold the property of these even from their relatives. Upon the kinsmen of those previously executed he bestowed all their funds that were still to be found in the public treasury. He did not even find fault with the wills of such as had fought against him and had fallen in the battles. Furthermore he forbade

¹ This little phrase is taken from Plato’s Critias, 115 b.
² The text is uncertain, due perhaps to the omission of some details by the epitomist. The reading of the Cod. Peir. is “and they say he spent four millions upon dinner,” omitting the words “in the course of a few days.”
4, 4 "Оτι τοιούτου τοῦ Οὐιτέλλιον άντος ούδ' οἱ στρατιώται ἐσωφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ύβρεῖς καὶ ἀσέλγειαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολλαὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐγίγνοντο.—Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 9–24 D.

5 "Οτι Βιτέλλιος ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἡσπάσατο. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐπιεικὴς ἦν, καὶ ὅτε 1 πρῶτον ἤκουσεν ὅτι Γερμανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη ὁ νῖός αὐτῆς, εἶπεν 'ἐγὼ μὲν Βιτέλλιον ἀλλ' οὐ Γερμανικὸν τέτοκα."—Petr. Patr. exer. Vat. 93 (p. 218 Mai. = p. 199, 24–28 Dind.).

5 Γέλωτα μέντοι ο Οὐιτέλλιος πολλοὶ παρείχεν ὁράντες γὰρ άνδρα σεμνοπροσωποῦντα ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις προσόδοις 2 ὅπι ἱδέαν πεπορνευκότα, καὶ ἔφ' ἵππου βασιλικοῦ καὶ ἐν χλαμύδι πορφυρὰ ὅπι ἡπίσταντο τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἵππους ἐν τῇ οὐνετίᾳ 3 ἐσθήτη πῆχοντα, μετὰ τε ὄχλου στρατιωτῶν τοσοῦτον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνύντα ὅπι οὐδ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἄγορα πρότερον διὰ τὸ τῶν δανειστῶν πλήθος ἰδεῖν ἐδύνατο, καὶ προσκυνοῦμενον πρὸς πάντων ὅπι οὐδ' οὐδ' φιλῆσαι ποτὲ ἰδέως ἰθέλησεν, οὐκ ἐκαλοὶ ὅπως τῶν γέλωτα κατάσχωσιν. οἱ γε μὴν δεδανεικότες τι αὐτῶ ἐξορμώντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν ἐπελάβοντο, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ κατηγνυθήντα αὐτῶν ἀπέλυσαν· τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεγέλων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβρήνουν καὶ κατεκρύπτοντο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναζητῶν τὴν τε σωτη—

1 οτε Στ., οτι cod.
2 προσόδοις Bs., προσόδοις VC.
the senators and the knights to fight as gladiators or A.D. 69
to perform in any spectacle in the orchestra. For
these measures he was commended.

The character of Vitellius being such as I have
described, the soldiers did not show any restraint
either, but numerous instances of their wantonness
and licentiousness were occurring everywhere alike.

Vitellius ascended the Capitol and embraced his
mother. She was a good, honest soul, and when
she first heard that her son had been given the
name Germanicus, she said: "The child I bore was
Vitellius, not Germanicus."

Vitellius, however, furnished many with material
for amusement. They could not restrain their
laughter when they beheld wearing a solemn face
in the official religious processions a man whom they
knew to have played the strumpet, or saw mounted
on a royal steed and clad in a purple mantle him
who used, as they knew full well, to wear the
Blue costume and curry the race-horses, or when
they beheld ascending the Capitol with so great a
crowd of soldiers him whom previously no one could
catch a glimpse of even in the Forum because of
the throng of his creditors, or saw receiving the
adoration of all a man whom, a while before, nobody
would readily have consented even to greet with a
kiss. Indeed, those who had lent him anything had
laid hold of him when he was setting out for Germany
and would scarcely release him after he had given
security. Now, however, so far from laughing at
him, they were mourning and hiding themselves;
but he sought them out, telling them he spared
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ρίαν σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδιδόναι ἔλεγε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀπήτευ.—Xiph. 195, 4–17 R. St., Exc. Val. 268 (p. 701).

7 Ἡπεφοίτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις συνεχῶς, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ὄμλον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναρτᾶσθαι. συνε- σίτει δὲ καὶ τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἀπλοίζομενος, ὡστε αὐτοὺς ἐτί καὶ μᾶλλον προσεταιρίζεσθαι τῶν τε ἁρχαίων συμβιωτῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐμέμνητο, καὶ πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐτίμα, οὐκ ἀπαξίων γνωρίζειν τινά αὐτῶν δοκεῖν, ὡσπερ ἔτεροι πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγα παραλόγως ἀρθέντες μισοῦσι τοὺς συνειδότας σφίσι τὴν ἐν τῷ πρῶ τι παπεινότητα.—Xiph. 195, 17–24 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Ὀὐιτέλλιος, Πρίσκου ἀντειπόντος τι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τινα καὶ τῶν στρατιω- τῶν καταδραμόντος, ἐπεκαλέσατο μὲν τοὺς δη- μάρχους ὡς καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος, οὔτε δὲ αὐτός τι κακὸν τὸν Πρίσκου ἕργασατο οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων παθεῖν εἰάσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφη ὅτι "μὴ ταράττεσθε, πατέρες, μηδὲ ἀγανακτεῖτε, εἰ δύο ἀνδρεῖς εξ ὑμῶν διηνέχθημεν τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους." καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐπιεικείας

3 πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξεν' ὅτι μὲντοι τὸν Νέρωνα μιμεῖσθαι ἦθελε καὶ ἐνήγησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι τοσάντα ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα ἀνήλικαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἔχαρον, οἱ δὲ δὴ νοὺν ἔχουντες ἡχῆντο, εὑ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ εἰς ἀπάσης τῆς ὁικουμένης χρήματα ἀρκέσει.—Exc. Val. 269 (p. 701).

8 Πράττοντι δ' αὐτῷ ταύτα σημεῖα πονηρὰ ἐγέ-

1 ἀπλοίζομενος H. Steph., ἀπλωιζόμενος VC.

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their lives in payment of the debt he owed, and he A.D. 69

demanded back his notes.

He was a constant attendant at the theatres, and
by this won the attachment of the populace. He ate
with the most influential men on free and easy terms,
and this gained their favour to an even greater
degree. His old companions he never failed to
remember and honoured them greatly, not disdaining
to appear to recognize any of them. In this
he was unlike some others; for many who have
unexpectedly attained to great power feel hatred
for those who are acquainted with their former
humble state.

Vitellius, when Priscus opposed him in the senate
and also denounced the soldiers, called the tribunes
to his side as if he needed their assistance. Yet he
neither did Priscus any harm himself nor did he
allow the tribunes to molest him, but merely said:
"Be not disturbed, Fathers, nor indignant, that we
two out of your number have had a little dispute
with each other." This act seemed to have been
due to a kindly disposition. The fact, however, that
he wished to imitate Nero and offered sacrifices to
that emperor's Manes, and that he spent so great
sums on dinners, though it caused joy to some, made
sensible people grieve, since they were fully aware
that not all the money in the whole world would be
sufficient for him.

While he was behaving in this way, evil omens

2 Ταράττεσθε Val., Ταράττεσθαι cod. Peir.
3 μὲν supplied by Bk.
4 αὐτῷ Bk., τε αὐτῷ cod. Peir.
 Dio's Roman History

νετο. 1 καὶ γὰρ κομῆτις ἀστήρ ἐφαντάσθη καὶ ἡ σελήνη παρὰ τὸ καθεσθεῖκός διὸς ἐκκελυστέναι ἔδοξε καὶ γὰρ τεταρταία καὶ ἐβδομαία ἐσκιώσθη. καὶ ἡλίως δύο ἁμα, ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσμῶν, τούτων μὲν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὠχρῶν 2 ἐκεῖνων δὲ λαμπρῶν καὶ ἵσχυρῶν, έιδον. ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἠχύν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δαίμονα τινῶν ὡς καὶ κατεληλυθότων ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐωράθη καὶ ἐλεγον οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τὴν νύκτα ἐκεῖνην αὐτῷ ἐγκεκουτηκότες ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Δίὸς ναὸς αὐτόματος σὺν πολλῷ κτύπῳ ἦμεωχθή, ὡστε τινὰς τῶν φυλάκων ἐκπλαγέντας ἀποψυξαί.—Xiph. 195, 24-196, 1 R. St., Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 25-32 D.

31 Ἐπράξθη 2 δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιάνος Ἰουδαίοις πολεμῶν, πυθόμενος τὴν τε τοῦ Οὐι-τελλίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀθωνος ἐπανάστασιν, ἐβουλεύετο ὅ τι χρῆ πράξαι.—Xiph. 196, 1-3 R. St.

3a Ὁτι ὁ Οὐεσπασιάνος οὔτ’ ἄλλως προπετῆς ἦν, καὶ ἐς ταραχώδῃ οὔτω πράγματα καὶ πάνυ ὡκνεὶ ἐαυτῶν καθεῖναι.—Exe. Val. 270 (p. 701).

32 Ἡ τε γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐνοία πολλή ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν (ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας δόξα καὶ

1 Cf. Zonaras: ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ ἡ ἐν Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπανάστασις. καὶ δεινῶς κατέδεικτε δι’ αὐτὴν ἀλλων τε συμβάντων σημείων καὶ τῆς σελήνης κτέ.

A comet was seen, and the moon, contrary to precedent, appeared to suffer two eclipses, being obscured on the fourth and on the seventh day. Also people saw two suns at once, one in the west weak and pale, and one in the east brilliant and powerful. On the Capitol many huge footprints were seen, presumably of some spirits that had descended from it. The soldiers who had slept there on the night in question said that the temple of Jupiter had opened of itself with great clangour and that some of the guards had been so terrified that they fainted.

At the same time that this happened Vespasian, who was engaged in warfare with the Jews, learned of the rebellion of Vitellius and of Otho and was deliberating what he should do.

Vespasian was never inclined to be rash, and he hesitated very much about involving himself in such troublous affairs.

For not only was the popular feeling strong in his favour—since his reputation won in Britain, his

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1 Cf. Zonaras: At this juncture the uprising against him in Judaea was reported to him. And he was in great fear because of it, since various omens, etc.

2 Cf. Zonaras: The rebellion came about in this way. Vespasian, who was tarrying in Judaea (for, as has already been related [lxiii. 22, 1] he had been sent thither on account of the revolt of the Jews), had sent his son to carry his greetings to Galba when the latter had become emperor; but when Titus returned, having learned on the way of the rebellion of Vitellius and of Otho, Vespasian also set out to gain the sovereignty.
4 τής παρ’ αυτοῦ προστατεύεις, ελπίζας τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνου ἔξειν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθείματαν αὐτοῦ ἰσομοιρήσειν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιώται τούτων, καὶ περιστάντες τὴν σκηνήν αὐτοῦ, 9 ἀνείπουν αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα. ἐγεγόνει μὲν οὖν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ ὁνειροῦ τὸ Ὀὔεστπασιανῷ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ δηλοῦντα, ἢ καὶ ἐν τῷ
2 αὐτοῦ βίῳ λελέξεται τρικαύτα δὲ τῶν μὲν Μουκιανῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ἐπεμψαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τῇ Ἔυῳ Ἀθηναία ἐπιδών καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἄλλοις τισι προστάξας ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκομισθῆναι καὶ συνέλεγε χρῆματα, ὥν ποι καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχρησίζει, καὶ σῖτον, ἵνα ὅπως πλείστον ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἀπο-
3 στείλῃ. οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ στρατιώταις τὰς κατ’ αὐτὸν πεπυσμένους οὐδέ ἀνέμειναν τὸν Μουκιανὸν (ἐπυνθάνοντο γὰρ ἐν ὅδῷ εἶναι), ἀλλ’ Ἀκτόνιον Πύμον, φυγόντα μὲν ἐκ καταδίκης ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος, καταχθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ τοῦ Παννονικοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρχοντα, εἶλοντο
4 στρατηγῶν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως τὴν αὐτοτελὴ ἀρχὴν μήθ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μήθ’ ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας αἱρεθέσις. τοσαύτη τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡ πρὸς τε τοῦ Οὐιτέλλιον ὀργή καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ὀρμήν’ οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐπεραττοῦν ἡ ἱσταὶ τῇ Ἰταλίαν διαρπάσσωσιν. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο.
10 Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος αὐτὸς μὲν

1 ἐκείνην H. Steph., ἐκεί VC.
2 αὐτὸs Rk., καὶ αὐτὸs VC.
fame derived from the war then in hand, his good nature, and his prudence, all led men to desire to have him at their head—but Mucianus was also urging him strongly to this course, hoping that while Vespasian should have the name of emperor, he himself as a result of the other's good nature might enjoy an equal share of power. The soldiers, on perceiving all this, surrounded Vespasian's tent and hailed him as emperor. Portents and dreams had also come to him, pointing to his sovereignty long beforehand; these will be related in the story of his life. For the time being he sent Mucianus to Italy against Vitellius, while he himself, after looking at affairs in Syria and entrusting to others the conduct of the war against the Jews, proceeded to Egypt, where he collected money, of which naturally he was greatly in need, and grain, which he desired to send in as large quantities as possible to Rome. The soldiers in Moesia, hearing how matters stood with him, would not wait for Mucianus,—they had learned that he was on the way,—but chose as their general Antonius Primus, who had been sentenced to exile in Nero's reign but had been restored by Galba and was commander of the legion in Pannonia. Thus this man held supreme authority, although he had not been chosen either by the emperor or by the senate. So great was the soldiers' anger at Vitellius and their eagerness for plunder; for they were doing this for no other purpose than to pillage Italy. And their intention was realized.

Vitellius, when he heard about it, remained where

1 This expression is evidently due to Xiphilinus, who arranged his epitome as a series of lives of the successive emperors.
κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνε, τῇ τε ἀλλή τρυφή καὶ τότε χρώμενος καὶ ἀγώνας μονομαχίας τιθεῖς (ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Σπόρος μέλλων ἐν κύρις ἀρπαξομένη σχήματι ἐσ τὸ θέατρον ἑσαχθήσεσθαι οὐκ ἤμεν γιὰ τὴν ὑβριν ἀλλ' ἕαυτόν προαπέσφαξε), τῷ δὲ δι᾽ Ἀλιηνῷ τὸν πόλεμον μεθ' ἐτέρων προσέταξεν.

2 Ἀλιηνὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Κρεμὼνα ἀφίκετο καὶ προκατέσχεν αὐτήν, ὅρων δὲ τοὺς στρατιῶτας τοὺς μὲν ἕαυτον ἐκ τε τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἔκδεικτησένας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγνωμασίας διατεθρυμμένους,1 τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους καὶ τοὺς σώματι γεγυμνασμένους καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμένους, ἐφοβεῖτο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ καὶ λόγοι αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Πρίμον φίλιου ἤλθον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιῶτας, καὶ τὴν τε τοῦ Όυιτελλίου ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἱσχύν τὸν τε ἐκατέρω τρόπων εἰπὼν μεταστήναι ἐπείσε. καὶ τότε μὲν τάς τε τοῦ Όυιτελλίου εἰκόνας ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καθεῖλον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ

3 Ὀυεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχήσεσθαι ὡμοσαν, διαλυθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τᾶς σκηνᾶς ἀναχωρήσαντες μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐξαίφνης σπουδὴ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ συστραφέντες τὸν Όυιτελλίου αὐτοκράτορα αὐθίς ἀνεκάλον καὶ τὸν Ἀλιηνὸν ὡς καὶ προδιδόντα σφάζῃ ἐδήσαν, οὔδὲν οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ προτιμήσαντες· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τά τῶν πολέμων τῶν ἐμφυλίων μάλιστα ἔργα ἐστίν.

4 Ταραχῆς οὖν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλῆς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Όυιτελλίου στρατοπέδῳ οὐσίας, ἐπηνύξεσεν αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκλιποῦσα, οὐχ οὕτω καὶ ἐσκιάσθη (καίτοι τοῖς θορυβουμένοις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φόβον φέρει) ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αἱματώδης καὶ 236
he was and even then went on with his luxurious living, among other things arranging gladiatorial combats. In the course of these it was proposed that Sporus should be brought on to the stage in the rôle of a maiden being ravished, but he would not endure the shame and committed suicide beforehand. The conduct of the war was entrusted to Alienus and others. Alienus reached Cremona and occupied the town, but seeing that his own soldiers were out of training as a result of their luxurious life in Rome and impaired by lack of drilling, whereas the others were well exercised in body and stout of heart, he felt afraid. Later, when friendly proposals came to him from Primus, he called the soldiers together, and by pointing out the weakness of Vitellius and the strength of Vespasian, as well as the character of the two men, he persuaded them to change sides. So at the time they removed the images of Vitellius from their standards and took oath that they would be ruled by Vespasian. But after the meeting had broken up and they had retired to their tents, they changed their minds and suddenly, rushing together in great haste and excitement, they again saluted Vitellius as emperor and imprisoned Alienus for having betrayed them, showing no reverence even for his consular office. Such things are, in fact, characteristic of civil wars.

The great confusion which under these conditions prevailed in the camp of Vitellius was increased that night by an eclipse of the moon. It was not so much its being obscured (though even such phenomena cause fear to men who are excited) as the fact that

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1 διατεθραμμένους H. Steph., διατεθραμμένους VC.
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μέλαινα ἄλλα τε τινα χρώματα φοβερὰ ἀφιείσα

2 ὁφθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παρὰ τὸ τοῦτο οὕτε μετέθεντο οὕτε ἐνέδοσαν, (ἀλλ' ἐσ χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες προθυμότατα ἡγωνίσαντο [§ 3], καίτερ ἀναρκτοι, ὥσπερ εἴτον, οἱ Οὐιτελλίειοι 1 οὔτε· ὁ γὰρ Ἄλινδος ἐν τῇ Κρεμώνι ἐδέδετο [§ 5]).—Χιφ. 196, 3–197, 19 R. St.

3 Ὅσι oi στρατιώται τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου τῷ Πρύμῳ τῇ ύστεραιᾳ, ὑπαγομένῳ σφᾶς δ' ἀγγέλων ὀμολογήσας, ἀντέπεμψαν ἀντιπαρανύστες τὰ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου προελέσθαι, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ προθυμότατα ἡγωνίσαντο.

4 ἢ δὲ δὴ μάχη οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' αἰφνίδιοι οὐλιγοὶ τινὲς τῶν ἵππεων, οἱ παρὰ τοὺς ἀντιστρατοπεδευμένοις 2 γίγνεται, τοῖς 3 προνομεύσουσι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσβοηθοῦντων ἐκατέρως ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ὡς που ἐτύγχανον αἰσθόμενοι, τοτε μὲν τοῖς τοτε δὲ τοῖς ἄλλων, εἰτ' ἄλλων, καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων, καὶ ταῖς μάχαις αἱ τροπαὶ συνεγίγνοντο, μέχρις οὖν 5 πάντες συνεδραμον. τοτε δὲ ἐς τάξιν τινα ὁσπερ ἐκ συγκεκιμένου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τοῦ ἀγώνα ἐποίησαν καίτερ ἀναρκτον· ὁ γὰρ Ἄλινδος ἐν τῇ Κρεμώνι ἐδέδετο.—Ex. UG 40a.

12 Κἂν τοῦτοι καὶ ὤση καὶ ἀντίρροπος οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἡ μάχη αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ 4 νῦς αὐτὴν ἐπέλαβε, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνη σφᾶς διέλυσε· τοσαύτη ποι καὶ ὄργη καὶ προθυμία, καίτερ καὶ γνωρίζοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ

1 Οὐιτελλίειοι Dind., βιτελείοι VC (so regularly).
2 ἀντιστρατοπεδευμένοι Urs., ἀντιπαραστρατοπεδευμένοι MSS.
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it appeared both blood-coloured and black and gave A.D. 69 out still other terrifying colours. Not even for this, however, would the men change their mind or yield; but when they came to blows with each other, they fought most eagerly, although, as I said, the Vitelliians were leaderless; for Alienus had been imprisoned at Cremona.

On the following day, when Primus through messengers tried to induce them to come to terms, the soldiers of Vitellius sent back a message to him urging him in turn to espouse the cause of Vitellius; but when they came to blows with his soldiers they fought most eagerly. The battle was not the result of any definite plan. Some few horsemen, as often happens when two forces are encamped opposite each other, suddenly attacked some of the enemy's foragers, and then reinforcements came to both parties from their respective armies, just as these happened to become aware of the situation,—first to one side, then to the other, now of one kind of fighting force, now of another, both infantry and cavalry; and the conflict was marked by the usual vicissitudes until all had hastened to the front. Then they got into some kind of regular formation, as if a signal had been given, and carried on the struggle with some order, even though leaderless; for Alienus had been imprisoned at Cremona.

From this point on the battle between them was a well-matched and evenly-balanced struggle, not only during the day but at night as well. For the coming of night did not separate them, so thoroughly angry and determined were they, albeit they

3 τοῖς supplied by Rk.
4 γὰρ supplied by Rk.
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2 λαλοῦντες σφίσων, ἐχρῆσαντο. ὦθεν οὖθ' ὁ λιμὸς αὐτοὺς οὔτε ὁ κάματος οὔτε τὸ ψύχος οὖθ' ὁ σκότος, οὔ τὰ τραύματα, οὔχ οἱ φόνοι, οὔ τὰ λείψανα τῶν προτέρων νεκρῶν, οὔχ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ πάθους, οὔ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μάτην ἀπολομένων

3 ἐπράνυν τοιαῦτη τις μανία ἀμφοτέρους ὡμοίως κατέσχε, καὶ οὕτως ἔπεθύμουν, καὶ ἦν αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ χωρίου μνήμης παροξυνόμενοι, οἱ μὲν καὶ τότε νικήσαι, οἱ δὲ μὴ καὶ τότε ἤττηθήναι, ὡσπερ ἀλλοφύλους τισίν ἀλλ' οὐκ οἴκειοι πολεμοῦντες, καὶ μέλλοντες ἦς ἐκατέρου πάντες ὡμοίως ἡ αὐτικὰ ἀπολέσαθι ἣ μετὰ ταῦτα δουλεύειν.

4 οὕκουν οὔδὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσης, ὡσπερ εἰπον, ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκκαμόντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ ἀναπαύομενοι καὶ ἐς λόγους 1 ἀλληλο

13 λοις ἠόντες, ὡμοὶς ἡγωνιζόντο. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν, ὀσάκις γε καὶ ἡ σελήνη διέλαμψε (μέθη γὰρ αὐτῆς πολλά καὶ ποικίλα διαθέοντα συνεχῶς συγκρυπτεῖν), ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε μαχομένους αὐτοὺς, ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε ἑστηκότας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐπερη-

2 ρεισμένους ἢ καὶ καθημένους. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κοινῇ τε συνεβόων, οἱ μὲν τῶν Οὐεστπασιανῶν οἱ δὲ τῶν Οὐιτέλλιον ὄνομάζοντες, καὶ ἀντιπροεκαλούντο ἀλλήλους, λοιδοροῦντες τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ἐκατέρου τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἵδια ἄλλος ἄλλῳ διελάληεν: "συστρατιώτα, πολίτα, τί ποιοῦμε; τί μαχόμεθα; δεῦρ' ἰκε πρὸς ἐμέ." "μὴ δῆτα, ἄλλα 3 συ πρὸς ἐμέ." καὶ τί ἂν τις τοῦτο θαυμάσειεν, ὅποτε καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ αἱ τε γυναίκες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τοῦ Οὐιτέλλιου στρατιώταις τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνεγκούσαι ἐδωκαν, καὶ ἑκεῖνοι αὐτοὶ τε

1 ἐς λόγους Leuncl., ἐκ λόγου Uo.
recognized one another and talked back and forth. A.D. 69
Hence neither hunger nor fatigue nor cold nor darkness nor wounds nor deaths, nor the remains of the men that had died on this field before, nor the memory of the disaster, nor the number of those that had perished to no purpose, mitigated their fierceness. Such was the madness that possessed both sides alike, and so eager were they, incited by the very memories of the spot, which made the one party resolved to conquer this time, too, and the other not to be conquered again. So they fought as if against foreigners and not kinsmen, and as if all on both sides alike were bound either to perish at once or thereafter to be slaves. Therefore, not even when night came on, as I stated, would they yield; but, though tired out and for that reason often resting and engaging in conversation together, they nevertheless continued to struggle. As often as the moon shone out (it was constantly being concealed by numerous clouds of all shapes that kept passing in front of it), one might have seen them sometimes fighting, sometimes standing and leaning on their spears or even sitting down. Now they would all shout together on one side the name of Vespasian and on the other side that of Vitellius, and they would challenge each other in turn, indulging in abuse or in praise of the one leader or the other. Again one soldier would have a private conversation with an opponent: "Comrade, fellow-citizen, what are we doing? Why are we fighting? Come over to my side." "No, indeed! You come to my side." But what is there surprising about this, considering that when the women of the city in the course of the night brought food and drink to give to the soldiers of Vitellius, the latter, after eating and
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εφαγον καὶ ἐπιον καὶ τοῖς ἀντιμαχομένοις ὤρεγον. καὶ τις αὐτῶν ὄνομαστὶ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀνακαλέσας (πάντες γὰρ ὡς εἴπειν καὶ ἤδεσαν ἄλλη).

4 λοὺς καὶ ἑγνώριζον "λαβε" ἐφη, "συστρατιώτα, καὶ φάγε· οὐ γὰρ ἐφος ἀλλὰ ἄρτον σοι δίδωμι. λαβὲ καὶ πίε· οὐ γὰρ ἀστίδα ἄλλα κύλικα σοι προτείνω, ἵνα, ἂν τε σὺ ἀποκτείνῃς ἐμὲ ἄν τε καὶ ἐγὼ σὲ, ῥάν ἀπαλλάξομεν, μηδὲ ἐκλελυμένη καὶ ἀσθενεῖ τῇ χειρί μήτε σὺ ἐμὲ κατακόψῃς μήτε

5 ἐγὼ σὲ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦμιν ξῶσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐναγίσματα καὶ Ὑπτέλλιος καὶ Ὀυσπασιανὸς διδοῦσιν, ἵν' ἠμᾶς τοῖς πάλαι νεκροῖς καταθύσωις." τοιαύτα ἀν 1 τινες πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰπόντες, καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καὶ ἐμφαγόντες, πάλιν ἂν ἐμαχέσαντο· εἶτ' ἀνασχύντης αὖθις αὖ

14 συνέβαλον. 2 καὶ ταῦθ' οὔτω δὲ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς μέχρι τῆς ἑω ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 197, 17–198, 17 R. St., Exc. U 40a.

2 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι δύο ἄνδρες τῶν Ὀυσπασιανείων ἐπραξαν· ἐπειδῆ γὰρ ἴσχυρὸς ἐκ μηχανήματος τινος ἐβλάπτοντο, ἀστίδας τε ἐκ τῶν Ὑπτελλιείων σκύλων ἦπασαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀντικαθησκόσι μιχθέντες ἔλαθον μέχρι τῆς μηχανῆς ἐλθόντες ώς καὶ ἑκείνων ὄντες, καὶ τὰ σχοινία αὐτῆς διέκοψαν ὡστε μηδὲν ἔτι βέλος

3 αὐτῆς ἀφεῖναι δυνηθήναι. ἀνατείλαντος δὲ τοῦ ἥλιου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου στρατοπέδου τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ καλουμένου καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ χειμάξοντος, τότε δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ὀυσπασιανοῦ μερίδι ὄντος, ἀσπασαμένων

1 τοιαύτα ἀν Xiph., τοιαύτα U. 

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drinking themselves, passed the supplies on to their 

antagonists? One of them would call out the name 
of his adversary (for they practically all knew one 
another and were well acquainted) and would say: 

"Comrade, take and eat this; I give you, not a 
sword, but bread. Take and drink this; I hold out 
to you, not a shield, but a cup. Thus, whether you 
kill me or I you, we shall quit life more comfortably, 
and the hand that slays will not be feeble and nerve-
less, whether it be yours that smites me or mine 
that smites you. For these are the meats of con-
secration that Vitellius and Vespasian give us while 
we are yet alive, in order that they may offer us as a 
sacrifice to the dead slain long since." That would 
be the style of their conversation, after which they 
would rest a while, eat a bit, and then renew the 
battle. Soon they would stop again, and then once 
more join in conflict. It went on this way the whole 
night through till dawn broke.

At that time two men of the Vespasian party 
wrought a notable achievement. Their side was 
being severely damaged by an engine, and these 
two, seizing shields from among the spoils of the 
Vitellian faction, mingled with the opposing ranks, 
and made their way to the engine just as if they 
belonged to that side. Thus they managed to cut 
the ropes of the engine, so that not another missile 
could be discharged from it. As the sun was rising 
the soldiers of the third legion, called the Gallic, 
that wintered in Syria and was now by chance on 
the side of Vespasian, suddenly greeted it according

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2 συνέβαλον Uq, συνέβαλλον VC.
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αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης ὄσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ὑποτοπῆσαντες οἱ τοῦ Οὐίτελλίου τῶν Μουκιανῶν ¹ παρεῖνα "ηλλοιόθησαν καὶ ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἐφυγον· οὔτω ποι καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα μεγάλως τοὺς 4 προκεκμηκότας ἐκπλήσσει. καὶ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἀναχωρῆσαντες χειράς τε προετένυτο καὶ ἴκετευν. καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐσῆκουν, ἔλυσαι τὸν ὕπατον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἥτ τε ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ταῖς ράβδοις κοσμῆσαντες ἐπεμψαν ἁνθὶ ἱκετηρίας, καὶ ἔτυχον τῶν σπουδῶν τὸ γὰρ Ἀληθές διὰ τὸ ἄξιομα καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἔπεισε βαδίως τὸν Πρίμον τὴν ὁμολογίαν σφῶν δέξασθαι.

15 Ἡς μέντοι αἱ τε πῦλαι ἱνεφύδησαν καὶ εἰν ἀδεία πάντες ἐγένοντο, τότε δὴ ἐξαίφνης πανταχόθεν τε ἁμα ἐσέδραμον καὶ διήρπασαν πάντα καὶ ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐδενὸς τῶν δεινοτάτων σμικρότερον· ή τε γὰρ πόλις καὶ μεγέθεσι καὶ κάλλεσιν οἰκοδομημάτων ἥσκητο, καὶ χρήματα παμπληθῆ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ τῶν ξένων ἐς αὐτὴν συνεληλύθει.

2 καὶ τὰ γε πλείω κακὰ οἱ Οὐίτελλίεις ἔδρασαν, ἀτε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσιώτατων καὶ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν στενωπῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες οὐδὲ ἐξελευν αὐτοῖς εἰ δὲν ὑπερμαχέσαντο, τούτους ἀπώλεσαν,² ἀλλ' ὃς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡδικημένοι καὶ κεκρατηκότες ἐπαινοῦ ἔσφατον, ὡστε καὶ πέντε μυριάδας σὺν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσοῦσιν ἀπολέσατο.

16 Οὐίτελλίος δὲ ὃς ἐπιθέτο τῆς ἠττης, τέως μὲν ἐθορυβεῖτο, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων

¹ Μουκιανὸς R. Steph., μουκιανὸν VC.
² ἀπώλεσαν R. Steph., ἀπώλεσαν VC.

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to their custom; but the followers of Vitellius, suspecting that Mucianus had arrived, underwent a revulsion of feeling, and becoming panic-stricken at the shout, took to flight. Thus it is that the smallest things can produce great alarm in men who are already exhausted. They retired within the wall, from which they stretched forth their hands and made supplications. As no one listened to them, they released the consul, and, having arrayed him in his robe of office with the fasces, they sent him as an intercessor. Thus they obtained a truce, for Alieinus, because of his rank and his sad plight, easily persuaded Primus to accept their proffer of capitulation.

When, however, the gates were opened and all the soldiers were granted leave, they suddenly came rushing in from all directions and began plundering and setting fire to everything. This catastrophe proved to be one of the greatest on record; for the city was distinguished for the size and beauty of its buildings, and vast sums of money belonging not only to the citizens but also to strangers had been accumulated there. Most of the damage was done by the Vitellians, since they knew exactly which were the houses of the richest men and where the passages were which gave upon the side-streets. They showed no scruples about destroying the persons in whose behalf they had fought, but dealt blows and committed murder just as if it were they who had been wronged and now had conquered. Thus, counting those that fell in the battle, fifty thousand perished altogether.

Vitellius on learning of his defeat was alarmed for a time. Omens, for one thing, had contributed
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taraχθείς (θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινά, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ δημηγοροῦντος τοῖς στρατιώταις, γύτας πολλοὶ προσπεσόντες τὰ τε ἱερὰ διεσκέδασαν καὶ ἐκείνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος ὀλίγου δεῖν κατέβαλον),

2 τὸ δὲ δὴ πλέον διὰ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἡττῆς· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν διὰ ταχέως ἐς Ταρρακίναν¹ ἐπεμψε, καὶ δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν κατέσχεν ὀχυρὰν οὐσαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ὀὐσεπασιανοῦ στρατηγῶν ἐπιούντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐξεπλάγη τε καὶ

3 ἐξέστη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ οὔδεν οὔτε ἐπραττεν οὔτε ἐφρόνει, ἐμπλήκτως² δὲ ἁνω καὶ κάτω ἐφέρετο ὠσπερ ἐν κλύδωι. καὶ γὰρ ἀντείχετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πάντως ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐκὸν αὐτὴν ἠφίει καὶ πάντως ὡς

4 καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων ἡττομάζετο. καὶ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε τὴν χλαμῦδα τὴν πορφυρὰν ἐφόρει καὶ ξύφος παρεξώνυντο, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐσθήτα φαινὰν ἀνελάμβανεν. ἐδημηγορεῖ τε καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ ἀλλοτε ἄλλα, ἐπὶ τε μάχην καὶ ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς αὐτῷ

5 τοὺς προτρητόμενος· καὶ τοτε μὲν καὶ ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ δὴ ἐπεδίδου, τοτε δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδίον κατέχουν καὶ φῖλῶν προέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς³ ὡς ἐλεηθησόμενος. τοὺς τε ἐδορυφόρους ἀπῆλλαττε καὶ πάλιν μετεπέμπτε, τὸ τε παλάτιον ἐκλιπὼν ἀν καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οἰκίαν ἀπών εἰστα ἀνεκομιζέτο, ὡστε ἐκ τούτων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

6 τοὺς πλείστους τῆς σπουδῆς παραλύσαι. ὀρὼντες γὰρ αὐτὸν δεύρο καὶ ἐκείσε ἐμμανῶς ἀπτοῦτα οὔτε

¹ Ταρρακίναν Bk, ταρρακίναν VC (and so below).
² ἐμπλὴκτως C, ἐκπλὴκτως V.
³ αὐτοῖς Sylb., αὐτοῖς VC.
to make him uneasy; for, on the occasion of his A.D. 69 offering a certain sacrifice and afterwards addressing the soldiers, a lot of vultures had swooped down, scattered the offerings, and nearly knocked him from the platform. Yet it was chiefly the news of the defeat that troubled him. He promptly sent his brother to Tarracina, a strong city, and occupied it; but when the generals of Vespasian moved against Rome, he became alarmed and lost his head. He was unable to keep at any one activity or keep his mind on any one subject, but in his bewilderment was driven this way and that like a ship in a storm. One moment he was inclined to cling to the sovereignty and was making every preparation for war; the next moment he was ready to abdicate voluntarily and was making all his preparations for retiring to private life. At times he would wear the purple military cloak and carry a sword at his belt; and again he would put on dark clothing. His public addresses both in the palace and in the Forum were now of one tenor, now of another, as he urged the people to offer battle or conclude peace. At times he was ready even to surrender himself for the public welfare, as he put it, and again he would clasp his child in his arms, kiss him and hold him out to the people as if to arouse their pity. Similarly he would dismiss the Praetorians only to send for them again, and would leave the palace and retire to his brother’s house and then return. The result of this procedure was that he chilled the enthusiasm of almost everybody else; for when they saw him rushing hither and thither in such a frenzy, they ceased to carry

*a τούς τε Sylb., τούτω VC.*
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τι τῶν προστασσομένων σφίσιν ὁμοίως ἔπραττον, οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφῶν διεσκόπουν, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐκερτόμουν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅποτε τὸ ξίφος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ὤρεγεν ὡς καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἄρχην δ' αὐτοῦ ἀποτεθειμένος· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνων τις λαβεῖν αὐτὸ ἐτόλμα, καὶ οἱ προσεστηκότες ἐχλεύαζον.

17 Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πελάξοντος ἥδη τοῦ Πρίμου, συνελθόντες οὐ τε ὑπατοὶ Γάιος Κυῖντιος Ἀττικὸς καὶ Γναῖος Κακίλιος 1 Σίμπλιξ καὶ Ὁσίβιος (συγγενῆς ὅτος Ὀὐστπασιανὸς) τῶν τε ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι γνώμας ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ὁρμησαν σὺν τοῖς ὀμογνωμονοῦσι σφίσι στρατιώταις ὡς ἢ πείσοντες ἢ καὶ καταναγκά-σοντες τὸν Ὁσιπέλλιον τὴν ἀρχήν ἀπειπείν. καὶ περιπεσόντες τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, κὰκ τούτου ἐς τὸ Ἐπώλιον ἀνέφυγον, κἀνταύθα τὸν Δομιτιανὸν 2 τοῦ τοῦ Ὀὐστπασιανὸν ὧν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ 3 μεταπεμψάμενοι ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσαντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προσβαλόντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίοις χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀπεκρούσαντο αὐτοὺς, ἐμπρη-σθέντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ Ἐπώλιον ἀνέκοπτη-σαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς. καὶ οὕτως ἐπαναβάντες οἱ τοῦ Ὁσιπέλλιον στρατιώται ἐκείνων τε συχνὸς ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ διαρπάσαντες πάντα τὰ ἄνακε-μένα κατέπρησαν ἄλλα τε καὶ τῶν ναὸν τῶν μέγαν, τῶν τε Ὁσίβιον καὶ τῶν Ἀττικὸν συλ-λαβόντες πρὸς τὸν Ὁσιπέλλιον ἐπημήναν. Δομι-τιανὸς δὲ καὶ Ὁσίβιος ὁ τοῦ Ὁσίβιον παῖς ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ θορύβῳ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπώλιον 248
out their orders with their usual diligence and began A.D. 69 to consider their own interests as well as his. They sneered at him a great deal, especially when in the assemblies he would proffer his sword to the consuls and to the other senators, as if by this act he had divested himself of the imperial office. Naturally none of the persons mentioned dared to take it and the bystanders jeered.

In view of all this, added to the fact that Primus was now drawing near, the consuls, Gaius Quintius Atticus and Gnaeus Caecilius Simplex, together with Sabinus (a relative of Vespasian) and the other foremost men, consulted together and then set out for the palace, accompanied by the soldiers who were of the same mind, with the purpose of either persuading or compelling Vitellius to abdicate the throne. But encountering his German guards and getting the worst of it, they fled up to the Capitol. Arrived there, they sent for Domitian, the son of Vespasian, and his relatives, and put themselves in a state of defence. The next day, when their adversaries assailed them, they managed for a time to repulse them; but when the environs of the Capitol were set on fire, they were driven back by the flames. And thus the soldiers of Vitellius made their way up, slaughtered many of them, and after plundering all the votive offerings burned down the great temple and other buildings. Sabinus and Atticus were arrested by them and sent to Vitellius. Domitian and the younger Sabinus, however, had made their escape from the Capitol in the first con-

1 KaiKλίος Reim., κεκίλιος VC.
2 Δομιτιανὸν H. Steph., δομετιανὸν VC (and similarly in § 4).
καὶ ἐσ οἰκίας τινὰς κατακρυφθέντες ἐλελήθησαν.
—Xiph. 198, 17—200, 25 R. St.

18 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ὀὐσπασιάνειοι στρατιῶται πλησίον ἐγένοντο, οὐς δὲ τὸ Κῦντος Πετίλιος Κερεάλιος ἴππες τῶν πρῶτων καὶ τῷ Ὀὐσπασιανῷ κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν τινὰ προσήκων καὶ ὁ Πρίμος ἀντώνιος ἤγγον (ὁ γὰρ Μουκιανὸς οὖπο ἐπεθεῖσκε), ἐν παντὶ δέος ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἐγεγόνει.

2 οὕτωι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν δὲ ἀγγέλων τινῶν, ἐσ τὸ λάρνακας μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐσ ἀρρίχους ὁπώρων ἔχοντας ἡπτῇσι 2 ἢ καὶ καλάμους ὄρισθεύτων τὰ γράμματα ἐμβαλλόντων, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει δρόμενα ἐμάνθανοι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἐβουλεύσαντο· τότε δ’ ἴδοντες τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὡσπερ ἐκ φρυκτωρίας αἱρόμενον

3 ἢπείχθησαν. καὶ πρότερος τῇ πόλει μετὰ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ ὁ Κερεάλιος προσμίξας ἡπτῇσθα μὲν κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἔσοδον, ἄτε ἐν στενῷ μεθ’ ἑπτέων ἀποληφθείς, ἐπέσχε δ’ οὖν τὸ τι κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ Οὐιτέλλιος καταλαγήσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἑπικρατείας ἐλπίσας τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἀνεχαίτισεν, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγὼν πρέσβεις παρ’ αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων πρὸς τὸν Κερεάλιον ἐπεμψεν.

19 Ὡς δ’ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐσήκουσεν, ἀλλ’ ὀλγοῦ καὶ ἀπέθανον, πρὸς τὸν Πρίμον καὶ αὐτῶν ἦδη προσπελάζοντα ἤλθον, καὶ λόγου μὲν ἐτυχον, ἐπραξαν δὲ οὐδεὶ. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὀργῇ ἐχώρησαν, καὶ τὴν τῷ φυλακῷ τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας βαδίως ἐλυσαν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ

1 Πρίμος Uα Suid., πρίσκος VC.
2 ἐχοῦσας Suid., ἔχοντας VC.

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fusion and by concealing themselves in some houses A.D. 69 had remained undiscovered.

The troops of Vespasian that were led by Quintus Petilius Cerialis (one of the foremost senators and a relative of Vespasian by marriage) and by Antonius Primus (for Mucianus had not yet overtaken them) were by this time close at hand, and Vitellius had fallen into the greatest terror. The oncoming leaders learned, by means of messengers, all that was being done in the City and formed their plans accordingly. (These messengers placed the letters which had been given them in coffins along with the corpses, or in baskets of fruit, or in the reed traps of bird catchers.) Accordingly, when they now saw the blaze rising from the Capitol like a beacon, they made haste. The first of the two to approach the city was Cerialis with his cavalry, and he was defeated at the very gates, where he and his horsemen were cut off, since the place was narrow. Yet he contrived to prevent his opponents from doing him any injury. For Vitellius, hoping that he could make terms on the strength of his victory, restrained his troops; and having convened the senate, he sent to Cerialis envoys chosen from that body along with the Vestal Virgins.

But when no one listened to them and they came very near losing their lives besides, the envoys came to Primus, who was also approaching at last; from him they secured an audience, but accomplished nothing. For his soldiers advanced angrily against him and they also overcame easily the guard at the bridge over the Tiber; for when the guards took

\[\textit{ἐμβάλλοντων Βς., ἐμβάλλοντες VC.}\]
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ἐνστάντες ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκώλυσάν σφας διελθεῖν, διενήξαντο τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νῶτον σφίσιν ἐπέπεσον), καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἄλλοι ἄλλη ἐσβαλόντες οὐδὲν ὁ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐκ
3 ἐποίησαν: πάντα γὰρ ὅσα τῷ Ὁὐιτελλίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσιν ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ δι' ἄ καὶ πολεμεῖν σφίσιν ἐσκήπτοτο, ἔδρασαν, καὶ ἀπεκτείναν πολλοὺς. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τε τῶν στεγῶν 1 τῷ κεράμῳ 2 βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ὥθούμενοι ἐκόππητο, ὡστε ἐς 3 πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ὅλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις φθαρῆναι.—Χιφ. 200, 25—201, 18 R. St., Exc. Uσ 40b (p. 396).

20 Τῆς οὖν πόλεως πορθομένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν μαχομένων τῶν δὲ φευγόντων, καὶ ἡδὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὡς τῶν ἑσπερινῶν δόξαντες εἶναι σωθῶσι, καὶ ἄρπαζον τινὰ καὶ φονεύοντων, ὁ Ὁὐιτέλλιος φοβηθεὶς χιτωνίσκον τε Ῥακώδη καὶ Ῥυπαρὸν ἐνέδυ, καὶ ἐς οἰκήμα σκοτείνων, ἐν ό ἐτέρφοντο κόινες, ἐκρύφθη, ἡμόμην ἐχὼν τῇς νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Ταρρακίαν πρὸς τὸν
2 ἀδελφὸν ἀποδράναι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναξιητὴς τες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἐξευρόντες (οὐ γάρ ποιν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ λαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἐδύνατο ἀτε αὐτοκράτωρ γεγονὼς) συνελαβον 4 φορτοῦ 5 καὶ αἴματος ἀναπετλησμένον (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν κυνῶν ἑλελυμαντο), κὰκ τούτου τῇ ἐσθήτα αὐτοῦ περιπήξαντες καὶ τῷ χείρε ἐς τοῦτος δήσαντες, τῷ τε αὐχένι σχοινίον περιβέντες, κατηγαγον ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου τοῦ Καίσαρα τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντρυφή-
their stand on the bridge and disputed their passage, A.D. 69.

the horsemen forded the stream and fell upon them
from the rear. After this various bodies of men
made assaults at various points and committed every
conceivable cruelty. In fact, they indulged in all
the deeds for which they were censuring Vitellius
and his followers and which they pretended had
caused the war between them; and they slew great
numbers. Many of the attacking force also were
pelted with tiles from the roofs or in the narrow
passages were crowded back by the multitude of
their adversaries and cut down. Thus as many
as fifty thousand persons perished during those
days.

The city was accordingly being pillaged, and the
inhabitants were fighting or fleeing or even them-
selves plundering and murdering, in order that they
might be taken for the invaders and thus preserve
their lives. Then Vitellius in his fear put on a
ragged and filthy tunic and concealed himself in a
dark room where dogs were kept, intending to escape
during the night to Tarracina and there join his
brother. But the soldiers sought and found him;
for naturally he could not go entirely unrecognized
very long after having been emperor. They seized
him, covered as he was with rubbish and blood (for
he had been bitten by the dogs), and tearing off
his tunic they bound his hands behind his back
and put a rope round his neck. And thus they
led down from the palace the Caesar who had

2 τῷ κεράμῳ U, τῶν κεράμων C, τῶν κεραμίων V.
3 εἷς U, om. VC.
4 συνέλαβον Zon., συνέλαβεν VC.
5 φορυτού Zon., ύφαντον V, ύφαντον C.
3 σαντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀδοῦ ἔσυραν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ δίφρω πολλάκις σοβήσαντα, ἐς τῇν ἁγορᾶν ἐσεκόμισαν τὸν Ἀὔγουστον ἐν ἵπποι πολλάκις ἐκημηγόρησε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐρράπιζον αὐτὸν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ γενείου ἔτιλλον πάντες δὲ ἐσκωπτοῦν καὶ πάντες ὑβρίζουν, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῇν ἀσωτίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέγοντες, ἐπειδὴ 21 καὶ γαστροπίων ἦν. αἰσχυνομένου τε ἐπὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω βλέποντος, οἱ στρατιῶται ξιφίδιοι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸ γενεῖον ὑπεκέντουν, ἵνα καὶ ἀκῶν ἄνω βλέπῃ. ἵδων δὲ τοῦτο Κελτός τις ὦν ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλά ἐρείπησαν αὐτὸν "ἐγώ σοι" ἐφη "βοηθήσω, ὅσ μόνως 1 δύναμαι." καὶ ὁ μὲν 2 ἐκεῖνον τε ἐτρωσε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐσφαξεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁ Ὀὐτέλλιος ἀπέθανεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀλλὰ ἐσύρετο ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὦσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν μὲν γελοίων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἐπιλεγομένων σφίσων. ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὑπεραλγήσας καὶ οἰς ἔπαθε 2 καὶ οἰς ἤκουεν "ἀλλὰ ἐγώγι" ἐφη "αὐτοκράτωρ ποτὲ ὑμῶν ἐγενόμην," δρησθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς τε τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς αὐτὸν ἠγαγοῦν, κανταύθα κατέκοψαν, τῇν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες κατὰ πάσαν τὴν πόλιν περιήγαγον.

22 Καὶ τούτου μὲν ὕστερον ἡ γυνὴ ἔθαψε, ξύσαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ ὑγιὸκοντα, 3 ἄρξαντα δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα ἀποδέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὀρισε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ταρρακίνης ὦς καὶ βοηθήσων αὐτῷ, μαθῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ὅτι τέθνηκε, καὶ

1 μόνως Sylb., μόνος VC Zon.
revelled there; along the Sacred Way they dragged A.D. 69 the emperor who had often paraded past in his chair of state, and they conducted the Augustus to the Forum, where he had often addressed the people. Some buffeted him, some plucked at his beard; all mocked him, all insulted him, making comments especially upon his riotous living, since he had a protuberant belly. When, in shame at this treatment, he lowered his gaze, the soldiers would prick him under the chin with their daggers, in order to make him look up even against his will. A German who witnessed this could not endure it, but taking pity on him cried: “I will help you in the only way that I can.” Thereupon he wounded Vitellius and slew himself. However, Vitellius did not die of the wound, but was dragged to the prison, as were also his statues, while many jests and many opprobrious remarks were made about them. Finally, grieved to the heart at what he had suffered and what he had been hearing, he cried: “And yet I was once your emperor.” At that the soldiers became enraged and led him to the Stairway,¹ where they struck him down. Then they cut off his head and carried it about all over the city.

His wife later saw to his burial. He had lived fifty-four years and eighty-nine days, and had reigned for a year lacking ten days. His brother had set out from Tarracina to come to his assistance, but learning on the way of his death and also encountering the men who had been sent against him, he

¹ The scalae Gemoniae.

² ἐπάθε VC, ἐπασχε Zon.
³ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ ὄγδοικοντα Zon., om. VC.
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περιπεσών ἀμα τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν πεμφθείσων, ὀμολόγησε μὲν σφισιν ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενος, 2 ἐσφάγη δ' οὖ πολλῷ ύστερον. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου παῖς ἐπαπώλετο, καίτω τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου μηδένα μῆτε τῶν τοῦ Ὄθωνος μήτε τῶν τοῦ Ὀὐεσπασιανοῦ συγγενῶν ἀποκτείναντος. πεπραγμένων δὲ τούτων ἡδή ὡς ἑκάστων ὁ Μουκιανὸς ἐπήλθε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα συνδιώκει τῷ Δομιτιανῷ, καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν παραγαγὼν δημηγορήσαι ἐποίησε καίπερ καὶ παιδίσκουν ὄντα. καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμᾶς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑκαστὸς ἔλαβεν.—Xiph. 201, 18—202, 26 R. St.
made terms with them on the condition that his life A.D. 69
should be spared; however, he was slain not long afterward. The son of Vitellius, too, perished soon after his father, in spite of the fact that Vitellius had put to death no relative either of Otho or of Vespasian. After all these various events had taken place Mucianus at length arrived and administered affairs in conjunction with Domitian. Among other things, he presented Domitian to the soldiers and made him deliver a speech, boy as he was. And each of the soldiers received a hundred sesterces.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXV

LXVI 1 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ ἔπει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ὑσεπτασιανός καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλής ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ Καῖσαρες ὁ τε Τίτος καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπεκλήθησαν, ἔπει ήπατον ἄρχην ὁ Ὑσεπτασιανός καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἔλαβον, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ
2 δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ οὖν. ἐγεγόνει μὲν οὖν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ οὐνέρατα τῷ Ὑσεπτασιανῷ τῷ μοναρχίαν ἑκ πόλλου προδηλοῦντα. Ἑβούς τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ ἐν φ τῇ δίαιται ψε πλήθει ἐποιεῖτο, δειπνοῦντι προσελθὼν ὁ κλάσει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑπέθηκε· καὶ κύσων αὐθής, σίτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε αἱρομένου, χεῖρα ἀνθρωπίνην
3 ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ὑπέβαλε. κυτάρισσὸς τε περιφανῆς πρόρρυζος ὑπὸ σφόδρου 2 πνεῦμας ἀνατραπείσα, ἔπειτα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ υφ' ἑαυτῆς 3 ἀνέστη καὶ ἀκμάζουσα διετέλεσε· καὶ παρ' οὐνείρατος ἐμαθὲν ὅτι, ὅταν ὁ Καῖσαρ Νέρων ὄδοντα ἀποβάλη, αὐταρχήσει καὶ τούτῳ τε τὸ κατὰ τὸν ὄδοντα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνηνέχθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νέρων ἔδοξε ποτὲ ἐν τοῖς ὑπονοοῖς τὸν τοῦ Δίδο ὄχοι ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ὑσεπτασιανοῦ
4 οἰκίαν ἐσάγαγειν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐρμηνεύσεως ἕχρηζεν, Ἰώσητος δὲ ἀνήρ Ἰουδαίος ἀχθεῖς τε

1 ἐπεκλήθησαν Zon., ἐπεδείχθησαν VC.
2 υφ' οὗ σφόδρον proposed by Boissée; cf. Suet. Vesp. 5.
3 υφ' ἑαυτῆς H. Steph., υφ' ἑαυτῆ VC.
Such was the course of these events; and following A.D. 69 them Vespasian was declared emperor by the senate also, and Titus and Domitian were given the title of Caesars. The consular office was assumed by A.D. 70 Vespasian and Titus while the former was in Egypt and the latter in Palestine. Now portents and dreams had come to Vespasian pointing to the sovereignty long beforehand. Thus, as he was eating dinner on his country estate, where most of his time was spent, an ox approached him, knelt down and placed his head beneath his feet. On another occasion, when he was also eating, a dog dropped a human hand under the table. And a conspicuous cypress tree, which had been uprooted and overthrown by a violent wind, stood upright again on the following day by its own power and continued to flourish. From a dream he learned that when Nero Caesar should lose a tooth, he himself should be emperor. This prophecy about the tooth became a reality on the following day; and Nero himself in his dreams once thought that he had brought the car of Jupiter to Vespasian’s house. These portents needed interpretation; but not so the saying of a Jew named Josephus: he, having earlier been captured by

1 According to Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5 (cf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 78), the tree fell *sine ulla vi tempestatis*. Boissée proposed to reconcile Xiphilinus’ statement by supplying the negative particle before “violent.”
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υπ' αυτοῦ πρότερον καὶ δεθεῖς ἐγέλασε καὶ ἔφη "γύν μὲν μὲ δήσεις, μετ' ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ λύσεις αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος."—Xiph. 203, 8-30 R. St.

2 Οὔτω μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ὀὐσπασιάνος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν, ός καὶ ἄλλοι τινες, ἐγεγέννητο, ἀπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ Μουκιανὸς τὰ τοῦ κράτους πάντα μετὰ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ διόκει, μέγα γάρ τι, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῷ Ὀὐσπασιανῳ δεδωκὼς, ἡγάλλετο 2 διά τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὃτι ἄδελφος υπ' αὐτοῦ ὁμομάξετο, καὶ ὃτι ἐξουσίαν εἰχε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβουλευτο καὶ ἀνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ προστάξεως διοικεῖν καὶ γράφειν, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπιγραφόμενος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε καὶ δακτύλιον πεμφθέντα οἵ 3 ἐφόρει, ἦν τὸ αὐτοκρατορικὸν σφράγισμα τὰ σημαίνομενα λαμ- βάνη. πωλλοῖς ἰοῦν ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἐπιτροπείας αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἔδωσαν, καὶ ἐπάρχοις ἄλλοις ἐπ' ἄλλοις καὶ υπάτους ἀπέδειξαν. 4 τὸ τε σύμπαν οὔτω πάντα αὐτοῦ ώς 5 αὐταρχόντες ἐποίουν ὡστε τὸν Ὀὐσπασιανὸν ἐπιστείλαν ποτε τῷ Δομιτιανῷ 6 ὅτι "χάριν ἐχω σοι, τέκνων, ὃτι με ἐὰς ἄρχειν καὶ οὐδέπω με καταλέλυκας."—Xiph. 203, 30-204, 10 R. St., Zon. 11, 17, p. 52, 11-21 D.

5 Ὄ δὲ Μουκιανὸς καὶ χρήματα ἀμύθητα παντα- χόθεν, ὅθεν ἐνεδέχετο, ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἥθροιζεν ἔτοιμότατα, τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπηγορίαν ἐς εαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὀὐσπασιανοῦ ἄναδεχόμενος. νεῦρα γάρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὰ χρήματα ἀεὶ ποτε εἶναι ἔλεγε, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνον πανταχόθεν

1 ἐγεγέννητο R. Steph., ἐγεγέννητο VC.
2 ἡγάλλετο H. Steph., ἡγεῖλλετο VC, ἡγάλατο Sylb.

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Vespasian and imprisoned, laughed and said: "You A.D. 70
may imprison me now, but a year from now, when
you have become emperor, you will release me."

Thus Vespasian, like some others, had been born
for the throne. While he was still absent in Egypt,
Mucianus administered all the details of government
with the help of Domitian. For Mucianus, who
claimed that he had bestowed the sovereignty upon
Vespasian, plumed himself greatly upon his honours,
and especially because he was called brother by him,
and had authority to transact any business that he
wished without the emperor's express direction, and
could issue written orders by merely adding the
other's name. And for this purpose he wore a ring,
that had been sent him so that he might impress
the imperial seal upon documents requiring authori-
ization. In fact, he and Domitian gave governorships
and procuratorships to many and appointed prefect
after prefect and even consuls. In short, they acted in
every way so much like absolute rulers that Vespasian
once sent the following message to Domitian: "I
thank you, my son, for permitting me to hold office
and that you have not yet dethroned me."

Now Mucianus was gathering countless sums into
the public treasury with the greatest eagerness from
every possible quarter, thereby relieving Vespasian
of the censure which such a proceeding entailed.
He was for ever declaring that money was the sinews
of sovereignty; and in accordance with this belief
he not only constantly urged Vespasian to raise
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Porizesin partheni kai autos ap artihs argyro-
logon dietellesse, kal megala men kai tis basi-
leia chrismata pareskveusae, megala de kai autos
ektistasato.

3 'En de tis Germavía allai te kata 'Rwmaís
epanastosaeis egeýontou, oudèn es mnímhn émoi goud
ófelos férousai, kai ti symnechthe kal thámatoj
axion. 'Ioulioj gar tis Sábínos, ánher protos
ton Deygonon, dúnamen kai autós idían ãthrous
kai Kaiásar epinomásthèi, légon eýgonos ton Ká-
saros ton 'Ioulión eínai. Ëttithèis de màxais
tisín ephugen-es ágrón tina, kántoudha es mnvméén
úpógeion, prokatapatrisa autó, katédnu kai ói
mèn Æónto kakeínon apololèinai, Í de êkruóthi
te en autó énneá éti metà tis gnvaíkos, kal
paîdas eis autís dúo dòrovan ekúthei. kal tà
mèn en Germavía Kereálios màxais pollaís kate-
estháso, Ín en mià tosoúttou plèthos tôn te
'Rwmaíwn kal tôn barbárwn katekópp tis
ton pararreonta potamóv upó tôn peptwkoión
épispheíntai.

4 'O de Dómitianos, eis Ín ebrasa kai polloj
mállon eis Ín epitexéirhsev (oudèn gar mikroú
épeuoi) foðithèis tôn patéra, pro ós te tò
'Albani òd krei tò pollla diátirboun kai tò
eroti tis Dómitias tis Korboúlwnos 1 thugatró
prosechon eúgykhan: taúthn gar Dukión Lámión
Ailiánou 2 touto taúths ìndros ãpóspásas tòtse
mèn en tais eýroménais eþpíhsato, ústeron de kai
éghmen.—Xiph. 204, 10-205, 2 R. St.

1 Korboúlwos R. Steph., koutrboúlwos VC.
2 Ailiánou I. Klein, auliánou VC.

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funds from every source, but also continued from the A.D. 70 very first to collect money himself, thus providing large amounts for the empire and at the same time acquiring large amounts for himself.

In the province of Germany various uprisings against the Romans took place that are not worth being mentioned by me, at least, but there was one incident that must occasion surprise. A certain Julius Sabinus, one of the foremost of the Lingones, collected by his own efforts an independent force of his own and took the name of Caesar, claiming to be a descendant of Julius Caesar. Upon being defeated in several engagements he fled to a country estate, where he descended into a subterranean vault beneath a monument, which he first burned to the ground. His pursuers thought that he had perished in the flames, but as a matter of fact he remained hidden there with his wife for nine years and had two sons by her. The troubles in Germany were settled by Cerialis in the course of numerous battles, in one of which so great a multitude of Romans and barbarians was slain that the river flowing near by was dammed up by the bodies of the fallen.

Domitian became afraid of his father because of what he himself had done and far more because of what he had intended to do; for he was quite ambitious in his projects. So he spent most of his time in the neighbourhood of the Alban Mount and devoted himself to his passion for Domitia, the daughter of Corbulo. He had taken her away from her husband, Lucius Lamia Aelianus, and at this time had her for one of his mistresses, though later he married her.

As Boissevain points out, this relative clause is probably due to Xiphilinus.
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4 'O de Titos to pro's 'Ioudaious polému epitaqhveis epexeirhise mn ev autous logois tis kal epaggeleiias prospoysiasthai, mh peisheisi de epolemei. kal makhais taís 1 men prwtais anghomala anghynisamenos, eita krateias epoliorkei t' Ierosolyma. h' de tria autois svn

2 to tov nevw periβolw teixh. o' te ovin 'Rwmaioi chomatia te pro's to teixhos evfwnvsnai kai mh-chaunima proshgnan, tovs te epekteountas omise ióntes anestellelon, kai tovs ep'ti tov teixhous epónantas sfedównais kai toxeýmason aneirgyon: sychnoun gar kai par' baryvarwv tinwv basi-

3 lewv pempentantas eixhoun kai o' 'Ioudaioi polloi men autóthei polloi de kai par' tomen omóthwn, onx oti ek tis tov 'Rwmaion arxhis alla kai ek ton péran Euvfratou, prosbetheitikes pele te kai autoi kai lidsous, tovs men ek xeiros tovs de kai mhxanais, sfoedrótieron axe kai af' uψηlou, 4 eπempton, kai epexióntes, h kairos h' nuktos te kai hmereas tas mhchanas enepimprasan, sychnous 'apektínnusan, ton te choun uporúsontes upo to teixhos ufeilikou, kai tovs krios tovs men bropo-chois anékklwv 2 tovs de apagais anestpovn eπe- rov tas prosbolas saivsi paxeias sympethyn- menais te kai sevtenoménais, as pro tov

5 teixous kathesan, apéstrēfoun. to de de plēi- ston o' 'Rwmaioi t' anuvría ekakopáthoun, kai

1 taís supplied by Rk.
2 anékklwv Bk., aneilkouv ABM.

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Titus, who had been assigned to the war against A.D. 70 the Jews, undertook to win them over by certain representations and promises; but, as they would not yield, he now proceeded to wage war upon them. The first battles he fought were indecisive; then he got the upper hand and proceeded to besiege Jerusalem. This city had three walls, including the one that surrounded the temple. The Romans, accordingly, heaped up mounds against the outer wall, brought up their engines, joined battle with all who sallied forth to fight and repulsed them, and with their slings and arrows kept back all the defenders of the wall; for they had many slingers and bowmen that had been sent by some of the barbarian kings. The Jews also were assisted by many of their countrymen from the region round about and by many who professed the same religion, not only from the Roman empire but also from beyond the Euphrates; and these, also, kept hurling missiles and stones with no little force on account of their higher position, some being flung by the hand and some hurled by means of engines. They also made sallies both night and day, whenever occasion offered, set fire to the siege engines, slew many of their assailants, and undermined the Romans' mounds by removing the earth through tunnels driven under the wall. As for the battering-rams, sometimes they threw ropes around them and broke them off, sometimes they pulled them up with hooks, and again they used thick planks fastened together and strengthened with iron, which they let down in front of the wall and thus fended off the blows of still others. But the Romans suffered most hardship from the lack of water; for
φαύλον καὶ πόρρωθεν ύδωρ ἐπαγόμενοι. οἳ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἱσχυοῦ· ὀρωρυγμένους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνδόθεν ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη μέχρι πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἶχον, καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν διεξίοντες τοὺς τε ὑδρευμένους ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκεδασμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο· οὗς ὁ Τίτος πάντας ἀπέφραξε.

5 Κἂν τοὺς ἔργοις τούτοις πολλοὶ ἐτιτρόσκοντο ἐκατέρων καὶ ἔθνησκον, καὶ ὁ Τίτος αὐτὸς λίθῳ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ὄμοι ἐπιλήγη, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἀσθενεστέραν εἶχεν. χρόνῳ δ’ ὅσον ποτὲ τοῦ ἔξω περιβόλου οἱ ’Ρωμαίοι ἐπέβησαν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν δύο περιβόλων στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἐτερον τείχος προσέβαλλον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοία ἡ πρόσμεξίς σφισιν ἐγίγνετο· ἀναχωρήσαντες γὰρ ἐς ἐκεῖνο πάντες βάδων, ἀτε καὶ ἐκ βραχυτέρας τῆς τοῦ κύκλου περιβολῆς, ἡμύ-3 νοτο. ὁ οὖν Τίτος κήρυγμα αὕθες, ἀδειαν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς, ἐποιήσατο. ἐκεῖνοι τε οὖν καὶ ὃς ἐκαρ-τέρους, καὶ οἱ ἀλισκόμενοι οὐ τε αὐτομολούντες σφων τὸ ύδωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λανθανόντως ἐφθειρον, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὓς ποὺ μόνους ἀπολάβοιεν ἐσφαξον. ὁ δὲ Τίτος οὐκέτ’ οὔδένα

4 αὐτῶν ἐδέχετο. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς ἀδημονήσαντες οἶα ἐν χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ προσυποτοπήσαντες ὅπερ ἐθρυλεῖτο, ἀπόρθητον ὄντως τῆς πόλιν εἶναι, μετέστησαν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ περὶ σπανίζουτες τῆς τροφῆς, περειπον ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτομόλους ἐχειν.

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their supply was of poor quality and had to be brought from a distance. The Jews found in their underground passages a source of strength; for they had these tunnels dug from inside the city and extending out under the walls to distant points in the country, and going out through them, they would attack the Romans' water-carriers and harass any scattered detachments. But Titus stopped up all these passages.

In the course of these operations many on both sides were wounded and killed. Titus himself was struck on the left shoulder by a stone, and as a result of this accident that arm was always weaker. In time, however, the Romans scaled the outside wall, and then, pitching their camp between this and the second circuit, proceeded to assault the latter. But here they found the conditions of fighting different; for now that all the besieged had retired behind the second wall, its defence proved an easier matter because its circuit was shorter. Titus therefore once more made a proclamation offering them immunity. But even then they held out, and those of them that were taken captive or deserted kept secretly destroying the Romans' water supply and slaying any troops that they could isolate and cut off from the rest; hence Titus would no longer receive any Jewish deserters. Meanwhile some of the Romans, too, becoming disheartened, as often happens in a protracted siege, and suspecting, furthermore, that the city was really impregnable, as was commonly reported, went over to the other side. The Jews, even though they were short of food, treated these recruits kindly, in order to be able to show that there were deserters to their side also.
6 Διακοπέπτος δὲ τοῦ τείχους μηχαναίς κατὰ μὲν τούτο οὖθ' δὲς ἐάλωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω πολλοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους ἀπέκτειναν· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τινὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκοδομημάτων ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦτοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περαιτέρω, κἂν τοῦ κύκλου κρατήσωσι, προελθεῖν κωλύσοντες, τὸ τε τείχος ἐλυμήναντο καὶ τὸν περίβολον τὸν περὶ τὸ τεμένισμα ἄκοντες συγκατέφλεξαν, καὶ ἀνεύχθη ἢ ἐσοδὸς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν 2 νεῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. οὐ μὴν καὶ παραχρῆμα διὰ τὸ δεισιδαιμονήσαι ἐσέδραμον, ἄλλ' ὅψε ποτε, τοῦ Τίτου σφᾶς καταναγκάσαντος, εἰσώ προεχώρησαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολὺ προθυμότερον, ὥσπερ τι ἔρμαιον τὸ πρὸς τε τῷ ναῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι πεσεῖν εὐρηκότες, ἢμύνοντο, ὁ μὲν δήμος κάτω ἐν τῷ προνάῳ, οἱ δὲ βουλευταῖ ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς, οἱ' θ' ἱερῆς ἐν αὐτῷ 3 τῷ μεγάρῳ τεταγμένοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον γε ἐνικήθησαν, καὶ περ ὅλγοι πρὸς πολλῷ πλεῖος μαχόμενοι, πρὶν ὑποπρησθῆναι τι τοῦ νεῶ· τότε γὰρ ἔθελον τοὺς οἱ μὲν ξίφεσι σφᾶς τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιέπειρον, οἱ δὲ ἄλληλους ἐφόνευεν, ἄλλοι εαυτοὺς κατεχρώντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐσεπῆδον. καὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσι μέν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, οὐχ ὅτι ὀλέθρος ἄλλα καὶ νίκη καὶ σωτηρία εὐδαιμονία τε εἶναι, ὅτι τῷ ναῷ συναπ-. 7 ὠλλυντο.1 ἐάλωσαν δ' οὖν καὶ δ' ὃς ἄλλοι τε καὶ

1 συναπόλλυντο ΑΒΜ (οὐν ὀνεὶ ὦν Μ), συναπόλλυντο VC.

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Though a breach was made in the wall by means of engines, nevertheless, the capture of the place did not immediately follow even then. On the contrary, the defenders killed great numbers that tried to crowd through the opening, and they also set fire to some of the buildings near by, hoping thus to check the further progress of the Romans, even though they should gain possession of the wall. In this way they not only damaged the wall but at the same time unintentionally burned down the barrier around the sacred precinct, so that the entrance to the temple was now laid open to the Romans. Nevertheless, the soldiers because of their superstition did not immediately rush in; but at last, under compulsion from Titus, they made their way inside. Then the Jews defended themselves much more vigorously than before, as if they had discovered a piece of rare good fortune in being able to fight near the temple and fall in its defence. The populace was stationed below in the court, the senators on the steps, and the priests in the sanctuary itself. And though they were but a handful fighting against a far superior force, they were not conquered until a part of the temple was set on fire. Then they met death willingly, some throwing themselves on the swords of the Romans, some slaying one another, others taking their own lives, and still others leaping into the flames. And it seemed to everybody, and especially to them, that so far from being destruction, it was victory and salvation and happiness to them that they perished along with the temple. Yet even under these conditions many captives were taken, among them

\[i.e.\] the members of the Sanhedrin.
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ό Βαργιορᾶς ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν· καὶ μόνος γε οὕτος ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐκολάσθη.

2 Οὗτω μὲν τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἐτί καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαίοι σέβονσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ ἄπ' ἐκείνου διδραχμὸν ἔτάχθη τούς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἑθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Δίι κατ' ἐτος ἀποφέρειν. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφότεροι ἔλαβον, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου οὐδέτερος ἐσχε· καίτοι τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐπὶ τηλικαύτη νίκη εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἄψιδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφίσθησαν.—Exc. U4 41 (pp. 396–399), Xiph. 205, 2–13 R. St.

8 Τοῦ Ὀὐεστπασιανοῦ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐσέλθοντος ὁ Νεῖλος παλαιστὴ πλέον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὼς ἐν μιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπελάγησεν· ὅπερ οὐπώποτε πλὴν ἀπαξ γεγονέναι ἐλέγετο. καὶ Ὀυεστπασιανοῦς δὲ αὐτὸς τυφλὸν τέ τινα καὶ ἔτερον οὖν ἄρτίχειρα,2 προσελθόντας οἱ ἐξ ὅψεως ὅνειράτων, τοῦ μὲν τὴν χειρά πατήσας τοῦ δὲ τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν προσππύσας,3 ὑγεῖσι ἀπέφηνε. τὸ μὲν θείον τούτοις αὐτῶν ἐσέμυνυν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρεις ἔχαιρον αὐτῷ, ἄλλα καὶ πάνω ἑχθοντο, οὐστε μὴ μόνον ἰδία ἄλλα καὶ δημοσία καὶ σκώπτειν αὐτὸν καὶ λοιδορεῖν. προσδοκίσαντες γὰρ μέγα τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι, ὅτι πρῶτοι αὐτῶν αὐτοκράτορα ἑπεποιήκεσαν, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν εύροντο ἄλλα καὶ προσεπράσσοντο 3 χρήματα. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως παρ'

1 Βαργιορᾶς Reim., καρπορᾶς V, βαρπορᾶς C, βασπόρης ABM.
2 ἄρτίχειρα C (?), ἀντίχειρα V.
Bargiora, their leader; and he was the only one A.D. 70 to be executed in connexion with the triumphal celebration.

Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most. From that time forth it was ordered that the Jews who continued to observe their ancestral customs should pay an annual tribute of two denarii to Jupiter Capitolinus. In consequence of this success both generals received the title of imperator, but neither got that of Judaicus, although all the other honours that were fitting on the occasion of so magnificent a victory, including triumphal arches, were voted to them.

Following Vespasian’s entry into Alexandria the Nile overflowed, having in one day risen a palm higher than usual; such an occurrence, it was said, had taken place only once before. Vespasian himself healed two persons, one having a withered hand, the other being blind, who had come to him because of a vision seen in dreams; he cured the one by stepping on his hand and the other by spitting upon his eyes. Yet, though Heaven was thus magnifying him, the Alexandrians, far from delighting in his presence, detested him so heartily that they were for ever mocking and reviling him. For they had expected to receive from him some great reward because they had been the first to make him emperor, but instead of securing anything they had additional contributions levied upon them. In the first place, he collected large

1 Simon Bar Giora.

3 προσπτύσας R. Steph., πηλὼν προσπτύσας VC.
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αὐτῶν ἐξελεξε, μηδένα πόρον, μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα μηδ' εἰ ἐπαίτιος τις ἂν, παραλείπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀσίων πάντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως χρηματιζόμενος· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τέλη τὰ μέν τινα ἐκλελειμένα ἀνενεώσατο, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόμενα προσεπτύξησε, καὶ καὶ τετερα προσκατεστήσατο. 4 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀλλῃ ὑπηκόῳ τῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ρώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. οἱ δ' οὖν Ἄλεξανδρεῖς διὰ τε ἐκεῖνα, καὶ οτι καὶ τῶν βασιλείων το πλείστον ἀπέδωτο, χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτῶν ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὅτι “ἐξ ὀβολοῦς προσατεῖς,” ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ὀὔσκα-δ σιανὸν καὶ περ ἐπιεικέστατον οὐντα χαλεπήναι, καὶ κελεύσαι μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐς ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἀνδρα ἐσπραχθῆναι, βουλεύσασθαι δὲ καὶ τιμωρίναι αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι· αὐτά τε γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα προπηλακισμὸν έίχε, καὶ ἐκ τούτοι κατακεκλαμένου τοῦ τε ἀναπαίστου σφῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τι οὐκ ὄργην ὃ οἱ ἐνεποίει. τοῦ δ' οὖν Τίτου ἔξαιτησμένου αὐτού τούτων ὁ Οὔσκασιανὸς ἐφείσατο. ἐκεῖνοι δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεσχόντο ἄλλα μέγα πάνω ἄθροι ἐν συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἐξεβόησαν, εἰπόντες αὐτὸ τοῦτον “συγγινώσκομεν αὐτῷ· οὐ 7 γὰρ οἴδε καισαρεύειν.” καὶ οἱ μὲν οὖν τότε ἐρρήψωκινδύνουν, καὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας, ὑφ' ἂς ἄει ποτε κακῶς ἀπαλλάσσουσιν, ἅδην ἐνεφοροῦντο,

1 μηδένα—παραλείπων Bs., μηδένα πόρον μηδ' εἰ ἐπαίτης τις ἂν παραλιπῶν VC, μηδὲ απορον μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα .: . μηδ' επαίτιος τις ἂν παραλείπων cod. Peir.
2 τῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ρώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα Zon., ἐν τῇ τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτ' VC., om. cod. Peir.
3 δ' οὖν Bk., γοῦν VC.

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sums from them in various ways, overlooking no A.D. 70
source, however trivial or however reprehensible
it might be, but drawing upon every source,
sacred and profane alike, from which money could
be secured. He also renewed many taxes that had
fallen into disuse, increased many that were
customary, and introduced still other new ones.
And he adopted this same course later in the rest
of the subject territory, in Italy, and in Rome itself.
Hence the Alexandrians, both for these reasons and
also because he had sold the greater part of the
palace, were angry and hurled many taunts at him,
this among others: "Six obols 1 more you demand
of us." Vespasian, consequently, although the most
good-natured of men, became angry, and gave orders
that six obols should be exacted from every man,
and he thought seriously about punishing them
besides. For the words in themselves were insulting
enough, and there was something about their broken
anapaestic rhythm that roused his ire. Titus, however,
begged that they might be forgiven and Vespasian
spared them. Yet they would not let him alone,
but in a crowded assembly all loudly shouted
in chorus at Titus these words: "We forgive
him; for he knows not how to play the Caesar."
So the Alexandrians at that time went on with
these foolhardy demonstrations, took their fill with-
out restraint of that impudent licence which is
always working to their detriment, and abused the

1 Or perhaps sesterces. Dio regularly uses δραχμή (six
obols) as the equivalent of the denarius (four sesterces). The
point of the remark is not clear.

4 τε Reim., τε οὖν cod. Peir.
5 δ' οὖν cod. Peir., γουν VC.
ΔΙΟΤΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

9 τη τοῦ αυτοκράτορος ἐπισκεικαὶ ἀποχρώμενον ἂν δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν εἰά, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἱρώμην ἐπέστειλε, τὴν τε ἀτιμίαν τῶν καταψηφισθέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἀσεβείαις ύπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων, τῶν τε ζάντων καὶ τῶν τεθνεῶν ὁμοίως, ἀπαλείφων, καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ 2 τοιούτων ἐγκλημασία καταλύνων, τούς τε ἀστρολόγους ἐκ τῆς Ἱρώμης ἐξώρισε, καὶ τοῖς αὐτὸν ἀρίστους αὐτῶν χρώμενος αὐτὸς, ὅστε καὶ διὰ Βάρβιλλον τινα ἄνδρα τοιοῦτοτροπον ἀγώνα τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἱερὸν ἄγειν συγχωρήσαι· ὅπερ οὕδεμα ἀλλη πόλει ἐνειμεν.—Χιφ. 205, 13–206, 7 R. St., Exe. Val. 271 (p. 701 sq.).

2α Τὴν μὲν οὖν Αὐγουστον δι’ ὁλογον καταστήσατο, καὶ σῖτον πολὺν εἰς τὴν Ἱρώμην ἐπέμψεν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τίτου εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλελιτσώς πορθῆσαι αὐτα, τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνέμειν ἀλωσιν, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἑπανέλθῃ πρὸς τὴν Ἱρώμην. τριβομένου δὲ χρόνου ἐν τῇ πολυρρίκῃ τοῦ μὲν Τίτου ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁλκάδος ἐτιβᾶς ἐς Δυκίαιαν ἐπέλυε, κάκειθεν τὰ μὲν πεξῇ τὰ δὲ ναυτιλλόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκομίεθη.—Ζων. 11, 17, p. 52, 28–53, 8 D.

3 Ὅ δὲ Οὐεστσασιανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ἱρώμην ἐσεληλύθει, καὶ Μουκιανὸ ἐς ἀλλοις τε τῶν πρωτῶν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐνέτυχε, Δουμιανὸ δὲ ἐν Βενεουεντῷ. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος ὡς τε ἐφρόνει καὶ ὃν ἑπετοιήκει οὕτε ἐθάρσει, καὶ 4 προσέτι καὶ μωρίαν ἔστιν ὅτε προσεποιεῖτο. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ χωρίῳ τά πλείστα διάγων ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ γελοία ἑπραττε, καὶ τὰς 1 αὐτὸς Polak, ovtws cod. Peir.
good nature of the emperor. But Vespasian soon a.d. 70
ceased to notice them. He sent a despatch to
Rome rescinding the disfranchisement of those who
had been condemned by Nero and succeeding rulers
for acts of maestas, as they were called. This order
applied to the living and to the dead alike; and
he put an end to the indictments based on such
complaints. He banished the astrologers from Rome,
even though he was in the habit of consulting all
the best of them himself, and, by way of showing
a favour to Barbillus, a man of that profession,
had even permitted the Ephesians to celebrate
some sacred games, a privilege that he granted to
no other city.

He soon restored order in Egypt and sent thence
a large supply of grain to Rome. He had left his
son Titus at Jerusalem to storm the place, and was
waiting for its capture in order that he might return
to Rome with him. But as time dragged on and
the siege continued, he left Titus in Palestine and
took passage himself on a merchantman; in this
manner he sailed as far as Lycia, and from there he
proceeded partly by land and partly by sea to
Brundisium.

Vespasian had later come to Rome, after meeting
Mucianus and other prominent men at Brundisium
and Domitian at Beneventum. The latter, because
of his consciousness both of what he was planning
and of what he had already done, was ill at ease, and
furthermore he sometimes even feigned madness.
At any rate, he spent most of his time at the Alban
Villa and did many absurd things, one of them being

2 Beneouentφ H. Steph., Benvéntw VC.
μνίας γραφείους κατεκέντει. 1 τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας ὅγκου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἰκανῶς τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ ἐνδείκνυται, ἀναγκαῖως ἑγγραψά, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι καὶ μοναρχήσας 5 ὄμοιως αὐτὸ ἐποίει. ὃθεν οὐκ ἀχαρίτως τις εἴπε πρὸς τὸν ἑρωτήσαντα "τί πράττει Δομιτιανὸς 2;" ὅτι "ἴδιαζε τε, 3 καὶ οὐδὲ μνία αὐτῶ παρακάθηται." ὁ δὲ Ὀὐσπασιανὸς ἐκείνου μὲν ἔταπείνου τὸ φρόνημα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας οὐχ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδιώτης, μνήμη τῆς πρωτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης, ἔδεξιόντο.—Χιφ. 206, 7–20 R. St.

1a Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ παρέσχηκε δωρεάς, καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἡδική ἐφθαρμένα ἐπανεσκεύαζε, καὶ συντελουμένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπέγραφεν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πρώτως δομησαμένων.—Ζον. 11, 17, p. 53, 9–14 D.

2 Τὸν τε νεὼν τὸν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξατο, αὐτὸς τε 4 τοῦ χοῦ πρῶτος ἐκφορήσας καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τὸ αὐτὸ 5 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι κελεύσας, ἵνα καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ πλήθει ἀπαραῖτητον τὸ διακόνημα γένηται.—Χιφ. 206, 20–24 R. St.

2a Τάς τε οὐσίας τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων τοῖς παιδίν ἐκείνων ἢ τοῖς ἄλλως οἰκείοις ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὰ συμβολαία τὰ παλαιὰ τὰ τῷ δημοσίῳ προσήκουντα προσδιεφθείρε.—Ζον. 11, 17, p. 53, 14–18 D.

3 Μεγαλοφρονεστάτα δὲ ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἐσ τὸ κοινὸν

1 κατεκέντει C (?), κατεκέντα V.
2 Δομιτιανός R. Steph., δομετιανός VC.

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to impale flies on a stylus. Unworthy as this A.D. 70 incident is of the dignity of history, yet, because it shows his character so well and particularly because he still continued the practice after he became emperor, I have felt obliged to record it. In view of this habit of his, someone, in answer to the question, "Where is Domitian?" made the witty reply: "He is living in retirement, without even a fly to keep him company." Vespasian now proceeded to humble this son's pride, but greeted all the rest, not as an emperor, but as a private citizen; for he was mindful of his own past fortune.

On reaching Rome he bestowed gifts upon both the soldiers and the populace. He also repaired the sacred precincts and the public works which had suffered injury and rebuilt such as had already fallen into ruin; and upon completing them he inscribed upon them, not his own name, but the names of those who had originally built them.

He immediately began to construct the temple on the Capitoline. He was himself the first to carry out a load of soil, thereby evidently bidding all the other leading citizens to do likewise, in order that the rest of the populace might have no excuse for shirking this service.

The property of his opponents who had fallen in the various conflicts he left to their children or to other kinsmen of theirs; furthermore, he destroyed the notes that were long overdue belonging to the public treasury.

Although he invariably expended in most munificent

\[3 \text{ τὲ H. Steph., τὶ VC.}
\[4 \text{ τὲ Sylb., τὶ VC.}
\[5 \text{ τὸ αὐτὸ Sylb., τὰ αὐτὰ VC.}

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ὁσα ἔχρην ἀναλώσας, καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις πολυτελέστατα διαθεῖς, εὐτελέστατα διητάτο ἕκατο 1 καὶ οὖν ἐξῴ τῶν πάνω ἀναγκαίων ἔδαπανα, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατηκλείοις ἐφθόν τι πλην ὀσπρίων πιτράσκεσθαι ἐπέτρεπε. κακὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διέδειξεν ὅτι τὰς συλλογὰς τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἦσ τὰς εαυτὸν ἱδονὰς ἀλλ' ἦσ τὰς τοῦ δήμου χρείας ἐποιεῖτο.—Χιφ. 206, 24-30 R. St.

3α "Οτι Βεσπασιανὸς γέλοτα ὀψλίσκανεν ὅσας ἀναλίσκοις ἔλεγεν ὅτι "ἐκ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ αὐτὰ δαπανῶ."—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 100 (p. 219 Mai = p. 201, 22-23 Dind.).

3β Ἤν δὲ οὕτε ἐξ εὐγενῶν οὕτε πλοῦσιος.—Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 20-21 D.

4 Καταστάσει δὲ τοῦ βίου τοὐαδε ἔχρητο. ὄλιγα μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὥκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς κήποις τοῖς καλουμένοις Σαλουστιείοις 2 διέτριβε, κάνταμθα τὸν βουλόμενον οὐχ ὅτι τῶν 5 βουλευτῶν ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσεδέχετο, καὶ τοῖς πάνω φίλοις καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἕω ἐν τῇ τῇ εὐνή κείμενος συνεγίνετο, καὶ ἑτεροί ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς αὐτὸν ἱσπάζοντο. αἱ τε θύραι τῶν βασιλείων ἴνεσυγμέναι διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἡςαν, καὶ φρουρὸς οὖν ἐν αὐτάῖς ἐγκαθειστήκει. 3 ἔσ τε τὸ συνεδριον διὰ παντὸς ἐφοίτα, καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεκοίνων, καὶ 4 τῇ ἀγορᾷ πολλάκις ἔδι- 6 καζέν, ὡσα τε μὴ ἔδωκατο αὐτὸς ὅπτο τοῦ γήρως ἀναλέγεσθαι, ἢ καὶ ὡσα ἀπὸ ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, διὰ τῶν νιέων αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκέλευεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, τιμῶν καὶ τούτω αὐτὴν. συνσί-τους τε ἐκ τε αὐτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων 278
fashion all that was requisite for the public welfare A.D. 70 and carried out the festivals on a most sumptuous scale, his own style of living was very far from costly and he spent no more than was absolutely necessary. Therefore even in the taverns he allowed nothing cooked to be sold except pulse. Thus he made it most evident that he was amassing money, not for his own enjoyment, but for the needs of the people.

Vespasian was laughed at every time he would say, when spending money: "I am paying for this out of my own purse."

He was neither of noble birth nor rich.

The general routine of life that he followed was as follows. He lived but little in the palace, spending most of his time in the Gardens of Sallust. There he received anybody who desired to see him, not only senators but also people in general. With his intimate friends he would hold converse even before dawn while lying in bed; and others would greet him on the streets. The doors of the palace stood open all day long and no guard was stationed at them. He regularly attended the meetings of the senate, whose members he consulted on all matters, and he frequently dispensed justice in the Forum. Whatever messages he was prevented by old age from reading and whatever communications he sent to the senate when unable to be present, he usually caused to be read by his sons, thus showing honour to that body even in this detail. Every day he made many of the senators and others his guests at table, and he himself

1 διητάτο Ζων., διὰ τούτο VC.
2 Σαλουστείοις Dind. (Σαλουστείοις), σαλουστείοις VC.
3 ἔγκαθιστήκει Reim., ἐγκαθιστήκει VC.
4 κᾶν Sylb., καλ VC.
καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συχνοὺς ἔποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῖς πάντες φίλοις ἐδείπνει.

11 τὸ τε σύμπαν τῇ μὲν¹ προνοία τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομίζετο, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰλλα πάντα κοινὸς καὶ ἱσοδιαιτὸς σφῶν ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἐσκωπτε δημοτικῶς καὶ ἀντεσκόπτετο ἡδέως· εἰ τε τινὰ γράμματα, οὐ εἰσθεν ἀνώνυμα ἐς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, προτηλακισμὸν αὐτῷ φέροντα, ἐξετήθη ποτὲ, ἀντεξεῖθε τὰ πρόσφορα μηδὲν

2 ταραττόμενοι. τοῦ τε Φοίβου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπολογουμένου ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐκκυθροπακότα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι, ἐφ’ οἷς ἀσχημονοῦντα ἐώρα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐκέλευσε πρὸς ὅργην ἀπελθεῖν, τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου ὅποι, “ἐς κόρακας” ἐπεν, ὑπὲρ τούτου οὖν ἀπολογουμένου τοῦ Φοίβου οὔτε τι κακὸν αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο, οὔτε ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ἀλλο οὔδεν πλήν αὐτὸ τοὔτο ὅτι “ἐς κόρακας ἀπελθε.” τοῦ δὲ Οὐσολογαίσου² ἐπιστεύλαντος αὐτῷ οὕτως “βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Φλαυκύφ Οὐσεπασιανφ χαίρειν,” οὔτε τι αὐτὸν ἤτιάσατο, καὶ ἀντέγραψε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, μηδὲν τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁνομάτων προσεθείς.

12 Ἔπει δὲ Πρίσκος Ἐλούνιδος ὁ τοῦ Ἡθρασέου γαμβρός, τοῖς τε στωικοῖς δόγμασι ἐντραφεὶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἡθρασέου παρρησίαν ὅπεν ἐν καϊρῷ³ μιμούμενος, στρατηγῶν δὲ τηνικάντα, οὔτε τι πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἕδρα καὶ προσέτι καὶ βλασφημῶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ ποτὲ  

¹ μὲν Ζων., om. VC.  
² Οὐσολογαίσου R, Steph., οὐσολογαίσου VC.  
³ οὐκ ἐν καϊρῷ Bs., οὐ σὺν καϊρῷ VC.
often dined at the houses of his intimate friends. In A.D. 70 short, he was looked upon as emperor only by reason of his oversight of the public business, whereas in all other respects he was democratic and lived on a footing of equality with his subjects. For example, he indulged in jests like a man of the people and enjoyed jokes at his own expense; and whenever any anonymous bulletins, such as are regularly addressed to the emperors, were posted, if they contained scurrilous references to himself, he would simply post a reply in kind, without showing the least resentment. One day Phoebus approached him to make an apology. It seems that once, during Nero’s reign, Vespasian while in the theatre in Greece had frowned when he saw the emperor behaving himself in unseemly fashion, whereupon Phoebus had angrily bidden him go away. And when Vespasian asked, “Go where?” Phoebus had replied, “To the deuce.”¹ So when Phoebus now apologized for this remark, Vespasian did him no harm, and gave him no answer other than this same retort: “To the deuce with you.” Again, when Vologaesus sent him a letter of which the salutation ran thus: “Arsaces, King of Kings, to Flavius Vespasian, Greeting,” the emperor did not rebuke him at all but wrote a reply in the same style, adding none of his imperial titles.

Helvidius Priscus, the son-in-law of Thrasea, had been brought up in the doctrines of the Stoics and imitated Thrasea’s frankness of speech, sometimes unseasonably. He was at this time praetor, but instead of doing aught to increase the honour due to the emperor he would not cease reviling him. Therefore

¹ See lxiii (lxii), 10, 1a.
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diā toûtō oi dēmarχoi sullabáontes autôn toûs ὑπηρέτας παρέδοσαν, συνεχύθη te o Οὐσπασιανὸς kai dakryásaς ek tou boulēutirión ežèlthe, tosoûton monôn ὑπειπῶν ὑπενόμενος kai dôma tón. —Xiph. 206, 30–208, 1 R. St.

1a Tōn de 'Ieravditomwv allontwv o Téltes eis tûn Ἰταλίαν ἔπανελθὼν tā ἐπινίκια αὐτὸς te kai toû patēr ἐφ' ἀρματον ἐπεμψαν συνέπεμπε δέ σφισιν αὐτὰ kai o Δομετιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλητος. metà toûto didaskálous en tû Ῥώμη kai tûs Ῥωμαίων kai tûs Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας κατεστησε, μισθὸν ek tou δημοσίου φέροντας. —Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 29–54, 3 D.

13 'Ως de οὖν kai ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ek tōn stowikōn kaloûmenōn lógoi προανέθεντες, μεθ' οὖν kai Δημήτριος o κυνικός, συχνὰ kai οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς παροῦσι δημοσία, τὸ tûs φιλοσοφίας προσχήματι καταχρόμενοι, διελέγοντο, kàk toûto kai ὑποδίεθειρόν τινας, ἐπεισεν o Μουκιανὸς 2 tûn Οὐσπασιανὸν πάντας tōs toioútopous ek tûs πόλεως ἐκβαλείν, εἰπὼν ὁργῇ μᾶλλον ἡ φιλολογία των πολλά κατ' αὐτῶν. —Xiph. 208, 1–7 R. St.

2, 4 Ὅτι o Μουκιανὸς τιμᾶσθαι ύφ' ἀπαντῶν ὑπὲρ πάντας ἦθελεν, καὶ ἤχθετο εἰ καὶ ὀστισοῦν οὖς ὅτι ύβρίσεις εἰναυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ οὐ μεγάλως ἀγήλειε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὄσπερ ἀπληστος ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς πρός τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας τι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἦν, οὕτω καὶ μᾶζει ἀγριωτάτῳ πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τοιούτους ἔχρητο.—Exc. Val. 272 (p. 702).

13, 1a Ὅτι Μουκιανὸς πρὸς Βεσπασιανὸν κατὰ τῶν 282
the tribunes once arrested him and gave him in charge A.D. 70
of their assistants, a procedure at which Vespasian was overcome by emotion and went out of the senate-
chamber in tears, saying merely: “My successor shall be my son or no one at all.” ¹

After Jerusalem had been captured Titus returned A.D. 71 to Italy and both he and his father celebrated a
triumph, riding in a chariot. Domitian, who was consul, also took part in the celebration, mounted upon a charger. Vespasian afterwards established in Rome teachers of both Latin and Greek learning, who drew their pay from the public treasury.

Inasmuch as many others, too, including Demetrius the Cynic, actuated by the Stoic principles, were taking advantage of the name of philosophy to teach publicly many doctrines inappropriate to the times, and in this way were subtly corrupting some of their hearers, Mucianus, prompted rather by anger than by any passion for philosophy, inveighed at length against them and persuaded Vespasian to expel all such persons from the city.

Mucianus desired to be honoured by all and above all, so that he was displeased not only when any man whatever insulted him, but also when anyone failed to extol him greatly. Hence, just as he could never honour enough those who assisted him to even the smallest extent, so his hatred was most fierce against all who were not disposed to do so.

Mucianus made a great number of remarkable

¹ Cf. Suet., Vesp. 25.

¹ ἕπειτῶν Bs., εἶπὼν VC, ἐπείτων exc. Vat.
² Μουκιανὸς Ζον., μινουκιανὸς VC.
στωικῶν πλείστά τε εἶπε καὶ θαυμάσια, ὡς ὅτι αὐχήματος κενοῦ εἰσὶ πεπληρωμένοι, κἂν τὸν πώγωνα τις αὐτῶν καθῆ καὶ τὰς ὀφρύας ἀναστάσῃ τὸ τε τριβώνιον ἀναβάλλεται καὶ ἀνυπόδητος βαδίσῃ, σοφὸς εὖθὺς ἀνδρεῖος δίκαιος φησιν εἴναι, καὶ πνεῖ ἐφ’ ἕαυτῷ μέγα, κἂν τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεώ ἐπίστηται.1 καὶ πάντας ὑπερορῶσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐυγενῆ τηθαλλαδοῦν2 τὸν δὲ ἀγενῆ σμικρόφρονα, καὶ τὸν μὲν καλὸν ἀσελγῆ τὸν δὲ αἰσχρὸν εὐφυὰ, τὸν δὲ πλούσιον πλεονέκτην τὸν δὲ πένητα δουλοπρεπῆ καλοῦσι.—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 106 (p. 220 Mai = p. 202, 13–24 Dind.).

2 Καὶ πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους οὐ Ὀνεσπασιανὸς, πλην τοῦ Μουσονίου, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέβαλε, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὸν Ὀστυλιανὸν3 καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀστυλιανὸς εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ ἐπαύσατο περὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀκούσας (ἐτυχε γὰρ διαλεγόμενος τιν), ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῖον κατὰ τῆς μοναρχίας κατέδραμεν, ὅμως παραχρῆμα μετέστη τῷ δὲ Δημητρίῳ μηδ’ ὃς ὑπείκοντι ἔκλευσεν ὁ Ὀνεσπασιανὸς λεχθῆναι ὅτι “σὺ μὲν πάντα ποιεῖσ ἵνα σε ἀποκτείνω, ἐγὼ δὲ κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω.”—Xiph. 208, 7–15 R. St. 12 2 "_ORIGIN_ Ἡκιστὰ ἐνδήλων ἐγένετο ὅτι Πρίσκου τὸν Ἐλουίδιον4 οὐ μᾶλλον τι δι’ ἑαυτὸν ἦ διὰ τοὺς φιλούς αὐτοῦ, οὐς ὑβρίσευ, ἐμύσησεν ὁ Ὀνεσπασιανὸς, ἀλλ’ ὅτι παραχώδης τε ἦν καὶ τῷ ὅχλῳ προσέκειτο, βασιλείας τε ἀεὶ κατηγόρει καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπήνευ, καὶ ἐπράττειν ἀκόλουθα

1 ἐπίστηται v. Herw., ἐπίστηται cod.
statements to Vespasian against the Stoics, asserting, A.D. 71—

for instance, that they are full of empty boasting, and that if one of them lets his beard grow long, elevates his eyebrows, wears his coarse mantle thrown back over his shoulder and goes barefooted, he straightway lays claim to wisdom, bravery and righteousness, and gives himself great airs, even though he may not know either his letters or how to swim, as the saying goes. They look down upon everybody and call a man of good family a mollycoddle, the low-born slender-witted, a handsome person licentious, an ugly person a simpleton, the rich man greedy, and the poor man servile.

And Vespasian immediately expelled from Rome all the philosophers except Musonius; Demetrius and Hostilianus he even deported to islands. Hostilianus, though he decidedly would not desist when he was told about the sentence of exile (he happened to be conversing with somebody), but merely inveighed all the more strongly against monarchy, nevertheless straightway withdrew. Demetrius, on the contrary, would not yield even then, and Vespasian commanded that this message should be given to him: “You are doing everything to force me to kill you, but I do not slay a barking dog.”

It became strikingly clear that Vespasian hated Helvidius Priscus, not so much on his own account or that of his friends whom the man had abused, as because he was a turbulent fellow who cultivated the favour of the rabble and was for ever denouncing royalty and praising democracy. Helvidius’ behaviour,

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2 τηθαλλαδοῦν Bk., τιθαλλωδον cod.
3 ὁστιλιανδ — ὁστιλιανδ Bs., ὁστιλιανδ — ὁστίλιος VC.
4 Ἑλοῦδιον Val. (Ἑλβίδιον), Ἑλβίον cod. Peir.
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τούτως καὶ συνίστη τινάς, ὡσπερ ποιν ϕιλοσοϕίας ἔργον ὃν τὸ τε τοὺς κρατούντας προπηλακίζειν καὶ τὸ τὰ πλήθη ταράττειν τὸ τε τὰ 1 καθεστηκότα συγχεῖν καὶ τὸ νεώτερα αὐτοῖς 3 πράγματα ἐπεσάγειν. ἦν γὰρ τοῦ Θρασέου γαμβρὸς καὶ ξηλοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπλάττετο, πολὺ δ' αὐτοῦ ἡμάρτανε. Θρασέας μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ὅν οὐκ ἥρεσκετο αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδ' ὡς ὑβριστικὸν ἔλεγεν ἐς αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἐπραττεν, πλὴν καθ' ὄσον προσκοινώνειν οἱ τῶν δρωμένων οὐκ ἥξιον· οὗτος δὲ Οὐσπασιανὸς ἄχθετο, καὶ οὔτ' ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ κοινῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπείχετο, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅν ἐποίει ἔθανάτα, καὶ πολλὰ πράττων ἐμελλέτο ποτε δίκην αὐτῶν δώσειν.—Exc. Val. 273 (p. 702).

14 Τότε δὲ καὶ Καινίς ἡ τοῦ Οὐσπασιανοῦ παλακὴ μετῆλλαξεν. ἐμνημόνευσα δὲ αὐτῆς ὅτι τε πιστοτάτη ἦν καὶ ὅτι μνήμης ἀριστα ἐπεφύκει. πρὸς γοῦν τὴν δέσποιναν τὴν Ἀντωνίαν 2 τὴν τοῦ Κλαύδιου μητέρα, κρύφα τι δ' αὐτῆς τῷ Τιβερίῳ 2 περὶ τοῦ Σείανοῦ 3 γράψασαν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπαλειφθήναι εὐθὺς, ὡς μηδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν ὑπολειφθή, κελεύσασαν, "μάτην, ὥς δέσποινα, ἐφ' ὑπό τοῦ προσέταξας πάντα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἃν ὑπαγορεύσης μοι, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀεὶ 3 φέρω καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐξαλειφθήναι δύναται." τούτῳ τε ὧν αὐτῆς ἔθανόμασα, καὶ προσέτι ὅτι καὶ ὁ Οὐσπασιανὸς αὐτή ὑπερέχαιρε, πλεῖστον τὸ διὰ τούτῳ ἔσχυσε, καὶ πλοῦτον ἀμύθητον ἑθροι—

1 τὰ Val., τωι cod. Peir.
2 Ἀντωνίαν Sylb., ἀντωνίαν VC.
3 Σείανοῦ Bs., σιανοῦ VC.

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moreover, was consistent with this opinion of him; for he banded various men together, as if it were the function of philosophy to insult those in power, to stir up the multitudes, to overthrow the established order of things, and to bring about a revolution. He was Thrasea’s son-in-law and affected to emulate his conduct, but he fell far short of doing so. For whereas Thrasea, though living in Nero’s time and displeased with him, nevertheless had neither said nor done anything that was insulting to him, save merely that he refused to share in his practices, Helvidius, on the other hand, bore a grudge against Vespasian and would not let him alone either in private or in public. Thus by his conduct he was courting death and by his meddlesome interference he was destined eventually to pay the penalty.

It was at this time that Caenis, the concubine of Vespasian, died. I mention her because she was exceedingly faithful and was gifted with a most excellent memory. Here is an illustration. Her mistress Antonia, the mother of Claudius, had once employed her as secretary in writing a secret letter to Tiberius about Sejanus and had immediately ordered the message to be erased, in order that no trace of it might be left. Thereupon she replied: “It is useless, mistress, for you to give this command; for not only all this but also whatever else you dictate to me I always carry in my mind and it can never be erased.” And not only for this reason does she seem to me to have been a remarkable woman, but also because Vespasian took such excessive delight in her. This gave her the greatest influence and she amassed untold wealth, so that it was even
σεν, ὃστε καὶ νομισθήναι ὅτι δὲ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἔχρηματίζετο· πάμπολλα γὰρ παρὰ πολλῶν ἔλαμβανε, τοῖς μὲν ἀρχαῖς τοῖς δὲ ἐπιτροπεῖας στρατείας ἱερωσύνας, ἦδη δὲ τισι καὶ ἀποφάσεις 4 αὐτοῦ πιπράσκουσα. ἀπέκτεινε μὲν γὰρ Ὀὐε- σπασιανὸς χρημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδένα, ἐσωσε δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν διδόντων καὶ ἢ μὲν λαμβάνουσα ἐκεῖνη ἢν, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ὁ Ὀὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκών αὐτὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὅν ἔπραττεν, ὅν οἷόν δεῖγματος ἕνεκα διηγήσομαι. 5 ἀνδριάντα γὰρ πέντε και ἐκκοσι μυριάδων στήσας οἱ ψηφισαμένων τιων προέτειν τὴν χείρα καὶ ἐφῇ “δότε μοι τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ γὰρ βάσις αὐτοῦ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ.” καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῷ τοῦ οὐροῦ τελεί, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατεδείχθη, εἴπε, λαβῶν εἴς αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς πε- πορισμένους καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ, “Ἰδοὺ, τέκνον, εἴ τι οξύσωι.”

15 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ὀὐεσπασιανοῦ ἐκτός καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίτου τέταρτον ἀρχόντων τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος καθιερώθη, ὁ τε κολοσσὸς ὀνομασμένος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ ἱδρύθη· φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ τε ύψος ἐκατόν ποδῶν καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἱ μὲν 3 τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος οἱ 2 δὲ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου ἔχειν. σφαγὰς δὲ ὁ Ὀὐεσπα- σιανὸς θηρίων μὲν ἐποιεῖτο ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, μονομαχίαις δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ 4 πάνω τι ἡχαίρε, καίτοι τοῦ Τίτου ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεανίσκων παιδίας ταῖς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ τελομέναις σκιάμα-
thought that he made money through Caenis herself as his intermediary. For she received vast sums from many sources, sometimes selling governorships, sometimes procuratorships, generalships and priesthoods, and in some instances even imperial decisions. For although Vespasian killed no one on account of his money, he did spare the lives of many who gave it; and while it was Caenis who received the money, people suspected that Vespasian willingly allowed her to do as she did. This was inferred from his other acts, a few of which, for the sake of illustration, I will relate. When some persons voted to erect to him a statue costing a million, he held out his hand and said: "Give me the money; this is its pedestal." And to Titus, who expressed his indignation at the tax placed upon public urinals,—one of the new taxes that had been established,—he said, as he picked up some gold pieces that had been realized from this source and showed them to him: "See, my son, if they have any smell."

In the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus the precinct of Pax was dedicated and the "Colossus" was set up on the Sacred Way. This statue is said to have been one hundred feet in height and to have borne the features of Nero, according to some, or those of Titus, according to others. Vespasian often gave wild-beast hunts in the theatres, but he did not take much pleasure in armed combats between men; yet Titus had once in the course of the youthful sports which were celebrated in his native district engaged in a sham fight in heavy

1 *i.e.* the hollowed hand; cf. Suet., *Vesp. 23.*

4 *ov* late hand in C, om. VC.
3 χήσαντός ποτε πρὸς τῶν Ἀλιληνῶν ὀπλοῖς. τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις πολεμωθεῖσι πρὸς τινας καὶ τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας δεσθεῖσιν οὐκ ἐβοηθήσεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ προσήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖν.

Βερενίκη ᾧ ἡ ισχυροῖς τε ἡνθεὶ καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ ἄδελφον Ἀγρίππαν ἤλθεν καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατηγικῶν τιμῶν ἤξιώθη, ἐδὲ ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ ὄχυρε καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγιγνετο. προσεδόκα δὲ γαμηθήσεσθαι αὐτῶ, καὶ πάντα ἦδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐσά ἐποίει, ὡστε ἐκεῖνον δυσχεραίνοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἰσθόμενον ἀποτέμψασθαι αὐτὴν. ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἔθρυλεῖτο, καὶ τινες καὶ τότε σοφισταὶ κύνειοι ἐς τὸ ἀστυ πως παραδύντες, Διογένης μὲν πρότερος ἐς τὸ θέατρον πλήρες ἀνδρῶν ἐσήλθε καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς λοιδορήσας ἐμαστιγώθη, Ἡρᾶς δὲ μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν πλεῖον πεισόμενος, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα κυνηδὸν ἐξεκραγε, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη.

16 Καθ’ ὅν δὴ καιρὸν ταῦτα ἐγένετο· οὐνός τε γὰρ ἐν καπηλείῳ τινὶ τοσοῦτος ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀγγελιῶν ὑπερεχύθη ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν προχωρῆσαι, καὶ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γαλάτης ὁ Καίσαρά ποτε ἐαυτὸν ὁμομάσας καὶ ἐς ὁπλα χωρήσας ἡττηθεῖσ τε καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατακρυφθεῖσ

2 ἐφωράθη 3 τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη. συναπέθανε δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Πεπούλα, ἤπερ

1 Βερενίκη Leuncl., βερενίκη VC.
2 προχωρῆσαι exa. Salm., προσχωρῆσαι VC.
3 ἐφωράθη V, ἐφανερώθη C.
armour with Alienus. When the Parthians, who A.D. 75 had become involved in war with some neighbours, asked for his help, he would not go to their aid, declaring that it was not proper for him to interfere in others' affairs.

Berenice was at the very height of her power and consequently came to Rome along with her brother Agrippa.\(^1\) The latter was given the rank of praetor, while she dwelt in the palace, cohabiting with Titus. She expected to marry him and was already behaving in every respect as if she were his wife; but when he perceived that the Romans were displeased with the situation, he sent her away. For, in addition to all the other talk that there was, certain sophists of the Cynic school managed somehow to slip into the city at this time, too; and first Diogenes, entering the theatre when it was full, denounced the pair in a long, abusive speech, for which he was flogged; and after him Heras, expecting no harsher punishment, gave vent to many senseless yelpings in true Cynic\(^2\) fashion, and for this was beheaded.

At this same period two other incidents occurred: A.D. 79 such a quantity of wine overflowed its cask in a certain tavern that it ran out into the street; and Sabinus, the Gaul who, as said before,\(^3\) had once styled himself Caesar and after taking up arms had been defeated and had hidden himself in the monument, was discovered and brought to Rome. With him perished also his wife Peponila, who had pre-

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\(^1\) This Agrippa, known also as Herodes II., was an intimate friend of the Jewish historian Josephus and a companion of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem. It was before him that the Apostle Paul made his defence in A.D. 60.

\(^2\) Literally "dog-like."

\(^3\) In chap. 3.
ποι καὶ διεσέσωστο αὐτόν, καίτοι καὶ τὰ παιδία τῷ Ὀὔεστασιανῷ προβαλοῦσα καὶ ἐλευνότατον ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς λόγου εἰποῦσα, ὅτι “ταῦτα, Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ καὶ ἔθρεψα, ἵνα σε πλείονες ἴκετεύσωμεν.” δακρύσαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν, ὥς μὲντοι καὶ ἥλεθησαν.

3 Καὶ τοῦτῷ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν ύπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀλιηνοῦ καὶ ύπὸ τοῦ Μάρκελλου, καίπερ φίλους τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα νομίζον καὶ πάση ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφθονωτάτη τιμὴ χρώμενος, οὕτως καὶ ύπ' ἐκείνων ἄπέθανεν φωραθέντες οὖν Ἀλιηνὸς μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ, ἡκαΐναστάς ἐκ τοῦ συσσιτίου, εὐθὺς ἀπεσφάγη τοῦ Τίτου κελεύσας, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι τῆς νυκτὸς νεοχμῶσαι (τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν συχνὸς προπαρεσκεύαστο), Μάρκελλος δὲ κρίθεις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ καταδίκασθεὶς ἀπέτεμε τὸν λαίμον αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐξυρῆ. οὕτω ποι ὅτι φύσει κακοῦς οὐδ' αἱ ἐνεργεσίαι νικῶσιν, ὅποτε κἀκεῖνοι τῷ τοσαῦτα εὐηργετηκότι σφᾶς ἐπεβούλευσαν.—Χἰφ. 208, 15–210, 14.

1 φωραθέντες C Zon., φανερωθέντες V.
2 τῷ βασιλείῳ VC, τοῖς βασιλείοις Zon.
viously saved his life. She threw her children at A.D. 79 Vespasian’s feet and delivered a most pitiful plea in their behalf: “These little ones, Caesar, I bore and reared in the monument, that we might be a greater number to supplicate you.” Yet, though she caused both him and the rest to weep, no mercy was shown to the family.

Meantime the emperor was the object of a conspiracy on the part of both Alienus and Marcellus, although he considered them among his best friends and bestowed every honour upon them without stint. But he did not die at their hands, for they were detected. Alienus was slain at once, in the imperial residence itself, as he rose from a meal with his intended victim. Titus issued this order, desiring to forestall any act of revolution that night; for Alienus had already got many of the soldiers in readiness. Marcellus was brought to trial before the senate and was condemned, whereupon he cut his own throat with a razor. Thus not even kindness can subdue those who are naturally vicious, as is shown by the plotting of these men against the one who had done them so many kindnesses.
17 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐσχέν, Οὐσεπτασιανὸς δὲ, ὡς μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, νοσήσας οὖ τῇ ποδάγρᾳ τῇ συνήθει ἄλλα πυρετοῖς μετῆλλαξέν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τῶν Σαβίνων τοῖς Κουτιλίοις ἁνομασμένοις, ὡς δὲ τινες καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ Τίτου, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐφήμισαν, φάρμακον ἐν συμποσίῳ τινὶ λαβὼν. Ἐγεγόνει δὲ σημεία αὐτῶ φέροντα ἐς τοῦτο ὅ τε ἀστήρ ὁ ἠμέλητος ἐπὶ πολὺ φαντασθείς καὶ τὸ μυθμείον τὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου αὐτόματον ἀνοιχθέν. τῶν δὲ ιατρῶν ἐπιτιμώντων αὐτῶ ὅτι τῇ τῇ ἀλλή διάτηθε ὁμοία νοσῶν ἐχρῆτο καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραστε, "τὸν αὐτοκράτορα" ἐφὶ ἑστώτα δὲ ἀποδυνάσκειν." καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τοῦ κομητοῦ τι διαλαλοῦντας "οὐκ ἔμοιγη" εἶπεν "ἄλλα τῷ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεῖ προσημάνειν ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ κομᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ φαλακρὸς εἰμι." ἐπειδὴ τε ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι τελευτήσει, ἐφὶ "θεὸς ἦδη γίνομαι." ἐξῆς δὲ ἐτὴ ἐνεάκα καὶ ἐξῆκοντα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ, ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἐτὴ δέκα ἡμερῶν ἐξ δέοντα. κακὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνει ἐνιαυτὸν τε καὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Νέρωνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Οὐσεπτασιανοῦ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. ἔγραψα δὲ τοῦτο τῷ μὴ τινας ἀπατηθήναι, τὴν ἐξαρίθμησιν τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς 1 ὁ supplied by Bk.
It was after the events just narrated that Vespasian fell sick, not, if the truth be known, of his accustomed gout, but of a fever, and passed away at Aquae Cutiliae in the Sabine country. Some, however, in the endeavour falsely to incriminate Titus,—among them the Emperor Hadrian,—spread the report that he was poisoned at a banquet. Portents had occurred indicating his approaching end, such as the comet which was visible for a long time and the opening of the mausoleum of Augustus of its own accord. When his physicians chided him for continuing his usual course of living during his illness and attending to all the duties that belonged to his office, he answered: “The emperor ought to die on his feet.” To those who said anything to him about the comet he said: “This is an omen, not for me, but for the Parthian king; for he has long hair, whereas I am bald.” When at last he was convinced that he was going to die, he said: “I am already becoming a god.” He had lived sixty-nine years and eight months, and had reigned ten years lacking six days. From this it results that from the death of Nero to the beginning of Vespasian’s rule a year and twenty-two days elapsed. I make this statement in order to prevent any misapprehension on the part of such as might estimate

\[2 \text{ καὶ μηνας ὄχτω VC, καὶ μηνας ὄχτω καὶ ἡμέρας ὄχτω Ζον.}\]
5 toûs tûn ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντας ποιομένους. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ διεθέξαστο ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ ξιντός τε καὶ ἔτι ἀρχοντός ἑτέρου ἐκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσεν αὐτοκράτωρ, ἄφ’ οὐ γε καὶ ἐς τοῦτο παρέκυψεν, εἶναι: δεὶ δ’ οὐ πᾶσας σφών τὰς ἡμέρας ὡς καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις ἐκ διαδοχῆς γενομένας ἀρμθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐφάπαξ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ χρόνου, καθάπερ εἰρηταί μοι, λογίζεσθαι.—Xiph. 210, 14–211, 5 R. St.

18, 1a Τούτου δὲ τελευτάσαντος ὁ Τίτος τὴν ἀρχὴν διεθέξατο.—Zon. 11, 18, p. 54, 27, 28 D.

1 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Τίτος οὐδὲν οὔτε φονικὸν οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχίας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς καίπερ ἐπιβουλεύθης καὶ σώφρον καίτοι καὶ τῆς Βερενίκης ἡς ὑπάρχης ἐλθοῦσάς ἐγένετο. τάχα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι 2 καὶ μετεβάλετο (οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἄλλως 3 τέ τινες παραδυναστέουσι καὶ 2 αὐτοὶ αὐταρχοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀφροντιστοῦντες τῆς τοῦ κράτους δόξης τῆς τε ἔξουσία αὐτοῦ ἀπλήστως ἀποχρώνται καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς φθόνους καὶ διαβολῆς αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς 4 πάντα ἀνακείμενα εἰδότες προνοοῦνται 3 τι καὶ τῆς εὐδοκίας: ὡσπερ πον καὶ ὁ Τίτος πρὸς τινα, ὅπως πρότερον ἐσποουδάκει, ἐπεὶ πον ὅτι οὖχ ὁμοίων ἐστιν ἑτέρον τι δεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτοῦ δικάζειν, οὐδὲ παρ’ ἄλλου τὰ αἰτεῖν καὶ αὐτοῦ διδόναι τινι), ἡδ’ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, ὡς γε ἐς ἡγεμονίαν εἰπεῖν, ἐπεβίω, ὡστε μηδὲ

1 Βερενίκης Reim., Βερενίκης VC.
2 ὅτι Zon., om. VC.
3 ἄλλως Sylb., ἄλλως VC.
4 ἐς αὐτοὺς B.δ., ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς VC.
the time with reference to the men who held the a.d. 79 sovereignty. For they did not succeed one another legitimately, but each of them, even while his rival was alive and still ruling, believed himself to be emperor from the moment that he even got a glimpse of the throne. Hence one must not add together all the days of their several reigns as if those periods had followed one another in orderly succession, but must reckon once for all with the exact time that actually elapsed, as I have stated it.

At his death Titus succeeded to the rule.

Titus after becoming ruler committed no act of murder or of amatory passion, but showed himself upright, though plotted against, and self-controlled, though Berenice came to Rome again. This may have been because he had really undergone a change; indeed, for men to wield power as assistants to another is a very different thing from exercising independent authority themselves. In the former case they are heedless of the good name of the sovereignty and in their greed misuse the authority it gives them, thus doing many things that make their power the object of envy and slander; but actual monarchs, knowing that everything depends upon them, have an eye to good repute also. It was this realization, doubtless, that caused Titus to say to someone whose society he had previously affected: "It is not the same thing to request a favour of another as to decide a case yourself, nor the same to ask something of another as it is to give it to someone yourself." Again, his satisfactory record may also have been due to the fact that he survived his accession but a very short time (short, that is, for a ruler), for he was thus given no oppor-
4 ἀμαρτίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ ἐγγενέσθαι. δύο τε γὰρ ἔτη μετὰ τούτο καὶ μήνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἰκοσίν ἔξησεν ἐπ' ἕννέα καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσι καὶ μησὶ πέντε καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξ ίσου κατὰ τούτο τῇ τοῦ Ἀὐγοὺστον πολυετίᾳ ἀγουσὶ, λέγοντες ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐφιλήθη ποτὲ εἰ ἐλάττω χρόνον ἐξῆκει,2 οὔτ' ἂν οὔτος 5 εἰ πλείονα, ὃ μὲν ὅτι τραχύτερος κατ' ἀρχὰς διὰ τε τοὺς πολέμους 3 καὶ διὰ τὰς στάσεις γενόμενος ἡδυνήθη μετὰ ταύτα εὐεργεσίαις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ λαμπρύνεσθαι, ὃ δ' ὅτι ἐπιεικῶς ἄρξας ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης ἀπέθανε, τάχα ἂν ἐλεγχθέης, εἰγε ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐβεβιώκει, ὅτι εὐτυχία πλείου ἡ ἀρετή ἐχρήσατο.

19 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλῳ ὁ Τίτος οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἄλλῳ οὖν ἄλλοις τις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄρχης ἐτελεύτησε. τάς τε δίκας τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας οὔτ' αὐτὸς ποτε ἐδέξατο οὔτ' ἄλλοις ἐπέτρεψεν, λέγον ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὔθ' ὑβρισθήναι οὔτε προπηλακισθήναι 2 δύναμαι: οὔτε γὰρ ἀξιόν τι ἐπιγορίας ποιῶ, οὔτε μοι μέλει τῶν ψευδῶς λεγομένων οἵ δὲ μετηλλαχότες τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐγνώση, ἀνπερ ὡς ἄληθῶς ἦρως τε ὡς καὶ δύναμιν τινα ἔχωσι, τιμωρήσουσιν ἂν τις αὐτούς ἀδικήσῃ." 3 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς το τὸ ἀσφαλές καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλυπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεστάτο ταῖς γὰρ γράμματα ἐξήθηκε βεβαιῶν πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοκρατόρων δοθέντα 5 τισῖν,

1 ἐπ' Ζον., καὶ ἐπ' ΒΚ.
2 ἐξῆκε ΒΚ, ἐξῆκε ΒΚ.1.
3 πολέμους Ζον., πολεμίους ΒΚ.
tunity for wrongdoing. For he lived after this only A.D. 79 two years, two months and twenty days—in addition to the thirty-nine years, five months and twenty-five days he had already lived at that time. In this respect, indeed, he is regarded as having equalled the long reign of Augustus, since it is maintained that Augustus would never have been loved had he lived a shorter time, nor Titus had he lived longer. For Augustus, though at the outset he showed himself rather harsh because of the wars and the factional strife, was later able, in the course of time, to achieve a brilliant reputation for his kindly deeds; Titus, on the other hand, ruled with mildness and died at the height of his glory, whereas, if he had lived a long time, it might have been shown that he owes his present fame more to good fortune than to merit.

Be that as it may, Titus during his reign put no senator to death, nor, indeed, was anyone else slain by him during his rule. Cases based on the charge of maiestas he would never entertain himself nor allow others to entertain; for he declared: "It is impossible for me to be insulted or abused in any way. For I do naught that deserves censure, and I care not for what is reported falsely. As for the emperors who are dead and gone, they will avenge themselves in case anyone does them a wrong, if in very truth they are demigods and possess any power." He also instituted various other measures designed to render men's lives more secure and free from trouble. Thus, he issued an edict confirming all gifts that had been bestowed upon any persons by the former emperors,

4 αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ VC.
5 δοθέντα Ζον., βεβαιωθέντα VC.
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οὐστε μὴ καθ’ ἐκάστους σφῶν αἴτοῦντας αὐτὸν πράγματα ἔχειν, τοὺς τε μηνυτὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.—Xiph. 211, 12–212, 17 R. St.

3ᵃ Ἡν δὲ περὶ χρήματα ἀκριβῆς καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀνήλισκεν, οὐδένα μεντοὶ ποτὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐκολα-

σευ.—Zon. 11, 18, p. 55, 16–18 D.

3ᵇ Ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ ὁ Ψευδονέρων ἐφύνη, ὡς Ἄσιανὸς ἦν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Τερέντιος Μάξιμος,

προσεοικὼς δὲ τῷ Νέρωνι καὶ τῷ εἰδὸς καὶ τὴν φωνὴν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκιθαρῆδει). ἐκ τε τῆς

Άσιας τινὰς προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἔπι τὸν Εὐφρά-

3ᶜ την προχωρῶν πολλὸ πλείους ἀνυρτήσατο, καὶ
tέλος πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων κατέ-

φυγεν ἀρχηγόν, ὡς καὶ δι’ ὀργῆς τὸν Τίτον

ποιούμενος καὶ ἐδέξατο τούτων καὶ καταγαγεῖν
eἰς Ῥώμην παρεσκευάζετο.¹—Zon. 11, 18, p. 55, 19–27 D.

20 Κἂν τούτῳ πολέμῳ αὐθίς ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ

γενομένου τῷ τῶν ἐκεῖ πολεμίων Γνάιος Ἰούλιος

'Αγρικόλας πάντα κατέδραμε, καὶ πρῶτος γε

Ῥωμαῖον ὃν ἤμεις ἴσμεν ἔγνω τοῦθ’ ὅτι ἡ

Βρεττανία περίρρυτος ἐστιν. στρατιῶται γὰρ

τίνες στασιάσαντες, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους χιλίαρχον

2 τε φονεύσαντες, ἐς πλοῖα κατέφυγον καὶ ἐξανα-

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 104 Muell.): ὅτι ἐπὶ Τίτου ... ἀνήρ τις ... . Νέρων τε εἰναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ διαπεφυγέναι πά-

λαι τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν σταλέντας στρατιῶτας, ἐν ἀφανεὶ δὲ που

πεποιηθαί ταῖς διατριβῶς ἐς τόδε. πολλοὺς γονὴν ἐκ τοῦ τῆς

κατὼ Ἀσίας τούτων ἀπαθής τοῖς λόγοις ἐπεσοθαί οἱ ἀνέπεισε,

καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην προίδον πολλῷ πλεῖον προσεποιήσατο.

τέλος πρὸς Παρθανοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς ἐκείνων

ἀμοιβῆς τίνος διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀπόδοσιν, κατέφυγεν. οὐ

μὴν ἀξίον τι τῆς ἐπινοιας εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ φωραῖς ὃ ἦν ταχὲς

ἀπάλετο.

300
thus saving them the trouble of petitioning him A.D. 7 individually about the matter. He also banished the informers from the City.

In money matters he was frugal and made no unnecessary expenditures, yet he did not punish anyone for following a different course.

In his reign also the False Nero appeared, who was an Asiatic named Terentius Maximus. He resembled Nero both in appearance and in voice (for he too sang to the accompaniment of the lyre). He gained a few followers in Asia, and in his advance to the Euphrates attached a far greater number, and finally sought refuge with Artabanus, the Parthian leader, who, because of his anger against Titus, both received him and set about making preparations to restore him to Rome.¹

Meanwhile war had again broken out in Britain, and Gnaeus Julius Agricola overrun the whole of the enemy's territory there. He was the first of the Romans whom we know to discover the fact that Britain is surrounded by water. It seems that some soldiers rebelled, and after slaying the centurions and a military tribune took refuge in boats, in which they put out to sea and sailed round the

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch.: In Titus' reign . . a man . . pretended to be Nero, claiming that he had escaped from the soldiers who had been sent against him and that he had been living in concealment somewhere up to this time. He persuaded many from Asia Minor to follow him, deceiving them by these statements, and as he went on to the Euphrates won over a far greater number. Finally he fled to the Parthians, claiming that they owed him some requital for the return of Armenia. Yet he accomplished nothing commensurate with his purpose, but his identity was discovered and he soon perished.
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χθέντες περείπτευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν αὐτῆς, ὡς ποι τὸ τε κύμα καὶ ὁ ἀνεμός αὐτοὺς ἔφερε, καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατό-πεδα τὰ ταύτη ὄντα προσσχόντες. ¹ κάκ τοῦτον καὶ ἀλλόου ὁ Ἀγρικόλας ² πειράσοντας τὸν περί-πλον πέμψας ἔμαθε καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων ὅτι νύσος ἔστιν.

3 Ἑν μὲν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ταύτ’ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν Τίτος αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πεντεκαίδεκα-τὸν ἐπεκλήθη, ὃ δὲ Ἀγρικόλας ἐν τε ἀτιμία τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ, ἀτε καὶ μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας, ἐξῆκε, καὶ τέλος ἐσφάγη δ’ αὐτά ταύτα ὕπ’ Ὑδωμιανοῦ, καὶ περ’ τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου ³ λαβὼν.

21 Ἑν δὲ τῇ Καμπανίᾳ φοβερά τίνα καὶ θαυμαστὰ συνυνέχθη: πῦρ γὰρ μέγα κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ φθινό-πωρον ἔξαπτιναῖς ἐξῆθι. ⁴ τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τὸ Βέσβιον ἐστὶ μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Νέαν πόλιν, ἑχει δὲ πυρὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους. καὶ ἤν μὲν ποτὲ πᾶν ὀμοίως ψηλὸν, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μέσου τὸ πῦρ ἀνέτελλε: ταύτη γὰρ πεπύρωσας μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἐξοθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀπυρα καὶ νῦν ² ἐτὶ διαμένει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀκαύστων ἢς ὄντων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κραυγομένων καὶ τεφρομένων, αἱ μὲν ἅπερ ἐκουφιὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ψῆς ἐς δεύο ἔχουσιν, τὸ δὲ ἐμπυρον πᾶν

¹ προσσχόντες Bk., προσχόντες VC.
² Ἀγρικόλας R. Steph., ἀγρικόλας VC (so just below).
³ παρ’ τοῦ Tίτου VC, παρ’ αὐτοῦ Polak, following Casaubon (παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον).
⁴ Cf. Zonaras (11, 18, p. 55, 28–30 D.): Ἑν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἦτε τῷ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ πολύ κατὰ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἀθρόν ἐξῆκε. ⁵ περὶς κορυφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ψῆς 302
western portion of the country just as the wind and A.D. 79
the waves chanced to carry them; and without
realizing it, since they approached from the opposite
direction, they put in at the camps on the first side
again. Thereupon Agricola sent others to attempt
the voyage around Britain, and learned from them,
too, that it was an island.

As a result of these events in Britain Titus received
the title of imperator for the fifteenth time. But
Agricola for the rest of his life lived not only in
disgrace but in actual want, because the deeds which
he had wrought were too great for a mere general.
Finally, he was murdered by Domitian for no other
reason than this, in spite of his having received
triumpal honours from Titus.¹

In Campania remarkable and frightful occurrences
took place; for a great fire suddenly flared up at the
very end of the summer.² It happened on this wise.
Mt. Vesuvius stands over against Neapolis near the sea
and it has inexhaustible fountains of fire. Once it was
equally high at all points and the fire rose from the
centre of it; for here only have the fires broken
out, whereas all the outer parts of the mountain
remain even now untouched by fire. Consequently,
as the outside is never burned, while the central part
is constantly growing brittle and being reduced to
ashes, the peaks surrounding the centre retain their
original height to this day, but the whole section

¹ “Titus” is an error, whether due to Dio or to Xiphilinus;
the honours were granted by Domitian (cf. Tac., Agric. 40)
Polak would read “from him.”
² Cf. Zonaras: In the first year of his reign a great volume
of fire burst forth all at once at the end of the summer.

⁶ μὲν Zon., om. VC.
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dapanevēn en tō chrōnō koīlon ek tou suneicwv
gégonen, ósste kếnvgetikō twn theátrw tō òro
súmphav, ós mikrā megálwos eikásai, éoinēnai.
3 kai autōu tā mēn ákra kai denvra kai ámpêlous
polláes exhei, ó de dh kúklwos anevtai tō puri,
kal anadídosi tìs mēn ÷meras kaptwv tìs dh
ynktos phyga, óste ðoxai polla en autò kai
4 pantodapà thumiasaiv thumiamata. kal toutho
mēn ouòs òei, pote mēn epì māllwv pote dh
ehntw, gínetai pollákies de kai téfnav
anabállei, óstavn thóróno ti vfiízhs, kai lívous
anapémpw, óstavn upo pneumatos ejbíasqh. ÷chei
tev kai boë, áte mē sympetelhmenas allα ñrαιas
kai laðraías kal laðraías1 tās ñapwvouv ðoxon.2
22 Toioùton mēn tō Bésbion ñstis, kal tauta en
autō kath êtou tois ñs plēthei gíngnetai. ñllα tā
mēn allα ùsa ekéiñ en3 tō chrōnō svnnêxhhs,
ei kai megálα parrà tō kathesthκs tois òei
órōsws autá eiñai êdode, smikrα ãn prs tā
tōte svmbánta, kal tā pánta ès èn svnaxhδnta,
2 noimseïh. êsxe γár ouwos. ândres pollloi
kai megálwos, pásaν tìn ñnthropiñh phsw
ùpèrbëbhlkòtes, ðoi oi ðiγantes gràفوται,
touto mēn èn tō òreì touto ðe èn tì peri autò
chwra tais te pólesi meb ÷merwn kai vuktow
èn tì ÷h periwnostówntes kal en tō ñèri dia-
3 foutevnètes fνantázwnto. kal metà toutì
âùxwmosi te deuvw kai seiswmosi ðeáphnhs swfodroì ðiγwvnto,
òste kai tō pediôn ekêinò pûn ñanabráttwthai

1 laðraías VC, èleðvèras Zon.
2 êðoxon VC, êðoxon Zon.
3 èn supplied by Bk.
that is on fire, having been consumed, has in the A.D. 79 course of time settled and therefore become concave; thus the entire mountain resembles a hunting theatre—if we may compare great things to small. Its outlying heights support both trees and vines in abundance, but the crater is given over to the fire and sends up smoke by day and a flame by night; in fact, it gives the impression that quantities of incense of all kinds are being burned in it. This, now, goes on all the time, sometimes to a greater, sometimes to a less extent; but often the mountain throws up ashes, whenever there is an extensive settling in the interior, and discharges stones whenever it is rent by a violent blast of air. It also rumbles and roars because its vents are not all grouped together but are narrow and concealed.

Such is Vesuvius, and these phenomena usually occur there every year. But all the other occurrences that had taken place there in the course of time, however notable, because unusual, they may have seemed to those who on each occasion observed them, nevertheless would be regarded as trivial in comparison with what now happened, even if all had been combined into one. This was what befell. Numbers of huge men quite surpassing any human stature—such creatures, in fact, as the Giants are pictured to have been—appeared, now on the mountain, now in the surrounding country, and again in the cities, wandering over the earth day and night and also flitting through the air. After this fearful droughts and sudden and violent earthquakes occurred, so that the whole plain round about

1 i.e. an amphitheatre.
καὶ τὰ ἀκρα ἄναπτηδαν. ἦχαι τε αἱ μὲν ὑπόγειοι
βρονταῖς ἐοικυναί αἱ δὲ καὶ ἑπίγειοι μυκηθροῖς
ὅμοιαι συνεβαίνουν, καὶ ἦ τε θάλασσα συνέβρεμε
καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς συνεπήχει. κάκ τούτον κτύπος τε
ἐξαισίος ἐξαπιναίος ὡς καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν συμπιπτόν-
tων ἐξηκούσθη, καὶ ἀνέδορον πρῶτον μὲν λίθοι
ὑπερμεγέθεις, ὡστε καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐξι-
κέσθαι, ἔπειτα πῦρ πολὺ καὶ καπνὸς ἀπλετος,
ὡστε πάντα μὲν τὸν ἀέρα συνκιασθηναι, πάντα
de τὸν ἁλιων συγκρυφθηναι καθάπερ ἐκλεοιτότα.

23 νῦν ἡ ἡμέρας καὶ σκότος ἐκ φωτὸς ἐγένετο·
καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ μὲν τοὺς γίγαντας ἑπανι-
στασθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τότε εἴδωλα αὐτῶν ἐν
τῷ καπνῷ διεφαίνετο, καὶ προσέτε καὶ σαλπίγγων
tis ὑον ἱκουέτο), οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς χῶσ ἦ καὶ πῦρ

2 τῶν κόσμων πάντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταύτης
ἐφυγον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς οἱ δὲ
ἐξωθεὶς εἶσω, ἐκ τῇ θαλάσσῃς ἐς τὴν γῆν
καὶ εἰς ἑκείνης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οία τοιοῦταν, εἰς

3 τοῦ παρόντος ἡγούμενοι. ταῦτα τα ἁμα ἐγείρετο,
καὶ τέφρα ἀμύθησες ἀνεφυσῆθη καὶ τὴν τὴν γῆν
tὴν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάντα κατέσχε,
καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ὡς πον καὶ ἔπειξε,
καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ χώραις καὶ βοσκήμασιν
ἀλυμήνατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἰχθύας τὰ τὸ ὅρνεα πάντα
dιέφθειρε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ πόλεις δύο ὄλας, τὸ τῇ
Ἐρκουλάνεων καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους, εἰς θεάτρῳ

4 τοῦ ὁμίλου αὐτῆς 5 καθημένου, κατέχωσε. το-

1 οἴα Ρκ., οἱ ἄλλοι VC.
2 τεταραγμένοι Bk., τε ταραττόμενοι VC.
3 ἀνεφυσῆθη Zon., ἐφυσῆθη VC.
seethed and the summits leaped into the air. A.D. 79.
There were frequent rumblings, some of them subterranean, that resembled thunder, and some on the surface, that sounded like bellowings; the sea also joined in the roar and the sky re-echoed it. Then suddenly a portentous crash was heard, as if the mountains were tumbling in ruins; and first huge stones were hurled aloft, rising as high as the very summits, then came a great quantity of fire and endless smoke, so that the whole atmosphere was obscured and the sun was entirely hidden, as if eclipsed. Thus day was turned into night and light into darkness. Some thought that the Giants were rising again in revolt (for at this time also many of their forms could be discerned in the smoke and, moreover, a sound as of trumpets was heard), while others believed that the whole universe was being resolved into chaos or fire. Therefore they fled, some from the houses into the streets, others from outside into the houses, now from the sea to the land and now from the land to the sea; for in their excitement they regarded any place where they were not as safer than where they were. While this was going on, an inconceivable quantity of ashes was blown out, which covered both sea and land and filled all the air. It wrought much injury of various kinds, as chance befell, to men and farms and cattle, and in particular it destroyed all fish and birds. Furthermore, it buried two entire cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii, the latter place while its populace was seated in the theatre. Indeed, the amount of dust,
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σαύτη γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κόνις ἐγένετο ὡστ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ἐς Ἄφρικὴν καὶ ἐς Λύγειππον, ἦλθε 2 δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τὸν τε ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε καὶ τὸν ἤλιον ἐπεσκίασε. καὶ συνεβὴ κλάνταυθα δέος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας 3 οὕτ' εἰδόσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ γεγονὸς οὕτ' εἰκάσαι δυναμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα ἀνω τε καὶ κατὸ μεταστρέφεσθαι, 4 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἤλιον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀφαινίζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνείναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν τέφρα αὐτὴ οὐδὲν μέγα τότε κακὸν αὐτοῦς εἰργάσατο (ὑστερον γὰρ νόσου σφίσι λοιμώδη δεινὴν ἐνέβαλε).

24 Πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἐτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἔξης ἐτεί πολλὰ πάνω τῆς Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τύτου πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ ἐν τῇ Καμπανία γενομένου ἐκδημήσαντος, ἐπε- 2 νείματο. 5 καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σεραπείον καὶ τὸ Ἰσεῖον τὰ τε σέπτα καὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον τὸ τε βαλανεῖον τὸ τοῦ Ἁγρίππου καὶ τὸ πάνθειον τὸ τε δυριβιτῶριον 6 καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καὶ τὴν τοῦ 7 Πομ- πηίου σκηνήν, καὶ τὰ Ὀκταυνεία 8 οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τὸν τε νεῶν τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Καπητωλίου μετὰ τῶν συννάων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν.

3 οὕτω 9 τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἐγένετο. πάρεστι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ὄν κατέλεξα παντὶ τῷ τεκμήριασθαι καὶ τὰλα τὰ ἀπολλυ- μενα.

1 ἐς Zon., om. VC.
2 ἦλθε Bk., ἐσῆλθε VC.
3 πολλὰς ἡμέρας H. Steph., πολλαὶς ἡμέραις VC.
4 μεταστρέφεσθαι Bk., καταστρέφεσθαι VC.
5 ἐπενείματο V, ἀπενείματο C.
taken all together, was so great that some of it A.D. 79 reached Africa and Syria and Egypt, and it also reached Rome, filling the air overhead and darkening the sun. There, too, no little fear was occasioned, that lasted for several days, since the people did not know and could not imagine what had happened, but, like those close at hand, believed that the whole world was being turned upside down, that the sun was disappearing into the earth and that the earth was being lifted to the sky. These ashes, now, did the Romans no great harm at the time, though later they brought a terrible pestilence upon them.

However, a second 1 conflagration, above ground, A.D. 80 in the following year spread over very large sections of Rome while Titus was absent in Campania attending to the catastrophe that had befallen that region. It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theatre of Balbus, the stage building of Pompey's theatre, the Octavian buildings together with their books,2 and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with its surrounding temples. Hence the disaster seemed to be not of human but of divine origin; for anyone can estimate, from the list of buildings that I have given, how many others must have been destroyed.

1 This disaster naturally reminds Dio of the one under Nero.
2 Cf. liii. 1.
'Ο δ' ὁ Ὀλύμπιος Διός μὲν Ἀνδράς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οἰκιστὰς ἐπεμψε, καὶ χρήματα ἅλλα τα ἄλλα τῶν ἀνευ κληρονόμων 4 τεθνήκοτων ἐδωρήσατο· αὐτὸς δὲ οὖν εὑρετεῖ παρ’ ἰδιώτων οὖν παρὰ πόλεως οὔτε παρὰ βασιλείως, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλὰ διδύμων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπεροχομένων, ἔλαβεν, ἀνέστησε 2 μέντοι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντα.

25 Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀλλοίς οὖν ἐξαίρετον ἐπραξε, τὸ δὲ δὴ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν τὸ τε βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ ἱερώσας πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησε. ἥγειραι τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐλέφαντες τέσσαρες, ἄλλα τε ἐς ἐνακισχύλως καὶ βοτὰ καὶ θηρία ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ γυναῖκες, οὐ μέντοι ἐπιφανεῖς, συγκατεργάσαντο.

2 ἀνδρεῖς τε πολλοὶ μὲν ἐμονομάχησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄθροοι ἐν τε πεζομαχίαις καὶ ἐν ναυμαχίαις ἥγωνίσαντο. τὸ γὰρ θέατρον αὐτὸ ἐκείνο ὑδατὸς ἐξαίφυνος πληρώσας ἐσήγαγε μὲν καὶ ὑπόν τοὺς καὶ ταύρους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χειροῆθη, δεδιδαγμένα πάνθ᾽ ὁσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πράττειν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ, 3 ἐσήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλοίων. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἐκεί, ὡς οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄντεσ, ἐναυμάχησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξω ἐν τῷ ἄλοιπο τοῦ Γαῖαν τοῦ τε Δουκίου, ὅ ποτε ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ὁρύξατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μονομαχία τε καὶ θηρίων σφαγῆ, κατοικοδομηθείσης σανίσι τῆς

1 τὰ R. Steph. (so Zon.), τὰ χρήματα VC.
2 ἀνέστησε R. Steph. (so Zon.), ἀνίστησι VC.
Titus accordingly sent two ex-consuls to the Cam-panians to supervise the restoration of the region, and bestowed upon the inhabitants not only general gifts of money, but also the property of such as had lost their lives and left no heirs. As for himself, he accepted nothing from any private citizen or city or king, although many kept offering and promising him large sums; but he restored all the damaged regions from funds already on hand.

Most that he did was not characterized by anything noteworthy, but in dedicating the hunting-theatre and the baths that bear his name he produced many remarkable spectacles. There was a battle between cranes and also between four elephants; animals both tame and wild were slain to the number of nine thousand; and women (not those of any prominence, however) took part in despatching them. As for the men, several fought in single combat and several groups contended together both in infantry and naval battles. For Titus suddenly filled this same theatre with water and brought in horses and bulls and some other domesticated animals that had been taught to behave in the liquid element just as on land. He also brought in people on ships, who engaged in a sea-fight there, impersonating the Coreyleans and Corinthians; and others gave a similar exhibition outside the city in the grove of Gaius and Lucius, a place which Augustus had once excavated for this very purpose. There, too, on the first day there was a gladiatorial exhibition and wild-beast hunt, the lake in front of the images having first been covered over with a

1 The Amphitheatrum Flavium, later known as the Colosseum.
κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν εἰκόνων λήμνης καὶ ἱκρία
4 πέριξ λαβούσης, τῇ δὲ δευτέρα ἵπποδρομία καὶ
τῇ τρίτῃ ναυμαχίᾳ τρισχίλιων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο καὶ πεζομαχίᾳ ἐγένετο· νικήσαντες γὰρ οἱ
Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς Συμακουσίους (τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς
δόλοις χρησάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν) ἐπεξῆλθον ἐς
τὸ νησίδιον, καὶ προσβαλόντες τείχει τοῖς περὶ
τὸ μνημείον πεποιημένῳ εἶλον αὐτό. ταῦτα μὲν
ἐς ὅψιν ἦκοντα καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκατόν ἡμέρας ἐγένετο,
pαρέσχε δὲ τινὰ καὶ ἐς ωφέλειαν φέροντα αὐτοῖς·
5 σφαίρα γὰρ ξύλινα μικρὰ ἀνωθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον
ἐρρίπτει, σύμβολον ἠχοῦν τὸ μὲν ἔδωκόμων τινὸς
τὸ δὲ ἐσθῆτος τὸ δὲ ἄργυρον σκεύος, ἀλλο
χρυσοῦ ἔππον ὑποζυγίων βοσκημάτων ἀνδρα-
πόδων, ἀ ἀρπάσαντας τινὰς ἐδει πρὸς τοὺς
dοτήρας αὐτῶν ἀπενεγκεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ ἐπιγε-
γραμμένον.

26 Διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταίᾳ
ἡμέρα καταδακρύσας ὡστε πάντα τὸν δήμον
ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐτί μέγα ἐπραξέν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπιγεγ-
γραμμένῳ ἐτεί, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Φλαουιίου1 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
Πωλίωνος τῶν ὑπάτων, καθιερώσας ὅσα εἰρηται,
μετήλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ύδασιν ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ
2 αὐτοῦ, ὃς μὲν ἡ φήμη λέγει, πρὸς τοῦ ἄδελφον
ἀναλωθείς,2 ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἐπεβεβουλευτὸ ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ, ὃς δὲ τινὲς γράφουσι, νοσήμασι· ἐμπυνοῦ
γάρ τοι αὐτῶν ὅντα καὶ τάχα περιγενέσθαι δυνά-
μενον ἐς λάρνακα χιόνος πολλής γέμουσαν ὁ

1 Φλαουιίου Βκ., φλαβίου ΒC.
2 ἀναλωθεῖς Βκ., ἄλλως θ’ ΒC.
platform of planks and wooden stands erected around it. On the second day there was a horse-race, and on the third day a naval battle between three thousand men, followed by an infantry battle. The "Athenians" conquered the "Syracusans" (these were the names the combatants used), made a landing on the islet and assaulted and captured a wall that had been constructed around the monument. These were the spectacles that were offered, and they continued for a hundred days; but Titus also furnished some things that were of practical use to the people. He would throw down into the theatre from aloft little wooden balls variously inscribed, one designating some article of food, another clothing, another a silver vessel or perhaps a gold one, or again horses, pack-animals, cattle or slaves. Those who seized them were to carry them to the dispensers of the bounty, from whom they would receive the article named.

After he had finished these exhibitions, and had wept so bitterly on the last day that all the people saw him, he performed no other deed of importance; but the next year, in the consulship of Flavius and Pollio, after the dedication of the buildings mentioned, he passed away at the same watering-place that had been the scene of his father's death. The common report is that he was put out of the way by his brother, for Domitian had previously plotted against him; but some writers state that he died a natural death. The tradition is that, while he was still breathing and possibly had a chance of recovery, Domitian, in order to hasten his end, placed him in a chest packed with a

1 Ortygia.  
2 Cf. lx (lxii), 18.
Δομιτιανος ἐνέβαλεν, ὃς δεομένης τῆς νόσου τάχα τινὸς περιψύξεως,  ὅπα θάσσου ἀποθάνη.  

3 ἔτη γοῦν ξόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τῇ Ἑρωμήν ἀφίππευσε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, τῇ τε ἐπίκλησιν καὶ τῇ ἕξουσίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐλαβε, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁσοντερ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐδεδώκει. ὁ δ’ οὖν Τίτος ἀποψύχων εἶπε μὲν ὅτι “ἐν μόνῳ ἐπλημμέλησα,” τί δὲ δὴ τούτῳ εἶπ οὐ διεσάφησεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγρω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ οἱ δὲ τὸ κατείκα- 

4 σαν’ κρατεῖ δ’ οὖν, ὃς 2 μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῇ τῇ Δομιτίαν τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα ἐσχεν, ὃς δ’ ἐτεροι, οῖς ἐγὼ πεἴθομαι, ὅτι τὸν Δομιτιανον σαφῶς ἐπιβουλεύσατα οἱ λαβὼν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς τε ὑπ’ ἐκείνου παθεῖν τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἶλετο, καὶ τῇ τῶν Ὑρωμάιων ἄρχην ἀνδρὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἐξέδωκεν οἰον ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει. ἢρξε δὲ δύο ἐτῆ καὶ μήνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἰκοσιν, ὡς προείρηται.—Xiph. 212, 17—216, 23 R. St.

1 ὃς—περιψύξεως Zon., ὃς δὴθεν θεραπεύσων hist. Aug. Byz., om. VC.
2 ὃς Bk., oι VC.
quantity of snow, pretending that the disease re-
quired, perhaps, that a chill be administered. At
any rate, he rode off to Rome while Titus was still
alive, entered the camp, and received the title and
authority of emperor, after giving the soldiers all
that his brother had given them. Titus, as he
expired, said: "I have made but one mistake."
What this was he did not make clear, and no one
else recognized it with certainty. Some have con-
jectured one thing and some another. The pre-
vailing view is that of those who say that he
referred to his taking his brother's wife, Domitia.
Others—and these I am inclined to follow—say
that what he meant as his mistake was that he had
not killed Domitian when he found him openly
plotting against him, but had chosen rather to
suffer that fate himself at his rival's hands, and had
surrendered the empire of the Romans to a man
like Domitian, whose character will be made clear
in the continuation of my narrative. Titus had
ruled two years, two months and twenty days, as
has been already stated.
Δομιτιανὸς ἰδὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ θραύς καὶ ὄργιλος, ἣν ἰδὲ καὶ ἐπίβουλος καὶ κρυψίων, ὥστε ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τῶν μὲν τὸ προπέτες τῶν δὲ τὸ δόλιον ἔχων, πολλά μὲν ὀσπερ' χθητὸς ὦξεως ἐμπίπτων τισὶν ἐλυμαίνετο, πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρα-
2 σκευῆς ἐκκαυργεῖ. θεών 2 μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἤγαλλε, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὰ Παναθηναία μεγάλως ἐώρταζε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγώνας καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ λογογράφων μυομάχων τε κατ' ἑτὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ἐποίει τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸ ὅρος τὸ Ἀλβανὸν, ἀφ' οὕτως ὑποτενάζῃ, ὃν ὀσπερ τινὰ ἀκρόπολιν ἐξεῖλετο· ἀνθρώπων 3 δὲ ἐφίλησε μὲν ἀληθῶς οὐδένα πλὴν γυναικῶν τινών, ἐπιλάττετο δὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἀεὶ δυν ἄει μάλιστα ἀποφαξαί ἤθελεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἀπιστῶς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς χαριζο-
μένους τι ἐς τε τὰ δεινῶτατα ὑπηρετοῦντάς οἱ ἐγένετο ὅσθ', ὡστε τινές ἡ χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ πορίσειαν ἢ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς συκοφαντήσειαν, πάντως αὐτοῦ ἐφθείρε, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δοῦ-
4 λους τοὺς κατὰ δεσποτῶν τι μηνύσαντας. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ ἀργύριον καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ

1 ὀσπερ' cod. Peir., ὡς VC.
2 θεών C, θεόν V.
3 ἀνθρώπων cod. Peir., ἀνθρωπον VC Zon.
4 οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῶ VC.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXVII

Domitian was not only bold and quick to anger but also treacherous and secretive; and so, deriving from these two characteristics impulsiveness on the one hand and craftiness on the other, he would often attack people with the sudden violence of a thunderbolt and again would often injure them as the result of careful deliberation. The god that he revered most was Minerva, in consequence of which he was wont to celebrate the Panathenaea on a magnificent scale; on these occasions he held contests of poets and orators and gladiators almost every year at his Alban Villa. This estate, situated at the foot of the Alban Mount, from which it received its name, he had set apart as a kind of acropolis. There was no human being for whom he felt any genuine affection, except a few women; but he always pretended to be fond of the person whom at the moment he most desired to slay. So faithless was he even towards those who showed him some favour or helped him in his most revolting crimes, that, whenever persons provided him with large sums of money or lodged false information against large numbers of people, he was sure to destroy them, being especially careful to do so in the case of slaves who had given information against their masters. Accordingly, such persons, though they received money and honours and
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ἀρχὰς ὁμοῦ οἱ λαμβάνοντες, οὐτ' ἐντιμότερον τῶν ἐτέρων οὐτ' ἀσφαλέστερον διήγουν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὁς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ παρακαλούμενοι ἔπραττον ἀπώλυντο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων γεγονέναι δοκῆ. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ καὶ προέγραψε ποτε ὃτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὅταν μὴ κολάζῃ τοὺς συκοφάντας, αὐτὸς σφας ποιεῖ τοιούτους.—Xiph. 217, 8–27 R. St., Exc. Val. 274 (p. 705).

2 Τοιοῦτος δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντας παρ' ὅλην τήν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος πολὺ καὶ ἕαυτὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ φίλων ἀτίμω τε καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ μεταχειρίσει. καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸς γράμμα ξέδηκεν τηρῶν πάντα τὰ πρὸς τε ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων 1 δοθέντα τισίν. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν καλλῶπλησμα ἄλλως ἦν. ἐμίσει γὰρ αὐτοῦς, ὅτι τε μὴ πάνθρ' ὅσα ἦτε, πολλά τε καὶ οὐ προσήκοντα ὄντα, παρέσχον αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τίμῃ τινὶ ἐγεγένητο: πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀγαπηθὲν τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δυνηθέν ἐν ἐχθροῖ.

3 μοῖρα ἐτίθετο. καὶ διὰ τούτο, καίτερ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐμπίνου τινὸς εὐνούχου ἔρων, ὁμοίως, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἵσχυρός περὶ τοὺς ἐκτομίας ἐσπονδάκει, ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ ἑκεῖνου ὑβρεί μηδένα ἐτί ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆ ἐκτέμνεσθαι. τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐλεγε τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοὺς μὴ πολλοὺς κολάζοντας οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλ' εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι.—Xiph. 217, 27–218, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 275 (p. 705 sq.).

4 "Οτι ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν οὔτε 2 τῶν τῶν

1 αὐτοκράτωρα Val., αὐτοκράτορα cod. Peir.
2 οὔτε Bk., οὔδε cod. Peir.
offices\(^1\) in which they were his colleagues, lived A.D. 81 in no greater honour and security than other men. On the contrary, the very offences to which they had been urged by Domitian were commonly made the pretext for their destruction, his object being that they alone should appear to have been the authors of the wrongdoing. It was with this same purpose that he once issued a proclamation to the effect that, when an emperor fails to punish informers, he himself makes them informers.

Though such was his behaviour towards all throughout the course of his reign, yet he quite outdid himself in visiting disgrace and ruin upon the friends of his father and of his brother. It is true, he issued a proclamation confirming all the gifts made to any persons by them and by other emperors; but this was mere vain show. He hated them because they had not supplied all his numerous and unreasonable demands, as well as because they had been held in some honour; for he regarded as his enemy anyone who had enjoyed his father's or his brother's affection beyond the ordinary or had been particularly influential. Accordingly, though he himself entertained a passion for a eunuch named Earinus,\(^2\) nevertheless, since Titus also had shown a great fondness for eunuchs, in order to insult his memory, he forbade that any person in the Roman Empire should thereafter be castrated. In general, he was accustomed to say that those emperors who did not visit punishment upon many men were not good emperors, but only fortunate.

This same emperor paid no heed to the praises

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\(^1\) A reference doubtless to the consulship.
Τίτον ἐπαινοῦντων ὧτι μηδένα βουλευτὴν ἀπεκτείνειν, οὐθὲ ὧτι ἡ γερουσία πολλὰκις ἥξιον ψηφισθῆναι μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τῶν ὀμοτίμων τινὰ ἀπολέσαι· πάνυ γὰρ οὖν σφισὶ πολὺ διέφερεν εἴτε ἱδία τινὰ αὐτῶν εἴτε καὶ δὴ ἐκείνων καταχρῆσαι, ὃστερ τοῖ άντεπεῖν ἡ καὶ 5 μὴ καταψηφισασθαί τινος δυναμένοις. ἐπήμουν δὲ τὸν Τίτον τινες οὖχ ὧτι καὶ ἀκούοντοι τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ 1 (ἰσον γὰρ ἣν ἠμάρτανον ὃσπερ ἀν εἰ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων παρόντα καὶ ἀκούονται ἔλοιδόρον), ἀλλ' . . . 2 ὧτι ἡπίστατο αὐτοῦς λάθρα τοῦτο ποιοῦντας· ἐπεῖ τοι καὶ ἔτερον σκηνοποιία
6 τινὶ ἐοικὸς ἐγίγνετο. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ καὶ φίλειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ πενθεὶν προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐπαινοῦσας τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεξε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἠρώσας αὐτὸν σπουδὴ ἐσέγραψε, πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα δὲν ἐβούλετο σκηνοποιεῖν (ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν τὴν τῶν γενεσίων αὐτοῦ 7 κατέλυσε). καὶ οἱ ἅλλοι οὖθε ὅπως συναχθοῦντο οὖθε ὅπως συνήδουντο ἀσφαλῶς εἶχον, τὸ μὲν ὧτι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ λυπεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὧτι τὴν προσποίησιν ἐλέγχειν ἐμελλον.—Exc. Val. 276 (p. 706), Xiph. 218, 4–10 R. St.
3 Τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν Δομίτιαν ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν σφάξαι ἐπὶ μοιχεία, παρακληθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐρσοῦ ἀπεπέμψατο, τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὀδῷ δὲ αὐτὴν φονεύσας. ἐπείδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνθεσι καὶ μύροις τὸν τόπον ἐκείνων

1 Δομιτιανοῦ Val., δομιτίου cod. Peir.
2 Lacuna recognized by Rk.
which men bestowed upon Titus for not having A.D. 81
put a single senator to death, nor did he care that
the senate frequently saw fit to pass decrees that
it should be unlawful for the emperor to put to
death any of his peers. A vast difference, indeed,
did it make to them whether it was on his own
responsibility or with the consent of the senate
that he put out of the way one or another of their
number—as if, forsooth, they could offer any oppo-
sition or refuse to condemn anybody! Some, however,
would praise Titus, though not in Domitian's hearing
(for to do that would have been as grave an offence
as to revile the emperor in his presence and within
his hearing), but [they would do so among them-
selves, so that he hated them] because he well knew
that they were doing this secretly. And indeed
there was something else that resembled play-
acting; for Domitian pretended that he himself
loved his brother and mourned him, and he de-
ivered the eulogy over him with tears in his eyes
and urged that he be enrolled among the demigods—pretending just the opposite of what he
really desired. Indeed, he abolished the horse-race
that had been held on the birthday of Titus. In
general, men were not safe whether they shared
in his grief or in his joy; for in the one case they
were bound to offend his real feelings and in the
other to show up his insincerity.

He planned to put his wife, Domitia, to death A.D.83(?)
on the ground of adultery, but having been dis-
suaded by Ursus, he divorced her, after murdering
Paris, the actor, in the middle of the street because
of her. And when many persons paid honour to
that spot with flowers and ointments, he ordered
2 ἔτιμων, ἐκέλευσε τούτους σφάττεσθαι. κακὸς τοῦτον τῇ ἀδελφιδῇ τῇ ᾨδίᾳ, ἤγον γὰρ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ, ἀπαρακαλυπτότερον ὡς γαμητὴ συνώκει. εἶτα δευθέντος τοῦ δήμου κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ Δομιτίᾳ, ἐχρήτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. —Χιφ. 218, 10–16 R. St., Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 10–15 D.

31 Πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις φόνους τε καὶ ὑπερορίας ἐκποδῶν ποιοῦμενός (οὐδὲ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων κ.τ.λ. § 3²). —Χιφ. 218, 16–17 R. St.

42 "Οτι καὶ συνηκτάς μεδιστάς που κατεχοῦσατο, καὶ οὐκ ὄλγους γε αὐτοὺς ὑφ᾽ ἐαυτῶν παρεσκεύαξε πρῶτον τινὰ ἀποθυγήσειν, ἵνα ἐθελοῦσαν ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης δοκῶσι τούτο πάσχειν. —Ἐξ. Βαλ. 277 (p. 706).

32 οὐδὲ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ἐφείσατο ἀλλ᾽ ὡς καὶ ἱμερωμένας ἐτιμωρήσατο, οτὲ καὶ λέγεται, σκληρᾶς καὶ τραχείας τῆς περὶ αὐτὰς ἐξετάσεως γενομένης καὶ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ κολαζομένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼς εἰς τῶν ποντιφικῶν "Ελονίως Ἀγρύππας ἀλλ᾽ ἐκπλαγεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὥσπερ εἰχεν, ἀποψύξαι. —Χιφ. 218, 17–22 R. St.

41 "Οτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω ἀργάλετο, ότι ταῖς ἀειπαρθένους ὡς ἱμερωμένας οὐ κατώρυξεν, ὡς ἦν ἔθος, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἀποθυγήσειν ἐκέλευσε. —Ἐξ. Βαλ. 278 (p. 706).

5 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξορμήσας, καὶ λεηστήσας τινὰ τῶν πέραν Ῥήμου τῶν ἔνστον-

1 εἶτα δευθέντος — Ιουλία Zon., om. VC.
2 ἐαυτῶν Val., ἐαυτοῦ cod. Peir.
that they, too, should be slain. After this he lived A.D. 83(?) with his own niece (Julia, that is to say) as husband with wife, making little effort at concealment. Then upon the demand of the people he became reconciled with Domitia, but continued his relations with Julia none the less.

He was putting many of the foremost men out of the way on many different pretexts, some by means of murder and others by banishment.

He also removed many from Rome to other places and destroyed them; and in the case of not a few he so contrived that they died by their own hands in one way or another, so that they might be thought to have met death by their own desire and not through compulsion.

He did not spare even the Vestal Virgins, but A.D. 83 punished them on the charge of having had intercourse with men. It is even said that, as a result of the harsh and cruel character of their examination and the great number of persons who were being accused and punished, one of the pontifices, Helvius Agrippa, could not endure it, but, horror-stricken, expired then and there in the senate-chamber.

Domitian prided himself also on the fact that he did not bury alive, as was the custom, the Vestals whom he found to have had intercourse with men, but ordered them to be put to death in some other way.

After this he set out for Gaul and plundered some of the tribes beyond the Rhine that enjoyed  

1 Dio doubtless had a fuller form of statement indicating that this was not a sincere demand on the part of the people. Cf. Suet., Dom. 3: quasi efflagitante populo.
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δων, ὄγκοῦτο ὡς τι μέγα κατωρθωκός, καὶ τοῖς στρατιωταις ἐπηνύξεσε τὴν μυσθοφοράν, τάχα διὰ τὴν νίκην, πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστου λαμβάνοντο ἐκατόν ἐκέλευσα δίδοσθαι. μεταμεληθεὶς δὲ τὴν μὲν ποσότητα οὐκ ἐμείωσε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατευομένων συνέστειλε. καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν μεγάλα τὸ δημόσιον ἐβλάψε, μήθ᾽ ἵκανος τοὺς ἀμύνοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τούτων μεγαλομίσθους ποιήσας.—Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 16–25 D.

4 Ἐκστρατεύσας δὲ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ μηδ᾽ ἐφαρκῶς ποὺ πόλεμον ἐπανήκε. τὶ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἃ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ τότε καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς τοὺς ὑμοίους αὐτῷ αὐτοκράτοροι ἀδιᾶ ἔδοθι, ἵνα μὴ προσυποπτεύουντες ἐκ τε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἐκ τῆς σμικρότητος τῶν τιμῶν ἐλέγχεσθαι χαλεπαίνωσι; καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο δεινότατον ἐσχεν, ὅτι καὶ κολακεύσθαι ἤθελε, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὑμοίως ἔχθετο καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι καὶ τοῖς μὴ, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι θωπεύειν τοῖς δὲ ὅτι καταφρονεῖν ἐδόκουν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν βουλῇ χαίρειν ἐφ᾽ ὅσ ἐφηψίζουντο προσεποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὔρσον ὀλίγου ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἱρέσκετο, καὶ τῆς Ἡσυλίας αἴτησαμένης ὑπατον ἀπέδειξεν.—Xiph. 218, 22–29 R. St., Exc. Val. 279 (p. 706).

1 Dio would have used the word Κελτικήν (cf. note on liii. 12).
2 ὀλίγου Reinn., ὀλίγον cod. Peir.

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treaty rights—a performance which filled him with conceit as if he had achieved some great success; and he increased the soldiers' pay, perhaps on account of this victory, commanding that four hundred sesterces should be given to each man in place of the three hundred that he had been receiving. Later he thought better of it, but, instead of diminishing the amount of their pay, he reduced the number of soldiers. Both changes entailed great injury to the State; for he made its defenders too few in number and yet at the same time very expensive to maintain.

Next he made a campaign into Germany and returned without having so much as seen hostilities anywhere. But why should I go on and mention the honours bestowed upon him on this occasion for his exploit or from time to time upon the other emperors who were no better than he? For they were bestowed merely to keep such rulers from suspecting, as they would if the honours had been few and insignificant, that the people saw through them, and from becoming angry in consequence. Yet Domitian had this worst quality of all, that he desired to be flattered, and was equally displeased with both sorts of men, those who paid court to him and those who did not—with the former because they seemed to be flattering him and with the latter because they seemed to despise him. Nevertheless, he affected to take pleasure in the honours voted by the senate. But he came near putting Ursus to death because he failed to show pleasure at his sovereign's exploits; and then, at the request of Julia, he appointed him consul.
3 Ov μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπαρθεῖς ὑπ' ἀνοίας ὑπατος μὲν ἑτη δέκα ἐφεξῆς, τυμήτης δὲ διὰ βίου πρῶτος δὴ καὶ μόνος καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀυτοκρατόρων ἐχειροτονηθῇ, ῥαβδούχοις τε τέσσαρις καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ, ὅταν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἑσίη, χρήσθαι ἐλαβε. τὸν τε Ὀκτώβριου Δομιτιανοῦ ἀντωνόμασεν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγενέσθη. τοῖς δὲ ἀρματηλάταις δύο γένη ἐτέρα, τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν τὸ δὲ πορφυροῦν ὁνομάσας, προσκατέστησε. τοῖς τε θεωμένοις συνήδα πάντων σφαιρίων ἐδίδου, καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐδείπνισεν αὐτούς κατὰ χώραν καθημένους, οἷον τε σφισι πολλαχῇ ὑδέοντα νυκτὸς παρέσχεν. ἃ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἐν ἕδουν, ὡς εἰκός, ἦν, τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς ὀλέθρου αὐτα καθίστατο. οὐ γὰρ ἐχων ὅποθεν ἀναλώσει, συχνοὺς ἐφόνευε, τοὺς μὲν ἐσάγων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπόντων καθηγορῆσαν. ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ εἶ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐνίους λαθραίοις φαρμάκοις ἀπήλλασσε.—Xiph. 218, 29—219, 10 R. St.

6 Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν υποτελὸν Ρωμαίοις ἀφίσταιντο χρήματα βιαίως πρασσόμενοι, ὡς καὶ οἱ Νασαμώνες· τοὺς τε γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων πράκτορας ἐφθαίραν, καὶ τὸν Νουμιδίας ἄρχοντα Φλάκκον ἐπελθόντα σφίσιν ἤττησαν οὕτως ὡς πορθῆσαι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. εὑρόντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τάλλα τε ἐπιτηδεία καὶ οἶνον ἐμπλησθέντες ὑπνώσαν, καὶ γνοὺς ὁ Φλάκκος τὸντο ἐπέθετο αὐτοὶς καὶ

11 πορφυροῦν Phil. Rub. (Elect. 2, 27), ἄγγυροῦν VC.

1 Cf. lxii (lxi), 18 ; lxvi. 25.
2 Probably Cn. Suellius Flaccus.
However, being still more puffed up by his folly, A.D. 84 he was elected consul for ten years in succession and censor for life, being the first and only man, whether private citizen or emperor, to be given this latter honour; he also received the privilege of employing twenty-four lictors and of wearing the triumphal garb whenever he entered the senate-house. He changed the name of October to Domitianus because he had been born in that month. Among the charioteers he instituted two more factions, calling one the Golden and the other the Purple. To the spectators he used to make many presents by means of the little balls; and once he gave them a banquet while they remained in their seats and at night provided for them wine that flowed freely in many different places. All this naturally gave pleasure to the populace, but it was a cause of ruin to the powerful. For, as he had no funds from which to make his expenditures, he murdered many men, haling some of them before the senate, but bringing charges against others when they were not even present in Rome. He even went so far as to put some out of the way treacherously by means of drugs secretly administered.

Many of the peoples tributary to the Romans A.D. revolted when contributions of money were forcibly extorted from them; among these were the Nasamones. They massacred all the tax-collectors and so completely defeated Flaccus, the governor of Numidia, who proceeded against them, that they even plundered his camp. But having discovered the wine and other provisions there, they gorged themselves and fell asleep, and Flaccus, learning of this, attacked
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πάντας ἀπώλεσε καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους διέφθειρεν ἀπαντας. ἐφ' ὦ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπαρθεὶς εἶπε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὅτι "Νασαμῶνας ἐκώλυσα εἶναι."

7 Ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἡξίου νομίζεσθαι, καὶ δεσπότης καλοῦμενος καὶ θεὸς ὑπηγαγόλετο. ταύτα οὐ μόνον ἐλέγετο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφετο.—Ζον. 11, 19, p. 58, 31–59, 10 D.

6 Μέγιστος δὲ δὴ πόλεμος 'Ῥωμαίοις τότε πρὸς τοὺς Δακούς ἐγένετο, διὰ τὸν Δεκέβαλον ἐβασίλευε,1 δεινὸς μὲν συνεῖναι τὰ πολέμια δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πράξαι, ἐπελθεῖν εὐστοχος ἀναχωρῆσαι καύριος, ἐνέδρας τεχνίτης μάχῃς ἐργάτης, καὶ καλῶς μὲν νίκη χρῆσασθαι καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἤτταν διαθέσθαι 2 εἰδώς: ἄφ' οὐ δὴ καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἀξιόμαχος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο.

2 Δακούς δὲ αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύω, ἀσπερ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι σφας ὠνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄγνωσθ' ὅτι Ἑλλήνων τινες Γέτας αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν, εἰτ' ὀρθῶς εἴτε καὶ μὴ λέγουνες' ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀἶμου παρὰ τὸν

3 Ἰστρον οἰκουντας: ὁ Δομιτιανὸς μὲν σὺν ἐξε-στρατεύσατο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προσῆπατο, ἀλλ' ἐν πόλει τινὶ Μυσίας ὑπομείνας ὑβριζεν ὦσπερ εἰδόθην οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ τε σῶμα ἀπόνοις καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀτολμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ

1 Cf. Exc. Val.: ὅτι Δούρας, οὐ ἡγεμονία ἐγήγενη, ἐκὼν αὐτῆς παρεχώρησε τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ τῷ Δακῶν βασιλεῖ ὅτι δεινὸς κτῆ.
2 διαθέσθαι cod. Peir. Suid., διαθέίναι VC.

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them and annihilated them, even destroying all the non-combatants. Domitian was elated at this success and said to the senate: "I have forbidden the Nasamones to exist."

For he even insisted upon being regarded as a god and took vast pride in being called "master" and "god." These titles were used not merely in speech but also in written documents.

At this time the Romans became involved in a very serious war with the Dacians, whose king was then Decebalus.¹ This man was shrewd in his understanding of warfare and shrewd also in the waging of war; he judged well when to attack and chose the right moment to retreat; he was an expert in ambuscades and a master in pitched battles; and he knew not only how to follow up a victory well, but also how to manage well a defeat. Hence he showed himself a worthy antagonist of the Romans for a long time. I call the people Dacians, the names used by the natives themselves as well as by the Romans, though I am not ignorant that some Greek writers refer to them as Getae, whether that is the right term or not; for the Getae of whom I myself know are those that live beyond the Haemus range, along the Ister. Domitian, then, made an expedition against this people, but did not take an active part in the conflict. Instead, he remained in one of the cities of Moesia, indulging in riotous living, as was his wont. For he was not only indolent of body and

¹ Cf. Exc. Val.: Duras, to whom the sovereignty belonged, had voluntarily abdicated it in favour of Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, because the latter was shrewd in his understanding of warfare, etc.
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5 "Οτι Δεκέβαλος ὁ Δακῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπεκηρυ-κεύετο πρὸς Δομιτιανὸν εἰρήνην ὑπισχυόμενος: ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεμψε Δομιτιανὸς Φοῦσκον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβείαν αὖθις ἐν χλεασμῷ λέγων ὅς, εἰ ἔλοιπο ἐκαστος Ῥωμαίων δύο ὅβολους Δεκεβάλῳ ἐκάστον ἔτους τελεῖν, εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν τίθεσθαι: εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτῳ ἔλοιπο, πολεμήσειν καὶ μεγάλα αὐτοῖς προστρίψεσθαι 1 κακά.—Petr. Patr. exc. de leg. 3 (Hoeschel p. 15 = 4 Muell. Fragm. hist. Gr. 4, p. 185).


7, 1 "Οτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς 3 Κουάδους καὶ Μαρκο-μάνους 4 ἀμύνασθαί, ὅτι μὴ ἐβοηθησάν οἱ κατὰ Δακῶν, ἡθέλησε, καὶ ἠλθεῖν ἐς Παννονίαν σφίσι πολεμῆσαι, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύτας τοὺς δευτέρους, οὓς ἐπεμψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἀπέκτεινεν.—Exc. U 42 (p. 399).

6, 4 "Οτι ὁ αὐτὸς πταίσας τοῖς στρατιάρχαις ἐπε-κάλει. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμείνῳ πάντα, καίτοι μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράττων, προσποιεῖτο, τῶν δὲ δὴ χειρόνων ἠτέρους, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τι κελεύσεως συνε-

1 προστρίψεσθαι Bk., προστρίψασθαι MSS.

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timorous of spirit, but also most profligate and lewd towards women and boys alike. He therefore sent others to conduct the war and for the most part got the worst of it.

Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, was making overtures to Domitian, promising him peace; but Domitian sent Fuscus against him with a large force. On learning of this Decebalus sent to him an embassy anew with the insulting proposal to make peace with the emperor, on condition that every Roman should elect to pay two obols to Decebalus each year; otherwise, he declared, he would make war and inflict great ills upon the Romans.

Dio ... Book LXVII. ... When the soldiers who had made the campaign with Fuscus asked [Domitian] to lead them.

Domitian, wishing to requite the Quadi and the Marcomani because they had not assisted him against the Dacians, entered Pannonia with the intention of making war upon them; and he put to death the second group of envoys which had been sent by the enemy to propose terms of peace.

The same emperor, having been defeated, laid the blame on his commanders. For, though he claimed for himself all the successes, none of which was due to him, yet he blamed others for the reverses, notwithstanding that they had been incurred in consequence of the orders issued by him.

1 Cornelius Fuscus, praetorian prefect.
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βεβήκει, ἦτιάτο. καὶ ἐμίσει μὲν τοὺς κατορθώ-
σαντάς τι, ἐμέμφετο δὲ τοὺς πταίσαντας.—Exc.
Val. 281 (p. 399).

7, 2 "Οτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς 1 ἤτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρκομάνων 2
καὶ φυγὼν ἐπεμψε διὰ ταχέων πρὸς τὸν Δεκέ-
βάλον τὸν Δακῶν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐς σπονδᾶς αὐτὸν
ὕπηγάγετο, ἃς πολλάκις αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ πρότερον
οὐκ ἐδεδώκει. καὶ ὁς ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν σύμβασιν
(δεινῶς γὰρ ἐτεταλαιπώρητο 3), οὐ μέντοι καὶ
αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἔλθειν, ἀλλὰ
ἐπεμψε τὸν Δίηγμιν μετὰ τῶν ἅιδρῶν, τὰ τε
ὀπλα καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τινάς, ὡς καὶ μόνους
3 ἐκείνους ἥχων, δώσοντα. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον
ὁ Δομιτιανὸς 4 τῷ Διήγμιδι διάδημα ἐπέθηκε
καθάπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς κεκρατηκῶς καὶ βασιλέα
tινὰ τοὺς Δακοὺς δοῦναι δυνάμενος, καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀργύριον ἔχαρισατο,
καὶ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ὡς νεικηκὼς ἐπέστειλε τὰ
te ἄλλα καὶ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου
ἐπιστολὴν τε, ὡς γε ἐφασκεν, ἰὼν ἐλέγετο πεπλα-
4 κέναι. καὶ πολλοῖς τὴν ἐορτὴν πομπείοις ἐκο-
σμησεν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν εἶλε (παύν 5 γὰρ τούπαντίον
καὶ προσανάλωσε ταῖς σπονδαῖς, συνυὰ μὲν καὶ
αὐτίκα χρῆματα καὶ δημουργοὺς παντοῖας τέχνης
καὶ εἰρημικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ δοὺς,
συνυὰ δὲ καὶ ἀεὶ δῶσειν ὑποσχόμενος) ἀλλ' ἐκ
tῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπίπλων· τούτωις γὰρ ὡς καὶ

1 Δομιτιανὸς Urs., δομέτιος MSS.
2 Μαρκομάνων Bk., μαρκομάνων VB, μαρκομάνων M.
3 ἐτεταλαιπώρητο Bk., ἐταλαιπώρητο MSS.
4 Δομιτιανὸς Urs., δομέτιος V, δομέως BM.
5 παύ Reim., πάντα MSS.
Indeed, he hated those who succeeded and blamed A.D.89(?)
those who met with reverses.

Domitian, having been defeated by the Marcoc-
man, took to flight, and hastily sending messages
to Decebalus, king of the Dacians, induced him to
make a truce, though he himself had hitherto
refused to grant one in response to the frequent re-
quests of Decebalus. And so Decebalus accepted his
overtures, for he had suffered grievous hardships;
yet he did not wish to hold a conference with
Domitian personally, but instead sent Diegis with
the men,\(^1\) to give him the arms and a few captives,
who, he pretended, were the only ones that he
had. When this had been done, Domitian placed
a diadem on the head of Diegis, just as if he had
truly conquered and could give the Dacians anyone
he pleased to be their king. To the soldiers he
granted honours and money. And, just as if he
had won a victory, he sent to Rome, among other
things, envoys from Decebalus and also a letter
from the king, as he claimed, though rumour
declared that he had forged it. He graced the
festival that followed with many exhibits appropriate
to a triumph, though they came from no booty
that he had captured; on the contrary, the truce
had cost him something besides his losses, for he
had given large sums of money to Decebalus on the
spot as well as artisans of every trade pertaining
to both peace and war, and had promised to keep
on giving large sums in the future. The exhibits
which he displayed really came from the store of
imperial furniture, which he at all times treated as

\(^1\) This peculiar form of statement is evidently due to the
epitomist, who has abridged Dio's fuller description.
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αἰχμαλώτων ἂεὶ ποτὲ ἐχρήτο, ἀτε καὶ τὴν ἄρχὴν αὐτὴν δεδουλωμένον.—Exc. U¹ 14 (p. 400).

8 Καὶ τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη ὡστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν οὖσαν εἰκόναν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ θέαν πολυτελῆ, ἐν θ ἀλλο μὲν οὐδέν ἐς ἰστορίαν ἐπίσημον παρελάβομεν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ παρθένοι τῷ δρομικῷ ἡγοῦντο· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐστράτι τινας νικητηρίους δῆθεν ἐπιτελῶν ἀγώνας συχνῶς ἐποίησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ μάχας καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἰππέων αὐθ' συνεβάλε, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τινὶ χωρίῳ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ ἀπέθανον ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν θεωμένων· ὑστοὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ χειμώνων σφοδροῦ ἔξαίφνης γενομένου οὖν δεῖ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκ τῆς θέας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μανδύας ἀλλασσόμενος ἐκεῖνος οὖν εἰσέ ὑπαβαλέων, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐνόσησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν. ἐφ' ὃ που παραμυθοῦμεν αὐτόν δειπνῶν σφισί δημοσίᾳ διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς παρέσχε. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας νῦκτωρ ἐποίει, καὶ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ νάνους ¹ καὶ γυναικάς συνεβάλλε.²

9 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος οὕτως τὸτε ἐδείπνουσεν, ἀδικεῖ δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τόνδε τῶν τρόπων. οἱκὸν μελάντατον ἀπανταχόθεν ἐκ τε τῆς ὀροφῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ τ' ἐδάφους παρασκευάσας, καὶ κλησίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαπέδου γυμνάς ὀμοίας ἑτοιμάσας, ἐσεκάλεσεν

¹ νάνουs Leunel., νάνας VC.
² συνεβάλλε R. Steph., συνέβαλε VC.

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captured spoils, inasmuch as he had enslaved even A.D. 80 (?) the empire itself.

So many honours were voted to him that almost the whole world (so far as it was under his dominion) was filled with his images and statues constructed of both silver and gold. He also gave a very costly spectacle, in regard to which we have noted nothing that was worthy of historic record except that maidens contended in the foot-race. After this, in the course of holding what purported to be triumphal celebrations, he arranged numerous contests. In the Circus, for example, he exhibited battles of infantry against infantry and again battles between cavalry, and in a new place he produced a naval battle. At this last event practically all the combatants and many of the spectators as well perished. For, though a heavy rain and violent storm came up suddenly, he nevertheless permitted no one to leave the spectacle; and though he himself changed his clothing to thick woollen cloaks, he would not allow the others to change their attire, so that not a few fell sick and died. By way, no doubt, of consoling the people for this, he provided for them at public expense a dinner lasting all night. Often he would conduct the games also at night, and sometimes he would pit dwarfs and women against each other.

At this time, then, he feasted the populace as described; and on another occasion he entertained the foremost men among the senators and knights in the following fashion. He prepared a room that was pitch black on every side, ceiling, walls and floor, and had made ready bare couches of the same colour resting on the uncovered floor; then he in-
2 autouμόνους νυκτὸς ἀνευ τῶν ἀκολούθων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν στῆλην ταφοεἰδή ἐκάστῳ σφῶν παρέ-
στησε, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν καὶ λυχνούχον 
μικρόν, οἶσος1 ἐν τοῖς μημείοις κρεμάννυται.2 ἔπειτα παῖδες εὐπρεπεῖς γυμνοὶ, μέλανι καὶ αὐτοὶ 
κεχρισμένοι, ἐσῆθθον ὄσπερ εἶδωλα, καὶ περιελ-
θούτες αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀρχήσεως τινος φοβερᾶς πρὸ 
3 ποδῶν ἵδρυθησαν· καὶ μετὰ τούτο πάνθ' ὄσπερ 
ἐν τοῖς ἐναγύσμασι καθαγίζεται, καὶ ἐκείνοις 
μέλανα ἐν σκέυεσιν ὁμοίως3 προσηνέχθη, ὡστε 
καὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τρέμειν καθ' ἐκαστον αὐτῶν 
πάντας, ἀεὶ τε ὅσον ὁυκ ἱδὴ σφαγήσθεθαι 
προσδέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τε τῶν 
ἀλλων σιωτῆ πολλῆ ὄσπερ ἐν τεθυκώσιν ἵδη 
ἡμ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Δομιτιανὸς πάντα ἐς τε θανάτους 
4 καὶ ἐς σφαγᾶς φέροντα διελάλει. τέλος δὲ 
ἀφήκε μὲν αὐτοὺς, προσπαλλάξας δὲ δὴ τοὺς 
oικέτας σφῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἑστηκότας, 
ἱ' ἐτέρων τινῶν ἀγνώστων τοὺς μὲν ὁχήμασι 
τοὺς δὲ φορεῖοις παραδοὺς πολὺ πλέον δέος 
αὐτῶς ἐνέβαλε. ἀρτὶ δὲ ἐκαστός σφῶν οἴκαδε 
ἐσελήλυθε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀναπτεῖν ἥρχετο, 
καὶ αὐτῷ ἐσηγγέλθη ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου 
5 τις ἤκου. προσδοκώντων τε ἐκ τούτων τότε δὴ 
pάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι, ἐσεκόμισε τις τὴν στῆλην 
ἀργυρὰν οὔσαν, εἰτ' ἄλλος ἄλλο τι καὶ ἐτέρος 
ἐτερον τῶν σκευῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ παρατε-
θέντων, πολυτέλεστάτου τινὸς γένους τεποιη-
μένα· καὶ τέλος ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος, τὸ δαιμόνιον

1 οἶος Reim., οἰον VC. 
2 κρεμάννυται H. Steph., κρεμάννυται Β., κρεμάννυται C. 
3 ὁμοίως Leuncl., ὁμοίως VC.
vited in his guests alone at night without their attendants. And first he set beside each of them a slab shaped like a gravestone, bearing the guest's name and also a small lamp, such as hang in tombs. Next comely naked boys, likewise painted black, entered like phantoms, and after encircling the guests in an awe-inspiring dance took up their stations at their feet. After this all the things that are commonly offered at the sacrifices to departed spirits were likewise set before the guests, all of them black and in dishes of a similar colour. Consequently, every single one of the guests feared and trembled and was kept in constant expectation of having his throat cut the next moment, the more so as on the part of everybody but Domitian there was dead silence, as if they were already in the realms of the dead, and the emperor himself conversed only upon topics relating to death and slaughter. Finally he dismissed them; but he had first removed their slaves, who had stood in the vestibule, and now gave his guests in charge of other slaves, whom they did not know, to be conveyed either in carriages or litters, and by this procedure he filled them with far greater fear. And scarcely had each guest reached his home and was beginning to get his breath again, as one might say, when word was brought him that a messenger from the Augustus had come. While they were accordingly expecting to perish this time in any case, one person brought in the slab, which was of silver, and then others in turn brought in various articles, including the dishes that had been set before them at the dinner, which were constructed of very costly material; and last of all [came] that particular boy
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6 'O μὲν οὖν Δομιτιανὸς τοιαῦτα νικητηρία, ἢ ὡς γε ὁ ὀμίλος ἔλεγε, τοιούτους ἐναγιμοῦν ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ τεθυνηκόσιν ἐποίησε, καὶ τιγικές καὶ τότε τῶν πρῶτων ἀπέσφαξε, τοῦ τε θάψαντος τὸ σῶμα ἐνὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνους χωρίους ἐτεθνήκει, τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφεῖλετο.

10 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Δακικῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τάδε συνεκύρησεν ἀξιόλογα. ὁ γὰρ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπιταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῷ πολέμῳ τἀλλὰ τε παρεσκευάσατο εὖ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὰ τε ἐαυτῶν ὄνοματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπιγράψας ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα ἐκφανέστεροι οὗ τι ἄγαθον αὐτῶν ἢ κακὸν ποιοῦντες γένωνται.

2 συμβαλὼν δὲ ἐν ταῖς Τάπαις τοῖς πολεμίοις πλεῖστους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Οὔεξίνας, τὰ δεύτερα μετὰ Δεκέβαλον ἔχον, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἡδυνῆθη διαφυγεῖν ξων, πέπτωκεν ἐξεπετύδεις ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκός, κακὸ τούτου λαθὼν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐξύγια. δεύοσι οὖν ὁ Δεκέβαλος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα αὐτῶν οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι ἀπὸ κεκρατηκότες ὀρμήσωσι, τὰ τε δεύδρα τὰ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ὡς καὶ ὅπλα τοῖς στελέχεσι περιέθηκαν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες ὡς καὶ στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἀναχωρήσωσιν. ἵνα καὶ ἐγένετο.—Χιφ. 219, 24—221, 20 R. St.

5, 1 "ΟΤΙ Χαριάμηρος ὁ τῶν Χερούσκων βασιλεύς,

1 Lacuna recognized by Xyl., who supplied ἐσῆλθε.
who had been each guest's familiar spirit, now washed A.D.89(?) and adorned. Thus, after having passed the entire night in terror, they received the gifts.

Such was the triumphal celebration, or, as the crowd put it, such was the funeral banquet that Domitian held for those who had died in Dacia and in Rome. Even at this time, too, he slew some of the foremost men. And in the case of a certain man who buried the body of one of the victims, he deprived him of his property because it was on his estate that the victim had died.

Other events worth recording that took place in the Dacian War are as follows. Julianus, who was appointed by the emperor to conduct the war, made many excellent regulations, one being his order that the soldiers should inscribe their own names as well as those of their centurions upon their shields, in order that those of their number who should perform any particularly good or base deed might be more readily recognized. He encountered the enemy at Tapae, and slew great numbers of them. One of them, Vezinas, who ranked next to Decebalus, finding that he could not get away alive, fell down purposely, as if dead; in this manner he escaped notice and fled during the night. Decebalus, fearing that the Romans, now that they had conquered, would proceed against his royal residence, cut down the trees that were on the site and put armour on the trunks, in order that the Romans might take them for soldiers and so be frightened and withdraw; and this actually happened.

Chariomerus, the king of the Cherusci, had been A.D.90(?)

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2 ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς V, ἐπὶ αὐτῶν C.
ὑπὸ Χάττων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρωμαίους φιλίαν ἐκπεσόν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐτέρους τινὰς παρέλαβε καὶ κρείττων ἐν τῇ καθόδω ἐγένετο, ἐπείτα ἐγκαταλείφθεις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπειδὴ ὁμήρους τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις ἐπέμψε, τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἱκέτευσε καὶ συμμαχίας μὲν οὐκ ἐτύχε, χρήματα δὲ ἔλαβεν.—Exc. Ug 43 (p. 399).

11 Ἀντώνιος δὲ τις ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ἄρχων κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ἐπανέστη, ὃν Δουκίους Μάξιμος κατηγωνίσατο καὶ καθέλευ. δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ νίκῃ οὐδὲν μέγα ἄξιός ἦσθιν ἐπαινεῖσθαι (πολλοὶ γὰρ τοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι παρὰ δόξαν ἐνίκησαν, οἳ τε στρατιῶται αὐτῷ συνη-2 2 γωνίσαντο). ὅτι δὲ τὰ γράμματα οὐσα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κιβωτίων εὑρέθη, παρὰ βραχύ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἄσφαλειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν συκοφανηθῆναι θέμενος, ἔκασσεν, οὐχ ὃρῳ πῶς ἄν αὐτῶν ἄξιὼς ὑμνήσαμι.—Xiph. 221, 20–26 R. St., Exc. Val. 282 (p. 709).

Ὁ δὲ Δομιτιανὸς ἀφορμὴς ἐντεύθεν εὐπορίσας, ἔπι τοὺς φόνους καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων χωρίς ὀρμήσας, οὐδὲ ἄν ἔποι τις ὅσους ἀπέκτεινε.—Xiph. 221, 26–28 R. St.

3 Ὅτι τὸ σύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ 1 κολασθέντων οὔτ' ἄν εὑρέθης τοῖς δυνηθεὶς. οὔτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἢ κατέγυρω ὡσθ', ἢν μηδεμία μνήμη τῶν θανατουμένων ὑπολειφθῆ, ἐκάλυσε σφας ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγραφῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὖν ἐπὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναρεθέντων τῇ βουλῇ τι ἐπέστειλε, καίπερ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν,

1 Δομιτιανοῦ Val., Δομιτίου cod. Peir.

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driven out of his kingdom by the Chatti on account of his friendship for the Romans. At first he gathered some companions and was successful in his attempt to return; but later he was deserted by these men when he sent hostages to the Romans, and so became the suppliant of Domitian. He did not secure any military support but received money.

A certain Antonius, who was governor of Germany at this period, revolted against Domitian; but Lucius Maximus overcame him and destroyed him. Now so far as this victory was concerned Maximus does not deserve any particular praise (for many others have won unexpected victories, and moreover his troops contributed to his success), but for his action in burning all the papers that were found in the chests of Antonius, thus esteeming his own safety as of slight importance in comparison with the preventing of their use for the purpose of blackmailing anyone, I do not see how I can praise him enough.

Domitian, however, as he had got a pretext from that source, proceeded to commit a series of murders even without the papers in question, and it would be impossible to say how many he killed.

It would be impossible to discover the total number of those who were executed by Domitian. Indeed, he condemned himself so severely for this course that, in order to prevent any remembrance of those who were put to death from surviving, he prohibited the entering of their names in the records. Furthermore, he did not even send any communication to the senate regarding those who had been put out of the way, though he sent their heads as well as that of

2 τὸντῷ Val., τοῦτο cod. Peir.
Άσπερ τήν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πέμψας ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐσ τὴν ἁγοράν ἐκθεῖς.—Exc. Val. 283 (p. 709).

4 Εἰς δ’ οὖν τις νεανίσκος Ἰουλίου. Κάλουστρος,1 κεχυλιαρχὴς ἐσ βουλείας ἔλπιδα, παραδο-, ξότατα ἐσώθη. ἑπειδὴ γὰρ πολλάκις κατὰ μόνας συμμεμιχὼς ἡλέγχετο, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ἄλλως τὴν αἴτιαν τῆς συνωμοσίας ἀπολύσηται, ἐφη καὶ ἑρωτικὴν χρείαν αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι καὶ γὰρ ἤν οἷς ἐγράσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀφείθη, ἐν δ’ 2 ἔτι τούτῳ εὐπόρῳ περὶ τῶν τότε

5 γενομένων παύσομαι. Λουσιάνος Πρόκλος βουλευτὴς γέρων, ἐν ἀγρῷ τὰ πολλὰ διαστρίβοι, συνεξήλθε μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καταναγκάσαντι, ἣν μὴ δόξῃ κινδυνεύοντα αὐτὸν προλιπεῖν καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀποδάνῃ, τῆς δ’ ἀγγελίας ἔλθούσῃ ἐφὴ τε ἑνίκησας αὐτοκράτορ, ὥσπερ ἡχύμην’ ἀπόδος οὖν με τῷ ἀγρῷ, καὶ ἐγκαταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τούτο, καίτοι πολὺν ἐπιζήσας χρόνου, προσήλθεν αὐτῷ.

6 Ἔν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπετήθευσαν τινες, φαρμάκῳ βελόνας χρίοντες, κεντεῖν αὐτάς οὖς ἐβούλοντο· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκείνους μηδὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἐθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μηνυθέντες ἐτιμωρήθησαν· καὶ τούτῳ οὖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐγένετο.

12 Ἡραίανδρὸς δὲ δὴ τῷ Οὐλπίω καὶ Ἀκιλίῳ3 Γλαβρίων4 ὑπατεύσασι τότε τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα

1 Κάλουστρος R. St., καλουστρος VC.
2 δ’ supplied by Capps, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐν ἐτι Sylb.
3 Ἀκιλίῳ Leunel., ἀκουλίῳ VC.
4 Γλαβρίων R. Steph., γραβλίωνi VC (so just below).
Antonius to Rome and caused them to be exposed \( \text{A.D.90(?)} \) in the Forum.

One young man, Julius Calvaster, who had served as military tribune as a stepping-stone to the senate, was saved in a most extraordinary way. When it was being shown that he had had frequent meetings alone with Antonius, and he had no other way to free himself from the charge of conspiracy, he declared that he had met him for amorous intercourse; and in fact he was of an appearance to inspire passion. Thus he was acquitted. I will relate one more incident of this period, as follows, and then desist. Lusianus Proclus, an aged senator, who spent most of his time in the country, had set out with Domitian from Rome, feeling constrained to do so, that he might not appear to have deserted him in his peril and so be put to death. But when the news\(^1\) came, he said: “You have conquered, emperor, as I always prayed; restore me, therefore, to my country estate.” Thereupon he left him and retired to his farm; and after this, though he survived a long time, he never came near him.

During this period some persons made a business of smearing needles with poison and then pricking with them whomsoever they would. Many persons who were thus attacked died without even knowing the cause, but many of the murderers were informed against and punished. And this sort of thing happened not only in Rome but over practically the whole world.

The same portents are said to have appeared to A.D. 91 Ulpius Trajan and to Acilius Glabrio when they

\(^1\) i.e. of the victory over Antonius.
λεγεται γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπ’ ἀυτῶν τῷ μὲν Γλαβρίωνι ὀλέθρος, τῷ δὲ Τραϊανῷ ἢ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἀρχὴ προερρέθη.

Συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πλουσίων ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ἐκολάσθησαν, διὸν ἐνιαία καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμοιχεύθησαν. καὶ ἄλλαις δ’ αὖτίας 2 πολλοὶ καὶ ἐξημιώθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον 1 γινή γάρ 2 τις ὅτι ἀπεδώσατο ἐναιτίων εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ 3 ἐκρίθη τε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἔτερος ὡς ἀστρολόγοις ἀμιληκῶς. 4 ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε τελευτήσασι πολλοῖς οὖσι καὶ Μέττιος 5 Πομποւσιανὸς ἐγένετο, ὅν ὁ μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς μαθὼν ἐκ φήμης τινὸς ὅτι μοναρχησέi συδέων κακῶν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ 6 καὶ ἔτιμα, λέγων ὅτι “πάντως μου μυθομενεύσει καὶ πάντως με ἀντιτιμήσει,” ἐκεῖνος 4 δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐσ Kύρων ἐξώρισε, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσεν, ἐγκληθέντα ἀλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κοιτῶν τοῖχοις εἶχεν ἐγγεγραμμένην, καὶ τὰς δημηγορίας τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, τὰς παρὰ τῷ Λιονίῳ 7 γεγραμμένας, ἐξειλόχει 5 τε καὶ ἀνεγινώσκε. Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστήν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἰπέ τε ἅσκων, ἀπέκτεινε. συνεγίνετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς κατηγορησούσι καὶ τοῖς καταμαρτυρήσουσι, καὶ συνέπλαττε καὶ συνετίθει πάνθ᾽ ὅσα λεχθήναι ἔδει. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς δεσμώταις κατὰ μόνας ἐλάλει, τὰ δεσμα αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων. οὖτε γὰρ ἄλλοις

1 συγγοι—ἀπέθανον Zon., om. Xiph.
2 γὰρ Zon., de VC.
3 αὐτοῦ Zon., τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ VC.
4 καὶ ἔτερος—ἀμιληκῶς Zon., om. Xiph.

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entered upon the consulship at this time; to Glabrio A.D. 91 they announced destruction, but to Trajan his assumption of the imperial office.

Many men and women alike among the wealthy were punished for adultery; some of these women had been debauched by Domitian himself. Many persons were also fined or put to death on other charges. Thus, a woman was tried and put to death because she had undressed in front of an image of Domitian, and a man for having associated with astrologers. Among the many who perished at this time was Mettius Pompusianus, whom Vespasian had failed to harm after learning from some report that he would one day be sovereign, but on the contrary had shown him honour, declaring: “He will surely remember me and will surely honour me in return.” But Domitian first exiled him to Corsica and now put him to death, one of the complaints against him being that he had a map of the world painted on the walls of his bed-chamber, and another complaint being that he had excerpted and was wont to read the speeches of kings and other leaders that are recorded in Livy. Also Maternus, a sophist, was put out of the way because in a practice speech he had said something against tyrants. The emperor himself used to visit those who were expecting to accuse or to give evidence of guilt and he would help to frame and compose all that required to be said. Often, too, he would talk to the prisoners alone, while holding their chains in his hands; for he would not entrust to others the knowledge of

6 Mettios Bs., μετίος VC Zon.
6 ἀλλὰ Reim., ὥτι VC.
7 Λιουλω Bk., λιβλω VC.
5, 2 "Οτι ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Δύνων Σουῆβοις τις πολεμωθέντες πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν, αἰτοῦντες συμμαχίαν παρὰ Δομιτιανοῦ, καὶ ἔλαβον οὐ τῷ πλήθει ἰσχυρὰν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀξιώματι· ἐκατόν γὰρ ἵππεις μόνοι αὐτοῖς ἔδόθησαν. ἀγανακτήσαντες εἰπὶ τούτῳ οἱ Σουῆβοι προσπαρέλαβον Ἰάξυγας, καὶ προπαρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἰστρον διαβησόμενοι.—Exc. U. 44 (p. 399).

5, 3 "Οτι Μάσνος ὁ Σεμνώνων βασιλέας καὶ Γάννα (παρθένος ἂν μετὰ τὴν Οὐελήδαν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα) ἤλθον πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν, καὶ τιμῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν τυχόντες ἀνεκομισθησαν.—Exc. U. 45 (p. 400) = Suid. s.v. θειάζουσα.

13 'Ἐπραξε δε τι καὶ ἡς τιμητῆς ἄξιόλογον Καικίλιον ἡ Ῥουφίου ἀπήλασεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὁρχεῖτο, Κλαύδιον τε Πακάτον τῷ δεσπότῃ καίπερ ἐκατονταρχηκότα ἀπέδωκεν, 2 ὃτι ἠλέγχθη δοῦλος ὁν. οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ῥηθῆναι τούτοις ὁμοίοι ἔστιν, ὅπερ ὡς αὐτο- κράτωρ ἐπεποίηκεν· τὸν γὰρ δὴ Ῥοῦστικον τοῦ Ἀρουλήνου ἄπεκτεινεν ὃτι ἐφιλοσόφη καὶ ὃτι τὸν Θρασέαν ἱερὸν ὁνόμαζε, καὶ Ἐρέννιον ἢν Σενεκίωνα ὃτι τε οὐδεμίαν ἄρχην ἐν πολλῷ βίῳ μετὰ τὴν ταμείαν ὑτίκει καὶ ὃτι τοῦ Πρίσκου τοῦ Ἑλουδίου τὸν βίον συνεγραψεν.

3 ἀλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αὐτίας συχνὸ διώλοντο, καὶ οἱ λοι—

1 προπαρεσκευάζοντο Leuncl., προπαρεσκευάζοντο MSS.

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what was going to be said, and as for the accused, A.D. 91 he feared them even in their bonds.

In Moesia the Lygians,1 having become involved in war with some of the Suebi, sent envoys asking Domitian for aid. And they obtained a force that was strong, not in numbers, but in dignity; for a hundred knights alone were sent to help them. The Suebi, indignant at his giving help, attached to themselves some Iazyges and were making their preparations to cross the Ister with them.

Masyus, king of the Semnones, and Ganna, a virgin who was priestess in Germany, having succeeded Veleda, came to Domitian and after being honoured by him returned home.

As censor, likewise, his behaviour was noteworthy. A.D. 93 He expelled Caecilius Rufinus from the senate because he acted pantomimes, and restored Claudius Pacatus, though an ex-centurion, to his master, because he was proved to be a slave. But the deeds now to be related—deeds which he performed as emperor—cannot be described in similar terms. I refer to his killing of Arulenus Rusticus because he was a philosopher and because he called Thrasea holy, and to his slaying of Herennius Senecio because in his long career he had stood for no office after his quaestorship and because he had written the biography of Helvidius Priscus. Many others also perished as a result of this same charge of philosophizing, and

1 This is an error; the Lygians lived north of Moesia.
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ποι πάντες ἔξηλάθησαν αὕτις ἐκ τῆς 'Ρώμης. Ιουνούντιος ὁ μέντοι τις Κέλσος συνομόσας τε ἀνὰ πρώτως μετὰ τινων ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορθεῖσι ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ θαυμαστῶς ἐσώθη. μέλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκεσθαι ἦτόσατο δι' ἀπορρήτων εἰπεῖν τι αὐτῷ, κἀ τοῦτῳ προσκυνήσας αὐτῷ, δεσπότην τε καὶ θεόν, ἀ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδὴ προσηγορεύ- ετο, πολλάκις ὁνομᾶσας, "οὐδὲν μὲν" ἔφη "πεποιηκαί τοιούτων, ἀν δ' ἀναβολὴν λάβω, πολύπραγμον ἰσώ πάντα, καὶ συχνοῦς σοι καὶ μυστῶ καὶ ἐξελέγξα." ἀφεθεῖς τε ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ οὔτε ἐνέδειξε τινα, καὶ ἀλλοτε ἀλλας προφάσεις προτείνων διήγαγε μέχρις οὔ Δομιτιανὸς ἀπέθανεν.

14 Ἑν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἡ ὄδος ἡ ἀπὸ Σινοέσσης ἐς Ποντέολους ἀγούσα λίθοις ἐστορέσθη. καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτεί ἄλλους τε πολλούς καὶ τὸν Φλάουιον κτὸν. Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεψι interpreter ὅντα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενὴν ἐαυτοῦ Φλαουιάν ἰσώς Δομιτίλλαν ἐχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ

2 Δομιτιανὸς ἑπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἐγκλῆμα ἀθεότητος, ὅφ' ἦς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουναίων ἡθη ἐξοκέλλουντες πολλοὶ κατεκάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γονῶν οὐσιῶν ἑπαρβάθησαν ἐς Δομιτίλλα ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον ἐς

3 Παυδατερίαν. τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἀρξαντα, κατηγορηθέντα τὰ τε

1 'Ιουνούντιος Reim. ('Ιουβέντιος), ἱουβένιος VC.
2 πεποιηκαί R. Steph., πεποιηκότα VC.
3 Σινοεσσης R. Steph., σινοέσης VC.
4 Ποντέολους R. Steph., ποτίλους VC.
5 Φλαουιον Reim. (Φλάβιον), φάβιον VC.
6 τὸν supplied by Bk.
all the philosophers that were left in Rome were A.D. 91
banished once more. One Juventius Celsus, how-
ever, who had taken a leading part in conspiring
with certain others against Domitian and had been
accused of this, saved his life in a remarkable way.
When he was on the point of being condemned, he
begged that he might speak to the emperor in
private, and thereupon did obeisance before him
and after repeatedly calling him "master" and
"god" (terms that were already being applied to
him by others), he said: "I have done nothing of
this sort, but if I obtain a respite, I will pry into
everything and will not only bring information
against many persons for you but also secure their
conviction." He was released on this condition,
but did not report any one; instead, by advancing
different excuses at different times, he lived until
the death of Domitian.

At this time the road leading from Sinuessa to
Puteoli was paved with stone. And the same year
Domitian slew, along with many others, Flavius
Clemens the consul, although he was a cousin and
had to wife Flavia Domitilla, who was also a relative
of the emperor's. The charge brought against
them both was that of atheism, a charge on which
many others who drifted into Jewish ways were
condemned. Some of these were put to death, and
the rest were at least deprived of their property.
Domitilla was merely banished to Pandateria. But
Glabrio, who had been Trajan's colleague in the

1 His sister's daughter.

7 Πλαονίαν Bk., φλαβίαν VC.
8 Δομιτιανὸς R. Steph., δομίτιος VC.
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αλλα καὶ οἴν όι πολλοὶ καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίους ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ᾽ ὃ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὅργην αὐτῶ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἔσχεν, ὅτι ὑπατεύοντα αὐτὸν ἐσ τὸ 1 Ἀλβανον ἐπὶ τὰ Νεανισκεύματα ὤνομασμένα καλέσας λέοντα ἀποκτείναι μέγαν ἡμῶν, καὶ δέ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐλυμάνθη ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐστοχότατα αὐτὸν κατειργάσατο.

4 Ἡποπτεύων οὖν ἐκ τούτων πάντας ἀνθρώποις οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάρχοις, οὐς γε καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρίνεσθαι ἐποίει, ἐπίδα ἄσφαλείας εἴχε. καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον δὲ τὸν 2 Νέρωνος πρότερον μὲν ἐξεδώξε τότε δὲ καὶ ἐσφαξε, ἐπικαλέσας αὐτὸ ὅτι μὴ ἰμυνε τῷ Νέρωνι, ἵν ἐκ τῆς τιμωρίας, ἤν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἐποιεῖτο, πόρρωθεν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξελευθέρους 3 ἐκφοβήσῃ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τολμῆσαι.

5 οὖ μὴν ὁφελῆθη τι ἐκ τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη τῷ ἐξῆς ἐτεὶ ἐπὶ τε Γαίου Οὐάλεντος, ὃς ἐνενηκοστῷ ἐτεὶ ὑπατεύσας ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἀντιστίου ὑπάτων, καὶ 4 ἀπώλετο.

15 Ἐπέθεντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συνεσκευάσαντο τῇ πραξίν Παρθένιος τε ὁ πρόκοιτος αὐτοῦ, καὶ περ ὑπὲρ τιμώμενος παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ξιφιθορέιν, καὶ Συγηρὸς ἐν τῇ προκοιτίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡν,

1 τὸ Leuncl., τὸν VC.
2 τὸν Sylb., τὸν VC.
3 ἐξελευθέρους Reim., ἐλευθέρους VC.
4 καὶ supplied by Bk.

1 An error for T. Manlius Valens.
2 This was a privilege normally accorded only to generals appointed by the emperor.
consulship, was put to death, having been accused of the same crimes as most of the others, and, in particular, of fighting as a gladiator with wild beasts. Indeed, his prowess in the arena was the chief cause of the emperor's anger against him, an anger prompted by jealousy. For in Glabrio's consulship Domitian had summoned him to his Alban estate to attend the festival called the Juvenalia and had imposed on him the task of killing a large lion; and Glabrio not only had escaped all injury but had despatched the lion with most accurate aim.

As a consequence of his cruelty the emperor was suspicious of all mankind, and from now on ceased to repose hopes of safety in either the freedmen or yet the prefects, whom he usually caused to be brought to trial during their very term of office. He had first banished and now slew Epaphroditus, Nero's freedman, accusing him of having failed to defend Nero; for he wished by the vengeance that he took on Nero's behalf to terrify his own freedmen long in advance, so that they should venture no similar deed. Yet it availed him naught, for he became the object of a conspiracy in the following year, and perished in the consulship of Gaius Valens (who died after entering upon the consulship in his ninetieth year) and of Gaius Antistius.

Those who attacked him and planned the deed were Parthenius, his chamberlain, although he had been so highly honoured by the emperor as to be allowed to wear a sword, and Sigerus, who was also one of the chamberlains, together with Entellus,

3 Probably the man who is called Saturius by Suetonius (Dom. 17).
"Εντελλός τε ὃ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέπον
2 μετὰ Στεφάνου ἀπελευθέρου, καὶ αὐτὸν ὃ ὑπὸ
ἡ Δομιτία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ δὲ ὁ Νορβανὸς ὁ
ἐπαρχὸς οὐδ’ ὁ συνάρχον 2 Πετρώνιος Σεκοῦνδος
ἡγοῦσαν, ὃς γε καὶ λέγονται· ἡ τε γὰρ Δομιτία
ἀεὶ ποτε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμμείνετο καὶ διὰ τούτ’ ἐφο-
βεῖτο μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκέτ’ αὐτὸν
ἐφίλουν, οἱ μὲν ὁτι ἐνεκαλούντο τίνα, οἱ δ’ ὁτι
3 προσεδέχοντο. ἦκονσα δὲ ἐγγωγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι
πάντας ἀμα αὐτούς ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ὑποπτεύσας
ἀποκτείνα ἡθέλησε, καὶ σφαν’ τὰ ὁνόματα ἐσ
σανίδιον φιλύριον διθυροῦ ἐσγράψας ὑπὸ τὸ
προσκεφάλαιον ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ ἐν ἡ ἀνεπαύετο
ὑπέθηκε, καὶ αὐτὸ παιδίον τι τῶν γυμνῶν τῶν
ψιθύρων καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀφε-
4 λόμενον εἰχεν, οὐκ εἰδός ὃ τι φέροι, προστυχοῦσα
δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ Δομιτία τά τε γεγραμμένα ἀνέγινω
καὶ ἐμήνυσε καὶ εἰκεῖνοι, κάκ τούτο καὶ ἄλλως
dιανοούμενοι συνετάχυναν τὴν ἐπιβουλῆς. οὐ
μέντοι πρότερον ἐπεχείρησαν ἐργῷ πρὶν τὸν
dιαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτοῦ βεβαιώσασθαι.
5 διελέξαντο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλους τισὶν, μηδενὸς δὲ
ἐκεῖνων δεξαμένου (πάντες γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς δια-
πειρωμένους σφῶν ἐφοβηθησαν) ἐπὶ τὸν Νέρουν
ἡλθον, ἐπειδή καὶ εὐγενεστάτος καὶ ἐπιεικέστατος
ἣν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε διαβλήθεις ὑπ’

1 αὐτὸ R. Steph., αὐτὸν VC.
2-συνάρχον Zon., σύναρχος VC.
who was in charge of petitions, and Stephanus, a freedman. The plot was not unknown to Domitia, the emperor's wife, nor to the prefect Norbanus, nor to the latter's colleague, Petronius Secundus; at least, this is the tradition. For Domitia was ever an object of Domitian's hatred and consequently she stood in terror of her life; and the others no longer loved him, some of them because complaints had been lodged against them and others because they were expecting complaints to be lodged. For my part, I have heard also the following account—that Domitian, having become suspicious of these persons, conceived the desire to kill them all at the same time, and wrote their names on a two-leaved tablet of linden-wood, which he placed under his pillow on the couch on which he was wont to take his rest; and one of the naked "whispering" boys filched it away while the emperor was asleep in the day-time and kept it without knowing what it contained. Domitia then chanced upon it, and reading what was written, gave information of the matter to those concerned. Accordingly they hastened the plot which they already were forming; yet they did not proceed to carry it out until they had determined who was to succeed to the imperial office. They discussed the matter with various men, and when none of them would accept it (for all were afraid of them, believing that they were testing their loyalty), they betook themselves to Nerva. For he was at once of the noblest birth and of a most amiable nature, and he had furthermore been in peril of his life as the result of being denounced

1 All those mentioned were in fact freedmen.

2 Cf. xlviii. 44.
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άστρολόγων, ὃτι μοναρχὴσει φησάντων ¹ ἔξ
οὐπερ ῥᾶν ἐπεισαν αὐτόν ἀναδεξασθαί τὴν
6 ἡγεμονίαν. πάντως ² γὰρ καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς τῶν
πρώτων τὰς τῇ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ὥρας ἐν αἷς
ἐγεγέννητο ³ διασκοπῶν, οὐκ ὁλίγους ἐκ τούτου
τῶν οὔδὲ ἐπιζύντων ⁴ ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ ἔσεσθαι
προανήλισκε καὶ τὸν γε Νέροναν ἀπέσφαξεν
ἀν, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἀστρολόγων εὐνοιὰν αὐτῷ
ἐχων ἐφή ὡς ἐντὸς ὁλίγων ἠμέρων τελευτήσει.
πιστεύσας γὰρ οὖν τούτ' ἔσεσθαι, οὐκ ἡθέλησε
κάκεινον πεφονευκέναι ὡς πάντως μετὰ μικρὸν
τεθυγηζόμενον.⁵—Xiph. 222, 31–225, 4 R. St.,
Zon. 11, 20, p. 63, 1–9 D.

16 Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν οὔδὲν τῶν τηλικοὺτων
ἀπρόσπτουν, ἄλλα τε ἐν αὐτῷ σημεῖα ἐγένετο οὐκ
αἰσία,⁶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τὸν τῇ Ῥωστικοῦν
ξίφει προσιέναι οἱ, καὶ τὴν Ἱορνῶν, ἢν ἐν τῷ
κοιτῶν ἱδρυμένην εἰρχε, τὰ ὡπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι
καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρμάτος ἱππῶν μελάνων ἐς χάσμα
ἐσπίπτειν ἐδοξεῖ. ὦ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα δία πάντων
2 ᾠῆςιον θαυμάσας ἔστι, Λαργίνδος τῆς Πρόκλους
δημοσία προειπῶν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὅτι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ἐκεῖνῃ ἐν ἡ ἀπέθανε τελευτήσει, ἀνετέμφθη τε
ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ, καὶ ἔσαχθεὶς
πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἐφή καὶ τότε τοῦ ὄντως
ἐξεῖν, καὶ καταδικασθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτω ⁸
ἀνεβληθή τε ὅπως διαφυγόντος αὐτοῦ τῶν κίν-

¹ ὅτι—φησάντων Zon., om. Xiph.
² πάντως VC, πάντων Zon.
³ ἐγεγέννητο Zon., ἐγεγέννητο VC.
⁴ εἰκ τούτων τῶν οὔδὲ ἐπιζύντων Polak, οὔδὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιζύντων VC, κακ τούτω τῶν ἐπιζύντων Zon.

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by astrologers who declared that he should be A.D. 95 sovereign. It was this last circumstance that made it easier for them to persuade him to accept the imperial power. Domitian, of course, had not failed to take careful note of the days and the hours when the foremost men had been born, and in consequence was destroying in advance not a few of those who were not even hoping for the attainment of power; and he would have slain Nerva, had not one of the astrologers who was friendly to the latter declared that the man would die within a few days. And so Domitian, believing that this would really come to pass, did not wish to be guilty of this additional murder, since Nerva was to die so soon in any case.

Since no event of such magnitude happens unforeseen, various unfavourable omens occurred in the case of Domitian. Among other things he himself dreamed that Rusticus approached him with a sword, and that Minerva, whose statue he kept in his bed-chamber, had thrown away her weapons, and, mounted upon a chariot drawn by black horses, was plunging into an abyss. But the most remarkable circumstance of all was the following. Larginus Proculus, having publicly announced in the province of Germany that the emperor would die on the day when he actually did die, had been sent on to Rome by the governor, and when brought before Domitian had again declared that it should so come to pass. He was accordingly condemned to death, but his execution was postponed in order that he might die

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5 πιστεύοντες—τεθνησθέντες Zon., om. Xiph.  
6 τε Sylb., γε VC.  
7 οὐκ αἰσθία Zon., om. Xiph.  
8 ἐνὶ θανάτῳ St., ἐνὶ θανάτῳ VC.
δυνον ἀποθάνη, κἀν τοῦτῳ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἰσαγέντος ἔσωθη καὶ δέκα μυριάδας δραχμῶν 3 παρὰ τού Νερονα ἔλαβεν. ἔτερος τέ τις πρότερον ποτὲ εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅποτε καὶ ὅπως φθαρῆσται, ἔπειτα ἔρωτησεις ὅποιοφ αὐτὸς τέλει τοῦ βίου χρήσται, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ὡτι ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀναλωθήσεται, ἐκελεύσθη μὲν ξῦν Κατα-
καυθήναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῷ προσήχθῃ, ὡτεῦ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ πολλοῦ καταρρύνετος ἢ τέ πυρά ἐσβέσθη καὶ ἐκείνου κύνες ὡτὶ σω τῷ χείρε δεδεμένον καὶ ἐπικείμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς 1 εὑρόντες διεσπάραξαν.

17 Ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι εἶπεῖν παραδοξότατον, ὃ ἐπειδὰν περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ φράσο, σημανῶ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀνέστη καὶ ἀναπαύσεσθαι τὸ μεθημερινόν, ὃσπερ εἰσέσχε, ἐμελλε, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ξίφους, ὃ ἂν ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν προσκεφαλαίῳ αὐτοῦ ἑκεῖτο, τὸ σιδήρου ὃν Παρθένιος ἔξειλεν, ὅπως μὴ χρήσηται, ἔπειτα τὸν Στέφανον ἐρρομενέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ὄντα 2 ἐσέπεμψε· καὶ ἐκείνος ἐπλήξε μὲν τὸν Δομιτιανὸν, οὐ μὴν καρίαν, ἀλλὰ καταβληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἑκεῖτο. οὕτω δὲ δείσας μὴ διαφύγῃ, ἐπεσετη-
δησεν, ἡ ὡς γέ τυσι δοκεί, Μάξιμου ἐξελεύθερον ἐπεσέπεμψε. καὶ ὃ τε Δομιτιανὸς οὕτως κατε-
σφάγη, καὶ ὁ Στέφανος παραχρῆμα συνδραμόν-
tων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐ συμμετεσχηκότων τῆς συνώμοσιάς προσαπώλετο. 2

18 "Ο δ' εἶπον ὅτι υπὲρ πάντα τάλλα θαυμάσας ἔχω, τόδ' ἔστιν. Ἀπολλώνιος τις Τυανεὺς ἐν τε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ ὁρᾷ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ ὁ

1 ἐπ' αὐτῆς VC, αὐτῆ Zon.
2 προσαπώλετο Zon., om. Xiph.
after the emperor had escaped the danger; but in A.D. 95 the meantime Domitian was slain, and so Proculus' life was saved and he received 400,000 sesterces from Nerva. Some one else, also, had told Domitian on a previous occasion both the time and the manner of his death, and then, upon being asked what manner of death he, the prophet, should meet, had replied that he should be devoured by dogs. Thereupon command was given that he should be burned alive, and the fire was applied to him; but just then there was a great downpour of rain, the pyre was extinguished, and later dogs found him lying upon it with his hands bound behind him and tore him to pieces.

I have one more astonishing fact to record, which I shall give after describing Domitian's end. As soon as he rose to leave the court-room and was ready to take his afternoon rest, as was his custom, first Partheniūs removed the blade from the sword which always lay under his pillow, so that Domitian should not have the use of it, and then he sent in Stephanus, who was stronger than the others. Stephanus smote Domitian, and though it was not a fatal blow, the emperor was nevertheless knocked to the ground, where he lay prostrate. Then, fearing that he might escape, Partheniūs rushed in, or, as some believe, he sent in Maximus, a freedman. Thus not only was Domitian murdered, but Stephanus, too, perished when those who had not shared in the conspiracy made a concerted rush upon him.

The matter of which I spoke, saying that it surprises me more than anything else, is this. A certain Apollonius of Tyana on that very day and at that very hour when Domitian was being murdered
Δομιτιανὸς ἐσφάττετο (τούτο γὰρ ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένων ἡκριβώθη) ἄναβας ἐπὶ τινα λίθον υψηλὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἢ καὶ ἑτερωθι, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ταῦτα εἶπε•

1 "καλῶς, Στέφανε, εὖ γε, Στέφανε· παίε τὸν μαιφόνου. ἐπλήξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπέκτεινας."

2 τούτο μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κἀν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήση. Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἐξήσε μὲν ἐτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ 2 μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσι, ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἐτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Φυλλᾶς ἢ τροφὸς κλέψασα ἔθαψεν.—Xiph. 225, 4–226, 10 R. St.

1 Cf. Zonaras: ἐπὶ τινα ὃραν ἐνεῖς ἐστη, ἐτα ἐξεβόησεν.

2 καὶ Ζον., om. VC.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXVII

(as was afterwards accurately determined by events A.D. 96 that happened in both places) mounted a lofty rock at Ephesus (or possibly it was somewhere else) and having called together the populace,² uttered these words: “Good, Stephanus! Bravo, Stephanus! Smite the bloodthirsty wretch! You have struck, you have wounded, you have slain.” This is what actually happened, though one should doubt it ten thousand times over. Domitian had lived forty-four years, ten months and twenty-six days, and had reigned fifteen years and five days. His body was stolen away and was buried by his nurse Phyllis.

² Zonaras adds: “stood there speechless for some time, and then cried out.”
EPITOME OF BOOK LXVIII

1 Μετὰ δὲ Δομιτιανὸν Νέροναν Κοκκήιον οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι ἀπέδειξαν αὐτοκράτορα. μίσει δὲ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀργυραί πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ χρυσαί οὖσαι, συνεχονεύθησαν, καὶ εἷς αὐτῶν μεγάλα χρήματα συνελέγη, καὶ αἱ ἀφόιδες πλείσται δὴ ἐνὶ ἄνδρὶ ποιοῦμεναι καθηρέ-θησαν. καὶ οἱ Νέρους τοὺς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβεία ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατῆγαγε, τοὺς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τοὺς δεσπότας σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας πάντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους οὗτ' ἄλλο τι ἔγκλημα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας ἐφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὗτ' ἀσεβείας οὗτ' Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου καταιτίσθαί τινας συνεχώρησε. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκοφαντησάντων θάνατον κατεδικά-σθησαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέρας ἢν ὁ φιλόσοφος.

3 ταραχῆς οὐν γενομένης οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐκ τοῦ πάντας πάντων κατηγορεῖν, λέγεται Φρόντωνα τὸν ὑπατον εἰπεῖν ὡς κακὸν μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοκρά-τορα ἔχειν ἐφ' οὗ μηδὲν μηδὲν ἐξεστὶ ποιεῖν, χείρον δὲ ἐφ' οὗ πᾶσι πάντα· καὶ οἱ Νέρους ἄκούσας ταῦτα ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἢν δὲ οἱ Νέρους ὑπὸ τε τοῦ γῆρως καὶ ὑπ' ἀρρωστίας, ἀφ' ἦς καὶ τὴν τοοφήν ἀεὶ 360
After Domitian, the Romans appointed Nerva A.D. 96 Cocceius emperor. Because of the hatred felt for Domitian, his images, many of which were of silver and many of gold, were melted down; and from this source large amounts of money were obtained. The arches, too, of which a very great number were being erected to this one man, were torn down. Nerva also released all who were on trial for maiestas and restored the exiles; moreover, he put to death all the slaves and the freedmen who had conspired against their masters and allowed that class of persons to lodge no complaint whatever against their masters; and no persons were permitted to accuse anybody of maiestas or of adopting the Jewish mode of life. Many of those who had been informers were condemned to death, among others Seras, the philosopher. When, now, no little commotion was occasioned by the fact that everybody was accusing everybody else, Fronto, the consul, is said to have remarked that it was bad to have an emperor under whom nobody was permitted to do anything, but worse to have one under whom everybody was permitted to do everything; and Nerva, on hearing this, ordered that this condition of affairs should cease for the future. Now Nerva was so old and so feeble in health (he always, for instance, had

1 The name is suspicious and is perhaps corrupt.
2 ποτε ἦμει, ἀσθενέστερος. ἀπείπε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτῷ ἐρυσοῦσ ἢ ἀργυροῦς γίνεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἢπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ μάτην ἐστεριτιμένοις πάντα ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔτι ὄντα εὑρέθη. τοῖς τε πάνω πένησι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς χιλιάδα καὶ πεντακοσίας μυρίαν τῆς κτῆσιν ἐχαρίσατο, βουλευταῖς τισὶ τὴν τε ἀγορασίαν
2 αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διανομῆν προστάξας. χρημάτων δὲ ἀπορῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἰμάτια καὶ σκεῦς καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ, ἀλλὰ τε ἔπιπλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χωρία καὶ οἰκίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα πλῆν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀπέδοτο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμᾶς αὐτῶν ἐμικρολογήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
3 τούτῳ πολλούς ἐνυργήτησε. καὶ πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ ἵπποδρομίας ἀλλὰς τε τινὰς θέας κατέλυσε, συστέλλων ὡς οἶδον τε τὰ δαπανήματα. ὥμοσε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μηδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν φονεύσειν, ἐβεβαιώσε τε τῶν ὁρκον καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθείς. ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδὲν
4 ὅ τι μὴ μετὰ τῶν πρῶτων ἀνδρῶν. ἐνυμοθέτησε δὲ ἀλλὰ τε καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐνοχίζεσθαι τινα μηδὲ ἀδελφιδὴν γαμεῖν. τὸν δὲ Ῥούφον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καίπερ πολλάκις αὐτοκράτορα ὁνομασθέντα, οὐκ ὄκνησεν ὑπατεύσας συνάρχοντα προσλαβεῖν. ἐφ' οὗ τῷ μνήματι τελευτήσαντος ἐπεγράφῃ ὅτι νικήσας Ὀὐίνδικα τὸ κράτος οὐχ ἐαυτῷ περιποιηστάτο ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι.
3 Νέρονας δὲ οὕτως ἥρχε καλῶς ὡστε ποτὲ

1 αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῷ VC.  
2 ἐκ supplied by Bk.  
3 μηδὲ Bk., μητε VC.
to vomit up his food) that he was rather weak. He also forbade the making of gold or silver statues in his honour. To those who had been deprived of their property without cause under Domitian he gave back all that was still to be found in the imperial treasury. To the very poor Romans he granted allotments of land worth 60,000,000 sesterces, putting some senators in charge of their purchase and distribution. When he ran short of funds, he sold much wearing apparel and many vessels of silver and gold, besides furniture, both his own and that which belonged to the imperial residence, and many estates and houses—in fact, everything except what was indispensable. He did not, however, haggle over the price, but in this very matter benefited many persons. He abolished many sacrifices, many horse-races, and some other spectacles, in an attempt to reduce expenditures as far as possible. In the senate he took oath that he would not slay any of the senators, and he kept his pledge in spite of plots against himself. Moreover, he did nothing without the advice of the foremost men. Among his various laws were those prohibiting the castration of any man, and the marrying by any man of his own niece. When consul he did not hesitate to take as his colleague Virginius Rufus, though this man had often been saluted as emperor. After Rufus' death an inscription was placed on his tomb to the effect that, after conquering Vindex, he had claimed the power, not for himself, but for his country.¹

Nerva ruled so well that he once remarked: "I

¹ Cf. lxiii. 25 and Pliny, Epist. vi. 10.
DIO’S Roman History

εἰπεῖν “οὖδὲν τοιοῦτον πεποίηκα ὅστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἄρχην τε καταθέσθαι καὶ ἁσφαλῶς 2 ἰδιωτεύσαι.” Κράσσου τε Καλπουρνίου, τῶν Κράσσων ἐκείνων ἐγγόνου, ἐπιβεβουλευκότος μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων αὐτῷ, παρεκαθίσατο τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τινὶ θέα ἀγνοοῦντας ἐτί ὑπὶ καταμεμήνυται, καὶ ἐδῶκεν αὐτῷ ἕξιφι, λόγῳ μὲν ἵν’ ἐπισκέψηνται αὐτὰ, ὅπερ εἰσοδε γίνεσθαι, εἰ δὲξέν ἑστὶν, ἐργῷ δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλει καὶ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ἀποθάνη.

3 Αἰλιανὸς δὲ ὁ Κασπέριος ἄρχων καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ, τῶν δορυφόρων γενόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐστασίασε κατ’ αὐτοῦ, παρασκευάσας ἐξαιτησίας τινας ὡστε θανατωθῆναι.1 πρὸς οὖς ὁ Νέρος τοσοῦτον ἀντέσχεν ὡστε καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἀπογυμνώσας καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ προδεῖξαι. οὐ μὴν τι καὶ ἤνισσεν, ἀλλ’

4 ἀνηρέθησαν οὖς ὁ Αἰλιανὸς ἐβουλήθη. οἴθεν ὁ Νέρος διὰ τὸ γῆρας οὐτω καταφρονοῦμενος ἀνέβη τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτῶλιον, καὶ ἔφη γεγωνήσας “ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔμοι αὐτῶν Μάρκον Οὐλπίου Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν ποιοῦμαι.”2


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have done nothing that would prevent my laying down the imperial office and returning to private life in safety.” When Calpurnius Crassus, a descendant of the famous Crassus, had formed a plot with some others against him, he caused them to sit beside him at a spectacle (they were still ignorant of the fact that they had been informed upon) and gave them swords, ostensibly to inspect and see if they were sharp (as was often done), but really in order to show that he did not care even if he died then and there.

Casperius Aelianus, who had become commander of the Praetorians under him as he had been under Domitian, incited the soldiers to mutiny against him, after having induced them to demand certain persons for execution. Nerva resisted them stoutly, even to the point of baring his collar-bone and presenting to them his throat; but he accomplished nothing, and those whom Aelianus wished were put out of the way. Nerva, therefore, finding himself held in such contempt by reason of his old age, ascended the Capitol and said in a loud voice: “May good success attend the Roman senate and people and myself. I hereby adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan.”

1 Cf. Joann. Antioch.: As plots were being formed against him frequently by various men who held him in contempt because of his age, Nerva was forced to surrender Petronius and Parthenius, who were very dear to him, at the instance of Aelianus, the commander of the Praetorians; and he was greatly grieved at this.

2 Cf. Leo (= Cedrenus): When a message of victory came from Trajan in Paeonia, he went up to the Capitol and offered incense, then mounted a platform and speaking in a loud voice in the presence of the Roman senate and people, he said: “May good success attend us. I, Marcus Nerva, hereby adopt Trajan as my son.”
Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Καίσαρά τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ αὐτοχειρία (ἡρχε δὲ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκείνος)

τίσειαν Δαναόι ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοὶ βέλεσσιν.

4 Οὔτω μὲν ὁ Τραϊάνος Καίσαρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῖς συγγενέων τοῦ Νέρωνα ὄντων τινῶν. ἀλλ’ οὗ γὰρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν σωτηρίας ὁ ἀνήρ τὴν συγγένειαν προετύμησε, οὐδ’ αὐτῷ ἢ Ἰβηρ ὁ Τραϊάνος ἀλλ’ οὗ Ἰταλὸς οὖν Ἰταλὼν ἦν, ἦττον τι παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν

2 ἐποιήσατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν ἀλλοεθνῆς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐσχῆκε: τὴν γὰρ ἁρεθήν ἀλλ’ οὗ τὴν πατρίδα τινος ἐξετάζειν δεὶν ὄφει. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα μετῆλλαξεν, ἄρξας ἔτει ἐνὶ καὶ μησὶ τέσσαρες καὶ ἡμέραις ἐννέα: προεβεβιώκει δὲ τέντε καὶ ἔξηκοντα ἐτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα.

5 Τραϊάνος δὲ ὅναρ ἐγεγόνει, πρὶν αὐταρχῆσαι, τοιόνδε: ἐδόκει ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην ἐν ἰματίῳ καὶ ἐσθῆτι περιπορφύρῳ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ στεφάνῳ ἐστολισμένον, οἷα ποὺ καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν γράφουσι, δακτυλίῳ τινὶ σφραγίδα αὐτὸ ἐς τε τὴν ἀριστεράν σφαγῆν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἔς τὴν δεξιὰν

2 ἐπιβεβληκέναι. ὡς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοχειρία ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς οὐδένα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποσφάξοι ἡ ἀτμίσσοι, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ὅρκοις οὐ τότε μόνον ἄλλα καὶ υἱοτερον ἐπιστώσατο.

1 αὐτὸν Reim., αὐτὸς VC.
2 προεβεβιώκει δὲ Bs., προεβεβιώκει δὲ V, προεβεβήκει δὲ C, προεβεβήκει δ’ ἐς Rk.
Afterwards in the senate he appointed him Caesar A.D. 97 and sent a message to him written with his own hand (Trajan was governor of Germany):

"May the Danaans by thy shafts requite my tears." 1

Thus Trajan became Caesar and later emperor, although there were relatives of Nerva living. But Nerva did not esteem family relationship above the safety of the State, nor was he less inclined to adopt Trajan because the latter was a Spaniard instead of an Italian or Italiot, 2 inasmuch as no foreigner had previously held the Roman sovereignty; for he believed in looking at a man's ability rather than at his nationality. Soon after this act he passed away, A.D. 98 having ruled one year, four months and nine days; his life prior to that time had comprised sixty-five years, ten months and ten days.

Trajan, before he became emperor, had had a dream of the following nature. He thought that an old man in purple-bordered toga and vesture and with a crown upon his head, as the senate is represented in pictures, impressed a seal upon him with a finger ring, first on the left side of his neck and then on the right. When he became emperor, he sent a letter to the senate, written with his own hand, in which he declared, among other things, that he would not slay nor disfranchise any good man; and he confirmed this by oaths not only at the time but also later.

1 Homer, II. i. 43.
2 An Italian was one of the old Italian stock, an Italiot was a resident alien or descendant of foreign colonists in Italy, the name being applied particularly to the Greek stock in Southern Italy.
4 Αἰλιανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τοὺς κατὰ Νέρουα στασιάσαντας, ὡς καὶ χρησόμενός τι αὐτοῖς,1 μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκποδῶν ἐποιήσατο. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ ἔποιει πρὸς τε διόρθωσιν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πρὸς χάριν τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἑκείνων τε διαφερόντως ἐπιμελοῦμενος, ὡς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν παύδων τροφῆν πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, καὶ τούτους εὐεργετῶν. Πλωτίνα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν παλάτιον ἐσήμενι, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μεταστραφεῖσα εἴπε “τοιαύτη μέντοι ἑνταῦθα ἐσέρχομαι οἶα καὶ ἐξελθεῖν βούλομαι.” καὶ οὗτο γε ἐαυτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς διήγαγεν ὡστε μηδεμίαν ἐπηγορίαν σχείν.—Xiph. 226, 18–229, 29 R. St. 15, 2 Ὅστι ο Τραίανὸς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἰδικοκυμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ θεάσασθαι ἐποίει.—Exc. Ua 46 (p. 401). 6 Διατρίψας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη χρόνον τινὰ ἐστρατευσεν ἐπὶ Δακούς, τὰ τε πραχθέντα αὐτοῖς λογιζόμενος, τοῖς τε χρήσασιν ἄ κατ’ έτος ἐλάμβανον βαρυνόμενος, τάς τε δυνάμεις αὐτῶν 2 αὐξανομένας καὶ τὰ φρουράματα ὅρῶν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ δεκέβαλος 2 τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐφοβήθη, ἀτε καὶ εὗ εἰδὼς ὅτι πρότερον μὲν οὐ Ῥωμαίον ἄλλα Δομιτιανὸν ἐνενικήκει, τότε δὲ ὡς πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς Τραίανὸν αὐτοκράτορα πολεμήσοι. Πληίστων γὰρ ἐπὶ τε δικαιότητι καὶ ἐπ’ 3 ἀνδρεία τῇ τε ἀπλότητι τῶν ἠθῶν διέπρεπε.3 τῷ

1 αὐτοῖς Sylb., αὐτοῖς VC. 2 Δεκέβαλος R. Steph., δεκέβανος VC.
He sent for Aelianus and the Praetorians who had a.d. 98 mutinied against Nerva, pretending that he was going to employ them for some purpose, and then put them out of the way. When he came to Rome, a.d. 99 he did much to reform the administration of affairs and much to please the better element; to the public business he gave unusual attention, making many grants, for example, to the cities in Italy for the support of their children, and upon the good citizens he conferred many favours. When Plotina, his wife, first entered the palace, she turned round so as to face the stairway and the populace and said: "I enter here such a woman as I would fain be when I depart." And she conducted herself during the entire reign in such manner as to incur no censure.

The ambassadors who came from the various kings were given seats by Trajan in the senatorial section at spectacles.

After spending some time in Rome he made a campaign against the Dacians; for he took into account their past deeds and was grieved at the amount of money they were receiving annually, and he also observed that their power and their pride were increasing. Decebalus, learning of his advance, became frightened, since he well knew that on the former occasion it was not the Romans that he had conquered, but Domitian, whereas now he would be fighting against both Romans and Trajan, the emperor.

Trajan was most conspicuous for his justice, for his bravery, and for the simplicity of his habits. He
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τε γὰρ σώματι ἔρρωτο (δεύτερον γὰρ καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἀγών ἐτος ἦξεν) ὡς ἐξ ὅσον πάντα τοῖς ἀλλοις τρόπον τινὰ πονείσθαι, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἥκμαξεν ὡς μὴθ' ὕπο νεότητος θρασύνεσθαι μὴθ' ἀνω τῆς γήρως ἀμβλύνεσθαι. καὶ οúde ἐφθόνει οúde καθήρει τινά, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντας τοὺς ἀγαθός ἐτίμα καὶ ἐμεγάλυνε, καὶ διὰ τούτο οúde ἐφοβεῖτό τινα αὐτῶν οúde ἔμισε. διαβολαῖς τε ἥκιστα ἐπίστευε, καὶ ὀργῇ ἥκιστα ἐδουλούτο, τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἴσα καὶ φόνων τῶν 7 ἀδίκων ἀπείχετο. καὶ ἐδαπάνα πάμπολλα μέν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους πάμπολλα δὲ ἐς τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔργα, καὶ πλείστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν λιμέσι καὶ ἐν ὀἰκοδομήσαι δημοσίους κατασκευάσας οὐθένος αἷμα ἐς οúdeν αὐτῶν ἀνάλω- 2 σεν. οὕτως γὰρ που καὶ μεγαλόφρον καὶ μεγαλογνώμων ἐφ' ὅστε καὶ τῷ ἰπποδρόμῳ ἐπι- γράψαι ὅτι ἐξαρκοῦντα αὐτῶν 1 τῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ ἐποίησεν, ἐπειδῆ διαφανεῖτα πη καὶ μείξω 3 καὶ περικαλλέστερον ἐξειργάσατο. φιλούμενός τε οὐν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ τιμώμενος ἐχαίρε, καὶ τῷ τῇ δήμῳ μετ' ἐπιεικείας συνεγίνεσκαται, καὶ τῇ γεροντία σεμνοπρεπῶς ὑμίλει, ἀγαπητός μὲν πᾶσι, φοβερός δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν πολεμίους ὁν. καὶ γὰρ θήρας καὶ συμποσίων ἔργων τε καὶ βου- λευμάτων σκωμμάτων τε συμμετείχε σφίσι, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τέταρτος ὑχεῖτο, ἐς τας οἰκίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνευ γε φρουρᾶς ἔστιν ὁν ἐσών εὐθυ- 4 μεῖτο. παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἄκριβοισ, ὅση ἐν λόγοις, οὔ μετέσχε, τὸ γε μὴν ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ ἡπίστατο καὶ ἐποίει. οὔδὲ ἔστιν ὁ τι οὐκ ἄριστον εἶχε.

1 αὐτὸν H. Steph., αὐτὸν VC.
was strong in body, being in his forty-second year when he began to rule, so that in every enterprise he toiled almost as much as the others; and his mental powers were at their highest, so that he had neither the recklessness of youth nor the sluggishness of old age. He did not envy nor slay any one, but honoured and exalted all good men without exception, and hence he neither feared nor hated any one of them. To slanders he paid very little heed and he was no slave of anger. He refrained equally from the money of others and from unjust murders. He expended vast sums on wars and vast sums on works of peace; and while making very many urgently needed repairs to roads and harbours and public buildings, he drained no one's blood for any of these undertakings. He was so high-minded and generous that, after enlarging and embellishing the Circus, which had crumbled away in places, he merely inscribed on it a statement that he had made it adequate for the Roman people. For these deeds, now, he took more pleasure in being loved than in being honoured. His association with the people was marked by affability and his intercourse with the senate by dignity, so that he was loved by all and dreaded by none save the enemy. He joined others in the chase and in banquets, as well as in their labours and plans and jests. Often he would take three others into his carriage, and he would enter the houses of citizens, sometimes even without a guard, and enjoy himself there. Education in the strict sense he lacked, when it came to speaking, but its substance he both knew and applied; and there was no quality which he did not possess in a high degree.
καὶ οἶδα μὲν ὅτι καὶ περὶ μειράκια καὶ περὶ οἷνον ἐσπουδάκει. ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν τί ἐκ τούτων ἢ αἰσχρὸν ἢ κακὸν ἢ ἐδεδράκει ἢ ἐπεπόνθει, ἐπηγορίαν ἂν εἶχε, νῦν δὲ τοῦ τε ὁ οἶνος διακόρως ἔπινε καὶ νήφων ἦν, ἐν τε τοῖς παιδικοῖς οὐδένα ἐλύπησεν. 5 εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῇ κατορθώσει καὶ τοῦ ἐχθίστου μὲν καθαρέσει τοῦ οἰκείου δὲ αὐξήσει ἤρκειτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὃπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι, τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔξογκουσθαί τε καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν, συνέβη ποτὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἦρξε.—Xiph. 229, 29–231, 2 R. St., Exc. Val. 286 (p. 708), Suid. s.vv. ἀμβλύνω, ἥκμαξεν, καθήρει, μὴ' ὑπὸ νεότητος, πονεῖσθαι.

8 Διὰ ταύτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ὁ Δεκέβαλος αὐτὸν ἐδεδείε· στρατεύσαντι δὲ τῷ Τραϊανῷ κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν καὶ ταῖς Τάπαις,2 ἔνθα ἐστρατοπέ- δευνοι οἱ βάρβαροι, πλησιάσαντι μύκης μέγας προσεκομίσθη,3 γράμμασι Δατίνοις λέγων ὃτι ἀλλοι τε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ Βούροι 4 παραινοῦσι

2 Τραϊανῷ ὄπισώ ἀπίεναι καὶ ἑρήμησαι. συμβαλῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ Τραϊανὸς πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων τραυματίας ἐπεῖδη, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινεν· ὅτε 5 καὶ ἐπιλιπόντων τῶν ἐπιδείσμων οὐδὲ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἔσθήτος λέγεται φείσασθαι, ἄλλ' ἐς τὰ λαμπάδια ταύτην κατατεμεῖν,6 τοῖς δὲ τελευ-

1 τοῦ τε Η. Steph., τοῦτο VC.
I know, of course, that he was devoted to boys and to wine, but if he had ever committed or endured any base or wicked deed as the result of this, he would have incurred censure; as it was, however, he drank all the wine he wanted, yet remained sober, and in his relation with boys he harmed no one. And even if he did delight in war, nevertheless he was satisfied when success had been achieved, a most bitter foe overthrown and his countrymen exalted. Nor did the result which usually occurs in such circumstances—conceit and arrogance on the part of the soldiers—ever manifest itself during his reign; with such a firm hand did he rule them.

For these reasons, then, Decebalus had good cause to fear him. When Trajan in his campaign against the Dacians had drawn near Tapae, where the barbarians were encamped, a large mushroom was brought to him on which was written in Latin characters a message to the effect that the Buri and other allies advised Trajan to turn back and keep the peace. Nevertheless he engaged the foe, and saw many wounded on his own side and killed many of the enemy. And when the bandages gave out, he is said not to have spared even his own clothing, but to have cut it up into strips. In

1 Cf. Tzetzes: And Trajan, having reached the Ister, immediately ferried the Romans across in merchantmen against the Dacians.
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9 "Oti ο Δεκέβαλος ἐπεπόμφη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἡττῆς πρέσβεις, οὐκέτι τῶν κομητῶν ὠσπερ πρότερον, ἄλλα τῶν πιλοφόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους.

2 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τά τε ὀπλα ῥίψαντες καὶ έαυτοὺς ἐσ τήν γῆν καταβαλόντες ἔδεχθησαν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Δεκέβαλῳ καὶ ἐς ὅψιν καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἔλθείν, ώς καὶ πάντα τὰ κελευσθησόμενα ποιήσοντι, ἐπιτραπῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, σταλήναι γέ τινα τῶν συμβησμόμενον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπέμφθη ο Σούρας καὶ Κλαύδιος Λιουιανὸς.

3 ο ἐπαρχος. ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδέν. ο γὰρ Δεκέβαλος οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐτόλμησε συμμίμητε, ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ τότε. ο δὲ Τραϊανὸς ὄρθη τε ἐντετειχισμένα ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τά τε ὀπλα τά τε μηχανήματα τά αἰχμαλώτα τό τε σημείον τό ἐπὶ τοῦ Φοῦσκου

4 ἀλὸν εὑρε. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ο Δεκέβαλος, ἀλλῶς τε

8, 3 Ὁσ δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτά τὰ ἀκρα ἐπεχειρήσει ἀναβῆναι, λόφους ἐκ λόφων μετὰ κινδύνων καταλαμβάνων, καὶ τοῖς τῶν Δακῶν βασιλείων ἐπέλαισεν, ὁ τε Δούσιος ἐτέρωθι προσβαλὼν καὶ

1 Cf. Petr. Patr. exc. de leg. 4 (Hoesch. p. 15=fr. 5 Muell. Fraggm. hist. Graec. 4 pp. 185 sq.): ὅτι Δεκέβαλος πρὸς Τραϊανὸν πρέσβεις ἐπεμψε πιλοφόρους· οὕτως γὰρ εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τιμιώτεροι. πρότερον γὰρ κομῆτας ἐπέμπο, εὐτελεστέρους δοκοῦντας παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἑλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἔρριψαν καὶ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τὰς χειρας ὅπισθεν δῆσαντες ἐν αἰχμαλώτων τάξει ἔδειον τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ εἰς λόγους ἔλθεῖν Δεκέβαλο.

2 Λιουιανὸς Βκ., λιβιανὸς ΑΒ, λιβιανὸς Μ.

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honour of the soldiers who had died in the battle A.D. 102 he ordered an altar to be erected and funeral rites to be performed annually.

Decebalus had sent envoys even before his defeat, not the long-haired men this time, as before, but the noblest among the cap-wearers. These threw down their arms, and casting themselves upon the ground, begged Trajan that, if possible, Decebalus himself should be permitted to meet and confer with him, promising that he would do everything that was commanded; or, if not, that someone at least should be sent to agree upon terms with him. Those sent were Sura and Claudius Livianus, the prefect; but nothing was accomplished, since Decebalus did not dare to meet them either, but sent envoys also on this occasion. Trajan seized some fortified mountains and on them found the arms and the captured engines, as well as the standard which had been taken in the time of Fuscus. Decebalus, because

But when he undertook to ascend the heights themselves, captured one crest after another amid dangers and approached the capital of the Dacians, while Lusius, attacking in another quarter, slew great

1 Cf. Petrus Patricius: Decebalus sent cap-wearers as envoys to Trajan; for these are the more honourable men among them. Previously he had been sending long-haired men, who are held of less repute among them. When these latest envoys came to Trajan, they threw down their arms, and binding their hands behind their backs after the manner of captives, they begged Trajan to hold a conference with Decebalus.

3 τὰ Sylb., τὰ ἐπ” VC.
4 Λουκίος H. Steph., λούκιος VC.
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καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μάξιμος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρίον τι ἱσχυρὸν εἶλεν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἐτοίμως τῶν προσταχθέντων ἔσχε συνθέσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐμμενεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν, 5 ἀλλ’ ἐν ἑκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναπνεύσῃ. τὰ γὰρ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τοὺς τε μηχανοποιοὺς παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἀποδοῦναι, τὰ τε ἐρύματα καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαλοκυίας ἀποστήναι, καὶ προσέτι τούτες αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας καὶ 6 φίλους τοῖς Ὀρμαίοις νομίζειν, καὶ μήτ’ αὐτόμολον τινα ὑποδέχεσθαι μήτε στρατιωτὴν τινα ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ὀρμαίων ἀρχής χρῆσθαι (τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους τοὺς τε ἀρίστους ἐκεῖθεν ἀναπεῖθων προσεποιεῖτο) καὶ ἀκών ωμολόγησε, πρὸς τὸ τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἔλθων καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν 7 καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπορρίψας. καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπεμψεν, ὡς καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιώσηται. ταῦτα

ἐφόνευσε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐξώγρησε πλείονας, τηνικάτα ὁ Δεκέβαλος πρέσβεις πέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πιλοφόρων καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δεηθεῖς, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἐτοίμως τῶν προσταχθέντων ἔσχε συνθέσθαι.—Xiphilinus (231, 13–16 R. St.), who gives this in place of ch. 9, §§ 1–4.

1 εἶλεν Reim., εἶχεν ABM.
2 προσταχθέντων Reim., προταθέντων ABM.
3 ἐμμενεῖν Bk., ἐμμενεῖν ABM.
4 αὐτόμολον Petr. Patricius, αὐτὸν ὅλως ABM.

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of this, coupled with the fact that Maximus had at A.D. 102 this same time captured his sister and also a strong position, was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made—not that he intended to abide by his agreement, but in order that he might secure a respite from his temporary reverses. So he reluctantly engaged to surrender his arms, engines and engine-makers, to give back the deserters, to demolish the forts, to withdraw from captured territory, and furthermore to consider the same persons enemies and friends as the Romans did, and neither to give shelter to any of the deserters nor to employ any soldier from the Roman empire; for he had been acquiring the largest and best part of his force by persuading men to come to him from Roman territory. This was after he had come to Trajan, fallen upon the ground and done obeisance and thrown away his arms. He also sent envoys in the matter to the senate, in order that he might secure the ratification of the peace by that body.

numbers and captured still more alive, then Decebalus sent as envoys the noblest of the cap-wearers and through them besought the emperor; he was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made.¹

¹ This account is given by Xiphilinus immediately after ch. 8, 2, where, indeed, most editors have placed it. But the achievements of Trajan here recorded seem to fix its place between § 3 and § 4, and Boissevain so prints it. In this brief account Xiphilinus mentions the cap-wearers out of their proper place.

⁵ αὐτῶν ABM, αὐτῶ VC Zon.
⁶ προταχθέντων R. Steph., προταχθέντων V, προταθέντων C.
συνθέμενος καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν Ζερμιζεγθούσῃ ἱπποτικῷ, τῇν τε ἄλλην χώραν ψφοραίς διαλαβῶν, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνεκομίσθη.—Exc. U 47 (p. 401), Xiph. 231, 16–24 R. St.

10 Καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσῆκεθσαν, τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέντες συνῆδαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αἰχμαλώτων σχήματι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῷ καὶ ἰκέτευσαν, καὶ οὕτω τῇν τε εἰρήνην ἐσπείσατο καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπέλαβον.

2 Τραϊάνος δὲ· τὰ τοὺς νυκτηρία ἱγαγε καὶ Δακικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη, ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇθατρῳ μονομάχους συν-ἐβαλε (καὶ γὰρ ἔχαρεν αὐτοῖς), καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστάς ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἐπανήγαγε (καὶ γὰρ ἔνδοα αὐτῶν τοῦ Πυλάδου ἦρα), οὐ μὲντοι, οία πολεμικὸς ἀνήρ, τάλλα ἤτον διήγεν ἢ καὶ ἤτον ἐδίκαζεν, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ τοῦ Ἀγγοῦστου, τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τῇ στοὰ τῇ Διονία ὄνωμασμένη, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀλλοθεὶ ἐκρίνεν ἐπὶ βήματος.—Xiph. 231, 24–232, 2 R. St., Exc. Val. 287 (p. 708).

3 Ἐπεί δὲ ὁ Δεκεβάλος πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς συν-θήκας ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ ποιῶν, καὶ ὅπλα τε κατεσκεύαζετο, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας ἐδέχετο, τὰ τέ ἐρύματα ἐπεσκεύαζε, παρὰ τε τοὺς ἀστυνείτονας ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τοῖς τάναντία οἱ φρονήσαοι πρὸτερον ἐλυμάνετο, καὶ τῶν Ἰαζύγων καὶ χώραν τε τῶν ἀπετέμετο (ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπαίτήσασιν αὐτῶν Τραϊάνος οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν),

4 οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὕτης πολέμῳ αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ ὁ Τραϊάνος δι’ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ αὕτης, ἀλλ’ οὐ δὲ ἐτέρων στρατηγῶν, τῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἐποιήσατο.—Xiph. 232, 2–10 R. St.
After concluding this compact the emperor left A.D. 102
the camp at Zermizegethusa, and having stationed
garrisons here and there throughout the remainder
of the territory, returned to Italy.

The envoys from Decebalus, upon being brought
into the senate, laid down their arms, clasped their
hands in the attitude of captives, and spoke some
words of supplication; thus they obtained peace and
received back their arms. Trajan celebrated a
triumph and was given the title of Dacicus; in the
theatre he held contests of gladiators, in whom he
delighted, and he brought the dancers of pantomimes
back into the theatre, being enamoured of Pylades,
one of their number. He did not, however, as
might have been expected of a warlike man, pay
any less attention to the civil administration nor
did he dispense justice any the less; on the con-
trary, he conducted trials, now in the Forum of
Augustus, now in the Portico of Livia, as it was
called, and often elsewhere on a tribunal.

Inasmuch as Decebalus was reported to him to be
acting contrary to the treaty in many ways, was
collecting arms, receiving those who deserted, re-
pairing the forts, sending envoys to his neighbours
and injuring those who had previously differed with
him, even going so far as to annex a portion of the
territory of the Iazyges (which Trajan later would
not give back to them when they asked for it),
therefore the senate again declared him an enemy,
A.D. 104
and Trajan once more conducted the war against
him in person instead of entrusting it to others.

1 Ζερμιζεγεθούση Leuncl., ζερμιγεζεθούση AB, ζερμιγεθούση
M.
2 αἰχμαλῶτων Zon., αἰχμαλῶτου VC.

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11 "Οτι τῶν Δακῶν συχνῶν μεθισταμένων πρὸς Τραϊανὸν, καὶ δὲ ἄλλα τινὰ, ἐδείηθη αὐθις ὁ Δεκέβαλος εἰρήνης. ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπείσθη τὰ τε ὀπλα καὶ ἑαυτὸν παραδοῦναι, τὰς δυνάμεις φανερῶς ἡθοιοίζε καὶ τοὺς περιχώρους προσ-
2 παρεκάλει, λέγων ὅτι ἐὰν αὐτὸν¹ προδοται καὶ αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσουσι,² καὶ ὅτι ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ῥάον μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, πρὸν τι κακὸν παθεῖν, ἀγωνι-
σάμενοι τὴν ἐλευثερίαν φυλάξουσι ή ἂν σφᾶς τε ἀπολλυμένους περιίδωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅστερον, ἐρημωθέντες τῶν συμμάχων χειρωθῶσιν.³—Exc. 
Ug 48 (p. 402).

3 Καὶ οἱ Δεκέβαλος κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἱσχυρὸν κακῶς ἔπραττε, δόλῳ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπάτῃ ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ 
tὸν Τραϊανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν αὐτομόλους τινάς, εἰ πως αὐτῶν ἐνπρόσδοκον ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως, τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρέαιν πάντα ἀπλῶς τοὺς βουλόμενον ἐς λόγους 
dεχόμενον κατεργάσατο. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν οὖν ἡθονήθησαν⁴ πράξαι, συλληφθέντος τινὸς ἐξ ὑποψίας καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ βασά-
12 νὼν ὀμολογήσατος. Δογγίνων δὲ τίνα στρατο-
πέδου Ἐρωμαίκου ἔξηγοὺς καὶ δεινὸν ἐν τοῖς 
pολέμοις⁵ αὐτῷ γεγενημένων προσκαλεσάμενος, καὶ ἄναπείσας συμμιξάι οἱ ὡς καὶ τὰ προστα-
χησόμενα ποιήσων, συνέλαβε καὶ ἀνέκρινε 
δημοσία περὶ τῶν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ βουλευμάτων, ἐπειδὴ τε μηδὲν ὀμολογήσαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐν ἄδεσμῳ 
2 φυλακῇ περιήγηε.⁶ καὶ πρέσβιν τινὰ πέμψας

1 αὐτῶν Urs., αὐτῶν MSS.
2 κινδυνεύσουσι Urs., κινδυνεύσους MSS.
3 χειρωθῶσιν St., ἔθωσιν MSS.
As numerous Dacians kept transferring their allegiance to Trajan, and also for certain other reasons, Decebalus again sued for peace. But since he could not be persuaded to surrender both his arms and himself, he proceeded openly to collect troops and summon the surrounding nations to his aid, declaring that if they deserted him they themselves would be imperilled, and that it was safer and easier for them, by fighting on his side before suffering any harm, to preserve their freedom, than if they should allow his people to be destroyed and then later be subjugated themselves when bereft of allies.

Though Decebalus was faring badly in open conflict, nevertheless by craft and deceit he almost compassed Trajan's death. He sent into Moesia some deserters to see if they could make away with him, inasmuch as the emperor was generally accessible and now, on account of the exigencies of warfare, admitted to a conference absolutely every one who desired it. But they were not able to carry out this plan, since one of them was arrested on suspicion and under torture revealed the entire plot. Decebalus then sent an invitation to Longinus, a leader of the Roman army who had made himself a terror to the king in the wars, and persuaded him to meet him, on the pretext that he would do whatever should be demanded. He then arrested him and questioned him publicly about Trajan's plans, and when Longinus refused to admit anything, he took him about with him under guard, though not in bonds. And sending an envoy to Trajan, he

4 ἡδονήθησαν Zon., ἡβουλήθησαν VC.
5 πολέμωις Louncl., πολέμωισ VC.
6 περιῆγε Anon., περιείπε VC.
πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἥξιον τὴν τε χώραν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστρού κομίσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἦσ τὸν πόλεμον ἐδεδαπανήκει, ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Δογγίνων οἱ ἀποδοῦναι. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τινα αὐτῷ 1 μέσα, ἦς ὄντε ἐν μεγάλῳ οὕτε ἐν σμικρῷ λόγῳ τὸν Δογγίνων ποιεῖσθαι δοξεῖν
3 ἔμελλε, τοῦ μήτ' ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν μήτ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ σφίσιν ἀνασωθήναι, Δεκέβαλος μὲν ἔτι διασκοτῶν ὁ τι πράξῃ ἀνείχε, Δογγίνος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ φαρμάκῳ διὰ τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου εὐπορήσας ὑπέσχετο τι ἀυτῷ τὸν Τραϊανὸν καταλλάξειν, ἢν ὡς ἥκιστα ὑποτοπήσῃ τὸ γενησόμενον, μὴ καὶ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβεστέραν ποιήσαται, καὶ γράμματά τινα ἱκετεῖαν ἔχοντα γράφας ἔδωκε τῷ ἐξελευθέρῳ πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἀποκομίσαι, 4 ἢν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται. καὶ οὕτως ἀπελέθυντος αὐτοῦ τὸ φάρμακον νυκτὸς ἔπιε καὶ ἀπέθανε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἔξητησε παρὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, τὸ τε σῶμα τοῦ Δογγίνου καὶ δέκα αἴχμαλώτους ἀντιδώσειν οἱ ὑποσχόμενος, καὶ εὐθὺς 2 γέ τὸν ἐκατοτάρχην τὸν ἀλόντα μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔπημψεν ὡς καὶ ταῦτα
5 διαπράξοντα: παρ' οὗ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Δογγίνου ἐγνώσθη. οὐ μέντοι οὕτε ἔκεινον ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἀπεπέμψεν οὕτε τὸν ἐξελεύθερον ἔξεδωκε, προ- τιμοτέραν τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄξιωμα τῆς τοῦ Δογγίνου ταφῆς ποιησάμενος.— Xiph. 232, 10–28 R. St., Exc. U 49 (p. 402 sq.). 13 Τραϊανὸς δὲ γέφυραν λιθίνην ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ κατεσκευάσατο, περὶ ἦς οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἂν ἄξιως

1 αὐτῷ ABM, αὐτῷ τοῦ τραϊανοῦ VC.
asked that he might receive back his territory as A.D. 104 far as the Ister and be indemnified for all the money he had spent on the war, in return for restoring Longinus to him. An ambiguous answer was returned, of such a nature as not to cause Decebalus to believe that Trajan regarded Longinus as either of great importance or yet of slight importance, the object being to prevent his being destroyed, on the one hand, or being preserved to them on excessive terms, on the other. So Decebalus delayed, still considering what he should do. In the meantime Longinus, having secured poison with the aid of the freedman, promised Decebalus to win Trajan over, hoping the king would thus have no suspicion of what he was going to do and so would not keep a very strict watch over him; also, in order to enable the freedman to gain safety, he wrote a letter containing a petition in his behalf and gave it to him to carry to Trajan. Then, when the other had gone, he drank the poison at night and died. Thereupon Decebalus demanded the freedman from Trajan, promising to give him in return the body of Longinus and ten captives. He at once sent the centurion who had been captured with Longinus, in order that he might arrange the matter; and it was from the centurion that the whole story of Longinus was learned. However, Trajan neither sent him back nor surrendered the freedman, deeming his safety more important for the dignity of the empire than the burial of Longinus.

Trajan constructed over the Ister a stone bridge for which I cannot sufficiently admire him. Brilliant,
αὐτοῦ θαυμάσω· ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τάλλα αὐτοῦ ἔργα διαπρεπέστατα, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνα. ὡς γὰρ κρηπίδες εἰσιν ἄθιθον τετραπέδου εἴκοσι, τοῦ μὲν ὤψος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ποδῶν πλὴν
2 τῶν θεμελίων, τοῦ δὲ πλάτος ἐξήκοντα· καὶ αὐταὶ ἐξβομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄπτου ἄλληλων πόδας ἀπέχουσαν ἄψισι συνωκοδόμηνται. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις τὸ ἀνάλωμα τὸ ἐς αὐτὰς δαπανηθὲν θαυμάσειε; πῶς δ' οὖν ἄν τὸν τρόπον δυ ἑκαστα αὐτῶν ἐν τε ποταμῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἐν υδατί διώδει δαπέδῳ τε ἰλυώδει ἐγένετο; οὐ γὰρ τοῖς καὶ παρατρέψαι 
3 ποι τὸ ῥεύμα ἡδυνήθη. τὸ δὲ ἐς πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶπον οὖν ὅτι διὰ τοσοῦτον ρεῖ (καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ διπλάσιον ἔστιν ὦ καὶ ἐπὶ τριπλάσιον αὐτοῦ πελαγίζει), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ τε στενῶτατον καὶ τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τὸ γεφυρωθῆναι τῶν ἐκεῖνη
4 χωρίων τοσοῦτον ἐστίν. ὅσω δὲ δὴ ἐς στενῶν ταύτῃ ἐκ πελάγους μεγάλου καταβαίνων καὶ ἐς πελαγὸς αὖθις μείζον προχώρων κατακλείεται, τόσω ποὺ καὶ ῥοωδέστατος καὶ βαθύτατος ὄγινεται, ὡστε καὶ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς
5 κατασκευῆς τῆς γεφύρας τείναι. ἢ μὲν οὖν μεγαλόνοια τοῦ Τραίανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦτων δείκνυται ὦ μέντοι καὶ ὁφέλειαν τινα ἢμῖν ἡ γέφυρα παρέχεται, ἀλλ' ἐστάσιν αἱ κρηπίδες ἄλλος, δίδον οὖν ἔχουσαι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ μόνον γενόμενα ὑπ' ἐπιδείξῳ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φόσιν οὖν ὑπὸ τι ὑπναμένην ἐξεργάσασθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τραίανὸς δείσας μὴ ποτὲ παγένοτος

1 ὡς γὰρ corrupt. Bs. proposes ψ' γε, ψ' γ' αἴ or ἢς γε, or else ψ' γάρ with comma after συνωκοδόμηνται.
2 αὐταὶ Bk., αὐταί VC.

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indeed, as are his other achievements, yet this surpasses them. For it has twenty piers of squared stone one hundred and fifty feet in height above the foundations and sixty in width, and these, standing at a distance of one hundred and seventy feet from one another, are connected by arches. How, then, could one fail to be astonished at the expenditure made upon them, or at the way in which each of them was placed in a river so deep, in water so full of eddies, and on a bottom so muddy? For it was impossible, of course, to divert the stream anywhere. I have spoken of the width of the river; but the stream is not uniformly so narrow, since it covers in some places twice, and in others thrice as much ground, but the narrowest point and the one in that region best suited to building a bridge has the width named. Yet the very fact that the river in its descent is here contracted from a great flood to such a narrow channel, after which it again expands into a greater flood, makes it all the more violent and deep, and this feature must be considered in estimating the difficulty of constructing the bridge. This too, then, is one of the achievements that show the magnitude of Trajan’s designs, though the bridge is of no use to us; for merely the piers are standing, affording no means of crossing, as if they had been erected for the sole purpose of demonstrating that there is nothing which human ingenuity cannot accomplish. Trajan built the bridge because he feared that some time when

3 ἀν Bk., ἄν τίς VC.
4 τοῦ Rk., τι VC.
5 παρατρέψαι Sylb., περιτρέψαι VC.
6 καὶ Sylb., καὶ εἰ VC.
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τοῦ Ἡστρον πόλεμος τοῖς πέραν Ῥωμαίοις γένηται, ἐποίησε τὴν γέφυραν ἵνα αἱ ἐπιβασίαι ῥαδίως δι’ αὐτῆς διεξῆσθαι. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τοῦναυτίνον φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτῆς βιαζόμενοι ῥαδία διάβασις ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν ἦ, ἀφείλε τὴν ἐπιπολὴς κατασκευὴν.

14 Τραϊανὸς δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς γεφυράς τοῦ Ἡστρον περαιωθεὶς, καὶ δ’ ἀσφαλείας μᾶλλον ἦ διὰ σπουδῆς τὸν πόλεμον ποιούμενος, σὺν χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἐκράτησε τῶν Δακῶν, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς στρατηγικὰς ἑργὰ καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτὸ κινδυνεύ-2 σάντων καὶ ἀριστευσάντων. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἰππεὺς τις κακῶς πληγεῖς ἐξῆρχθη μὲν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς καὶ θεραπευθῆναι δυνάμενος, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὡς ἀνατόμως ἔχοι ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος ἐξεπήδησεν (οὐ γὰρ πω ¹ τὸ κακὸν αὐτοῦ καθίκτο) καὶ ἐς τάξιν αὐθίς καθιστᾶς ἐαυτὸν ἀπέθανε, μεγάλα 3 ἐπιδειξάμενος. Δεκέβαλος δὲ, ὡς καὶ τὸ βασιλείου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χώρα κατείληπτο σύμπασα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκίνδυνεν ἄλωνα, διεχρήσατο ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπεκομιόθη, καὶ οὕτως ἦ Δακία Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆκοος ἐγένετο, 4 καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Τραϊανὸς κατάκισεν. εὐφρέθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου θησαυροί, καίτοι ὑπὸ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σαργετίαν τὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ κεκρυμμένοι. διὰ γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τινῶν τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἐξέπρεψε καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος αὐτοῦ ὄρμηξε, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ πολὺν μὲν ἀργυρον πολὺν ὑπὸ χρυσοῦ, τὰ τῇ ἅλλα τα τιμιώτατα καὶ υγρότητά τινα ἐνέγκειν δυνάμενα,

¹ πω ΒΚ., που VC.
the Ister was frozen over war might be made upon the Romans on the further side, and he wished to facilitate access to them by this means. Hadrian, on the contrary, was afraid that it might also make it easy for the barbarians, once they had overpowered the guard at the bridge, to cross into Moesia, and so he removed the superstructure.

Trajan, having crossed the Ister by means of this bridge, conducted the war with safe prudence rather than with haste, and eventually, after a hard struggle, vanquished the Dacians. In the course of the campaign he himself performed many deeds of good generalship and bravery, and his troops ran many risks and displayed great prowess on his behalf. It was here that a certain horseman, after being carried, badly wounded, from the battle in the hope that he could be healed, when he found that he could not recover, rushed from his tent (for his injury had not yet reached his heart) and, taking his place once more in the line, perished after displaying great feats of valour. Decebalus, when his capital and all his territory had been occupied and he was himself in danger of being captured, committed suicide; and his head was brought to Rome. In this way Dacia became subject to the Romans, and Trajan founded cities there. The treasures of Decebalus were also discovered, though hidden beneath the river Sargetia, which ran past his palace. With the help of some captives Decebalus had diverted the course of the river, made an excavation in its bed, and into the cavity had thrown a large amount of silver and gold and other objects of great value that could stand a certain amount of moisture; then
εμβαλὼν λίθος τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε καὶ χοῦν ἐπεφόρησε καὶ μετὰ τούτο τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπῆγαγεν· 5 καὶ ἦς τὰ στᾶλαια διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων τά τε ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὁμοιότροπα κατέθετο. ποιήσας δὲ ταύτα διεφθείρεν αὐτούς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκλαλήσωσι. Βίκιλις δὲ τις ἔταρχος αὐτοῦ, τὸ γεγονός εἶδός, ἐάλω τε καὶ κατεμήνυσε ταύτα. 

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρα ἐχειρόσατο καὶ 'Ρωμαίων ὑπῆκουν ἐποιήσατο.—Xiph. 232, 28–234, 16 R. St.

15 Πρὸς δὲ ἵ τον Τραϊάνον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠλθόντα πλεῖσται ὁσαι πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν ἀφίκοντο. καὶ θέας ἐν τρισὶ καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν, ἐν αἷς θηρία τε καὶ βοτὰ χίλια ποὺ καὶ μύρια 2 ἐσφάγη καὶ μονομάχοι μύριοι ἡγωνίσαντο.—Xiph. 234, 16–20 R. St., Exc. Ua 50 (p. 403).

31 Καὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τὰ τε ἐλή τὰ Πομπτῦνα 3 ὀδοποίησε λίθως, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς παροικοδομήμασι 4 καὶ γεφύρας μεγαλοπρεπεστάταις ἐξεποίησε. τὸ τε νόμισμα πάν τὸ ἐξήτηλον συνεχώνευσε. 5 —Xiph. 234, 20–22 R. St.

5, 3 "Οτι οὔτως ὁμοσεν ὡς οὐ μιαροήσει, καὶ τοῦτο ἔργω ἐνεπέδωσε καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεῖς. τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐδὲν οὔτε διπλοῖν οὔτε δόλιον οὔτε τραχύ εἶχεν, ἄλλα τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ἐφίλει καὶ ἐδεξιότο καὶ ἐπίμα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἤμελεν· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας πεπαιτέρος ἐγεγόνει.—Exc. Val. 288 (p. 710).

1 πρὸς δὲ H. Steph., παρὰ VC, πρὸς ABM.
2 μύρια Reim., μύρια τοῦ VC.
he had heaped stones over them and piled on earth, a.d. 106 afterwards bringing the river back into its course. He also had caused the same captives to deposit his robes and other articles of a like nature in caves, and after accomplishing this had made away with them to prevent them from disclosing anything. But Bicilis, a companion of his who knew what had been done, was seized and gave information about these things.

About this same time, Palma, the governor of Syria, subdued the part of Arabia around Petra and made it subject to the Romans.

Upon Trajan's return to Rome ever so many a.d. 107 embassies came to him from various barbarians, including the Indi. And he gave spectacles on one hundred and twenty-three days, in the course of which some eleven thousand animals, both wild and tame, were slain, and ten thousand gladiators fought.

At this same period he built a road of stone a.d. 110 through the Pontine marshes and provided the roads with most magnificent buildings and bridges. He also caused all the money that was badly worn to be melted down.

He had taken an oath that he would not shed blood and he made good his promise by his deeds in spite of plots formed against him. For by nature he was not at all inclined to duplicity or guile or harshness, but he loved, greeted and honoured the good, and the others he ignored; moreover, he had become milder as the result of age.

1 Arabia Petraea. 2 Probably he means taverns.
Τῷ δὲ Σούρᾳ τῷ Δικινίῳ καὶ ταφὴν δημοσίαν καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἑδωκέ τελευτήσαντι. ὅστις ἐς τοῦτο καὶ πλοῦτου καὶ αὐχήματος ἀφίκετο ὡστε καὶ 5 γυμνάσιον Ῥωμαίοις οἴκοδομῆσαι. τοσαύτη δὲ φιλία καὶ πίστει ὁ ἐς τὸ Σούρας πρὸς τὸν Τραίανον ἔχρησατο καὶ Τραίανὸς πρὸς ἐκείνον ὄστε πολλάκις αὐτὸν, ὅποι περὶ πάντας τοὺς τί παρὰ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας δυναμένους γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, διαβληθέντα οὕτε ὑπώπτευσε ποτε οὕτε ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ 3 ἐπὶ πολύ τῶν φθο-5 νοῦτων αὐτῷ οἰκαδε τε ἀκλήτος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἤλθε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν φρονοῦν ἀποπέμψας ἐκάλεσε πρώτων μὲν τὸν ίατρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ δὲ εἰκείνου τοὺς οὐδ' ἄλλους ὑπηλείψατο, ἐπειτα τὸν κουρέα, καὶ δὲ εἰκείνου τὸ γένειον ἔξυρατο (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες οἱ ἀλλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐποίουν; 'Αδριανὸς γὰρ πρῶτος 6 γενειαν κατέδειξε). πράξας δὲ ταύτα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ δειπνήσας, ἐπειτα τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς εἰωθόσιν αέ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ φαίλον λέγειν ἐφ' ἡ γενεια ὑστεραίᾳ ὅτι "εἰ ηθελὲ με Σούρας 4 ἀποκτείναι, χθες ἂν ἀπεκτόειν." μέγα μὲν ὅπων ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἀποκινδυνεύειας 5 πρὸς διαβε-βλημένον ἀνθρωπον, πολὺ δὲ ἡ μείζον ὅτι ἐπίστευσε μηδὲν ἂν ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν. 16 αὐτῷ ἂρα τὸ πιστὸν τῆς γνώμης ἐξ ὅν αὐτῷ συνήδει πεπραγότι μᾶλλον ἡ ἐξ ὧν ἔτεροι ἐδο-ξαζον ἐβεβαιούτο. 6—Xiph. 234, 22–235, 6 R. St., Exc. Val. 289 (p. 710), Joann. Antioch. fr. 112 Muell. (v. 14–16).

1 Σούρα Reim., σούρρα VC.  
2 τε supplied by Bk.
When Licinius Sura died, Trajan bestowed upon a.d. 110 him a public funeral and a statue. This man had attained to such a degree of wealth and pride that he had built a gymnasium for the Romans; yet so great was the friendship and confidence which he showed toward Trajan and Trajan toward him, that, although he was often slandered,—as naturally happens in the case of all those who possess any influence with the emperors,—Trajan never felt any suspicion or hatred toward him. On the contrary, when those who envied Sura became very insistent, the emperor went uninvited to his house to dinner, and having dismissed his whole body-guard, he first called Sura's physician and caused him to anoint his eyes, and then his barber, whom he caused to shave his chin (for the emperors themselves as well as all the rest used to follow this ancient practice; it was Hadrian who first set the fashion of wearing a beard); and after doing all this, he next took a bath and had dinner. Then on the following day he said to his friends who were in the habit of constantly making disparaging remarks about Sura: "If Sura had desired to kill me, he would have killed me yesterday." Now he did a fine thing in running this risk in the case of a man who had been calumniated, but a much finer thing still in believing that he never should be harmed by him. Thus it was that the confidence of his conviction was strengthened by his personal knowledge of Sura's conduct rather than by the conjectures of others.

3 ἐγκείμενον oi Val., ἐγκημένο νῦν cod. Peir.
4 Σοῦρας cod. Peir., σοῦρας VC.
5 ἀποκινδυνεύσαι cod. Peir., διακινδυνεύσαι VC.
'Αλλὰ καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον τῷ μέλλοντι τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπάρξειν τὸ ξίφος, ὃ παραξώνυσθαι αὐτὸν ἔχρην, ὄρεξεν, ἐγύμνωσε τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἔφη "λαβὲ τοῦτο τὸ ξίφος, ἵνα, ἀν μὲν καλῶς ἄρχω, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀν δὲ κακῶς, κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ αὐτῷ χρήσῃ.

'Εστησε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου εἰκόνας· οὕτω ποι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων προετίμησε. τοὺς μέντοι ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὕτω, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κράσσος, ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἐσάγων ἐς τὴν βουλὴν.

Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας. καὶ ἐστήσεν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ κύωνα μέγιστον, ἀμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτῷ, ἀμα δὲ ἐς ἐπιδείξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἁγορὰν ἔργου παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου ὀρεινοῦ οὕτως κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνύσχει, καὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδωθῇ κατεσκεύασε.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ 'Αρμενίους καὶ Πάρθους, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ τὸ διάδημα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰλήφη, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως, ὁ τῶν 'Αρμενίων βασιλεύς, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ δόξῃ ἐπιθυμία.—Xiph. 235, 6–20 R. St.

"Ὅτι τοῦ Τραίανοῦ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύσαντος καὶ ἐς 'Αθήνας ἀφικομένου πρεσβεία αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῦ 'Ορρόου ἐνέτυχε, τῆς εἰρήνης δεσμεύθη καὶ δῷρα φέρουσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν τε ὀρμὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἐργοῖς τὰς ἀπειλὰς

1 Κέλσου R. Steph., κάλσου VC.
2 'Ορρόου A, ὄρρόου B, ὄρρόου Μ; cf. ch. 19, 4 ὄρρόου ABM; ch. 22, 1 ὄρρόην B, ὄρρόην ΑΜ.
Indeed, when he first handed to the man who was to be prefect of the Praetorians the sword which this official was required to wear at his side, he bared the blade and holding it up said: "Take this sword, in order that, if I rule well, you may use it for me, but if ill, against me."

He also set up images of Sosius, Palma and Celsus, so greatly did he esteem them above the rest. Those, however, who conspired against him, among them Crassus, he brought before the senate and caused them to be punished.

He also built libraries. And he set up in the Forum an enormous column, to serve at once as a monument to himself and as a memorial of his work in the Forum. For that entire section had been hilly and he had cut it down for a distance equal to the height of the column, thus making the Forum level.

Next he made a campaign against the Armenians and Parthians on the pretext that the Armenian king had obtained his diadem, not at his hands, but from the Parthian king, though his real reason was a desire to win renown.

When Trajan had set out against the Parthians and had got as far as Athens, an embassy from Osroes met him, asking for peace and proffering gifts. For upon learning of his advance the king had become terrified, because Trajan was wont to make good his threats by his deeds. Accordingly,

1 Saburanus (?)  
2 L. Publilius Celsus.  
3 The Forum of Trajan.  
4 Exedares.  
5 Osroes (Chosroes).
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ἐτεκμηρίου, κατέδεισε, καὶ ύφεις τοῦ φρονήματος ἐπεμψεν ἱκετεύων μὴ πολεμηθῆναι, τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν Παρθαμασίριδι Πακόρου καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὲς ήτει, καὶ ἐδείτο τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ πεμφῆναι. 3 τὸν γὰρ Ἕξηδάρην ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήθειον οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε τοῖς Πάρθοις ὄντα πεπαυκέναι ἔλεγεν. 1 καὶ δὲ οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβεν, οὔτ’ ἀλλο τι ἀπεκρίνατο ἢ καὶ ἐπέστειλε 2 πλὴν ὅτι ἡ φιλία ἔργοι καὶ οὐ λόγοις κρίνεται, καὶ διὰ τούτ’, ἐπειδὰν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἔλθῃ, πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ποιήσει. καὶ οὔτω διανόιας ὅν διὰ 3 τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ διὰ Δυσκίας τῶν τε ἐχομένων ἐθύνων 18 ἐς Σελεύκειαν ἐκομίσθη. γενομένω 4 δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Αὔγαρος 5 ὁ Ὀρροποῦς 6 αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ὥφθη, δῶρα δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγοις φιλίους ἐπεμψεν ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους φοβοῦμεν ἐπημφοτέριζε, καὶ διὰ τούτ’ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν οἱ συμμιξήσαι.—Exc. U 6 51 (p. 403 sq.), Suid. s.vv. τεκμηρίου, ύφεις.

32, 4 Ὁτι Κυῆτος 7 Λούσιος Μαύρος 8 μὲν ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν Μαύρων ἄρχων ὅν 9 καὶ ἐν ἱππεῦσιν ἱληγός 10 εξήταστο, καταγωγοὶς δὲ ἐπὶ πονηρία τότε μὲν τῆς στρατείας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ ἡτιμώθη, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Δακικοῦ πολέμου ἐνστάντος καὶ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ 11 τῆς τῶν Μαύρων συμμαχίας 5 δεηθέντος ἦλθε τε πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδείξατο. τιμηθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ

1 ἔλεγεν Leuncl., ἔλεγετο MSS.
2 ἐπέστειλε Leuncl., ἀπέστειλε MSS.
3 διὰ—διὰ Rk., ἐπὶ—ἐπὶ VC.
4 γενομένω Urs., γενομένων MSS.
5 Αὔγαρος Urs., Ἀλβαρος MSS.
6 Ὀρροποῦς Dind., Ὀρροποῦς AM, Ὀρροὴς B.

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he humbled his pride and sent to implore him not A.D. 113 to make war upon him, and at the same time he asked that Armenia be given to Parthamasiris, who was likewise a son of Pacorus, and requested that the diadem be sent to him; for he had deposed Exedares, he said, inasmuch as he had been satisfactory neither to the Romans nor to the Parthians.

The emperor neither accepted the gifts nor returned any answer, either oral or written, save the statement that friendship is determined by deeds and not by words, and that accordingly when he should reach Syria he would do all that was proper. And being of this mind, he proceeded through Asia, Lycia and the adjoining provinces to Seleucia. Upon his arrival in Antioch, Abgarus of Osroene sent gifts and a message of friendship, though he did not appear in person; for, as he dreaded both Trajan and the Parthians alike, he was trying to be neutral and for that reason would not come to confer with him.

Lusius Quietus was a Moor and likewise ranked as a leader of the Moors and as commander of a troop in the cavalry; but, having been condemned for base conduct, he had been dismissed from the service at the time and disgraced. Later, however, when the Dacian war came on and Trajan needed the assistance of the Moors, he came to him of his own accord and displayed great deeds of prowess.

7 Κυντος Val. (in transl.), κυντος cod. Peir.
8 Μαυρος Val., μαύρον cod. Peir.
9 ἦν supplied by Capps.
10 ἱληγός Capps, ἱλης cod.
11 Τραϊανοῦ Bk., στρ cod. Peir.
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τούτῳ πολὺ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ πολέμῳ ἔξειργάσατο, καὶ τέλος ἐς τοσοῦτον τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίας ἦμα καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν τάδε τῷ πολέμῳ προεχόρησεν ὡστε ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγικότας ἐσγραφῆναι καὶ ὑπατεύσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἄρξαι: ἦς ὁν πον καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἑφθονήθη καὶ ἐμισήθη καὶ ἀπώλετο.—Exc. Val. 290 (p. 710).

18, 2  Ἕπειρ δὲ ἐνεβαλεν ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἀπήντων αὐτῷ οἱ τῇδε σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς μετὰ δόρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἦπιπος ἦν δεδιδαγμένος προσκυνεῖν τοῖς τε γὰρ ¹ ποσὶ τοῖς προσθίους ὠκλαζε καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν ὑπὸ τοὺς τοῦ πέλας πόδας ὑπετείθει.
—Xiph. 235, 20–24 R. St.

19  ὃς τὸ Παρθαμάσιρις βίαιον τι ἐποίησε. γράψας δὲ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τῷ Τραϊανῷ ός βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀντεγράφη, ἐπεστειλέ ² τε αὐθις τὸ ὄνομα τούτῳ περικόψας, καὶ ἤτησε Μᾶρκου τοῦ Ἰουνιοῦ τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρχοντα πεμφθῆναι ³ ὁ οὖν Τραϊανὸς ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν τοῦ Ἰουνιοῦ υἱὸν ἔστεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων ⁴ προχωρῆσας ⁵ καὶ ἀμαχεὶ αὐτὰ παραλαβῶν ἐς τὰ Σάτάλα ⁶ ἤλθε, καὶ Ἀγχίαλον τὸν Ἡνιόχου τε καὶ Μαχελόνων βασιλεὰ δώροις ἡμείσατο. ἐν δὲ Ἑλεγείᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸν Παρθαμάσιριν ³ προσεδέξατο. καθήστο δὲ ἐπὶ βῆματος ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι καὶ ὅς ἀσπασάμενοι αὐτὸν τὸ τε διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφεῖλε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐθήκε, συνὴ τε εἰστήκει, καὶ προσεδόκα αὐτὸ ἀπολήψεσθαι. συμβοηθόντων δὲ ἐπὶ ¹ γὰρ R. Steph., γὰρ τοῖς VC.
Being honoured for this, he performed far greater A.D. 113 and more numerous exploits in the second war, and finally advanced so far in bravery and good fortune during this present war that he was enrolled among the ex-praetors, became consul, and then governor of Palestine. To this chiefly were due the jealousy and hatred felt for him and his destruction.

When Trajan had invaded the enemy’s territory, A.D. 114 the satraps and princes of that region came to meet him with gifts. One of these gifts was a horse that had been taught to do obeisance; it would kneel on its fore legs and place its head beneath the feet of whoever stood near.

Parthamasiris behaved in a rather violent fashion. In his first letter he had signed himself “king,” but when no answer came, he wrote again, omitting this title, and asked that Marcus Junius, the governor of Cappadocia, be sent to him, implying that he wished to prefer some request through him. Trajan accordingly sent to him the son of Junius, while he himself proceeded to Arsamosata, of which he took possession without a struggle. Then he came to Satala and rewarded with gifts Anchialus, the king of the Heniochi and Machelones. At Elegeia in Armenia he received Parthamasiris, seated upon a tribunal in the camp. The prince saluted him, took his diadem from off his head and laid it at his feet, then stood there in silence, expecting to receive it back. At this the

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2 ἐπέστειλε H. Steph., ἀπέστειλε ABM.  
3 μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων v. Gutschmid, μέχρι σαμωσάτον ABM.  
4 προσχωρήσας Leuncl., προσχωρήσας ABM.  
5 Σάταλα VC, σάτα ABM.
τούτω τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Τραϊανὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ νῖκη τινὶ ἐπικαλεσάντων
4 (νίκην γὰρ ἀσέλινον ἀναίμον ὁμόμαζον ὅτι τὸν
βασιλέα τὸν Ἀρσακίδην, τὸν Πακόρου παῖδα,
τὸν Ὀρρόου ἄδελφον, προσεστηκότα αὐτῷ
ἀνευ διαδήματος εἶδον ὤσπερ αἰχμάλωτον), ἐξε-
πλάγη τε καὶ ἐνόμισεν ἐπὶ ὑβρεί καὶ ὀλέθρῳ
5 αὐτοῦ γεγονότα. καὶ μετεστράφη μὲν ὡς καὶ
φευξόμενος, ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι περιστοίχισται ἑζητή-
σατο τὸ μὴ ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ τι εἰπεῖν. καὶ οὔτως
ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἑσαχθεὶς οὔδενος ἐτύχεν ὄν
20 ἐβούλετο. ἐκπήθήσαντος οὐν ὅργῃ καὶ ἐκείθεν
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν ὁ Τραϊα-
νός, καὶ ἀναβάς αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτῷ πάντων ἀκούσντων εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἦθελεν, ἵνα
μὴ ἄγνωσταν τινὲς τὰ κατὰ μόνας σφίσιν
2 εἰρημένα λογοποιήσωσι τινα διάφορα. ἀκούσας
τούτῳ ὁ Παρθαμάσιρις οὐκέτι τὴν ἴσην ἦγεν,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας ἄλλα τὲ τινα εἰπε
καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἴττηθεὶς οὔδε ξωγρηθεὶς ἀλλ' ἐκὼν
ἀφίκετο, πιστεύοτα ὅτι οὔτε τὶ ἀδικηθήσεται καὶ
τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολῆσεται ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Τιμ-
3 δάτης παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος. καὶ αὐτὸ ὁ Τραϊανὸς
πρὸς τε τὰλλα ἀντέλεξεν ὅσα ἦρμοζεν, καὶ
Ἀρμενίαν μὲν οὐδενὶ προίσσεσθαι ἐφε ('Ρωμαίον
tε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἀρχοῦτα 'Ρωμαίον ἢξεϊν),
ἐκεῖνῳ μὲντοι ἀπελθεῖν ὅποι βούλετα ἐπιτρέπειν.
4 καὶ τὸν μὲν Παρθαμάσιριν μετὰ τῶν Πάρθων

1 ἀσέλινον Bk., ἀσέληνον ABM. 2 αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ ABM.
3 φευξόμενος H. Steph., φευξόμενος Δ, φευξόμενος BM.
4 ἐκπήθήσαντος Leuncl., ἐπιπήθησαντος ABM.
5 'Ρωμαίον Urs., ῥωμαίων ABM.
soldiers shouted aloud and hailed Trajan *imperator*, A.D. 114 as if because of some victory. (They termed it a crownless and bloodless victory, to see the king, a descendant of Arsaces, a son of Pacorus, and a nephew of Osroes, standing before Trajan without a diadem, like a captive.) The shout terrified the prince, who thought that it was intended as an insult and meant his destruction; and he turned about as if to flee, but seeing that he was hemmed in on all sides, he begged that he might not be forced to speak before the crowd. Accordingly he was conducted into the tent, where he obtained none of the things he wished. So out he rushed in a rage, and thence out of the camp; but Trajan sent for him, and again ascending the tribunal, bade him say in the hearing of all everything that he desired. This was in order to prevent anybody, ignorant of what had been said in private conference, from making up a different report. On hearing this command Parthamasiris no longer kept silence, but spoke with great frankness, declaring among other things that he had not been defeated or captured, but had come there voluntarily, believing that he should not be wronged and should receive back the kingdom, as Tiridates had received it from Nero.2 Trajan made fitting replies to all his remarks, and in particular declared that he would surrender Armenia to no one; for it belonged to the Romans and was to have a Roman governor. He would, however, allow Parthamasiris to depart to any place he pleased. So he sent the prince

1 Literally "without the parsley crown," such as was bestowed upon the victors in some of the Greek games.

2 Cf. lxiii (lxii), 5.
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tōn\textsuperscript{1} συνόντων οἱ ἀπέπεμψεν, ἀγωγοὺς σφισθεὶς ἐπιπέας, ὅπως μήτε τινὶ συγγένωνται μήτε τι νεοχμώσωσι, δοὺς: τοὺς δὲ Ἀρμενίους πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας προσέταξε κατὰ χώραν, ὅς καὶ αὐτὸν\textsuperscript{2} ἔδω ὄντας,\textsuperscript{3} μείναι.—Exc. U\textsuperscript{4} 52 (p. 404), Xiph. 235, 24–27 R. St.

18, 3\textsuperscript{b} Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίων χώραν ἔδει, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ὑποπεσόντας ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἤγε, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ ἀπειθοῦντας 23 ἀμαχεὶ ἔχειροντο, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ἐψηφίζετο αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἢ βουλῆ, καὶ ὄπτιμον, εἰτ' οὖν ἄριστον, ἐπωνόμασεν. ἐβάδιζεν ἀεὶ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ πεζῆ, διεκόσμηει τὰ αὐτοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πορείαν καὶ διέτατην ἄλλοτε ἅγων, τοὺς τε ποταμοὺς, ὅσους γε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, πεζῆ 2 διέβαινε. καὶ ἐστίν ὅτε καὶ ἀγγελίας ψευδεῖς διὰ\textsuperscript{4} τῶν προσκόπων ἐποίει, ἵν' ἀμα τε τὰ τακτικὰ μελετῶν καὶ ἑτοιμοὶ πρὸς πάντα καὶ ἀνέκπληκτοι εἶεν. καὶ ἀνομάσθη μὲν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἔδει καὶ τὰς Βάτνας, Παρθικός, πολλὸ δὲ μάλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀπτίμου προσηγορίᾳ ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις συμπάσαις, ἀτε καὶ τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῦ μάλλον ἢ τῶν ὀπλῶν οὔσῃ, ἐσεμνύνετο.—Xiph. 235, 27–236, 7 R. St.

21 Ἐν τοῖς Ἑδεσσαν,\textsuperscript{5} κἂνταῦθα πρῶτον Ἀὐγαρὸν\textsuperscript{6} εἶδεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρέσβεις

\textsuperscript{1} τῶν supplied by Rk.
\textsuperscript{2} αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ ABM.
\textsuperscript{3} ὄντα Urs., ὄντος ABM. \textsuperscript{4} διὰ Suid., κατὰ VC.
\textsuperscript{5} Ἑδεσσαν Reim., αἴδεσαν ABM (αἴδεσης αἴδεσον cod. Peir. below).
\textsuperscript{6} Ἀὐγαρὸν Urs., ἀλβαρὸν (in marg. ἔχει ἀγβαρὸν) A, ἀμαρὸν B, ἀλβαρὸν M.

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away together with his Parthian companions and A.D. 114 gave them an escort of cavalry to make sure that they should associate with no one and should begin no rebellion; but he commanded all the Armenians who had come with the prince to remain where they were, on the ground that they were already his subjects.

When he had captured the whole country of the Armenians and had won over many of the kings also, some of whom, since they voluntarily submitted, he treated as friends, while others, though disobedient, he subdued without a battle, the senate voted to him all the usual honours in great plenty and furthermore bestowed upon him the title of Optimus, or Most Excellent. He always marched on foot with the rank and file of his army, and he attended to the ordering and disposition of the troops throughout the entire campaign, leading them sometimes in one order and sometimes in another; and he forded all the rivers that they did. Sometimes he even caused his scouts to circulate false reports, in order that the soldiers might at one and the same time practise military manoeuvres and become fearless and ready for any dangers. After he had captured Nisibis and Batnae he was given the name of Parthicus; but he took much greater pride in the title of Optimus than in all the rest, inasmuch as it referred rather to his character than to his arms.

Leaving garrisons at opportune points, Trajan came to Edessa, and there saw Abgarus for the first time. For, although Abgarus had previously sent
καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ πολλάκις ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλλοτε κατ’ ἄλλας προφάσεις οὐ παρεγένετο, ἀσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ Μάννος ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς πλησιοχώρου οὐδὲ ὁ Σποράκης ὁ τῆς Ἀνθε-μουσίας φύλαρχος. τότε δὲ τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νεός Ἀρβάνδου καλὸν καὶ ὡραῖον οὕτως καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Ἰεραίνῳ ὥκειομένου πεισθεὶς, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶς, ἀπήνητος εἰς αὐτῷ προσνύματι καὶ ἀπελογήσατο, συγγνώμης τε ἑτυχεῖν ὁ γὰρ παῖς λαμπρὸν οἱ ἰκέτευμα ἦν, καὶ ὁ μὲν φίλος τοῦ τοῦτον τῷ Ἰεραίνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ εἰστίασεν αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ τῷ δεῖπνῳ παῖτα ἑαυτοῦ ὁρχησόμενον ἀρβαρικῶς πῶς παρήγαγεν.—Exc. Ε. 53 (p. 405), Suid. sv. παρηγαγεν, Exc. Val. 291 (p. 710).

22 "Οτι τοῦ Ἰεραίνου ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐλθόντος, καὶ τοῦ Μάννου ἐπικηρυκευσάμενου, καὶ τοῦ Μανισάρου πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ ἑιρήνης διὰ τὸ τὸν Ὀρρόνην ἐπιστατεύειν αὐτῶν πέμψαντο καὶ τῆς τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐαλωκυίας ἀποστήματι ἑτοίμως ἔχοντος, οὕτε ἑκαίνης πιστεύσει τι ἐφ οὗ ἄν ἔλθων πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀσπερ ὑπισχεῖτο, τοὺς ἑργοὺς ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις ἔβαινσα, καὶ τοῦ Μάννον ὑπώπτευεν ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι συμμαχίαν Μηθαρσάτη τῷ τῆς Ἀδιαβηθῆς βασιλείας πέμψας πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρωμαίων ἀπεβεβλήκει. διόπερ οὐδὲ τότε ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς

1 παρεγένετο Leucn., παρεγένετο ΑΒΜ.
2 οὐδὲ supplied by Bk.
3 Μάννος ΑΜ, μάνος Β.
4 οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε ΑΒΜ.
5 τοῦτο τῷ Urs., τοῦ τῷ ΑΜ, τοῦτο Β.

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envoys and gifts to the emperor on numerous A.D. 114 occasions, he himself, first on one excuse and then another, had failed to put in an appearance, as was also the case with Mannus, the ruler of the neighbouring portion of Arabia, and Sporaces, the ruler of Anthemusia. On this occasion, however, induced partly by the persuasions of his son Ar­bandes, who was handsome and in the prime of youth and therefore in favour with Trajan, and partly by his fear of the latter’s presence, he met him on the road, made his apologies and obtained pardon, for he had a powerful intercessor in the boy. Accordingly he became Trajan’s friend and entertained him at a banquet; and during the dinner he brought in his boy to perform some barbaric dance or other.

When Trajan had come into Mesopotamia, Mannus A.D. 115 sent a herald to him, and Manisarus also dispatched envoys to seek peace, because Osroes was making a campaign against him, and he was ready to withdraw from the parts of Armenia and Mesop­otamia that he had captured. Trajan replied that he would not believe him until he should come to him as he kept promising to do, and confirm his offers by his deeds. He was also suspicious of Mannus, the more so as this king had sent an auxiliary force to Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene, on which occasion he had lost it all at the hands of the Romans. Therefore Trajan at this time also did not wait for them to draw near, but

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6 ὅρκησάμενον Rk., ὅρκησάμενον ABM Suid.
7 ὑπάτευεν A, ὑπάτευσεν BM,
8 ἀπεβεβλήκει Bk., ἀποβεβλήκει ABM.
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υπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνήν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξεχώρησε. καὶ οὕτω τά τε Σίγγαρα καὶ ἀλλα τινά ἀμαχεῖ διὰ τοῦ Λουσίου κατεσχέθη.—Exc. Ud 54 (p. 406).

24 Διατριβοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχεία σεισμὸς ἐξαίσιος γίνεται καὶ πολλαί μὲν ἐκαμοῦν πόλεις, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ Ἀντιοχεία ἐξυπόχησεν. ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐκεί χειμάζοντος, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν κατὰ τε δίκας καὶ κατὰ προσδόκησιν ἐμπορίαν τε καὶ θεωρίαν

2 πανταχόθεν συμπεφοιτηκότων, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν οὔτε δήμος οὗτος ἄβλαβής ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πάσα ἡ οἰκουμένη ἢ ὑπὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις οὕσα ἐσφάλη.1 ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀλλάκοτοι ἀνέμοι· ἀλλ' οὕτω καὶ προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ἐκ τούτων τοσαῦτα κακὰ

3 γενήσεθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ μῦκημα ἐξαπίνησιν μέγα ἐβρυχήσατο, ἔπειτα βρασμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ βιαίότατος ἐπεγένετο, καὶ ἄνω μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀνεβάλλετο, ἄνω δὲ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἀνεπίθετα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐπαιρόμενα συνεπιπτε τε καὶ κατερρήγυντο, τὰ δὲ καὶ δεύρῳ καὶ ἐκείσε κλονοῦμενα ὦσπερ ἐν σάλῳ περιτρέπετο, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τοῦ ὑπαίθρου προσκατελάμβανεν.2

4 δ' τε κτύπος θραυματόν καὶ καταγρυμένων ξύλων ὅμοι κεράμων λίθων ἐκπληκτικῶτατος ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἡ κόνις πλείστη ὁσι ἡγείρετο, ὡστε μήτε ἰδεῖν τινα μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἀκοῦσαι τι δύνασθαι. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν

5 οἰκιῶν ὄντες ἐπώνυμαι ἀναβαλλόμενοι τε γὰρ καὶ ἀναρριπτούμενοι βιαῖως, εἴθ' ὦσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ φερόμενοι προσηράσσοντο, καὶ οἴ μὲν 404
made his way to them at Adiabene. Thus it A.D. 115 came about that Singara and some other places were occupied by Lusius without a battle.

While the emperor was tarrying in Antioch a terrible earthquake occurred; many cities suffered injury, but Antioch was the most unfortunate of all. Since Trajan was passing the winter there and many soldiers and many civilians had flocked thither from all sides in connexion with law-suits, embassies, business or sightseeing, there was no nation or people that went unscathed; and thus in Antioch the whole world under Roman sway suffered disaster. There had been many thunderstorms and portentous winds, but no one would ever have expected so many evils to result from them. First there came, on a sudden, a great bellowing roar, and this was followed by a tremendous quaking. The whole earth was upheaved, and buildings leaped into the air; some were carried aloft only to collapse and be broken in pieces, while others were tossed this way and that as if by the surge of the sea, and overturned, and the wreckage spread out over a great extent even of the open country. The crash of grinding and breaking timbers together with tiles and stones was most frightful; and an inconceivable amount of dust arose, so that it was impossible for one to see anything or to speak or hear a word. As for the people, many even who were outside the houses were hurt, being snatched up and tossed violently about and then dashed to the earth as if falling from a cliff; some were

1 ἐσφαλή C, ἐσφάγη V.
2 προσκατελάμβανε Bk., προκατελάμβανε V.C.
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έπηρούντο οί δὲ έθυνον. καί τις καί δένδρα αυτάς ρίζας ἀνέθηρε. τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταληφθέντων 1 ἀνεξεύρετος ἀριθμὸς ἀπώλετον παμπόλλους μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ή τῶν συμπιτίττων των ρύμη ἐφθείρε, παμπληθείς δὲ καὶ τὰ χώματα 6 ἐπνίζειν. ὅσοι δὲ δὴ μέρους τοῦ σῶματος σφών ύπὸ λίθων ἡ ξύλων κρατούμενοι ἐκείνο, δεινὸς ἐταλαιπώρησαν, μήτε ξῆν ἐτὶ μῆτ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα δυνάμενοι.

25 Καὶ ἐσώθησαν γὰρ ὠμῶς καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ἀτε καὶ ἐν ἀμυθήτῳ πλήθει, συνχοι, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες ἀπαθεῖς ὑπεχώρησαν. συνχοὶ μὲν γὰρ σκέλῶν συνχοὶ δὲ ὠμῶν ἐστερήθησαν, ἄλλοι 2 κεφαλῆς κατεάγησαν 3 ἄλλοι αἵμα ἡμοῦν, διὸ εἰς καὶ ὁ Πέδων ὁ ὑπατος ἐγένετο· καὶ εὐθὺς τε γὰρ 4 ἀπέθανεν.

2 συνελόντι δὲ εἰς εἰς, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν βιαίου πάθους τότε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκεῖνοι οὐ συνηνέχθη. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας σεῖοντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀπόροις καὶ ἀμηχάνοις ἦσαν οἱ ἀνθρωποι, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρευνομένων οίκου.

3 δομημάτων καταχωνύμενοι καὶ φθειρόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅσοι συνέβη ἐν διακένω τινὶ, τῶν ξύλων οὕτω κλείδευτων, ἣ καὶ ἐν ἄψιδει δὲ τινὶ μεταστυλίῳ σωθήναι. καταστάντος δὲ ποτὲ τοῦ κακοῦ θαρσῆς τις ἐπιβήναι τῶν πεπτωκότων γυναικός ἡσύχητο. αὐτὴ δὲ ἦν οὐ μόνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ βρέφος εἶχε, καὶ τρέφοντι τῷ γάλακτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸ παιδίον 4 ἀντήρκεσεν. ἐκείνην τε ὅυν 5 ἀνορύξαντες ἀνε-

1 καταληφθέντων Bk., καταλειφθέντων VC.
2 ἄλλοι C, ἄλλοι δὲ V.
3 κατεάγησαν supplied by Bk.
maimed and others were killed. Even trees in some cases leaped into the air, roots and all. The number of those who were trapped in the houses and perished was past finding out; for multitudes were killed by the very force of the falling débris, and great numbers were suffocated in the ruins. Those who lay with a part of their body buried under the stones or timbers suffered terribly, being able neither to live any longer nor to find an immediate death.

Nevertheless, many even of these were saved, as was to be expected in such a countless multitude; yet not all such escaped unscathed. Many lost legs or arms, some had their heads broken, and still others vomited blood; Pedo the consul was one of these, and he died at once. In a word, there was no kind of violent experience that those people did not undergo at that time. And as Heaven continued the earthquake for several days and nights, the people were in dire straits and helpless, some of them crushed and perishing under the weight of the buildings pressing upon them, and others dying of hunger, whenever it so chanced that they were left alive either in a clear space, the timbers being so inclined as to leave such a space, or in a vaulted colonnade. When at last the evil had subsided, someone who ventured to mount the ruins caught sight of a woman still alive. She was not alone, but had also an infant; and she had survived by feeding both herself and her child with her milk. They dug her out and resuscitated her together with her babe,

4 καὶ εὐθὺς τε γὰρ corrupt or carelessly excerpted; v. Herw. would read καὶ εὐθὺς γε.
5 οὐν Zon., om. VC.
 Dio's Roman History

σώσαντο μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου, κακὸν τούτου καὶ τάλλα ἄνηρεύνων, ἐν οἷς ζῷντα μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι, πλὴν παἰδίον πρὸς μαστῷ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τεθνηκόντα θηλάζοντος, εὑρέθη ἡ δυνήθησαν, τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ἐξέλκοντες οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ σωτηρίᾳ ἔχαιρον.

5 Τοσαῦτα μὲν τότε πάθη τὴν 'Αντίοχειαν κατελήφει. Τραϊανὸς δὲ διέφυγε μὲν διὰ θυρίδος ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ὃ ἦν, προσελθόντος αὐτῷ μείξονός τινος ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον καὶ ἐξαγαγόντος αὐτοῦ, ὡστε μικρὰ ἄττα πληγέντα περιγενέσθαι, ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ὁ σεισμὸς ἐπείχεν.

6 ὑπαίθριος ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ διήγεν. ἐσείσθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Κάσιον ¹ οὕτως ὡστε τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπικλίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπορρήγηνυσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐσπίπτειν δοκεῖν. ὁρὴ τε ἄλλα ὑφίζεσε, καὶ ὑδωρ πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ὄν ἄντον ἀνεφάνη, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἓν ἐξέλιπτε.

26 Τραϊανὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμῶν ὑπὸ τὸ ἔαρ ἤπειρκθη. ³ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ χώρα ἡ πρὸς τῷ Τύγριδι ἀφορος ναυτηγνησίμων ξύλων ἔστι, τὰ πλοῖα, ἃ ἐν ταῖς υλαις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐπετοῦητο, ⁴ ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦγαγεν ἐφ' ἀμάξαις: οὕτω γάρ πως κατεσκευάστο ὡστε διαλύεσθαι καὶ συμπτ- ² γυνσθαι. καὶ ἐξευξέν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ Καρδύνην ὄρος ἐπιπονῶτατα: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀντικατα- στάντες ἐκόλονυν. ἀλλ' ἦν γὰρ πολλὴ τῷ Τραϊανῷ καὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιουσία, αἱ μὲν ἐξεύγυνυτο πολλῷ τάχει, αἱ δὲ πρὸ ἑκείνων

¹ Κάσιον Reim., κάσσιον C, κοράσιον V.
² μὲν οὐκ ὄν Dind., οὐκ ὄν μὲν VC.
³ ἢπειρκθη Rk., ὑπειρκθη V, ὑπήρκθη C.

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and after that they searched the other heaps, but A.D. 115 were not able to find in them anyone still living save a child sucking at the breast of its mother, who was dead. As they drew forth the corpses they could no longer feel any pleasure even at their own escape.

So great were the calamities that had overwhelmed Antioch at this time. Trajan made his way out through a window of the room in which he was staying. Some being, of greater than human stature, had come to him and led him forth, so that he escaped with only a few slight injuries; and as the shocks extended over several days, he lived out of doors in the hippodrome. Even Mt. Casius itself was so shaken that its peaks seemed to lean over and break off and to be falling upon the very city. Other hills also settled, and much water not previously in existence came to light, while many streams disappeared.

Trajan at the beginning of spring hastened into A.D. 116 the enemy’s country. And since the region near the Tigris is bare of timber suitable for building ships, he brought his boats, which had been constructed in the forests around Nisibis, to the river on waggons; for they had been built in such a way that they could be taken apart and put together again. He had great difficulty in bridging the stream opposite the Gordyaeans mountains, as the barbarians had taken their stand on the opposite bank and tried to hinder him. But Trajan had a great abundance of both ships and soldiers, and so some vessels were fastened together with great speed while others lay

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4 ἐπεπολητὸ Bk., ἐπεπολητὸ V, ἐπεπόητο C.
ἀνεκώχευν ὀπλίτας τε καὶ τοξότας φέρουσαι, ἔτεραι δὲ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν ὡς διαβησόμεναι ἐπεί-3 ῇ. ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκπλή-ξεως τοῦ τοσαύτας ἀμα νὰδς ἀδρόας ἐξ ἥπειρον ἀξύλου ἀναφανὴν ῃ ἐνέδοσαν ῃ οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ ἐπεραιώθησαν οἱ ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὴν τε Ἀδια-
4βην ἀπασαν παρεστήσαντο (ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσσυ-
ρίας τῆς περὶ Νῖνον μέρος αὐτῆ, καὶ τά τε Ἀρβηλα καὶ τά Γαυγάμηλα, παρ’ οἷς ὁ Ἀλέ-
ξανδρὸς τὸν Δαρείον ἐνίκησε, ταῦτα τίσδε ἔστιν καὶ πον καὶ Ἀτυρία διὰ τούτο βαρβαριστῖ, τῶν σίγμα ἢ τὸ ταῦ μεταπεσόντων, ἐκλήθη).—Xiph. 236, 7–238, 11 Ρ. Στ.

22, 3 "Οτι Ἀδηνυστραί τείχος ἢν ἰσχυρόν, πρὸς τοῖς ἑτανούσις τις ἐκατονταρχὸς πεμφθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Μήθαρασπῆν ἐπεσβεντῆς καὶ δεθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ῃ ἐπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιθεσίας αὐτῷ, τῶν τε συνεσμωῶν τινῶν παρεσκέυασε, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐκ τε τῶν δεσμῶν διαδρὰς καὶ τὸν φρουράρχον ἀποκτείνας ἀνέψε τὰς πύλας τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις.—Exc. Ψ 13 (p. 407).

26, 4 Ἐκ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλώνος αὐτῆς ἐχώρησαν κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν καλυσόντων ἀυτοὺς ἔρημαν, άτε καὶ τῆς τῶν Πάρθων δυνά-
μεως ἐκ τῶν ἑμφυλῶν πολέμων ἐφθαρμένη καὶ τότε ἐτὶ στασιαζούσης.—Xiph. 238, 11–14 Ρ. Στ.

27, 1α Κοκκειανὸς δὲ Κάσιος Δίων, γραφαῖς Δατίων τετρακοσίων ἐγραφεῖ ταῦτα [τὴν Βαβυλώνα] σταδίων εἶναι.—Tzetz. Chil. 9, 572 sq.

(‘Η δὲ Σεμίραμις . . . πόλιν . . . ἐπτυργώσατο

1 ἀναφανὴν Rk., ἀποφανὴν VC.
moored in front of them having heavy infantry and archers aboard, and still others kept making dashes this way and that, as if they intended to cross. In consequence of these tactics and because of their very consternation at seeing so many ships appear all at once out of a land destitute of trees, the barbarians gave way. And the Romans crossed over and gained possession of the whole of Adiabene. This is a district of Assyria in the vicinity of Ninus; and Arbela and Gaugamela, near which places Alexander conquered Darius, are also in this same country. Adiabene, accordingly, has also been called Atyria in the language of the barbarians, the double S being changed to T.

Adenystrae was a strong post to which Sentius, a centurion, had been sent as an envoy to Mebarsapes. He was imprisoned by the latter there, but later, at the approach of the Romans, he arranged with some of his fellow-prisoners, and with their aid escaped from his bonds, killed the commander of the garrison and opened the gates to his countrymen.

After this they advanced as far as Babylon itself, being quite free from molestation, since the Parthian power had been destroyed by civil conflicts and was still at this time a subject of strife.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus in writings concerning the Latins has written that this city [Babylon] had a circuit of four hundred stades.

(Semiramis . . . built . . . a city) having a peri-

1 Nineveh.

2 ἐνέδοσαν C, ἀνέδοσαν V.
3 Μηθαρσάτην Leuncl., βηθαρσάτην VBM.
4 κωλυσόντων Bk., κωλυόντων VC.
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. . . ) σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσαν κατὰ Κοκκειανὸν Κάσσιον Δίωνα τετρακοσίων.—Tzetz. Exeg. in Hom. II. p. 141, 15 sq.

1 "Ἐνθα 1 μέντοι τὴν τε ἄσφαλτον εἶδε Τραϊανὸς ἐξ ἢς τὰ τείχη Βαβυλῶνος φῶκδόμητο (τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν πλήθοις ὀπταῖς ἢ καὶ λύθως λεπτοῖς συμμιχθεῖσα παρέχεται ὡστε καὶ πέτρας καὶ σιδήρου παντὸς ἰσχυρότερα αὐτὰ ποιεῖν),

2 καὶ τὸ στόμιον 2 ἑθεάσατο ἐξ οὗ πνεῦμα δεινὸν ἀναδίδοται, ὡστε πάν μὲν ἐπίγειον ξύδου πάν δὲ πετεινὸν 3 ἀποφθέγγει, εἴ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὀποσοῦόν ὁσφυρτό τι αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἰπέρ ἐπὶ τολὺ ἄων ἐχώρει ἢ καὶ πέριξ ἐσκεδάνυστο, οὔδ᾽ ἄν ψικεῖτο ὁ χώρος· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνακυκλούμενον

3 κατὰ χώραν μένει. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ τε ἐν ψυχλοτέρῳ πετόμενα σώζεται καὶ τὰ περὶς νεμόμενα. 4 εἶδον ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον ἐτερον ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσιᾶς, καὶ ἐπειράθην αὐτοῦ δι᾽ ὀρνέων, αὐτός τε υπερκύψας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν 5 τὸ πνεῦμα κατακέκλειται 6 το γὰρ ἐν δεξαμενῇ τινι, καὶ θέατρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ψικοδόμητο, φθείρει τε πάντα τὰ ἐμψυχα, πλή τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὰ αἰδοία ἀποτετμημένων. οὐ μήν καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν αὐτοῦ συννοίησαι ἐχο, λέγω δὲ ἢ τε εἶδον ὡς εἶδον καὶ ἢ ἱκουσα ὡς ἱκουσα.

28 Τραϊανὸς δὲ ἐβούλευσατο μὲν τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ διώρυχα ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ἐσαγαγείν, ἵνα τὰ πλοῖα δι᾽ αὐτῆς κατελθόντας τὴν γέφυραν αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι παράσχων· μαθῶν δὲ ὅτι πολὺ ψηλό- 

1 ἐνθα C, ἐνθαῖθα V.
2 τὸ στόμιον VC, τὸ Ἀροφον στόμιον exc. Treu, Suid., Eust.
3 πετεινὸν VC, πτηνὸν exc. Treu, Suid.

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meter of four hundred stades, according to Cassius A.D. 116 Dio Cocceianus.

Here, moreover, Trajan saw the asphalt out of which the walls of Babylon had been built. When used in connexion with baked bricks or small stones this material affords so great security as to render them stronger than any rock or iron. He also looked at the opening\(^1\) from which issues a deadly vapour that destroys any terrestrial animal and any winged creature that so much as inhales a breath of it. Indeed, if it extended far above ground or spread out far round about, the place would not be habitable; but, as it is, the vapour circles about within itself and remains stationary. Hence creatures that fly high enough above it and those that graze at one side are safe. I saw another opening like it at Hierapolis in Asia, and tested it by means of birds; I also bent over it myself and saw the vapour myself. It is enclosed in a sort of cistern and a theatre had been built over it. It destroys all living things save human beings that have been emasculated. The reason for this I cannot understand; I merely relate what I saw as I saw it and what I heard as I heard it.

Trajan had planned to conduct the Euphrates through a canal into the Tigris, in order that he might take his boats down by this route and use them to make a bridge. But learning that this

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\(^1\) Suidas and others (see critical note) add ἀορνοῦ (“birdless,” Avernus) before “opening”; this word may go back to Dio himself.
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tερος τοῦ Τύγριδος ἐστι, τούτῳ μὲν 1 οὐκ ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἀπλοῦν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπεργά-
σηται ἀθρόου τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐσ τὸ κάταντες
2 ϕερομένου, ὑπερενεγκὼν δὲ 2 τὰ πλοῖα ὀλκοῖς διὰ
τοῦ μέσου τῶν ποταμῶν ἐλαχίστου ὄντος (τὸ γάρ
ῥεύμα τὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶν ἐς θ᾽ ἔλος ἐκπίπτει
καὶ ἐκείθεν πῶς τῷ Τύγριδι συμμίγνυται) τὸν
Τύγριν ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κτησιφώντα ἐσήλθε,
παραλαβὼν τε αὐτὴν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπωνομάζῃ
καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔβεβαιώσατο.
3 ἔψηφισθη δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς Βουλῆς τὰ τε ἅλλα,
καὶ νυκτήρια ὡς ἔθελήσει διεροτάσαι.
’Ελὼν δὲ τὴν Κτησιφώντα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὴν
’Ερυθράν θάλασσαν καταπλεῦσαι. αὕτη δὲ τοῦ
τε ὦκεανοῦ μοίρα ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπὸ τινος ἐνδυνα-
4 στεύσαντός ποτε ἐν αὐτῇ οὕτω κέκληται. καὶ
tὴν μὲν νήσου τὴν ἐν τῷ Τύγριδι τὴν Μεσήνην,
hasClass="reference" δὲ δὴ χειμῶνος τῆς τε τοῦ Τύγριδος ὦτήτος
καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ ἀναρροφᾶς ἐκινδύνευσε.—
Xiph. 238, 15–239, 14 R. St.

"Ὅτι ὁ ’Αθάμβηλος 4 ὁ τῆς νῆσου ἄρχων τῆς ἐν
tῷ Τύγριδι οὕσης πιστῶς διέμεινεν τῷ Τραϊανῷ,
καὶ περ υποτελεῖν προσταχθεῖς, καὶ οἱ τὸν Χάρακα
tὸν Σπασίνον καλοῦμενον ὀικοῦντες (ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ
tοῦ ’Αθαμβήλου ἐπικρατεῖα ἡσαν) καὶ φιλικὸς
αὐτὸν ὑπεδεξαντο.—Exc. Val. 292 (p. 713), Xiph.
239, 14–16 R. St.

29 Κάντευθεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἐλθὼν, τὴν

1 μὲν C, μόνον V. 2 δὲ Bk., δὴ VC.
3 ἀθάμβηλος Bs., ἀθάβηλος V, ἀθάβιλος C, (but ἀθαμβίλου
VC below).

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river has a much higher elevation than the Tigris, he did not do so, fearing that the water might rush down in a flood and render the Euphrates unnavigable. So he used hauling-engines to drag the boats across the very narrow space that separates the two rivers (the whole stream of the Euphrates empties into a marsh and from there somehow joins the Tigris); then he crossed the Tigris and entered Ctesiphon. When he had taken possession of this place he was saluted imperator and established his right to the title of Parthicus. In addition to other honours voted to him by the senate, he was granted the privilege of celebrating as many triumphs as he should desire.

After capturing Ctesiphon he conceived a desire to sail down to the Erythraean Sea.¹ This is a part of the ocean, and has been so named from a person who formerly ruled on its shores.² He easily won over Mesene, the island in the Tigris of which Athambelus was king; but as the result of a storm, combined with the strong current of the Tigris and the tide coming in from the ocean, he found himself in serious danger.

Athambelus, the ruler of the island in the Tigris, remained loyal to Trajan, even though ordered to pay tribute, and the inhabitants of the Palisade of Spasinus, as it is called, received him kindly; they were subject to the dominion of Athambelus.

Then he came to the ocean itself, and when he

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¹ The Persian Gulf.
² The mythical Erythras, who was said to have been drowned in it.

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te φύσιν αὐτοῦ καταμαθὼν καὶ πλοίον τι ἐσ Ἰνδίαν πλέον ἰδών, εἶπεν ὅτι "πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, εἰ νέος ἔτε ἢν, ἐπεραιώθην." Ἰνδοὺς τε γὰρ ἐνενόει, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα ἐπολυπραγμόνει, τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμακάριζε. καίτοι 1 ἔλεγε καὶ ἐκείνου περαιτέρω προκεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλε, μὴ 2 δυνηθεῖς μηδὲ ἄ ἐκεχειρωτο 2 σῶσαι. καὶ ἔπ αὐτῷ ἄλλα τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἑπινίκια ὅσων ἂν ἐθελήσῃ ἔθνων πέμψαι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἂεὶ σφίσι γραφομένων οὔτε συνεϊναι τινα αὐτῶν οὔτε 3 ὀνομάσαι καλῶς ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄψιδα αὐτῷ τροπαίοφόρου πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγορᾷ αὐτοῦ παρεσκευαζόν, καὶ ἱτοιμάζοντο ὡς πορρωτέρω ἀπαντήσοντες εἴ ἐπανίον ἔμελλε ὁ· ἀρα μήτε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐτί ἀφίξεσθαι μήτε ἄξιον τι τῶν προκατεργασμένων πράξεων, καὶ 4 προσέτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπολέσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν κατέπλει καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἄθροι ἀνεκομίζετο, πάντα τὰ ἐαλωκότα ἐταράχθη καὶ ἀπέστη, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐκαστὸι φρούρους οἱ μὲν ἐξεβαλλον 3 οἱ δ' ἀπεκτίνυσαν.

50 Μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ο Τραϊάνος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι 4 (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείσε ἂθε κατὰ τε τὴν φήμην, ἂς οὐδὲν ἄξιον εἴδεν ὁ τι μὴ χώματα καὶ λίθους 5 καὶ ἔρειπια, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃ καὶ ἐνήγισεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι ἐν ὁ ἐτετελευτηκεί) —

1 καίτοι Bk., καὶ VC.
2 ἐκεχειρωτο Dind., κεκελρωτο Sylb., κεκελρωται VC.
3 ἐξεβαλλον Sylb., ἐξεβαλον VC.
4 Βαβυλῶνi Tillemont, πλοῖψ VC.
5 λίθουs Rk., μύθουs VC.
had learned its nature and had seen a ship sailing to A.D. 116 India, he said: “I should certainly have crossed over to the Indi, too, if I were still young.” For he began to think about the Indi and was curious about their affairs, and he counted Alexander a lucky man. Yet he would declare that he himself had advanced farther than Alexander, and would so write to the senate, although he was unable to preserve even the territory that he had subdued. For this achievement he obtained among other honours the privilege of celebrating a triumph for as many nations as he pleased; for by reason of the large number of the peoples of whom he was constantly writing to them they were unable in some cases to follow him intelligently or even to use the names correctly. So the people in Rome were preparing for him a triumphal arch besides many other tributes in his own forum and were getting ready to go forth an unusual distance to meet him on his return. But he was destined never to reach Rome again nor to accomplish anything comparable to his previous exploits, and furthermore to lose even those earlier acquisitions. For during the time that he was sailing down to the ocean and returning from there again all the conquered districts were thrown into turmoil and revolted, and the garrisons placed among the various peoples were either expelled or slain.

Trajan learned of this at Babylon; for he had gone there both because of its fame—though he saw nothing but mounds and stones and ruins to justify this—and because of Alexander, to whose spirit he offered sacrifice in the room where he had died.

1 It was not stated above (ch. 26, 4; 27, 1) that Trajan himself went to Babylon on his advance southward.
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μαθών δὲ ταῦτα τὸν τε Δοῦσιον καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον
2 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἐπεμψε. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ. Δοῦσιος δὲ ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ κατώρθωσε καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἀνέλαβε, τὴν τε Ἔδεσσαν ἐξεπολιορκήσε καὶ διέφθειρε καὶ ἐνέπρησεν. ἐώλῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκεια πρὸς τε Ἐρυκίου Κλάρου καὶ πρὸς Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου
3 ὕποστρατήγων, καὶ ἐκαύθη. Τραϊάνος δὲ φοβηθεὶς μη καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τι νεοχμώσωσι, βασιλέα αὐτοῦ ἓδιον δούναὶ ἡθέλησε, καὶ ἐς Κτησιφῶντα ἐξθῶν συνεκάλεσεν ἐς πεδίον τι μέγα πάντας μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πάντας δὲ τοὺς Πάρθους τοὺς ἐκεὶ τότε ὠντας, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ύψηλὸν ἀναβὰς, καὶ μεγαληγορήσας ὑπὲρ ὅν καὶ κατειργάσατο, Παρθαμασπάτην τοὺς Πάρθους βασιλέα ἀπέδειξε, τὸ διάδημα αὐτῶ ἐπιθεῖει.—Xiph. 239, 16–240, 15 R. St.

LXXV "Ὅτι τῷ Ὀὐσολογαίσφ χιλ. τῷ Σανατρουκικοῦ παίδι
9, 6 ἀντίπαραταξαμένω τοῖς περὶ Σεοὐήρου, καὶ διοκω-
χὴν" πρὶν συμμίξαι σφισιν αἰτήσαντι καὶ
λαβόντι, πρέσβεις τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε καὶ
μέρος τῇ Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐχαρίσατο.
—Exc. U 16 (p. 414).

31 Ἔταν δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἦλθε, καὶ τοῖς
Ἀτρυνοίς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸι ἀφειστήκεσαν,
ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν οὕτε μεγάλῃ οὕτε
εὐδαίμων ἢ πόλις· ἢ τε πέριξ χώρα ἔρημος ἐπὶ
πλειστόν ἐστι, καὶ οὕθ' ὑδωρ, ὃ τι μὴ βραχὺ καὶ
τοῦτο δυσχερές, οὕτε ξύλων οὕτε χιλῶν ἵσχει.

1 Ἔδεσσαν R. Steph., Ἐδεσσαν VC.
2 Ὀυσολογαίσφ Bk., βολογαίσφ VBM.
3 Σανατρουκικοῦ Reim., σανατρουκικοῦ VBM.
When he learned of the revolt, he sent Lusius and Maximus against the rebels. The latter was defeated in battle and perished; but Lusius, in addition to many other successes, recovered Nisibis, and besieged and captured Edessa, which he sacked and burned. Seleucia was also captured by Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander, lieutenants, and was burned. Trajan, fearing that the Parthians, too, might begin a revolt, desired to give them a king of their own. Accordingly, when he came to Ctesiphon, he called together in a great plain all the Romans and likewise all the Parthians that were there at the time; then he mounted a lofty platform, and after describing in grandiloquent language what he had accomplished, he appointed Parthamaspates king over the Parthians and set the diadem upon his head.

When Vologaesus, the son of Sanatruces, had arrayed himself against Severus and his army and before battle asked and secured an armistice, Trajan sent envoys to him and granted him a portion of Armenia in return for peace.¹

Next he came into Arabia and began operations against the people of Hatra, since they, too, had revolted. This city is neither large nor prosperous, and the surrounding country is mostly desert and has neither water (save a small amount and that poor in quality) nor timber nor fodder. These very

¹ This excerpt was erroneously assigned by Ursinus to the reign of Severus. Boissevain’s reasons for placing it here were published in Hermes xxv. 329ff.

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⁴ διακωξήν Dind., διακοχήν VM, διακωξήν B.  
⁵ 'Ατρηνώις Val., ἀγαρηνώις VC.
2 καὶ πρὸς τε αὐτῶν τούτων, ἀδύνατον τὴν προσεδρείαν πλήθει ποιοῦντων, πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἡλίου, ὦπερ που καὶ ἀνάκειται, ῥύειται οὕτε γὰρ ὑπὸ Τραϊάνον τότε οὕτε ὑπὸ Σεουήρου ὑστερον ἥλιον, καίτοι καὶ καταβαλῶντων μέρη τινά τοῦ τείχους
3 αὐτῆς. Τραϊάνος δὲ τοὺς τε ἵππεας πρὸς τό τείχος προπέμψας ἐσφάλη,1 ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοὺς ἐσαραξθήναι,2 καὶ αὐτὸς παριππεύσας βραχυτάτον ἐδέστε τρωθήναι, καὶ περ τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος ἵνα μὴ γνωρισθῇ. τῆς δὲ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ τὸ γαύρον καὶ τὸ σεμνοπρεπὲς τοῦ προσώπου ὦδόντες ὑπετόπησαν τε εἶναι ὃς ἦν, καὶ ἐπετοξέυσαν αὐτὸ, καὶ ἤππεά τινὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἀπέκτειναν. ἐγίνοντο3 δὲ βρονταὶ, καὶ ἵριδες ὑπεφαίνοντο, ἀντραπά τε καὶ ξάλη χάλαξά τε4 καὶ κεραυνοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέπιπτον, ὁπότε προσβάλοιεν. καὶ ὁπότε οὖν δειπνοίεν, μνίαι τοῖς βρόμασι καὶ τοῖς πίθαμι5 προσιζάνουσαι δυσχερείας ἀπαντα ἐνεπίμπλων.
32 καὶ Τραϊάνος μὲν ἐκείθεν οὔτως ἀπῆλθε, καὶ οὐ πολλὸν ὑστερον ἀρρωστείν ἤρχετο.

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαίοι, Ἴνδρέαν6 τινὰ προστησάμενοι σφων, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐφθείρον, καὶ τὰς το σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο καὶ τὰ ἐντερα ἀνεδόοντο τὸ τῇ αἴματι ἥλειφοντο καὶ τὰ ἀπολέμματα ἐνεδῦντο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μέσους ἀπὸ κορυφῆς
2 διέπριον. θηρίως ἐτέρους ἐξίδοσαν, καὶ μονομαχεῖν ἄλλους7 ἤναγκαζον, ὡστε τὰς πάσας δύο

1 ἐσφάλη V₂C₂, ἐσφάγη V₃C₁.
2 ἐσαραξθήναι Reim., ἐσαραξαθήναι VC.
3 ἐγίνοντο Bk., ἐγένοντο VC.
disadvantages, however, afford it protection, making impossible a siege by a large multitude, as does also the Sun-god, to whom it is consecrated; for it was taken neither at this time by Trajan nor later by Severus, although they both overthrew parts of its wall. Trajan sent the cavalry forward against the wall, but failed in his attempt, and the attackers were hurled back into the camp. Indeed, the emperor himself barely missed being wounded as he was riding past, in spite of the fact that he had laid aside his imperial attire to avoid being recognized; but the enemy, seeing his majestic gray head and his august countenance, suspected his identity, shot at him and killed a cavalryman in his escort. There were peals of thunder, rainbow tints showed, and lightnings, rain-storms, hail and thunderbolts descended upon the Romans as often as they made assaults. And whenever they ate, flies settled on their food and drink, causing discomfort everywhere. Trajan therefore departed thence, and a little later began to fail in health.

Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put a certain Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand

4 τε supplied by Bk.
5 πόμασι Dind., πόμασι VC.
6 'Ανδρέαν Scaliger, ἀνδρίαν VC.
7 ἀλλοῦς C, ἀλλήλους V.
καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας ἀπολέσθαι. ἐν τε Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐδρασάν ὡμοία καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, ἡγούμενοι τινὸς σφίςιν Ἀρτεμίωνος· καὶ ἀπώλοντο
3 καὶ ἐκεῖ μυριάδες τέσσαρες καὶ εἰκοσι. καὶ διὰ τούτ’ οὐδενὸς Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβῆναι αὐτῆς ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀνέμῳ τις βιασθεὶς ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκπέσῃ ἑκατονταῖ. ἀλλ᾽ Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἄλλου τε καὶ Δοῦσιος ὑπὸ Τραϊάνον πεμφθεὶς κατεστρέψατο.

33 Τραϊάνος δὲ παρεσκεύαξετο μὲν αὐθίς ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν στρατεύσαι, ὡς δὲ τῷ νοσήματι ἐπιεξετο, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁμμησε πλεῖν, Ποῦπλιον δὲ Αἰλιον Ἀδριανὸν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατέλιπε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ρωμαίοι τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τῆς πλείονος τῶν τε Πάρθων κρατήσαντες μάτην
2 ἐπόνησαν καὶ μάτην ἐκενδύνευσαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν Παρθαμαστάτην ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐν τῷ σφετέρῳ τρόπῳ ἢρξαντο βασιλεύσαθαι. ἐνόσητε δ᾽ ὁ Ἰοίος Τραϊάνος, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπόπτευσεν, ἐκ φαρμάκου λήψεως, ὡς δὲ τινές λέγουσιν, ἐπισχεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ αἵματος δι᾽ ἐτος κατὼ
3 διεχώρει· ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπόπληκτος, ὡστε καὶ τοῦ σώματος τι παρεθηναι, τὸ δ᾽ ὠλον ὑδρώπιασε. καὶ ἐς Σελευκῶντα τῆς Κιλικίας ἐλθὼν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Τραϊάνουπολιν καλοῦμεν, ἐξαίφνης ἀπέψυξε, μοναρχίσας ἐτή δεκαεκατόν καὶ μῆνας ἔξ ἡμέρας τε πεντεκαίδεκα.—Χιφ. 240, 15–241, 27 R. St.
persons perished. In Egypt, too, they perpetrated many similar outrages, and in Cyprus, under the leadership of a certain Artemion. There, also, two hundred and forty thousand perished, and for this reason no Jew may set foot on that island, but even if one of them is driven upon its shores by a storm he is put to death. Among others who subdued the Jews was Lusius, who was sent by Trajan.

Trajan was preparing to make a fresh expedition into Mesopotamia, but, as his malady began to afflict him sorely, he set out, intending to sail to Italy, leaving Publius Aelius Hadrian with the army in Syria. Thus it came about that the Romans in conquering Armenia, most of Mesopotamia, and the Parthians had undergone their hardships and dangers all for naught, for even the Parthians rejected Parthamaspates and began to be ruled once more in their own fashion. Trajan himself suspected that his sickness was due to poison that had been administered to him; but some state that it was because the blood, which descends every year into the lower parts of the body, was in his case checked in its flow. He had also suffered a stroke, so that a portion of his body was paralyzed, and he was dropsical all over. On coming to Selinus in Cilicia, which we also call Traianopolis, he suddenly expired, after reigning nineteen years, six months and fifteen days.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXIX

1 Ἄδριανὸς ὤν μὲν Ῥαῖανοῦ ὑπ’ ἑσεποιήθη, ἱν μὲν γὰρ πολίτης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπετροπεύθῃ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, γένοις θ’ οἱ ἐκοινώνει καὶ ἀδελφίδην αὐτοῦ ἐγεγαμήκει, τὸ τε σύμματα συνήν αὐτῷ καὶ
2 συνδιητάτῳ, τῇ τε Συρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῷ Παρθικῷ πολέμῳ προσετάχθη, οὐ μέντοι οὔτ’ ἄλλο τι ἐξαίρετον παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλαβεν οὔθ’ ὑπατος ἐν πρώτοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ Ῥαῖανοῦ ἀπαίδος μεταλλάξαντος ὑπ’ Ἄττιανὸς πολίτης αὐτοῦ ὑπ’ καὶ ἐπίτρωπος γεγονὼς, καὶ Ἡ Πλατῖνα ἐξ ἑρωτικῆς φιλίας, πλησίον τε ὄντα
3 καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν ἔχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ μον Ἀπρωνιανὸς, τῆς Κυλλίας ἁρξας, πάντα τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐμεμαθήκει σαφῶς, ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς ἑκαστα, καὶ ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Ῥαῖανοῦ ἡμέρας τινὰς διὰ τοῦτο συνεκρύφθη ἵν’
4 ἡ ποίησις προεκφοιτήσει. ἔδηλωθη δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ· ταῖς γὰρ ἐπιστολαις οὐχ αὐτὸς ἄλλʼ Ἡ Πλατῖνα ὑπέγραψεν, ὅπερ ἐπ’ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἑπετοιήκει.  
2 Ὡν δὲ, ὅτε ἀνηγορεῦθη αὐτοκράτωρ, Ἄδριανὸς ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Συρίας Ἀντιοχεία, ἡς ἤρχεν· ἐδόκει δὲ ὄναρ πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ

1 Ἄδριανὸς Leuncl., Ἄδριανὸς MSS. regularly.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXIX

Hadrian had not been adopted by Trajan; he was merely a compatriot and former ward of his, was of near kin to him and had married his niece,—in short, he was a companion of his, sharing his daily life; and had been assigned to Syria for the Parthian War. Yet he had received no distinguishing mark of favour from Trajan, such as being one of the first to be appointed consul. He became Caesar and emperor owing to the fact that when Trajan died childless, Attianus, a compatriot and former guardian of his, together with Plotina, who was in love with him, secured him the appointment, their efforts being facilitated by his proximity and by his possession of a large military force. My father, Apronianus, who was governor of Cilicia, had ascertained accurately the whole story about him, and he used to relate the various incidents, in particular stating that the death of Trajan was concealed for several days in order that Hadrian's adoption might be announced first. This was shown also by Trajan's letters to the senate, for they were signed, not by him, but by Plotina, although she had not done this in any previous instance.

At the time that he was declared emperor, Hadrian was in Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, of which he was governor. He had dreamed before the day in

1 Dio here follows the erroneous tradition that Hadrian was born at Italica in Spain.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὐρανοῦ, ἐν τε αἰθρία καὶ ἐν εὐδίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐμπεσεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν παρελθεῖν, μήτε ἐκφοβήσαν

2 αὐτὸν μήτε βλάψαν. ἔγραψε δὲ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἄξιῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνης, καὶ ἀπαγορεύων μηδὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τότε μήτε ἀλλοτε τιμήν δὴ τινα φέρον, οὐ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι, ἡφισθῆναι, πλὴν ἄν τι αὐτὸς ποτε ἄξιώσῃ.

3 Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραίανοῦ ὅστα ἐν τῷ κίονι αὐτοῦ κατετέθη, καὶ αἱ θεαὶ αἱ Παρθικαὶ ὅνομασθεῖσαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἐτη ἐγένοντο· ὥστερον γὰρ καὶ αὐτῇ, ὥστερ καὶ ἀλλα τοποί, κατελύθη.—Xiph. 242, 8–243, 5 R. St.

4 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐν ἑπιστολῇ τινὶ ἐγραψε τὰ ἔπειτα τε ἀλλα μεγαλοφρονησάμενος, καὶ ἐπομόσας μήτε τὶ ἐξω τῶν τοῦ δημοσίῳ συμφερόντων ποιήσεως μήτε βουλευτῆν τινα ἀποσφάξειν, καὶ ἐξώλειαν ἐαυτῷ, ἀν καὶ ὅτιον αὐτῶν ἐκβη, προσε-παρασάμενας.—Exc. Val. 293a (p. 713), Suidas s.v. 'Ἀδριανός gl. 2.

5 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ, καίτου φιλανθρωπότατα ἄρξας, ὅμως διὰ τινὰς φόνους ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐν ἀρχῇ τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πρὸς τῇ τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου ἐπεποίητο, διεβλήθη, καὶ ὅλιγον διὰ ταύτην οὔδὲ ἐς τοὺς ἡρωᾶς ἀνεγράφη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ φονευθέντες Πάλμας τε καὶ Κέλσος Νυγρίνος τε καὶ Λουσίως ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐν θήρᾳ δὴθεν ἐπιβεβουλευκότες αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐφ’ ἐτέρους δὴ τινὶν ἐγκλήμασιν, οἷα μεγάλα δυνάμενοι καὶ

6 πλούτου καὶ δόξης εὐ ἥκοντες· ἐφ’ οἷς Ἀδριανὸς αὐτῶ τῶν λογοποιουμένων ἔσθετο ὡστε καὶ 426
question that a fire descended out of heaven, the sky being perfectly clear and bright, and fell first upon the left side of his throat, passing then to the right side, though it neither frightened nor injured him. And he wrote to the senate asking that body to confirm the sovereignty to him and forbidding the passing either then or later of any measure (as was so often done) that contained any special honour for him, unless he should ask for it at some time.

The bones of Trajan were deposited in his Column, and the Parthian Games, as they were called, continued for a number of years; but at a later date even this observance, like many others, was abolished.

In a certain letter that Hadrian wrote, in which were many high-minded sentiments, he swore that he would neither do anything contrary to the public interest nor put to death any senator, and he invoked destruction upon himself if he should violate these promises in any wise.

Trajan, though he ruled with the greatest mildness, was nevertheless severely criticized for slaying several of the best men in the beginning of his reign and again near the end of his life, and for this reason he came near failing to be enrolled among the demigods. Those who were slain at the beginning were Palma and Celsus, Nigrinus and Lusius, the first two for the alleged reason that they had conspired against him during a hunt, and the others on certain other complaints, but in reality because they had great influence and enjoyed wealth and fame. Nevertheless, Hadrian felt so keenly the comments that this
ἀπελογήσατο καὶ ἐπώμοσε µὴ κεκελευκώνα ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ Σερονιανός τε ὑπῆρχον καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ Φοῦσκος.—Xiph. 243, 5–15 R. St.
6 Ὑ Omega τις αὐτοῦ χάρις.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 113 Muell. (v. 1, 2).

3 Ἡν δὲ Ἀδριανὸς γένος µὲν βουλευτοῦ πατρὸς ἐστρατηγικότος Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀφροῦ 1 (οὗτος γὰρ ὄνοµάζετο), φύσει 2 δὲ φιλολόγος ἐν ἑκατέρα τῇ γλώσσῃ καὶ τινα καὶ τεξά καὶ ἐν ἑπεσι ποιήσατο 2 ματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε. 3 φιλοτιμία τε γὰρ ἀπλήστω ἐχήρτο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ βραχὺτατα ἐπετήδευσε καὶ γὰρ ἐπιλασσε καὶ ἐγραφὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ὂ τι οὐκ εἰρηνικὸν καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ ιδιωτικὸν εἰδέναι ἔλεγε. καὶ τοῦτο µὲν οὐδὲν ποιοῦ τοὺς ἀν- θρώπους ἐβλαστεῖ, δὲ δὴ φθόνος αὐτοῦ δεινό- τατος ἐσ πάντας τοὺς τινι προέχοντας ὅν 4 πολλοὺς µὲν καθείλε συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεσε. βουλόμενος γὰρ πάντων ἐν πάσι περιεῖ ναῖ εἰμίτε τοὺς ἐν τινι ὑπεραιροῦντας. κὰκ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Φαυοωρίουν 5 τὸν Γαλάτην τὸν τὸν Διονύσιον τὸν Μιλήσιον τοὺς σοφιστὰς καταλύειν ἐπεχείρει τοῖς τοῖς ἀλλοὶς καὶ µάλιστα τὸ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς σφόν ἐξαιρεῖν, τοὺς µὲν µηδενὸς τοὺς δὲ βραχυτάτον τῶν ἄξιον ὅντας 5 οὔτας ὅτε Διονύσιος πρὸς τὸν Ἀουίδιον 6 Ἡλιό- δωρον, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διαγαγόντα,

1 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀφροῦ Bk., Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀφροῦ vid. VC, αὐθροῦ cod. Peir., Ἀφροῦ Suid.
2 φύσει VC, φύσιν cod. Peir.
3 καταλέλοιπε VC, κατέλιπεν cod. Peir. Suid.
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action occasioned, that he made a defence and declared upon oath that he had not ordered their deaths. Those who perished at the end of his reign were Servianus and his grandson Fuscus.

Hadrian was a pleasant man to meet and he possessed a certain charm.

As regards birth Hadrian was the son of a man of senatorial rank, an ex-praetor, Hadrianus Afer by name. By nature he was fond of literary study in both the Greek and Latin languages, and has left behind a variety of prose writings as well as compositions in verse. For his ambition was insatiable, and hence he practised all conceivable pursuits, even the most trivial; for example, he modelled and painted, and declared that there was nothing pertaining to peace or war, to imperial or private life, of which he was not cognizant. All this, of course, did people no harm; but his jealousy of all who excelled in any respect was most terrible and caused the downfall of many, besides utterly destroying several. For, inasmuch as he wished to surpass everybody in everything, he hated those who attained eminence in any direction. It was this feeling that led him to undertake to overthrow two sophists, Favorinus the Gaul, and Dionysius of Miletus, by various methods, but chiefly by elevating their antagonists, who were of little or no worth at all. Dionysius is said to have remarked then to Avidius Heliodorus, who had had charge of the

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4 καὶ τούτο—προέχοντας ἄνν ς ς ς ς cod. Peir., ἐκ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἐν τινι (C, ἐν τῷ V) προεχόντων VC.
5 Φανοφίνον Bk., φαβοφίνον VC cod. Peir. Suid.
6 'Αουλίων O. Hirschfeld, αὐτοῦ ἰδίον VC.
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εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "Καῖσαρ χρήματα μὲν σοι καὶ
tιμήν δούναι δύναται, ῥήτορα δὲ σε ποιῆσαι οὐ δύ-
6 ναται," καὶ ὁ Φαουῳρίνος μέλλων παρ’ αὐτῷ περὶ
tῆς ἀπελείας ἦν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἦχεων ἥξιον
dικάσασθαι, ὑποτήριας καὶ ἐλαττωθῆσασθαι
cαὶ προσυβρισθῆσασθαι, ἔσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικα-
στήριον, εἴπε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι "ὁ διδάσκαλος
μου ὄναρ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης ἐπιστάτας μοι ἐκέλευσε
λειτουργεῖν τῇ πατρίδι ὑς καὶ ἕκεινῃ γεγενη-
μένον."—Xiph. 243, 15--244, 1 R. St., Exc. Val.
293" (p. 713), Suid. s.v. 'Αδριανὸς γl. 1.

4 Τ' Αδριανὸς δὲ τοῦτον μὲν, καίπερ ἄχθεσθείς
σφισίν, ἐφείσατο, μηδεμίαν εὐλογοὶ ὀλέθροι κατ’
αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν τὸν δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν
ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν τῆν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ φίλειόν τοῦ
τε γυμνάσιον, τὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ποιῆματα, ἐν τῇ
Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφυγά-
2 δευτέρων εἴπεται δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς
πλημμελήσαντά τι, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ὅτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
κοινουμένου τι αὐτὸ περὶ τῶν ἔργων εἴπε τῷ
'Αδριανῷ παραλαλήσαντι τι ὅτι "ἀπελθὲ καὶ
τὰς κολοκύντας γράφετο τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπι-
στάσαι." ἔτυγχανε δὲ ἄρα τότε ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτω
3 τινὶ γράμματι σεμνυνόμενος, αὐτοκρατορεύσας
οὓν τότε ἐμνησικάκησε καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ
οὐκ ἤγεγκεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
tῆς τῆς Ῥώμης ναοῦ τὸ διάγραμμα αὐτῷ πέμψας,
dι’ ἐνδείξιν ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ ἐκείνου μέγα ἔργον
γίγνεσθαι δύναται, ἠρετοὶ εἰ ἐν ἔχοι τὸ κατα-
4 σκεύασμα· ὁ δ’ ἀντεπέστειλε περὶ τε τοῦ ναοῦ

1 γεγενημένον R. Steph., γεγενημένον VC.
emperor's correspondence: "Caesar can give you a.d. 117 money and honour, but he cannot make you an orator." And Favorinus, who was about to plead a case before the emperor in regard to exemption from taxes, a privilege which he desired to secure in his native land, suspected that he should be unsuccessful and receive insults besides, and so merely entered the court-room and made this brief statement: "My teacher stood beside me last night in a dream and bade me serve my country, as having been born for her."

Now Hadrian spared these men, displeased as he was with them, for he could find no plausible pretext to use against them for their destruction. But he first banished and later put to death Apollodorus, the architect, who had built the various creations of Trajan in Rome—the forum, the odeum and the gymnasium. The reason assigned was that he had been guilty of some misdemeanor; but the true reason was that once when Trajan was consulting him on some point about the buildings he had said to Hadrian, who had interrupted with some remark: "Be off, and draw your gourds. You don't understand any of these matters." (It chanced that Hadrian at the time was pluming himself upon some such drawing.) When he became emperor, therefore, he remembered this slight and would not endure the man's freedom of speech. He sent him the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that a great work could be accomplished without his aid, and asked Apollodorus whether the proposed structure was satisfactory. The architect in his reply stated, first, in regard to the temple, that it ought to have been built on
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"οτι 1 καὶ μετέωρον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπεκκεκεκενωμένον γενέσθαι ἢρη, ἵν’ ἐσ τῇ τὴν ἱερὰν ὅδον ἐκ-


"εξ ὑψηλότερον εἰή καὶ ἐς τὸ κοίλου τὰ μηχανήματα ἐσέδεχοτο, ὡστε καὶ ἀφανὸς συμπήγνυσθαι καὶ εξ οὐ προειδότος ἐς τὸ θεατρον ἐσάγεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ὃτι μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ὑψους τοῦ μεγάρου 3 λόγον


5 ἐποιήθη "Ἀν γὰρ αἱ θεάι" ἔφη "ἐξαναστήσεσθαι τε καὶ ἐξελθεῖν ἑθελήσωσιν, οὐ δυνηθήσονται." ταύτα γὰρ ἀντικρυ αὐτοῦ γράψαντο καὶ ἤγαγα-


κτησε καὶ ὑπερῆλθησαν ὃτι καὶ ἐς ἁδιόρθωτον ἀμαρτίαν ἐπετιπώκει, καὶ οὔτε τὴν ὄργην οὔτε


6 τὴν λύπην κατέσχε, ἀλλὰ ἐφόνευσεν αὐτοῦ. καὶ


οὔτω γε τῇ φύσει τουοῦτος ἢν ὡστε μη μόνον τοῖς


ξώσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι φθονεῖν τὸν


γοῦν ὁμηρον καταλύων 'Αντίμαχον ἄντ' 4 αὐτοῦ


ἔσηγεν, 5 οὗ μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πολλοὶ πρότερον ἥπισταντο.


5 Ἡττιώντο μὲν δὴ ταύτα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάνω


ἀκριβές τὸ τε περιέργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον 6 ἐθεράπευε δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνελάμβανε 7 τῇ τε ἅλλῃ


ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ


dεξιότητι, καὶ τῷ μῆτε τινὰ πόλεμον ταράξα 


cαὶ τοὺς ἄνταν παῦσαι, μῆτε τινὸς 8 χρῆματα


ἀδίκως ἀφελέσθαι, καὶ πολλοῖς πολλά, καὶ δήμοις


1 ὃτι Bk., καὶ ὃτι VC.


2 ἐκφανέστερον Sylb., ἐκφανέστερον VC.


3 μεγάρου Reim., μεγάλου VC. 4 ἄντ’ om. cod. Peir.


5 ἔσηγεν cod. Peir., εἰσάγειν VC.


6 περιέργων καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον Suid., πολύπραγμον καὶ τὸ περιέργου cod. Peir., περιέργων καὶ τὸ πολύτροπον VC Zon.


7 ἀνελάμβανε VC Suid., ἀπελάμβανε cod. Peir.


8 τινὸς VC cod. Peir., τινὰ Suid.


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high ground and that the earth should have been A.D. 117 excavated beneath it, so that it might have stood out more conspicuously on the Sacred Way from its higher position, and might also have accommodated the machines in its basement, so that they could be put together unobserved and brought into the theatre without anyone's being aware of them beforehand. Secondly, in regard to the statues, he said that they had been made too tall for the height of the cella. “For now,” he said, “if the goddesses wish to get up and go out, they will be unable to do so.” When he wrote this so bluntly to Hadrian, the emperor was both vexed and exceedingly grieved because he had fallen into a mistake that could not be righted, and he restrained neither his anger nor his grief, but slew the man. Indeed, his nature was such that he was jealous not only of the living, but also of the dead; at any rate he abolished Homer and introduced in his stead Antimachus,¹ whose very name had previously been unknown to many.

Other traits for which people found fault with him were his great strictness, his curiosity and his meddlesomeness. Yet he balanced and atoned for these defects by his careful oversight, his prudence, his munificence and his skill; furthermore, he did not stir up any war, and he terminated those already in progress; and he deprived no one of money unjustly, while upon many—communities and private citizens, Antimachus of Colophon, an epic poet who flourished about 400 B.C. He wrote an epic, the Thebais, and an elegy, Lyde, both characterized by extreme length and a wealth of mythological lore. By the Alexandrian grammarians he was ranked next to Homer among the epic poets. For Hadrian's preferences in the field of Roman literature see the Vita Hadriani (in the Historia Augusta), chap. 16.
2

Kal IBicorai^ koI ^ovkevTal<; re KaX lirirevan}
ovSe yap avefievev alrrjOrjvai ri,
'^aplaaaOaL.

aWa

irdvv
fcal

67roL€i.

wavra

Trpo?

rd

aTparicortfca

toGT

i]aK7ja€V,

3

^

ROMAN HISTORY

DIO'S

re

eKaarov

Tr)v

la^vovTa

')(p€iav

aKpi^earara
direiOelv

f^tjr

/jurjre

v^pi^eLV, Kal Td<; TroXe^? rd^i re avfi/iiaxi'^a^
Kal ra? v7rr)K6ov<; jxeyaXoiT peirecTTara ot)(f)eXt]a€.
TToXXa? fJi€V yap Kal elSev avroiv, 6aa<i ovBeW

aXXo9 avTOKpdrojp,
Kovpr](T6,

Tal<^

jxev

Ee

7rdaai<i

vScop

Tal<;

&>?

Be

iin

elirelv

\ifjLiva<;

(Jltm

epya Kal 'y^pij/juara Kal Tt./j,a<; aX)
d\\a<i S^8ou9.— Xiph. 244, 1-245, 6 R. St., Ex<
Val. 294 (p. 718), Suidas s.v. 'ASpiavo^ gl. 4.
Kal

re

6

2

^H7e

Be Kal rov

Btj/jlov

tmv

'¥co/.iaLO)v i/ji/Bpidi

Kai iroTe laX^P^
jxaXkov T) 6ct)7revTiKco(;'
oItovvtI Ti ^ iv^oirkoiia'x^ia ovTeeveifie, Kal irpoae^
eKeXeuae tovto Brj to rov Ao/jLiriavov Kr)pv')(6rjvi
"
ovk iXe^Oi] fiev yap' 6 yal
(TLcoirrjaaTey
KTJpv^ dvareiva^ rrjv X^^P^ ^^^ ^? avrov tovtoi
uyairep elcoOao-i iroielv (ov yap eari
OTTore VTTO K7]pvyiiaT0^ aiyd^ovrai), eiteiBri eai
**
toOt' eOeXei.^^ ^ Kal ovk otl nvi
(iiirr^aav, €(f>7]

r)(TVxd(Ta<;,

dXXd Kal eri/jLTjaev avrbt
rov
KeXeva-jnaTOf; ovk e^e(j)ri(T€v.
Bvax^peiav
yap ra roiavra, Kal ovk rjyavdKrei el ri

opyrjv TO) KTjpVKL ea^Gv,

on

Tr]v

3 €(j)ep€

Kal irapa
\oLTO.
rivL

" ov

434

yvd)/ir)v

dfieXei

Seo/j,ev7]<;,

a^oXd^w"

Kal jrpo^ tcop tv^ovtcov cw^e-

yvvaiKo^
ro

fjuev

eireiTa

irapiovro'^

irpcorov
Q)<i

avrov

elirev

eKeivr]

avrfj

oBo)

on

dpuKpayovora


senators and knights—he bestowed large sums. A.D. 117
Indeed, he did not even wait to be asked, but acted in absolutely every case according to the individual needs. He subjected the legions to the strictest discipline, so that, though strong, they were neither insubordinate nor insolent; and he aided the allied and subject cities most munificently. He had seen many of them,—more, in fact, than any other emperor,—and he assisted practically all of them, giving to some a water supply, to others harbours, food, public works, money and various honours, differing with the different cities.

He led the Roman people rather by dignity than by flattery. Once at a gladiatorial contest, when the crowd was demanding something very urgently, he not only would not grant it but further bade the herald proclaim Domitian's command, “Silence.” The word was not uttered, however, for the herald raised his hand and by that very gesture quieted the people, as heralds are accustomed to do (for crowds are never silenced by proclamation), and then, when they had become quiet, he said: “That is what he wishes.” And Hadrian was not in the least angry with the herald, but actually honoured him for not uttering the rude order. For he could bear such things, and was not displeased if he received aid either in an unexpected way or from ordinary men.

At any rate, once, when a woman made a request of him as he passed by on a journey, he at first said to her, “I haven’t time,” but afterwards, when she

1 bouleutaí—ἐπεδώσι VC, ἕλασι τισι cod. Peir.
2 τι Ζον., om. VC.
3 τούτον R. Steph., τούτος VC.
4 τούτ’ θέλει Bk., τούτο θέλει VC.
Εφη "καὶ μὴ βασίλευε," ἔπεστράφη τε καὶ λόγον αὐτὴ ἔδωκεν.

7 Ἡπραττε δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάντα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαίότατα, καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῷ τῷ Πανθείῳ καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχῶθι,

2 ἐν τε ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις αὐτοὺς ἑτίμα. καὶ οἰκαδε ἀνακοιμώμενος ἐν φορείῳ ἐφέρετο, ὅπως μηδένα συνακολουθοῦντα οἱ ἐνοχλοῦν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μῆτε ἱεραῖς μὴτε δημοσίως ἡμέραις οἰκοι ἐμενε, καὶ οὐδένα οὐδ' ὅσον ἀσπάσασθαι προσεδέχετο, εἰ μὴ τι άναγκαῖον εἶη, ὅπι μὴ πάνυ

3 ταλαιπωρῶντο. ἀεὶ τε περὶ έαντόν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐφιμή καὶ ἔξω τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰχε, καὶ συνῆν σφισι καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τέταρτος πολλάκις ὡχεῖτο. ἐθήρα δὲ ὀσάκις ἐνεδέχετο, καὶ ἡρίστα ἀνευ οὖνον· καὶ πλείονα ἐσιτείτο· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δικαζὼν μεταξὺ τρο-φῆς μετελάμβανεν· ἕπειτα μετὰ πάντων τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων ἐδείπνει, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ 2 τὸ

4 συνστίτων παντοδαπῶν λόγων πλήρες. τοὺς τε πάνυ νοσοῦντας φίλους ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἑορτάζουσι σφισι συνδιηγάτα, τοῖς τε ἀγροῖς καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐτῶν ἠδέως ἐχρήτο· ὅθεν καὶ εἰκόνας πολλοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσι πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ζώσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν ἐστησεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ἐξύβρισε

1 καὶ πλείονα—μετελάμβανεν Patric., om. Xiph.
2 αὐτῷ Zon. exc. Vat., αὐτοῦ VC.
cried out, "Cease, then, being emperor," he turned about and granted her a hearing.

He transacted with the aid of the senate all the important and most urgent business and he held court with the assistance of the foremost men, now in the palace, now in the Forum or the Pantheon or various other places, always being seated on a tribunal, so that whatever was done was made public. Sometimes he would join the consuls when they were trying cases and he showed them honour at the horse-races. When he returned home he was wont to be carried in a litter, in order not to trouble anyone to accompany him. On the days that were neither sacred nor suitable for public business he remained at home, and admitted no one, even so much as just to greet him, unless it were on some urgent matter; this was in order to spare people a troublesome duty. Both in Rome and abroad he always kept the noblest men about him, and he used to join them at banquets and for this reason often took three others into his carriage. He went hunting as often as possible, and he breakfasted without wine; he used to eat a good deal, and often in the midst of trying a case he would partake of food; later he would dine in the company of all the foremost and best men, and their meal together was the occasion for all kinds of discussions. When his friends were very ill, he would visit them, and he would attend their festivals, and was glad to stay at their country seats and their town houses. Hence he also placed in the Forum images of many when they were dead and of many while they were still alive. No one of

1 In other words, on the dies religiosi, the unlucky days of the Roman calendar.
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tis autwn ou't' apedotó ti ou'ò' òn élegev ou'ò'
òn éprattên, òla o' te Kaisáreioi kal o'î allloi
oi peri touts autokrátoros échontes poiëin eió-
thetai.

8,1 Taúta perí ge1 tòu trótpou, òs ën kefalaiàf
épiein, proeiráka: léjxò 2 dé kal tà kàth' ékasto
òsa anagkaión èstì mnêmoneúesathai.—Xiph. 245,
6–246, 8 R. St., Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 107 (p. 221
Mai. = p. 203, 8–13 Dind.).

1a "Oti Aléxandréwon staśiasánntow ouk állos
épauásanto, èwos ou épistotính 'Adriânou dèýxanto
építimóswan autôi's ou'tò wóu pléon ïochúsei
autokrátoros lógous tôn òplwv.—Petr. Patr. Exc.
Vat: 108 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 14–17 Dind.).

12 'Eldwv yâr ès ti'n 'Pòwnh àfíke tâ òfieió-
meva tò te basilikò kai tò dèmosiw tò tôn
'Ròmaíôw, èkkataidekaesth' òrísas xrónon àf' ou tè
2 kai méçrios ou têrhth'sesathai tout' èmellèn. ën
tex tois èautóv gêneblíaos troíka tò dímu tòv
thèan àpêneime kai thêria pollà àpékteinevn, òsste
èfáptaq kai lèontas èkaton kai leaiàvas èsas
peseîn, kai dòra dià sfairíwv kai èn tòv theátrw
kai èn tòv òpîodrómow xwriç mèn tois ànâdrasi
xwriç dè tâis gnivaij diérryse. kai yâr kai3
lóûsvai4 xwriç allhílou autôtis proòstasèxen.
3 èn mèn tò ètei èkeíwv taúta te ègéneto kai o

1 ye St., te VC.
2 léjw Sylb., légy VC.
3 kai supplied by H. Steph.
4 lóûsvai Dind., lóûvesai VC.

1 Literally, sixteen years, reckoning inclusively. It has
been argued that Hadrian at this time provided for a general

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his associates, moreover, displayed insolence or took A.D. 117 money for divulging anything that Hadrian either said or did, as the freedmen and other attendants in the suite of emperors are accustomed to do.

This is a kind of preface, of a summary nature, that I have been giving in regard to his character. I shall also relate in detail all the events that require mention.

The Alexandrians had been rioting, and nothing would make them stop until they received a letter from Hadrian rebuking them. So true is it that an emperor's word will have more force than arms.

On coming to Rome he cancelled the debts that were owing to the imperial treasury and to the public treasury of the Romans, fixing a period of fifteen years from the first to the last of which this remission was to apply. On his birthday he gave the usual spectacle free to the people and slew many wild beasts, so that one hundred lions, for example, and a like number of lionesses fell on this single occasion. He also distributed gifts by means of little balls which he threw broadcast both in the theatres and in the Circus, for the men and for the women separately. And further, he also commanded them to bathe separately. Besides these events of revision of the tax lists every fifteen years (so Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht II, 1015, 4). The next recorded instance, however, of anything of the sort is from the year 178 (inf. lxii. 32, 2), when Marcus Aurelius cancelled all the arrears for the preceding forty-five years, "in addition to the fifteen years of Hadrian." Hadrian's action, moreover, probably applied only to the taxes due to the fiscus (so the Vita Hadriani, 7, 6), and not to both treasuries, as Dio states.

2 Cf. lxii (lxii). 18, lxvi. 25.
Εὐφράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπέθανεν ἑθελοντῆς, ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ κόωνεον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον πιεῖν.

9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ἄλλην ἀπ᾽ ἄλλης διαπορευόμενος ἐπαρχίαν, τάς τε χώρας καὶ τάς πόλεις ἐπισκέπτόμενος, καὶ πάντα τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰ τείχη περισκοπῆσθαι, τά μὲν ἐς ἐπικαιροτέρους 1 τόπους μεθίστη, τὰ δὲ ἔπαυε, τὰ δὲ προσκαβί-2 στατο, αὐτὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς, ὡχ᾽ ὡπως τὰ κοινά τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅπλα λέγω καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ τάφρους καὶ περιβόλους καὶ χαρακόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδία ἐνὸς ἐκάστου, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευμένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, τοὺς βίους τὰς οἰκήσεις τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ ἐφορῶν καὶ ἔξετάζων καὶ πολλά γε ἐς τὸ ἀβρότερον ἐκδεδεινημένα καὶ κατεσκευασμένα καὶ μετερρόθ-3 μισε καὶ μετεσκέυασεν. 2 ἐγγύμαζε δὲ αὐτοῦς πρὸς πάντας ἐῖδος μάχης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τοὺς δὲ ἐνορθέτει, πάντας δὲ ἐδίδασκεν ἢ χρῆ ποιεῖν. καὶ ὡπως γε καὶ ὅροντες αὐτὸν ὠφελοίνο το, σκληρὰ τε πανταχοῦ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἐβάδιζεν ἢ καὶ ὑπενε τάντα, οὐδὲν ὡπότε εἴτε ὁχί-4 ματος τότε γε εἴτε 3 τετρακύκλου ἐπέβη ὅποις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῆς οὐκ ἐν θάλπῃ, οὐκ ἐν ῥίγει ἐκαλύφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χιόσι ταῖς Κελτικαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς καύμασι τοῖς Ἀγυπτικοῖς γυμνῆς αὐτῇ περιήγη. συνελόντε τε εἰπεῖν, οὐτω καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλμασι πάν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διὸ ὅλης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠσκήσει καὶ κατεκόσμησεν ὡστε

1 ἐπικαιροτέρους Bk., ἐπικαιροτάτους VC.
2 μετεσκέυασεν Sylb., μετέσκαψεν VC.

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that year, Euphrates, the philosopher, died a death of his own choosing, since Hadrian permitted him to drink hemlock in consideration of his extreme age and his malady.

Hadrian travelled through one province after another, visiting the various regions and cities and inspecting all the garrisons and forts. Some of these he removed to more desirable places, some he abolished, and he also established some new ones. He personally viewed and investigated absolutely everything, not merely the usual appurtenances of camps, such as weapons, engines, trenches, ramparts and palisades, but also the private affairs of every one, both of the men serving in the ranks and of the officers themselves,—their lives, their quarters and their habits,—and he reformed and corrected in many cases practices and arrangements for living that had become too luxurious. He drilled the men for every kind of battle, honouring some and reproving others, and he taught them all what should be done. And in order that they should be benefited by observing him, he everywhere led a rigorous life and either walked or rode on horseback on all occasions, never once at this period setting foot in either a chariot or a four-wheeled vehicle. He covered his head neither in hot weather nor in cold, but alike amid German snows and under scorching Egyptian suns he went about with his head bare. In fine, both by his example and by his precepts he so trained and disciplined the whole military force throughout the entire empire that even

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}} \epsilon\lambda\kappa\tau\varepsilon—\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon\text{ BS.}, \ \omega\upsilon\tau\epsilon—\omega\upsilon\tau\epsilon \text{ VC.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}} \omega\upsilon\delta\varepsilon \text{ Bk.}, \ \omega\upsilon\tau\epsilon \text{ VC.} \]
καὶ νῦν τὰ τοτὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ταχθέντα νόμον σφίσιν τῆς στρατείας εἶναι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ μάλιστα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πλείστον πρὸς τούς ἀλλοφύλους διεγένετο. τὴν τε γὰρ παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ὀρώντες, καὶ μῆτε τι ἀδικούμενοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντες, οὐδὲν ἐνεχώροσαν. οὕτω γὰρ καλὸς ἡσκητὸ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῷ ὡστε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τῶν καλομένων Βατάουνοι 2 τὸν Ἰστρον μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν διενήχαντο. ἃ ὀρώντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις κατεπλήττοντο, τρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ 3 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐχρώνιτο αὐτῷ διαιτητῇ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν.

10 Ἐποίει δὲ καὶ θεατρα καὶ ἀγώνας, περιπορευόμενος τὰς πόλεις, ἀνευ τῆς βασιλικῆς μέντοι παρασκευῆς: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξω τῆς Ῥώμης ἐχρήσατο ποτε αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ πατρίδα καὶ παῖδα μεγάλα τιμήσας καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα αὐτῇ δοὺς, 2 ὁμοιώ συκ εἶδε. περὶ μέντοι τὰς θήρας ἐσπούδακέναι λέγεται: καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἐν ταύταις κατεάζε καὶ τὸ σκέλος μικροῦ ἑπτρώθη, καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ οἰκίσας Ἀδριανοῦ θήρας αὐτὴν ὄνωμασε. οὐ μέντοι τι παρὰ τούτ’ ἀπρακτοτούν τὸν τῇ ἄρχῃ προςελκόντων κατέλιπε. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς θήρας σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Βορυσθένης ὁ ἱππος, ὃ μάλιστα θηρῶν ἱρέσκετο, σημεῖον ἐστιν ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῶ καὶ τάφον κατεσκεύασε καὶ στῆλην ἐστήσε καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπέγραψεν. ὅθεν οὐ θαυμαστῶν εἰ καὶ τὴν Πλωτίναν ἀποθανοῦσαν, δι’ ἦς ἔτυχε τῆς ἄρχης

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1 ταχθέντα Sylb., ἀχθέντα VC.
2 Βατάουνον Suid., βαστάων VC.
to-day the methods then introduced by him are the A.D. 121 soldiers' law of campaigning. This best explains why he lived for the most part at peace with foreign nations; for as they saw his state of preparation and were themselves not only free from aggression but received money besides, they made no uprising. So excellently, indeed, had his soldiery been trained that the cavalry of the Batavians, as they were called, swam the Ister with their arms. Seeing all this, the barbarians stood in terror of the Romans, and turning their attention to their own affairs, they employed Hadrian as an arbitrator of their differences.

He also constructed theatres and held games as he travelled about from city to city, dispensing; however, with the imperial trappings; for he never used these outside Rome. And yet he did not see his native land,¹ though he showed it great honour and bestowed many splendid gifts upon it. He is said to have been enthusiastic about hunting. Indeed, he broke his collar-bone at this pursuit and came near getting his leg maimed; and to a city that he founded in Mysia he gave the name of Hadrianotherae.² However, he did not neglect any of the duties of his office because of this pastime. Some light is thrown upon his passion for hunting by what he did for his steed Borysthenes, which was his favourite horse for the chase; when the animal died, he prepared a tomb for him, set up a slab and placed an inscription upon it. It is not strange, then, that upon the death of Plotina, the woman through whom he had secured

¹ See note on ch. 1.
² i.e., Hadrian's Hunts (or Hunting Grounds).

³ ἐπὶ St., περὶ VC.
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ἐρώσης αὐτοῦ, διαφερόντως ἐτύμησεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα μελανειμονήσαί καὶ ναὸν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομήσας καὶ ὑμνοὺς τινὰς ἐς αὐτὴν ποιήσας.

—Xiph. 246, 8–247, 28 R. St.

3a "Ὅτι τῆς Πλωτίνης ἁποθανοῦσης ἐπήνει αὐτὴν Ἄδριανός, λέγων ὅτι “πολλὰ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἄιτήσασα οὐδενὸς ἀπέτυχεν.” τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔλεγεν, ἄλλʼ ὅτι “τοιαῦτα ἦτε ολα οὔτε ἐβάρει με οὔτε συνεχόμεθε αὐτείπεδον.”—Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 109 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 18–21 Dind.).

32 Οὔτω δὲ περὶ τὴν θήραν ἐπιδέξιος ἦν ὡς καὶ μέγαν ποτὲ σὺν μιᾷ πληγῇ καθελεῖν.

11 Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπώπτευσε τὰ μνητήρια.

Διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Ἀἰγυπτὸν παριῶν καὶ ἐνήγισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ πρὸς ὅν καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔπος ἀπορρίφησα λέγεται
tῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση στάνις ἐπλετο τύμβου.

καὶ τὸ μνήμα αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένον ἀνωκοδόμησεν.

2 ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀἰγυπτῷ καὶ τὴν Ἀντινόου ὀνομασμένην ἀνωκοδόμησε πόλιν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίνοος ἦν μὲν ἐκ Βιθυνίου πόλεως Βιθυνίδος, ἦν καὶ Κλαυδιού-πολίν καλοῦμεν, παιδικὰ δὲ 3 αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀἰγυπτῷ ἐτελεύτησεν, εἶτʼ οὖν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκπεσόν, ὃς Ἄδριανός γράφει, εἶτε καὶ 3 ἱερουργηθεὶς, ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα περιεργότατος Ἄδριανός, ὡσπερ ἐπιτοῦ, ἐγένετο, καὶ μαντείαις μαγγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς ἔχρητο.

1 Πλωτίνης Dind., πλουτίνης cod.
2 οὔτε—οὔτε Dind., οὔδε—οὔδε cod.

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the imperial office because of her love for him, he a.d. 124 honoured her exceedingly, wearing black for nine days, erecting a temple to her and composing some hymns in her memory.

When Plotina died, Hadrian praised her, saying: "Though she asked much of me, she was never refused anything." By this he simply meant to say: "Her requests were of such a character that they neither burdened me nor afforded me any justification for opposing them."

He was so skilful in the chase that he once brought down a huge boar with a single blow.

On coming to Greece he was admitted to the highest grade at the Mysteries.¹

After this he passed through Judaea into Egypt a.d. 128 and offered sacrifice to Pompey, concerning whom he is said to have uttered this verse:

"Strange lack of tomb for one with shrines o'erwhelmed!"

And he restored his monument, which had fallen in ruin. In Egypt also he rebuilt the city named henceforth for Antinous.² Antinous was from Bithynium, a city of Bithynia, which we also call Claudiopolis; he had been a favourite of the emperor and had died in Egypt, either by falling into the Nile, as Hadrian writes, or, as the truth is, by being offered in sacrifice. For Hadrian, as I have stated, was always very curious and employed divinations and incantations of all kinds. Accordingly, he honoured

¹ The Eleusinian Mysteries.
² Antinoöpolis.
³ δὲ Bk., τε VC cod. Peir.
καὶ οὗτω γε τὸν Ἀντίνοον, ήτοι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅτι ἐθελοντὴς ἐθανατώθη (ἐκουσίον γὰρ ψυχῆς πρὸς ἃ ἐπραττεν ἐδείτο), ἐτύμησεν ὡς καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ὧν τούτ' ἔπαθε, καὶ συνοικίσαι καὶ ὄνομασαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐκείνου ἀνδριάν τασ ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἰπείν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγάλματα, ἀνέθηκε. καὶ τέλος ἁστέρα των αὐτὸς τε ὦραν ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀντινόου ὄντα ἔλεγε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ μυθολογούντων ἡδέως ἦκονεν ἐκ τε τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ Ἀντινόου οὕτως τὸν ἁστέρα γεγενήθη καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀναπεφηνέναι. διὰ ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐσκόπτετο, καὶ ὅτι Παυλίνη τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἀποθανοῦσῃ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἔνειμεν . . .—Xiph. 247, 28–248, 17 R. St., Exc. Val. 295 (p. 714), cf. Suid. s.vv. 'Αδριανός (gl. 5), παιδικά.

12 ἦς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἢν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλίναν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἔσ τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπου ναδὴν τῷ Διῷ ἔτερον ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος οὐτε μικρὸς οὐτε ὀλυγοχρόνος ἐκινηθή. Ιουδαίοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι τὸ ἀλλοφύλους των ἐς τὴν πόλιν σφῶν οἰκίσθηναι καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρυθήναι, παρόντος μὲν ἐν τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἡσύχαζον, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὰ ὀπλα τὰ ἐπιταχθέντα σφίσιν ἄγων ἐπιτήδεια ἐξεπτύθητος κατεσκεύασαν ὡς ἀποδοκιμασθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων χρήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρῳ ἐγένετο, φανερῶς ἀπετῆσαν. καὶ παρατάξει μὲν φανερᾷ οὔκ ἐτόλμων

1 ἐτύμησεν ὡς VC, ἐφίλησεν ὡστε cod. Peir.
2 οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῶ VC.
Antinous, either because of his love for him or because the youth had voluntarily undertaken to die (it being necessary that a life should be surrendered freely for the accomplishment of the ends Hadrian had in view), by building a city on the spot where he had suffered this fate and naming it after him; and he also set up statues, or rather sacred images of him, practically all over the world. Finally, he declared that he had seen a star which he took to be that of Antinous, and gladly lent an ear to the fictitious tales woven by his associates to the effect that the star had really come into being from the spirit of Antinous and had then appeared for the first time. On this account, then, he became the object of some ridicule, and also because at the death of his sister Paulina he had not immediately paid her any honour.

At Jerusalem he founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there. So long; indeed, as Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made of poor quality such weapons as they were called upon to furnish, in order that the Romans might reject them and they themselves might thus have the use of them; but when he went farther away, they openly revolted. To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the

3 τε cod. Peir., μέν VC.
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diakivnveússai pròs toûs Ῥωμαίous, tâ de tîs χώραs épíkaïra kateleámβanov kai ùpovúmois kai teîxhesin ekkratûnontos, ópws ánafugás te ópotaν biaisðhousin ëkhoßi kai par' allhlous ùpó gîn diaphoitañtes lavðánwos, diatîtrántes ànws tás ùpoveíous ódouß ìna kai ànemos kai fêngos èsdêxoíntos.

13 Kai to mév pròtou en oudeôi autouß lógw oî Ῥωμαίoi épvoiônto: èpeli ð' ñ te Iovdaia pása èkekínto,1 kai oî ápantachôu2 ñís Iovdaioi svnetarântonton kai svnyesas, kai polla kakà ës toûs Ῥωμαίous tâ mév láðra tâ de kai 2 faneòs èvedeíkynnto, pollloi te àllloi kai tôv òllofylûn ëpitwymia kérðous sfísi svneleamvbá- nontos, kai pásaß òs eîtein k˘novmènhs èpî tòuß tîs oikouvnenhs, tòte ð' tòte tôus krátitstous tôu ñtratñgywôn ò Adrijanos ëp' autous èpemße, ñv pròtos Iovljos Òeouvîros ùptîrshort, àpò Bvettañías òs ñrìchev ëpî toûs Iovdaíous sta-

3 leis. òs àntikrûs mév oudamòthen ètòlmhse toûs ëvauñtîous svmbaleîn, tò te plîhðos kai tôu ñpognwswv autôn òròwv ñpòlaamvbánwv ð' òwss èkástous plîheî tôuñ straxiotwôn kai tôuñ ùp- ãrchnwv, kai trôfíss ñpeirígwn kai katakkleíouv, ñdûnîth bradûteroû mév àkivndunôteron ðe kata-

trpsai ëkhkeîssai kai ëkkôfi曲线 autous. 14 ñlîgou ñouî 3 kômïdh ïerewgeîntos. kai fronûria mév autôn penteîkonta tà ge àxioługôta, kòwmái ðe ènakoûnta kai òghoûkonta kai ðènte

1 èkekínto St., kekínto VC.
2 ápantachôu C Zon., pantaçhôu V.
3 ñouî Bk., ð' ñvnic VC.

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Romans in the open field, but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

At first the Romans took no account of them. Soon, however, all Judaea had been stirred up, and the Jews everywhere were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by overt acts; many outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain, and the whole earth, one might almost say, was being stirred up over the matter. Then, indeed, Hadrian sent against them his best generals. First of these was Julius Severus, who was dispatched from Britain, where he was governor, against the Jews. Severus did not venture to attack his opponents in the open at any one point, in view of their numbers and their desperation, but by intercepting small groups, thanks to the number of his soldiers and his under-officers, and by depriving them of food and shutting them up, he was able, rather slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush, exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them in fact survived. Fifty of their most important outposts and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were

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δυναμοστόταται κατεσκάφησαν, ἃνδρες δὲ ὠκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδες ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τε ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ ταῖς μάχαις (τῶν τε γὰρ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ καὶ πυρὶ φθαρέντων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέξε-2 έρεύνητον ἢν), ὡστε πᾶσαν ὅλιγον δεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔρημωθῆναι, καθάπερ ποι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου αὐτοῖς προεδείχθη τὸ γὰρ μιμημένον τοῦ Σολομώντος, ὃ ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίοις οὕτωι ἄγουσιν, ἀπὸ ταυτομάτον διελύθη τε καὶ συνέπεσε, καὶ λύκοι υναίρε το πολλαὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν 3 ἐσέπιπτον ὄρυμεναι. πολλοὶ μέντοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο· διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς γράφων πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ἐχρῆσατο τῷ προοιμίῳ τῷ συνήθει τοῖς αὐτοκράτοριν, ὅτι "εἰ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν ὑγιαίνετε, εὐ ἀν ἔχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ στρατεύ-ματα ὑγιαίνομεν."


15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἁλανῶν (εἰςὶ δὲ Μασσαγέται ⁴) ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου, καὶ

¹ κατεσκάφησαν Ζων., κατεστράφησαν VC.
² ὃ Ῥκ., ὃν VC.
razed to the ground. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out. Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, a result of which the people had had forewarning before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, which the Jews regard as an object of veneration, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed, and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities. Many Romans, moreover, perished in this war. Therefore Hadrian in writing to the senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors, “If you and your children are in health, it is well; I and the legions are in health.”

He sent Severus into Bithynia, which needed no armed force but a governor and leader who was just and prudent and a man of rank. All these qualifications Severus possessed. And he managed and administered both their private and their public affairs in such a manner that we are still, even today, wont to remember him. Pamphylia, in place of Bithynia, was given to the senate and made assignable by lot.

This, then, was the end of the war with the Jews. A second war was begun by the Alani (they are Massagetae) at the instigation of Pharasmanes. It

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1 Not the same person as is mentioned in the previous chapter.
2 i.e., “we natives of Bithynia” (Dio’s country).

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3 ἐν cod. Peir., om. VC.
4 Μασσαγέται Zon., μασσαγέται VC (μεσσαγέτων URBV, μεσσαγέτων URB BM).
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν μὲν 'Αλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ἱσχυρῶς ἐλύση, τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἀψάμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν 'Αλανῶν τὰ μὲν δόρως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀὐσογαίον πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλάονιον Ἀρριανὸν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρχοντα φοβηθέντων, ἐπαύσατο. 2

2 Ὁτι πρεσβευτὰς πεμφθέντας παρὰ τοῦ Ὀὐσογαίον καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἰαζύγων, ἐκεῖνον μὲν κατηγοροῦντος τινα Φαρασσάνου, τούτων δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην πιστομένων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ποιήσασθαι ἐπιτραπεῖσι συνέγραψε τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἀνέγραψε σφίσιν.

16 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τὸ τε Ὀλύμπιον τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδρυται, ἐξεποίησε, καὶ δράκοντα ἐσ αὐτὸ ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας κομισθέντα ἀνέθηκε τὰ τε Διονύσια, τὴν μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀρχὴν ἀρξας, ἐν τῇ ἐσθητῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλεσε.

2 τὸν τε σηκοῦν τὸν έαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ἀνομασμένου, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπετρεψε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτὸ κατεστήσατο, χρηματά τε πολλὰ καὶ σίτου ἐτήσιον τὴν τε Κεφαλληνίαν ὅλην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐχαρίσατο. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλῳ τε πολλῷ, καὶ ἰνα μηδεὶς βουλευτῆς μὴ τ' αὐτὸς μήτε δι' ἐτέρου τέλος τι

1 τὴν μὲν 'Αλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν Bs., καὶ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν μηδία VBM (μηδίαν m2 in marg. V), τὴν μὲν Μηδίαν VC.

2 ἐπαύσατο Zon., ἐπαύσαντο VC UB.
3 Οὐσογαίον Reim., βολογαίον MSS.
caused dire injury to the Albanian territory and Media, and then involved Armenia and Cappadocia; after which, as the Alani were not only persuaded by gifts from Vologaesus but also stood in dread of Flavius Arrianus, the governor of Cappadocia, it came to a stop.

Envoys\(^1\) were sent from Vologaesus and from the Iazyges; the former made some charges against Pharasmanes and the latter wished to confirm the peace. He\(^2\) introduced them to the senate and was empowered by that body to return appropriate answers; and these he accordingly prepared and read to them.

Hadrian completed the Olympieum at Athens, in which his own statue also stands, and dedicated there a serpent, which had been brought from India. He also presided at the Dionysia, first assuming the highest office among the Athenians,\(^3\) and arrayed in the local costume, carried it through brilliantly. He allowed the Greeks to build in his honour the shrine which was named the Panhellenium, and instituted a series of games\(^4\) in connection with it; and he granted to the Athenians large sums of money, an annual dole of grain, and the whole of Cephallenia. Among numerous laws that he enacted was one to the effect that no senator, either personally or through the agency of another, should

\(^1\) This fragment is evidently out of place here, but its proper position is uncertain; like the next fragment in Ursinus' collection (p. 470) it may belong to the reign of Pius.

\(^2\) The subject is wanting; if it was Hadrian, the passage belongs to a period when he was in Rome.

\(^3\) The office of archon eponymus.

\(^4\) The Panhellenic Games.
3 μισθώται. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἡρώμην ἐλθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τινὶ 1 θέα βοῶν ὁ δήμος ἀρματηλάτην τιμὰ ἐλευθερώθηκεν ἐδείτο, ἀντείπτε διὰ πινακίων γραφῆς, εἰπὼν ὅτι “οὐ προσήκει ὑμῖν οὔτε παρ’ ἐμοῦ αὐτεῖς ἵνα ἀλλότριον δούλον ἐλευθερώσω, οὔτε τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ βιάζεσθαι τούτῳ ποιῆσαι.”

17 Ἀρξάμενος δὲ νοσεῖν (αἷμα γὰρ εἰώθει μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον διὰ τῆς ρινὸς προκεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπέλευσεν) ἀπεγνώσθη μὲν βιῶσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο Κόμμῳδον 2 μὲν Δοῦκιον, καίτοι αἷμα ἐμοῦτα, Κάλασα Ῥωμαίους ἀπεδείξε, Σερουιανὸν 3 δὲ καὶ Φοῦσκον τὸν ἔγγονον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀγανακτῆσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφονεύσε, τὸν μὲν ἐνενηκοντοῦτην ὄντα τὸν δὲ 2 ὀκτωκαιδεκέτην. πρὶν δὲ ἀποσφαγῆναι, ὁ Σερουιανὸς 3 πῦρ ἤτησε, καὶ θυμιῶν ἄμα “οτι μὲν οὐδὲν ἄδικόν” ἔφη “ὕμεῖς, ὁ θεὸς, ἵστε· περὶ δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ τοσοῦτον μόνον εὕχομαι, ἵνα ἐπιθυμήσασι ἀποθαυμαίνει μὴ δυνηθῇ.” καὶ μέντοι καὶ διετέλεσεν Ἀδριανὸς ἐπὶ πλείστον νοσῶν, πολλάκις μὲν ἀποσβηνεί εὐξάμενος, πολλάκις δὲ 3 καὶ ἀποκτανεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἑθελήσας. ἐστὶ γε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολή αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνδεικνυμένη, ὡςν κακὸν ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τινα ἀποθαυμαίνει μὴ δύνασθαι. τὸν δὲ Σερουιανὸν τοῦτον Ἀδριανὸς 4 καὶ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἄξιον ἐνόμισεν εἶναι εἰπὼν γοῦν ποτε ἐν συμποσίῳ τοῖς φίλοις ἵνα αὐτῷ δέκα ἄνδρας μοναρχεῖν δυναμένους ὁνο-

1 τινὶ Sylb., τε VC.
2 Κόμμῳδον R. Steph. (κόμμῳδος cod. Peir.), κόμμῳδον VC Zon.

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have any tax farmed out to him. After he had A.D. 134 returned to Rome, the crowd at a spectacle shouted their request for the emancipation of a certain charioteer; but he replied in writing on a bulletin-board: "It is not right for you either to ask me to free another's slave or to force his master to do so."

He now began to be sick; for he had been subject A.D. 136 even before this to a flow of blood from the nostrils, and at this time it became distinctly more copious. He therefore despaired of his life, and on this account appointed Lucius Commodus to be Caesar for the Romans, although this man frequently vomited blood. Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, the former a nonagenarian and the latter eighteen years of age, were put to death on the ground that they were displeased at this action. Servianus before being executed asked for fire, and as he offered incense he exclaimed: "That I am guilty of no wrong, ye, O Gods, are well aware; as for Hadrian, this is my only prayer, that he may long for death but be unable to die." And, indeed, Hadrian did linger on a long time in his illness, and often prayed that he might expire, and often desired to kill himself. There is, indeed, a letter of his in existence which gives proof of precisely this—how dreadful it is to long for death and yet be unable to die. This Servianus had been regarded by Hadrian as capable of filling even the imperial office. For instance, Hadrian had once at a banquet told his friends to name him ten men who were competent to be sole ruler, and then, after a

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3 Ξερονιανόν—Ξερονιανός Reim., σεβηριανόν—σεβηριανός VC σευριανόν—σευριανός Zon.
4 Ἀδριανὸς Reim., ὁ τραιανὸς VC.
18 Γεγονασι δε καὶ ἄλλοι τότε ἄριστοι ἄνδρες, ὅν ἐπιφανέστατοι Τούρβων τε καὶ Σίμιλις ἤστην, οἳ καὶ ἀνδριάσιν ἐτιμήθησαν, Τούρβων μὲν στρατηγικότατος ἀνήρ, δε καὶ ἑπαρχός γεγονός, εἰτ' οὖν ἄρχων τῶν δορυφόρων, οὕτε τι ἀβρόν οὕτε τι ὑπερήφανου ἐπράξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς 2 εἰς τῶν πολλῶν διεβίω. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ ἵδε τριβήθε, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸ μέσων νυκτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸ ἤθει, ὅτε τινὲς τῶν ἄλλων καθεύθεων ἤρχοντο.

3 ἀμέλει καὶ Κορνήλιος Φρόντων ὁ τά πρώτα τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐν δίκαιοις φερόμενοι, ἐσπέρας ποτὲ βαθείας ἀπὸ δείπνου οἶκας ἐπανώ, καὶ μαθῶν παρὰ τινός ὃ συνηγορήσειν ὑπέσχετο δικάζειν αὐτοῦ ἡδη, ἐν τῇ στολῇ τῇ δειπνίτιδι, ὡσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐσήλθε καὶ ἱστάσατο, οὕτω γε τῷ ἐσθινῷ προσήματι τῷ χαίρε, ἄλλα

4 τῷ ἐσπερινῷ τῷ ὑγίαιῳ χρησάμενοι. οἶκοι δὲ ὁ Τούρβων οὔποτε ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ νοσήσας, ὥφθη, ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριανὸν συμβουλεύοντα αὐτῷ ἀτρεμήσαι 3 εἶπεν ὦτι "τῶν ἑπαρχῶν ἐστώτα ἀποθνῄσκειν δεί." 18 Ο δὲ δὴ Σίμιλις ἥλικια μὲν καὶ τάξει προήκων αὐτοῦ 4 εν τρόποις οὐδένοις τῶν πάνω, ὥς γε ἐγὼ νομίζω, δεύτερος ἦν. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὀλυγιστῶν 5

1 πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ cod. Peir., πρὸς τὸν βασιλεά VC Zon.
2 αὐτὸ VC, αὐτῶν cod. Peir.
3 ἀτρεμήσαι Sylb., ἀτρεμήσειν VC Zon.
4 αὐτοῦ cod. Peir. Zon., αὐτῶν VC.

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moment's pause, had added: "Nine only I want to know; for one I have already—Servianus."

Other excellent men, also, came to light during that period, of whom the most distinguished were Turbo and Similis, who, indeed, were honoured with statues. Turbo was a man of the greatest generalship and had become prefect, or commander of the Praetorians. He displayed neither effeminacy nor haughtiness in anything that he did, but lived like one of the multitude; among other things, he spent the entire day near the palace and often he would go there even before midnight, when some of the others were just beginning to sleep. In this connexion the following anecdote is related of Cornelius Fronto, who was the foremost Roman of the time in pleading before the courts. One night he was returning home from dinner very late, and ascertained from a man whose counsel he had promised to be that Turbo was already holding court. Accordingly, just as he was, in his dinner dress, he went into Turbo's court-room and greeted him, not with the morning salutation, Salve, but with the one appropriate to the evening, Vale. Turbo was never seen at home in the day-time, even when he was sick; and to Hadrian, who advised him to remain quiet, he replied: "The prefect ought to die on his feet."

Similis was of more advanced years and rank than Turbo, and in character was second to none of the great men, in my opinion. This may be inferred

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1 This explanation is due to the excerptor.
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

τεκμηριωθήκε. τῷ τε γὰρ Τραϊανῷ ἐκατονταρχοῦντα ἐτὶ αὐτῶν ἐσκαλέσαντι ποτέ εἰσώ πρὸ τῶν ἐπάρχων ἤφη "αἰσχρὸν ἦστι, Καίσαρ, ἐκατοντάρχῳ σε τῶν ἐπάρχων ἔξω ἐστηκότων 2 διαλέγεσθαι," καὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἄρχὴν ἄκων τε ἐλαβε καὶ λαβὼν ἔξιστατο, μόλις τε ἀφεθεὶς ἐν ἀγρῷ ἱσχυχος ἔπτα ἐτή τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου διῆγαγε, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τὸ μνήμα αὐτοῦ 1 τοῦτο ἐπέγραψεν ὅτι "Σιμίλις 2 ἐνταῦθα κεῖται βιοίς μὲν ἐτή τόσα, 3 ξῆσας δὲ ἐτή ἐπτα."—Χιφ. 252, 30–253, 23 R. St., Exc. Val. 297, 298, 299.

23, 4 "Οτι ὁ Φάβιος 'Ιουλιος μὴ φέρων τὴν τοῦ νῦν χράν ροῖον οἶκον, ῥήσας εάντον ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἴδελησεν.—Exc. Val. 300 (p. 714).

20 Ἄδριανός δὲ φθόγη τε ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τοῦ αἵματος ρύσεως ἔχρήτῳ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτής καὶ ὕδρωπιασεν. ἔπει δὲ συνεβῇ τὸν Λούκιον τοῦ Κόμμοδου ἐξαίφνης ἐγκαταλείφθηναι ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πολλοῦ τε καὶ ἀθρόου ἐκπεσόντος, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ ἄξιολογοὺς τῶν θουλευτῶν οἰκαδε, καὶ κατακείμενος εἰπεν αὐτοῖς 2 τάδε: "ἐμοὶ, ὁ ἄνδρες φίλοι, γόνων μὲν οὐκ ἐδωκεν ἡ φύσις ποιησασθαῖ, νομῷ δὲ ύμεῖς ἐδώκατε. διαφέρει δὲ τούτο ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν γεννώμενον, ὁποῖον ἂν δόξῃ τῷ δαιμονίῳ, γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ δὴ ποιούμενον αὐθαίρετον τις αὐτῶς ἀειτῶ προστί- 3 θεται, ὅστε παρὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἀνάπηρον καὶ ἄφρονα πολλάκις δίδοσθαί τινι, παρὰ δὲ τῆς

1 αὐτοῦ Sylb., αὐτοῦ VC cod. Peir.
2 Σιμίλις cod. Peir., σιμίλις μὲν VC.
even from incidents that are very trivial. For instance when Trajan once summoned him, while he was still a centurion, to enter his presence ahead of the prefects, he said: "It is a shame, Caesar, that you should be talking with a centurion while the prefects stand outside." Moreover, he assumed the command of the Praetorians reluctantly, and after assuming it resigned it. Having with difficulty secured his release, he spent the rest of his life, seven years, quietly in the country, and upon his tomb he caused this inscription to be placed: "Here lies Similis, who existed so-and-so many years, and lived seven."

Julius Fabius,\(^1\) not being able to endure his son's effeminacy, desired to throw himself into the river.

Hadrian became consumptive as a result of his great loss of blood, and this led to dropsy. And as it happened that Lucius Commodus was suddenly carried off by a severe hæmorrhage, the emperor convened at his house the most prominent and most respected of the senators; and lying there upon his couch, he spoke to them as follows: "I, my friends, have not been permitted by nature to have a son, but you have made it possible by legal enactment. Now there is this difference between the two methods—that a begotten son turns out to be whatever sort of person Heaven pleases, whereas one that is adopted a man takes to himself as the result of a deliberate selection. Thus by the process of nature a maimed and witless child is often given to a parent, but by

\(^1\) The name is perhaps corrupt; so Dessau, *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* ii. p. 47, No. 31.
κρίσεως καὶ ἀρτιμελή καὶ ἀρτίνουν πάντως αἰρεῖσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρότερον μὲν τὸν Δοῦκιον ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐξελεξάμην, οἴον οὐδὲ ἂν

4 εὐξασθαὶ παίδα ἡδυνήθην ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνου τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡμῶν ἀφείλετο, εὐρον ἀντ’ ἐκείνου αὐτοκράτορα ὑμῶν, ὃν διδώμη, εὐγενῆ πρᾶον εὐεικτον ἐφόνιμον, μὴ ὑπὸ νεότητος προπετῆς μὴθ’ ὑπὸ γῆρως ἀμελεῖς ποιήσαι τι δυνάμενον, ἡγεμόνων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἥγεμονευκότα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ὡστε μὴ τι ἀγνοεῖν τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν φερόντων καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς καλὸς

5 δύνασθαι χρήσασθαι. λέγω δὲ Ἄυρήλιον Ἀντωνίνου τούτων. διν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οἶδα ἀπραγμονεύσατον τοις ἀνδρῶν ὅτα καὶ πόρρῳ τοιαύτῃς ἐπιθυμίας καθεσθηκότα, ἀλλ’ οὕτι γε καὶ ἀφροντιστήσαν οὕτω μου ὃντε ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούτα τὴν ἀρχήν ὑποδέξασθαι.”

21 Οὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Ἀντωνίνου αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἀπαις ἄρρενων παίδων, τὸν τε Κομμόδουν νῦν Κόμμουν ἐσεποίησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτω Μάρκων Ἀννινον Οὐήρον, βουληθεὶς ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσοντας ἀποδέξειαι. ἢν δὲ οὕτος ὁ Ἀννινος ὁ Μάρκος, ὁ Κατίλιος πρότερον ὠνομαζόμενος, Ἀννίνου Οὐήρου τοῦ τρίς ὑπατεύσατος καὶ πολιαρχήσατος

2 ἔγγονος. καὶ ἀμφοτέρους μὲν ἐσποιήσασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐκέλευε, προετίμησε δὲ τὸν Οὐήρον διὰ τε τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ δὲι φύσιν ψυχῆς ἐρρωμενεστάτην ἥδη ὑπε-

1 εὐεικτον Zon., εὐεικτον VC.
2 ὑποδέξασθαι R. Steph., ὑποδέξασθαι VC.

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process of selection one of sound body and sound mind is certain to be chosen. For this reason I formerly selected Lucius before all others—a person such as I could never have expected a child of my own to become. But since Heaven has bereft us of him, I have found as emperor for you in his place the man whom I now give you, one who is noble, mild, tractable, prudent, neither young enough to do anything reckless nor old enough to neglect aught, one who has been brought up according to the laws and one who has exercised authority in accordance with our traditions, so that he is not ignorant of any matters pertaining to the imperial office, but can handle them all effectively. I refer to Aurelius Antoninus here. Although I know him to be the least inclined of men to become involved in affairs and to be far from desiring any such power, still I do not think that he will deliberately disregard either me or you, but will accept the office even against his will."

So it was that Antoninus became emperor. And since he had no male offspring, Hadrian adopted for him Commodus' son Commodus, and, in addition to him, Marcus Annius Verus; for he wished to appoint those who were afterwards to be emperors for as long a time ahead as possible. This Marcus Annius, earlier named Catilius, was a grandson of Annius Verus who had been consul thrice and prefect of the city. And though Hadrian kept urging Antoninus to adopt them both, yet he preferred Verus on account of his kinship and his age and because he was already giving indication of exceptional strength of character.

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3 δ supplied by Bk.
4 πολιαρχήσαντος Casaubon, χιλιαρχήσαντος VC Zon.

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22 Ἅδριανὸς δὲ μαγγανείας μὲν τισι καὶ γοητείαις ἐκενυότε τοῖς ὕγροις, πάλιν δ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταχείως ἐπὶ μπλατο. ἔπει οὖν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ ἐπεδίδου καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην τρόπον τινὰ ἠμέραν ἀπώλυτο, ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἦτε μὲν πολλάκις καὶ φάρμακον καὶ ξίφος, ὡς δ’ οὖν οὔδεις αὐτῷ καίτοι χρήματα καὶ ἄδειαν ὑπισχυμένων ὑπῆκον, μετεπέμψατο Μάστορα ἄνδρα βάρβαρον Ἰάζυγα, ὁ αἰχμαλώτως γενομένῳ πρὸς τὰς θήρας διὰ τὲ ἵσχὺν καὶ δ’ εὐτολμίαν ἐκέχρησε, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ δὲ ὑπισχυμένον ἡνάγκασεν 3 αὐτὸν ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὴν σφαγήν. καὶ τι καὶ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῶν μαστῶν, πρὸς Ἐρμογένους τοῦ ἰατροῦ ὑποδειχθέν, χρώματι τινὶ περέγραψεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πληγεῖς καιρίαν ἀλέτος τελευτήσῃ. ἔπει δ’ οὔδε τοῦτο αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν (ὁ γὰρ Μάστωρ φοβηθεῖς τὸ πράγμα καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπεχώρησε), πολλὰ μὲν ἔαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ὀδύρατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὅνκ. 4 ἐξουσία, ὅτι μὴ οἶδος τ’ ἧν ἔαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι, καίτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐτί καὶ τότε δυνάμενος καὶ τέλος τῆς τε ἀκριβείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν διάματ’ ἀπεέχετο, καὶ ταῖς μὴ προσηκούσαις ἐδωδαῖς καὶ ποτοῖς χρώμενος ἐτελεύτησε, λέγων καὶ βοῶν τὸ δημόδος, ὃτι πολλοὶ ἰατροὶ βασιλέα ἀπώλεσαν.

1 'Ρωμαϊκὸν R. Steph., ἔλληνικὸν VC.
This led Hadrian to apply to the young man the A.D. 138 name Verissimus, thus playing upon the meaning of the Latin word.

By certain charms and magic rites Hadrian would be relieved for a time of his dropsy, but would soon be filled with water again. Since, therefore, he was constantly growing worse and might be said to be dying day by day, he began to long for death; and often he would ask for poison or a sword, but no one would give them to him. As no one would listen to him, although he promised money and immunity, he sent for Mastor, one of the barbarian Iazyges, who had become a captive and had been employed by Hadrian in his hunting because of his strength and daring; and partly by threatening him and partly by making promises, he compelled the man to promise to kill him. He drew a coloured line about a spot beneath the nipple that had been shown him by Hermogenes, his physician, in order that he might there be struck a fatal blow and perish painlessly. But even this plan did not succeed, for Mastor became afraid of the business and drew back in terror. The emperor lamented bitterly the plight to which his malady and his helplessness had brought him, in that he was not able to make away with himself, though he still had the power, even when so near death, to destroy anybody else. Finally he abandoned his careful regimen and by indulging in unsuitable foods and drinks met his death, shouting aloud the popular saying: "Many physicians have slain a king." ¹

¹ Pliny, N.H. xxix. 1, cites this inscription from the grave of a certain man: "turba se medicorum periisse" (indirectly quoted).
23 "Εξησε δὲ ἐτη μὲν δύο¹ καὶ ἐξήκοντα μῆνας δὲ πέντε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννεακαίδεκα, καὶ ἐμονάρχησεν ἐτη εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἐνδεκα. ἐτάφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸ τῷ ποταμῷ, πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τῇ Αἰλίᾳ: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μνήμα κατεσκευάσατο. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπεπλήρωτο, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἔτεθη.—Xiph. 253, 23–255, 13 R. St.

2 Οὗτος ἐμισθήθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τῶν τάλλα ἀριστα αὐτῶν ἄρξας, διὰ τε τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους φόνους ἀτε καὶ ² ἀδίκως καὶ ἀνοσίως γενομένους, ἐπεὶ οὕτω γε ³ ἡκιστα φονικὸς ἐγένετο ὡστε καὶ προσκρουσάντων αὐτῶν τινῶν ἅρκουν νομίζειν τὸ ταῖς πατρίσιν αὐτῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο γράφαι, ὅτι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν.

3 εἰ τέ τινα τῶν τέκνων ἔχοντων ὅφλησαι πάντως τι ἔδει, ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς γε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐπεκούφιζεν. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' ἡ γερονσία ἐπὶ πολυ ἀντέσχε, τὰς τιμὰς μὴ ψηφίσασθαι ἐθέλουσα, καὶ αὐτωμένη τινὰς τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πλεονασάντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθέντων, οὐς καὶ κολασθῆναι ἔδει.—Xiph. 255, 14–19 R. St., Exc. Val. 301 (p. 714).

¹ μὲν δύο Bk., δύο μὲν VC.
² ἀτε καὶ Bs., ἀτε VC, καὶ cod. Peir.
³ οὕτω γε cod. Peir., οὕτως VC.
He had lived sixty-two years, five months and nineteen\(^1\) days, and had been emperor twenty years and eleven months. He was buried near the river itself, close to the Aelian bridge; for it was there that he had prepared his tomb, since the tomb of Augustus was full, and from this time no body was deposited in it.

Hadrian was hated by the people, in spite of his generally excellent reign, on account of the murders committed by him at the beginning and end of his reign, since they had been unjustly and impiously brought about. Yet he was so far from being of a bloodthirsty disposition that even in the case of some who clashed with him he thought it sufficient to write to their native places the bare statement that they did not please him. And if it was absolutely necessary to punish any man who had children, yet in proportion to the number of his children he would lighten the penalty imposed. Nevertheless, the senate persisted for a long time in its refusal to vote him the usual honours\(^2\) and in its strictures upon some of those who had committed excesses during his reign and had been honoured therefor, when they ought to have been punished.

\(^1\) Seventeen, according to the common tradition.

\(^2\) *i.e.* deification.
After Hadrian's death there was erected to him a huge equestrian statue representing him with a four-horse chariot. It was so large that the bulkiest man could walk through the eye of each horse, yet because of the extreme height of the foundation persons passing along on the ground below believe that the horses themselves as well as Hadrian are very small.
1 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Ἑυσεβίου ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ Δίωνος οὕς εὐρίσκεται, παθόντων τι ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν βιβλίων, ὡστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν σχεδὸν σύμπασαν, πλὴν ὅτι τοῦ Λουκίου Κομόδου, διὸ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐποιήσατο, πρὸ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὕτως παρ' ἐκεῖνον καί ἐποιήσθη καὶ
2 αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο (cf. 69, 20), καὶ ὅτι μὴ βουλομένης τῆς γερουσίας τὰς ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς δοῦναι τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τελευτήσαντι διὰ τινὰς φόνους ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δακρύσων καὶ ὁδυρόμενος αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, καὶ τέλος ἔπευ "οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἄρα ὑμῶν ἄρξο, εἰγε ἐκεῖνος καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἔχθρος ὑμῖν καὶ
3 πολέμιος ἐγένετο· πάντα γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι τὰ πραξθέντα υπ' αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐν καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ποίησις ἔστι, καταλύσετε." ἀκούσασα δὲ τούτο ἡ γερουσία καὶ αἴδεσθείσα τὸν ἀνδρα, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φοβηθείσα, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τὰς τιμὰς.

2 Ταῦτα μόνα περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐν τῷ Δίωνι σώζεται, καὶ ὅτι Ἀὐγουστον αὐτὸν καὶ Ἑυσεβίη διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἑπωνόμασεν ἡ βουλή, ἐπειδή ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας αὐτοῦ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ τινῶν καὶ ὁνομαστὶ ἐξαιτηθέντων ὑμῶν οὐδένα ἐκόλασεν, εἰτῶν ὅτι "οὐ δεῖ με ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐργων τῆς προστασίας ὑμῶν ἀρξασθαι." —Xiph. 256, 6–28 R. St.

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EPITOME OF BOOK LXX

It should be noted that the account of Antoninus Pius is not found in the copies of Dio, probably because the books have met with some accident, so that the history of his reign is almost wholly unknown; save that when Lucius Commodus, whom Hadrian had adopted, died before Hadrian, Antoninus was both adopted by him and became emperor, and that when the senate demurred to giving divine honours to Hadrian after his death on account of certain murders of eminent men, Antoninus addressed many words to them with tears and lamentations, and finally said: "Well, then, I will not govern you either, if he has become in your eyes base and hostile and a public foe. For in that case you will, of course, soon annul all his acts, of which my adoption was one." On hearing this the senate, both through respect for the man and through a certain fear of the soldiers, bestowed the honours upon Hadrian.

Only this in regard to Antoninus is preserved in Dio; and also the fact that the senate gave him the titles both of Augustus and of Pius for some such reason as the following. When, in the beginning of his reign, accusation was brought against many men, some of whom were demanded by name for punishment, he nevertheless punished no one saying: "I must not begin my career as your leader with such deeds."

1 τοῦτο C, τοῦτων V.
"Ofi Φαρασσάνη τῷ 'Ιβηρι ἐς τὴν 'Ῥόμην μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐλθόντι τὴν τε ἀρχήν ἐπηνύξεσε καὶ θύσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐφήκεν, ἀνδράντα τε ἐπὶ ἱππον ἐν τῷ 'Εννεάῳ ἔστησε, καὶ γυμνασίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ νίεος τῶν τε ἄλλων πρώτων Ἰβήρων ἐν ὀπλοῖς εἶδεν.—Exc. U g 56 (p. 407).

2 Οὐ σώζεται δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου ἄρξαντος Μάρκου Βήρου τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἱστοριομένων, ὡσα περὶ τὸν Δούκιον τὸν τὸν Κομόδον νιόν, διὸ ὁ Μάρκος γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο, ἐπραξεν ὀντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡσα ὀντος εἰς τὸν κατὰ Οὐκολογαίσου πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πενθεροῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐδρασε. διὸ βραχέα περὶ τούτων ἐξ ἐτέρων ἀναλεξάμενος βιβλίων ἔρω ἐἰθ' ὀντός ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξης τοῦ Δίωνος μεταβησόμαι.

3 Ο γὰρ Ἀντωνίνος ὀμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὑπηκόων τισὶ βαρὺς οὔτε Χριστιανὸς ἐπαχθῆς, ἄλλα πολλὴν τινα τούτων νέμων αἰδὼ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τιμῇ, ἢν ἐκεῖνος ἔτιμα

2 Χριστιανοῦ, προστιθέει. ο γὰρ τοῦ Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἐπιστολάς τινας τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐτοῦ ἱστορία παρατίθεται, ἐν αἷς ἐκεῖνος δείκνυται τοῖς λυποῦσι τῇ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Χριστιανῶν δεινὰ ἀπειλῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπομνύμενος ὡς τεῦξονται τιμωρίας.

3 λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ξητητικὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα τῆς ἀκριβολογίας ἀφίστασθαι. οἴς τῶν ὀι σκωπτοντές καὶ κυμινοπρίστην ἐκάλουν. Κοδράτος δὲ γεραιὸν μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν τελευτήσαι, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν

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When Pharasananes the Iberian came to Rome with his wife, Antoninus increased his domain, allowed him to offer sacrifice on the Capitol, set up an equestrian statue in the temple of Bellona, and viewed an exercise in arms in which this chieftain, his son, and the other prominent Iberians took part.

Neither do we find preserved the first part of the account of Marcus Verus, who ruled after Antoninus—I mean his acts in relation to Lucius, the son of Commodus, whom Marcus had made his son-in-law, and the achievements of Lucius in the war against Vologaesus, to which he had been sent by his father-in-law. I shall touch briefly upon these matters, therefore, gathering my material from other books, and then I shall go back to the continuation of Dio's narrative.

Antoninus is admitted by all to have been noble and good, neither oppressive to the Christians nor severe to any of his other subjects; instead, he showed the Christians great respect and added to the honour in which Hadrian had been wont to hold them. For Eusebius Pamphili cites in his Ecclesiastical History a letter of Hadrian in which the emperor is seen to threaten terrible vengeance upon those who harm in any way or accuse the Christians and swears in the name of Hercules that punishment shall be meted out to them. Antoninus is said to have been of an inquiring turn of mind and not to have held aloof from careful investigation of even small and commonplace matters; for this the scoffers called him Cummin-splitter. Quadratus states that he died at an ad-

1 iv. 9.
It is not certain whether this earthquake belongs to the reign of Pius or to that of Marcus. If to the former, it must have occurred between 150 and 155. See Hermes xxvi. pp.
vanced age, and that his death, when it came, was most peaceful, like the gentlest slumber.

In the days of Antoninus it is said, also, that a most frightful earthquake occurred in the region of Bithynia and the Hellespont. Various cities were severely damaged or fell in utter ruin, and in particular Cyzicus; and the temple there that was the greatest and most beautiful of all temples was thrown down. Its columns were four cubits in thickness and fifty cubits in height, each consisting of a single block of marble; and in general the details of the edifice were more to be wondered at than to be praised. And in the interior of the country, they say, a mountain peak burst asunder and a flood of sea-water poured forth, and the spray from it, whipped by the wind, was driven to a great distance over the land—a spray of pure, transparent sea-water.¹

So much of the account of Antoninus is now extant. He reigned twenty-four years.

444-446 (Boissevain: Zonaras' Quelle für die römische Kaisergeschichte von Nerva bis Severus Alexander) and xxxii. pp. 497-508 (B. Keil: Kyzikenisches); also Byzantinische Zeitschrift I, p. 30 ff. (article by de Boor).
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