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APPIAN

ROMAN HISTORY

VOLUME V

CIVIL WARS, BOOKS 3-4

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ  
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

XV

ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ ΤΡΙΤΗ<sup>1</sup>

1. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καίσαρ πλείστου Ῥωμαίοις ἄξιος ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνήρητο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τέθαπτο· ἀπάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σφαγέων δίκην δόντων, ὅπως οἱ περιφανέστατοι μάλιστα ἔδοσαν, ἥδε ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τήνδε ἐπιδείξουσιν, ἐπιλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ῥωμαίοις ἐμφύλια ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐγίγνετο ὁμοῦ.

- 2 2. Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἡ βουλή δι' αἰτίας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑφ' ὧν δὴ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἐρεθισθεὶς ὑπερείδε τῆς ἄρτι ἐπεψηφισμένης ἀμνηστίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων σὺν πυρὶ ἔδραμον· ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν χαλεπαίνουσαν ἐνὶ τοιῶδε πολιτεύματι ἐς εὐνοίαν ἑαυτοῦ μετέβαλεν. Ἀμάτιος ἦν ὁ Ψευδομάριος· Μαρίου γὰρ ὑπεκρίνετο νιωνὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ Μάριον ὑπερήρεσκε τῷ δήμῳ. γιγνόμενος οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενὴς τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήλγει μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀππιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐμφυλίων γ' LJ; Ἀππιανοῦ ῥήτορος Ῥωμαϊκῶν ις' ἐμφυλίων γ' P

BOOK XV

CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

1. Such is the story of how Gaius Caesar, who performed exceptional service for the Romans with regard to their empire, was killed by his enemies and buried by the people. All of his murderers received their punishment, and this book and the one after it will show how this came about, particularly for the most distinguished of them. These books will also include all the other civil wars the Romans fought against each other in the same period.

2. The senate blamed Antony for his funeral oration for Caesar. The people had been particularly agitated by it, and disregarded the amnesty just passed, and ran off to set fire to the houses of the assassins. But he changed the senate from being angry with him to being well disposed toward him through the following single political stroke. There was a man called Amatius, known as the pseudo-Marius, because he pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and on Marius' account became very popular with the people. According to this pretense he was a relative of Caesar, and was extremely grief-stricken at his death.<sup>1</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> Caesar's aunt Julia (his father's sister) was married to Gaius Marius.

ωκοδόμει τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ χεῖρα θρασυτέρων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε  
 4 καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν αἰεὶ τοῖς σφαγεύσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι  
 διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 Καίσαρος εἰλήφεσαν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν, ἀπεληλύθε-  
 σαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, Βρούτος μὲν ὁ Δέκμος ἐς τὴν  
 ὁμορον τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικὴν, Τρεβώνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν  
 Ἰασίαν τὴν περὶ Ἰωνίαν, Τίλλιος δὲ Κίμβερ ἐς Βιβυ-  
 5 νίαν· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος, ὧν δὴ καὶ  
 μάλιστα τῇ βουλῇ διέφερεν, ἤρηντο μὲν καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ἡγεμονεύειν, Συρίας  
 μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁ Βρούτος, ἔτι δὲ  
 ὄντες ἀστικοὶ στρατηγοκῦντές τε<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ  
 διατάγμασιν οἷα στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἐθερά-  
 πεινον, ὅσοις τε ἄλλοις ἐπενόουν, καὶ τὰ κληρουχί-  
 ματα συγχωροῦντες αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν, τοῦ νόμου  
 κωλύοντος ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι.  
 6 3. Τούτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀμάτιος, ὅτε συντύχοι, καὶ  
 ἐνεδρεύσειν ἐλέγετο. τῷδε οὖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνέδρας  
 ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιβαίνων οἷα ὑπάτος συλλαμβάνει καὶ  
 κτείνει τὸν Ἀμάτιον χωρὶς δίκης, μάλα θρασέως· καὶ  
 ἢ βουλῇ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἐθαύμαζεν ὡς μέγα καὶ παρά-  
 νομον, τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ προσεποιοῦντο ἡδιστα· οὐ  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ποτὲ χωρὶς τοιαύσδε τόλμης ἀσφαλῆ  
 7 τὰ κατὰ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀματίου στασιῶται καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δῆμος ἐπ' ἐκείνοις  
 πόθῳ τε τοῦ Ἀματίου καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ γεγονότος,

<sup>2</sup> στρατηγοκῦντές τε> Goukowsky; στρατηγοὶ codd.

built an altar on the site of Caesar's funeral pyre, and with  
 his gang of hotheads was a constant source of fear to the  
 assassins. Some of these had fled from the city, and those 4  
 who had received provincial commands from Caesar him-  
 self had left to take up their governorships, Decimus Bru-  
 tus to Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Asia Minor in Ionia,  
 and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. Cassius and Marcus Bru- 5  
 tus, who were of particular concern to the senate, had also  
 been chosen by Caesar as governors for the following year,  
 Cassius of Syria, and Brutus of Macedonia, but as they  
 were still in the city and forced to continue serving as  
 praetors,<sup>2</sup> in their official praetorian capacity they set  
 about indulging the settlers with various edicts, including  
 one that allowed them to sell their allotments, although  
 the law prevented their transfer until twenty years had  
 passed.

3. The word was that Amatius would actually set an 6  
 ambush for Brutus and Cassius when the opportunity  
 arose. So, using this report of an ambush, and acting in his  
 capacity as consul, Antony arrests Amatius and executes  
 him without trial in a very precipitate manner. The senate  
 were astonished at his action, as it was extreme and illegal,  
 but they very happily pretended it was necessary, because  
 they thought that Brutus' and Cassius' situation would  
 never be secure without such determination. Amatius' 7  
 partisans, on the other hand, and the rest of the people as  
 well, missed Amatius and were angry at what had hap-

<sup>2</sup> There is a small lacuna in the text at this point. Appian's as-  
 ssertion that Caesar had assigned Syria to Cassius and Macedonia  
 to Brutus is usually considered a mistake.

ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεπράχει ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 δήμου τιμώμενος,<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἠξίου σφῶν καταφρονεῖν τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν οὖν καταλαμβάντες ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον ἀντὶ Ἀματίου  
 τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι  
 8 πρώτους. ἐξελαυνόμενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ στρα-  
 τιωτῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον τε ἠγα-  
 νάκτου καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ ἔδρας ἔνιοι τῶν Καίσα-  
 9 ρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνουν ἀνηρημένων. ὡς δέ τις  
 αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἔνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες  
 ἀνεσκευάζοντο, δείξειν, εὐθὺς εἶποντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐν-  
 ἐπίμπρασαν, ἕως ἐτέρων ἐπιπεμφθέντων ἐξ Ἀντωνίου  
 ἀμυνόμενοί τε ἀνηρέθησαν ἔνιοι καὶ συλληφθέντες  
 ἕτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ  
 ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ κατερρίφησαν.  
 10 4. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάραχος ἐπέπαυτο, μῖσος δὲ ἄρρητον  
 ἐξ ἀρεστῆς<sup>4</sup> εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 ἐγήγερτο. ἡ βουλή δ' ἔχαιρον ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρως ἐν  
 11 ἀδεεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον γενόμενοι. ὡς δὲ  
 καὶ Σέξστον Πομπήιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, τὸν Πομπηίου  
 Μάγνου περιποθήτου πᾶσιν ἔτι ὄντος, εἰσηγήσατο  
 καλεῖν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν  
 Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν, ἀντὶ τε τῆς πατρώας οὐσίας  
 δεδημευμένης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι μυριάδας  
 Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν πεντακισχιλίας, εἶναι δὲ καὶ στρα-  
 τηγὸν ἤδη τῆς θαλάσσης, καθὼς ἦν καὶ ὁ πατήρ

<sup>3</sup> τιμώμενον LP; τιμώμενος BJ

pened, particularly because Antony had inflicted the pun-  
 ishment on a man honored by the people. They did not  
 think it was right of him to disregard them, and so they  
 seized the Forum, shouting at Antony and abusing him,  
 and demanding that the magistrates take Amatius' place  
 in consecrating the altar and being the first to offer sacri-  
 fice on it to Caesar. When they were driven out of the 8  
 Forum by soldiers sent in by Antony, they became even  
 angrier, and shouted even more loudly, some of them  
 pointing to the bases from which statues of Caesar had  
 been removed. One man told them that he could show 9  
 them the very workshop where the statues were being  
 broken up, and immediately following him, when they saw  
 it, they set fire to it. Eventually, Antony dispatched more  
 soldiers and some of those who resisted were killed, others  
 arrested; of these, the slaves were crucified and the free-  
 men thrown over the Tarpeian rock.

4. The disturbance was brought to an end, but from 10  
 what had been a certain degree of goodwill of the people  
 toward Antony there arose inexpressible hatred. The sen-  
 ate, however, were delighted, because they believed there  
 was no other way of relieving their anxiety about Brutus  
 and his followers. Antony also proposed that Sextus Pom- 11  
 peius (the son of Pompey the Great, who was still sorely  
 missed by all) should be recalled from Iberia, where Cae-  
 sar's lieutenants were still campaigning against him; and  
 that he should be paid fifty million Attic drachmas out of  
 the public treasury for his father's confiscated property;  
 and that he now be made commander of the Mediterra-

<sup>4</sup> ἀρεστῆς Goukowsky; ἀρίστης LP; ἀρρήτου BJ

- αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν αὐτίκα ταῖς παντα-  
 χουῦ χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰ ἐπείγοντα, θαυμάζουσα ἕκαστα ἡ  
 βουλή μετὰ προθυμίας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 ἐπὶ ὄλην εὐφήμουν ἡμέραν· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει  
 12 Μάγνου γενέσθαι δημοκρατικώτερος, ὅθεν οὐδὲ περι-  
 ποθητότερος ἦν. ὁ τε Κάσσιος καὶ ὁ Βρούτος, ἐκ τῆς  
 στάσεως ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου καὶ πᾶσι τότε τιμιωτάτω,  
 τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐδόκουν ἔξειν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τὴν γνώμην  
 ὧν ἐπεπράχεσαν ἐγκρατῆ, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς  
 13 τέλος ἐπάξεσθαι, τῆς μοίρας σφῶν ἀνισχύσεως. ἂ  
 καὶ Κικέρων συνεχῶς ἐπήγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον· καὶ ἡ  
 βουλή συγγινώσκουσα αὐτῷ διὰ σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύ-  
 οντα τὸν δῆμον ἔδωκε φρουρὰν περιστήσασθαι περὶ  
 τὸ σῶμα, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων καὶ ἐπιδημούντων  
 ἐαυτῷ καταλέγοντα.
- 14 5. Ὁ δέ, εἴτε εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ πάντα πεπραχὼς εἴτε  
 τὴν συντυχίαν ὡς εὐχρηστον ἀσπασάμενος τὴν  
 φρουρὰν κατέλεγεν, αἰεὶ προστιθεὶς μέχρι ἐς ἑξακισ-  
 χιλίους, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων ὀπλιτῶν, οὐς εὐμαρῶς  
 ἂν ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ᾤετο ἔξειν καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ πάν-  
 τας λοχαγούς ὡς ἡγεμονικούς τε καὶ ἐμπειροπολέμους  
 καὶ οἱ γνωρίμους ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ὑπὸ Καίσαρι-  
 ταξιάρχους δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πρέποντα κόσμον ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιστήσας ἤγειν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ κοινωνοὺς  
 15 ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φανερῶν βουλευμάτων. ἡ δὲ βουλή τό τε  
 πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίλεξιν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενοι  
 συνεβούλευον τὴν φρουρὰν ὡς ἐπίφθονον ἐς τὸ ἀρ-  
 κοῦν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν, ὅταν

nean, as his father had been, with Roman ships in all areas  
 immediately at his disposal for urgent tasks. Amazed as  
 they were, the senate enthusiastically accepted each of  
 these measures, and spent a whole day congratulating  
 Antony; for nobody, in their estimation, was more demo-  
 cratically inclined than Pompey the Great, and hence no-  
 body was more sorely missed. Cassius and Brutus, who 12  
 had been members of Pompey's faction, and were at the  
 time very highly esteemed by everyone, thought that their  
 safety would be assured, that the motion about what they  
 had done would be validated, and that eventually, if their  
 fate held its course, they would restore the democracy.  
 Cicero praised Antony continually for this, and the senate, 13  
 realizing that the people were plotting against Antony be-  
 cause of them, granted him a bodyguard, which he chose  
 himself from the veterans who were staying in the city.

5. Either because he had done everything toward this 14  
 very end, or embracing the stroke of luck as being to his  
 advantage, he began to enroll his guard, continually add-  
 ing to it until it numbered six thousand. These were not  
 common soldiers, whom he thought he could easily get  
 elsewhere when he needed them, but were all centurions  
 fit for command in his opinion, experienced fighters, and  
 known to him personally through service under Caesar.  
 He appointed tribunes for them to impose proper order,  
 chosen from their own number, and held them in respect,  
 sharing his public plans with them. The senate were suspi- 15  
 cious of the large number of his guards, and how he chose  
 them, and advised him to reduce them to an adequate  
 number on the grounds that they were causing hostility.  
 He promised to do so as soon as he had suppressed the



- 16 σβέση τοῦ δήμου τὸ ταραχῶδες. ἐψηφισμένον δ' εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα Καίσαρι πέπρακτό τε καὶ γενέσθαι βεβούλευτο, τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβουλευμένων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχων καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Καίσαρος Φαβέριον ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενον, διότι καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ τὰ τοιάδε αἰτήματα ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξιῶν ἀνετίθετο, πολλὰ ἐς πολλῶν χάριν προσετίθει καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο πόλεσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φρουροῖς· καὶ ἐπεγράφετο μὲν πᾶσι τὰ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα,
- 17 τὴν δὲ χάριν οἱ λαβόντες ἤδεσαν Ἀντωνίῳ. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλοὺς κατέλεγε καὶ ἄλλα τῇ βουλῇ δι' ἀρεσκείας ἔπρασσε, ἵνα μὴ φθονοῖεν ἔτι τῆς φρουρᾶς.
- 18 6. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, ὁ δὲ Βρούτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος, οὔτε τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐξεστρατευμένων εἰρηναίου φανέντος, οὔτε τὴν ἐνέδραν Ἀματίου καὶ παρ' ἐτέρου ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι, οὔτε τὸ ποικίλον Ἀντωνίου φέροντες ἀφόβως, ἤδη καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοντος, οὔτε τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαιουμένην ἔργοις ὁρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφορώμενοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐπεποίθεσαν, ἔχοντι ἐν πλευραῖς τρία τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Τρεβώνιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Τίλλιον ἐς Βιθυνίαν κρύφα ἔπεμπον χρήματα ἀγείρειν ἀφανῶς καὶ στρατὸν περιβλέπεσθαι. αὐτοὶ τε ἠπείγοντο τῶν δεδομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος
- 19 ἐθνῶν λαβέσθαι. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ οὔπω συγχωροῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἡγούμενοι, τὴν ἐν ἄστει στρατηγίαν

riotous element among the people. It had been decreed 16 that all Caesar's acts and planned projects were valid. Since Antony held the memoranda of Caesar's plans and also controlled Caesar's secretary, Faberius, who was completely obedient to him since Caesar himself, as he was about to leave, had entrusted Antony with all such petitions, he made many additions to secure the favor of many people, presenting gifts to cities and dynasts, and to those personal bodyguards of his. Although these acts all came under the title "Caesar's memoranda," it was to Antony that the recipients expressed their gratitude. In the same 17 way he enrolled many new members in the senate and did other things to ingratiate himself with them, so that they would no longer begrudge him his bodyguard.

6. While Antony busied himself with these matters, it 18 was clear to Brutus and Cassius that none of the people or veterans were peacefully disposed toward them, and they thought it not impossible that someone else too might repeat Amatius' plot against them. As they were also afraid of how unreliable Antony was, now that he had an armed force, and could see that no actions were being taken to strengthen the democratic government, they were suspicious of Antony for that reason also. It was Decimus Brutus, who had an army of three legions waiting in the wings, that they trusted most; and they also sent secret instructions to Trebonius in Asia and to Tillius in Bithynia, to collect money without attracting attention and to look around for an army. They themselves were eager to take up the provincial commands assigned to them by Caesar, but the time for doing so had not yet arrived, and they 19 thought that it would be improper to leave the city prae-

προλιπόντες ἀτελῆ, δόξαν ὑποπτον φιλαρχίας ἐθνῶν  
 ἐνέγκασθαι, ἠροῦντο ὅμως ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐν μέσῳ  
 διάστημα διατρῦφαί ποι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύοντες ἢ ἐν  
 ἄστει στρατηγεῖν, οὔτε ἀφόβως ἔχοντες οὔτε τὰ  
 εἰκότα ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεπράχεσαν τιμώ-  
 20 μνοι. οὔτω δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἡ βουλή συνειδυῖα τὴν  
 γνώμην ἔδωκε σίτου τῇ πόλει φροντίσαι, ἐξ ὅσης δύ-  
 ναιτο γῆς, μέχρις αὐτοῦς ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς  
 21 στρατηγίας καταλάβοι. καὶ ἡ μὲν οὔτως ἔπραξεν, ἵνα  
 μή ποτε Βρούτος ἢ Κάσσιος φεύγειν δοκοῖεν· τοσήδε  
 αὐτῶν φροντίς ἦν ἅμα καὶ αἰδώς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 σφαγεῦσι διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα συνελάμβανον·  
 22 7. Ἐξελθόντων δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν  
 Βρούτον, ἐπὶ δυναστείας ὧν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤδη μοναρ-  
 χικῆς ἀρχὴν ἔθνους καὶ στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ περιέβλεπε·  
 καὶ Συρίας μὲν ἐπεθύμει μάλιστα, οὐκ ἠγγόει δὲ ὧν  
 δι' ὑπονοίας καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσόμενος, εἴ τι αἰτοίη· καὶ  
 γὰρ αὐτῷ κρύφα Δολοβέλλαν τὸν ἕτερον ὑπατον  
 ἐπήλειφεν εἰς ἐναντίωσιν ἡ βουλή, διάφορον αἰεὶ τῷ  
 23 Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμενον. αὐτὸν οὖν τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ  
 Ἀντώνιος, νέον τε καὶ φιλότιμον εἰδώς, ἔπεισεν αἰτεῖν  
 Συρίαν ἀντὶ Κασσίου καὶ τὰ<sup>5</sup> ἐς Παρθυαίους <καὶ  
 τὸν><sup>6</sup> κατειλεγμένον στρατὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίους,  
 αἰτεῖν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν), ἀλλὰ

<sup>5</sup> τὸ codd.; τὰ Goukowsky

<sup>6</sup> <καὶ τὸν> add. Goukowsky

torship before their term of office was finished, and thus  
 incur a suspect reputation for craving provincial power.  
 Their preference, nevertheless, was somehow to spend  
 the remaining time as private citizens, rather than as prae-  
 tors in Rome, where they did not believe they were safe,  
 nor honored appropriately for the services they had ren-  
 20 dered on behalf of their country. The senate's opinion was  
 in sympathy with their attitude, and they assigned them  
 the care of the city's grain supply from all parts of the  
 world, until the time came for them to take command of  
 their provinces. They did this so that Brutus and Cassius 21  
 could avoid giving any impression that they were running  
 away. So great was the senate's anxiety and respect for  
 them that it was particularly on their account that they  
 assisted the other assassins.

7. After Brutus and his men had left the city, Antony 22  
 now enjoyed the sole power of a dynast, and began to look  
 around for a provincial command and army for himself.  
 He wanted Syria most of all, but he was aware that he was  
 under suspicion and would be more so if he made any  
 request; and that the senate had secretly suborned Dola-  
 bella, the other consul, to oppose him, as he had always  
 been at odds with him. So, knowing that Dolabella was 23  
 himself young and ambitious, Antony persuaded him to  
 ask that he should have the province of Syria rather than  
 Cassius, and control of Parthian affairs and the army re-  
 cruited to fight the Parthians, and to ask for this not from  
 the senate, for that was not possible,<sup>3</sup> but from the people

<sup>3</sup> The senate had the power to decide provincial commands,  
 but in this case, Appian means, they would not think of replacing  
 Cassius with Dolabella, because they were so well disposed to  
 Cassius.

- 24 παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἤσθεις αὐτίκα προ-  
τίθει τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτιωμένης αὐτὸν  
παραλύειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Παρ-  
θυαίους πόλεμον οὐδενὶ ἔφη ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπιτετρά-  
φθαι, Κάσσιον δὲ τὸν Συρίας ἀξιοθέντα αὐτὸν τι τῶν  
Καίσαρος πρότερον ἀλλάξαι, δόντα πωλεῖν τὰ κλη-  
ρουχήματα τοῖς λαβοῦσι πρὸ τῶν νενομισμένων εἴκο-  
σιν ἐτῶν· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ αἰδέσθαι Συρίας οὐκ ἀξιούμε-  
25 νος, Δολοβέλλας ὦν, πρὸ Κασσίου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν  
δημάρχων τινὰ Ἀσπρήναν ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ  
ψεύσασθαι περὶ διοσημείας, ἐλπίσαντές τι καὶ Ἀντώ-  
νιον συμπράξειν, ὑπατόν τε ὄντα καὶ τῶν σημείων  
ιέρεια καὶ διάφορον ἔτι νομιζόμενον εἶναι τῷ Δολο-  
βέλλᾳ· ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεὶ τῆς χειροτονίας οὔσης ὁ  
Ἀσπρήνας ἔφη διοσημείαν ἀπαίσιον γεγονέναι, ἔθους  
ὄντος ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τοῦτο πέμπεσθαι, πάνυ χαλεψάμε-  
νος τῷ Ἀσπρήνᾳ τοῦ ψεύσματος τὰς φυλὰς ἐκέλευε  
χειροτονεῖν περὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα.
- 26 8. Καὶ γίνεται μὲν οὕτω Συρίας ἡγεμῶν Δολοβέλ-  
λας καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Παρθυ-  
αίους καὶ στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος κατ-  
ειλεγμένης, ὅση τε περὶ Μακεδονίαν προεληλύθει, καὶ  
ὁ Ἀντώνιος τότε πρῶτον ἔγνωστο συμπράσσων τῷ  
27 Δολοβέλλᾳ. γεγεννημένων δὲ τῶνδε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν  
βουλὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤτει Μακεδονίαν, εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι  
αἰδέσονται, μετὰ Συρίαν δοθείσαν Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἀντει-

by a law. Dolabella was delighted, and immediately pro- 24  
posed the law. When the senate criticized him for revers-  
ing Caesar's decisions, he replied that, in the first place,  
Caesar had not assigned the war against the Parthians to  
anybody, and, secondly, that, although Cassius had been  
assigned to the command of Syria, he had himself been  
the first to alter one of Caesar's decisions by authorizing  
those who had received allotments to sell them before the  
legally required period of twenty years was up. He added  
that, as a Dolabella, he would be ashamed not to be  
25 thought worthy of Syria, in place of Cassius.<sup>4</sup> The senate  
then persuaded one of the tribunes, named Asprenas, to  
lie about the heavenly signs during the voting session,  
expecting Antony to be cooperative because he was consul  
and augur, and was still believed to be hostile to Dolabella.  
But when the voting took place, and Asprenas said that  
there had been an unfavorable omen, although it was the  
custom for others to be sent to deal with this, Antony was  
very angry at his lie and ordered the tribes to get on with  
voting about Dolabella.

8. This is how Dolabella becomes governor of Syria and 26  
in command of the war against the Parthians and of the  
forces enlisted for that purpose by Caesar, together with  
those that had gone on ahead to Macedonia. This was the  
point at which it became known for the first time that  
Antony was working with Dolabella. After the transaction 27  
of these matters in the people's assembly, Antony asked  
the senate for Macedonia, well aware that, having given  
Syria to Dolabella, they would be embarrassed to refuse

<sup>4</sup> On the grounds that his patrician family was more distin-  
guished than Cassius' plebeian ancestors.

28 πείν περὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ταῦτα γυμνῆς  
στρατοῦ<sup>7</sup> γενομένης, καὶ ἔδοσαν μὲν ἄκοντες καὶ ἐν  
θαύματι ἔχοντες, ὅπως τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατὸν προμε-  
θῆκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἠγάπων δὲ ὅμως  
29 Δολοβέλλαν ἔχειν τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον. ἐν  
καιρῷ δὲ αὐτοὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον  
ἀντήτουν ἕτερα ἔθνη, καὶ ἐδόθη Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη,  
ὡς δ' ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, τάδε μὲν ἀμφοτέρω Κασσίῳ, Βι-  
θυνία δὲ Βρούτῳ.

30 9. Τὰ μὲν δὴ γινόμενα ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοιάδε ἦν. Ὀκτά-  
ουιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατριδοῦς  
ἵππαρχος μὲν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος γεγένητο πρὸς ἐν  
ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς τοὺς φίλους  
περιφέρων ἐτήσιον ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι, μειράκιον  
δὲ ἔτι ὢν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰονίου παιδεύ-  
εσθαι τε καὶ ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμπετο ὑπὸ τοῦ  
31 Καίσαρος ὡς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐψόμενος αὐτῷ. καὶ  
μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν<sup>8</sup> ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἵππέων ἴλαι παρα-  
λάξ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιούσαι συνεγύμναζον καὶ τῶν  
ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινες ὡς συγγενεῖ Καίσαρος  
θαμινὰ ἐπεφοίτων. γνῶσις τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ εὖ-  
νοια παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τις ἐνεγίγνετο, σὺν χάριτι  
32 δεξιουμένῳ πάντας. ἔκτον δ' ἔχοντι μῆνα ἐν τῇ Ἀπολ-  
λωνίᾳ ἀγγέλλεται περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνηρημέ-  
νος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ παρ'  
αὐτῷ δυνατωτάτων τότε μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν  
οὐδενὸς ἀπαγγελθέντος πω δέος αὐτὸν ἐπέιχε καὶ

him concerning Macedonia, especially as it had just been  
stripped of an army. They gave it to him reluctantly, 28  
amazed that Antony had earlier handed its army over to  
Dolabella, but glad nonetheless that Dolabella rather than  
Antony had the army. In return for this, they themselves 29  
took the opportunity to ask Antony for other provinces for  
Cassius and his supporters: they were given Cyrene and  
Crete, or as others think, these both went to Cassius, while  
Brutus got Bithynia.

9. Such were events at Rome. As for Octavius, the 30  
grandson of Caesar's sister, he had been appointed Cae-  
sar's Master of Horse for one year, Caesar having begun  
to pass this office around among his associates, sometimes  
making it an annual office. As he was still in his youth, he  
had been sent by Caesar to Apollonia on the Ionian gulf  
to be educated and receive military training, with a view  
to accompanying Caesar on campaign against the enemy. 31  
Along with the cavalry actually stationed in Apollonia,  
squadrons came by turns from Macedonia and trained  
with him, and certain army officers visited him frequently  
because he was a relative of Caesar. This got him recogni-  
tion and a degree of goodwill from the army, as he received  
everyone graciously. After six months in Apollonia, news 32  
is brought to him one evening that Caesar had been killed  
in the senate by his closest associates and those most in-  
fluential with him at that particular time. As there was no  
report about the rest of what had happened, Octavius was  
gripped by fear, and did not know if this was a concerted  
act of the senate as a whole, or was limited to the perpetra-

<sup>7</sup> στρατηγοῦ codd.; στρατοῦ edd.      <sup>8</sup> καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν  
τῶν Goukowsky; καὶ μετὰ τῶν P; καὶ αὐτὸν LBJ

ἄγνοια, εἴτε κοινὸν εἴη τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἔργον εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἴδιον, καὶ εἰ δίκην ἤδη τοῖς πλείοσι δεδώκοιεν ἢ καὶ κρείττους<sup>9</sup> τοῦδε εἶεν, ἢ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνήδοιτο.

33 10. Ἐφ' οἷς οἱ φίλοι <οἱ><sup>10</sup> ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπετίθεντο τοσαῦτα<sup>11</sup> ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτὸν ἠξίουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατὸν καταφυγεῖν καί, ὅτε μάθοι μὴ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιθαρρήσαντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ ἦσαν οἱ καὶ  
34 τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα φυλάξειν ὑπεδέχοντο· ἢ δὲ μήτηρ καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτήν, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἔγραφον μήτε ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε θαρρεῖν πω μεμνημένον, οἷα Καῖσαρ ὁ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ κρατήσας ὑπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων μάλιστα πάθοι, τὰ δὲ ἰδιωτικώτερα ὡς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀκινδυνότερα αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ  
35 πρὸς σφᾶς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπείγεσθαι φυλασσόμενον. οἷς Ὀκτάουιος ἐνδοὺς διὰ τὴν ἔτι ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ γενομένων, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατοῦ δεξιωσάμενος διέπλει τὸν Ἰόνιον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον (οὐπω γάρ τινα τοῦ ἐκείθι στρατοῦ πείραν εἰληφῶς πάντα ἐφυλάσσετο), ἀλλ' ἐς ἑτέραν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πόλιν, ἐκτὸς οὖσαν ὁδοῦ, ἢ ὄνομα Λουπίαι. ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἐνηλίσατο διατρίβων.

36 11. Ὡς δὲ οἱ τά τε ἀκριβέστερα περὶ τοῦ φόνου καὶ

<sup>9</sup> κρείττους P, om. LBJ; ἢ καὶ <ἐν δέει> τοῦδε εἶεν Schweig.

<sup>10</sup> οἱ add. Goukowsky <sup>11</sup> τοσαῦτα Goukowsky; ταῦτα codd.; οἱ φίλοι . . . ὥστε del. Keil ut glossema

tors; nor whether the latter had paid the penalty to the majority of the senate, or were too strong for this,<sup>5</sup> or whether the people too sympathized with the perpetrators.

10. In response to this, his associates in Rome advised 33 as follows.<sup>6</sup> Some recommended that he protect his person by taking refuge with the army in Macedonia, and when he got information that the deed was not done collectively, take heart and avenge his enemies for Caesar. And there were some officers who undertook to protect him if he came to them. But his mother and her husband, Philippus,<sup>7</sup> wrote to him from Rome telling him not to be 34 overconfident or rash, and to keep in mind the fate suffered by Caesar, after he had vanquished every enemy, a fate suffered at the hands of his closest supporters. It would be less dangerous, they said, to choose private life for the present, and hurry, cautiously, to them at Rome. Octavius went along with them because he still did not 35 know what had happened after Caesar's death. He took leave of the army officers and crossed the Ionian gulf, not to Brundisium (for he had not yet sounded out any of the troops there, and was taking extreme care), but to another town not far from it, but off the main road, named Lupiae. There he stayed in lodgings.

11. When more accurate information about the murder 36

<sup>5</sup> The text is uncertain at this point.

<sup>6</sup> Most of this sentence looks superfluous and may be a scribal addition.

<sup>7</sup> Atia, daughter of Caesar's sister, Julia, had been married to Gaius Octavius, Octavian's father, but after his death, married the consul of 56, Lucius Marcius Philippus.

τοῦ δημοσίου πάθους τῶν τε διαθηκῶν καὶ τῶν ἐψη-  
 φισμένων ἦλθε τὰ ἀντίγραφα, οἱ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 αὐτὸν ἠξίουσαν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Καίσαρος δεδιέναι, υἱὸν  
 τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμον ὄντα, καὶ παρήνουν ἅμα τῷ  
 37 κλήρῳ τὴν θέσιν ἀπέπασθαι· ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ καὶ  
 τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖν αὐτὸν Καίσαρι αἰσχυρὸν ἠγούμενος ἐς  
 τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἦει, προπέμψας καὶ διερευνησάμενος,  
 38 μὴ τις ἐκ τῶν φονέων ἐγκαθέζοιτο ἐνέδρα. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ  
 καὶ ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατὸς οἶα Καίσαρος υἱὸν δεξιούμενος  
 ἀπήντα, θαρρήσας ἔθνε καὶ εὐθύς ὠνομάζετο Καί-  
 σαρ. ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς τὰ τῶν θεμέ-  
 νων ὀνόματα ἐπιλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πατρῶον ὅλως ἐνήλλαξεν, ἀντὶ  
 39 Ὀκταουίου παιδὸς Ὀκταουίου Καίσαρ εἶναι καὶ Καί-  
 σαρὸς υἱός, καὶ διετελέσεν οὕτω χρώμενος. εὐθύς τε  
 ἐς αὐτὸν ἄθρον καὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς ἐς Καίσαρος υἱὸν  
 πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων συνέθεον, οἱ μὲν ἐκ φιλίας Καίσα-  
 ρος, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
 ἕτεροι στρατιῶται σὺν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἀποσκευὰς ἢ  
 χρήματα φέροντες ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οἱ δὲ ἕτερα  
 χρήματα καὶ φόρους ἐξ ἔθνων ἄλλων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέ-  
 σιον.

40 12. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων  
 καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ τῇ πάντων εἰς

<sup>8</sup> His name was originally Gaius Octavius. His father, Gaius Octavius, had been praetor in 61 and governor of Macedonia.

and the public reaction had reached him, together with  
 copies of Caesar's will and the decrees of the senate, his  
 family urged him even more to beware of Caesar's ene-  
 mies, as he was his son and heir, and to renounce both the  
 will and the adoption. But believing that for him to do this, 37  
 and to fail to avenge Caesar, would be disgraceful, he went  
 to Brundisium, first sending ahead to check that none of  
 the assassins had set a trap for him. When even the army 38  
 there advanced to meet him, and received him as Caesar's  
 son, he was heartened, offered sacrifice, and immediately  
 assumed the name of Caesar, as it is customary among the  
 Romans for adopted sons to take the name of those who  
 have adopted them. He did not just add it to his name, but  
 changed his own name and father's name completely, call-  
 ing himself Caesar, the son of Caesar, instead of Octavius,  
 the son of Octavius, and he continued to use these names.<sup>8</sup>  
 A crowd of men in groups from everywhere immediately 39  
 rushed to join him, as Caesar's son, some out of friendship  
 for Caesar, others because they were freedmen and slaves  
 of his; and along with them others were soldiers, engaged  
 either in conveying baggage and money to Macedonia, or  
 different money and revenue from other provinces to  
 Brundisium.

12. Encouraged by the numbers who were joining him, 40  
 by the reputation of Caesar himself, and by the goodwill

After his adoption by Caesar, his official name would have been Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, but ancient authors followed his own wishes and, confusingly for modern readers, usually just called him Caesar. I follow standard scholarly practice in calling him Octavian up to 27, and then Augustus, the title he took in that year.

ἐκείνον εὐνοία θαρρῶν ᾧδευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν ἀξιολόγῳ πλήθει, αὐξομένῳ μᾶλλον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας οἷα χειμάρρῳ, φανερᾶς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς ὧν ἀμείνων διὰ τὸ πλήθος, ἐνέδρας δὲ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ μάλιστα ὑφορώμενος, ἀρτιγνώστων οἱ τῶν συνόντων σχεδὸν ὄντων ἀπάντων. τὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ πάντῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν ὁμαλὰ· οἱ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διηρημένοι συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν ἀποικιῶν ἐπὶ χάριτι τοῦ μεираκίου καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα τηλικούτῳ μύσει καὶ σφᾶς ἔλεγον, εἴ τις ἠγοῖτο, ἀμυνεῖν. οὗς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπέπεμπεν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ Ταρρακίνας, ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων πού Ῥώμης σταδίων, ἀγγέλλεται Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βρούτος ἀφηρημένοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς παρηγορίαν βραχύτερα ἕτερα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην ἀντειληφότες, φυγάδων τέ τινων κάθοδοι καὶ Πομπηίου μετάκλησις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν ἐγγραφαί τινων καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ γιγνόμενα.

43 13. Ὡς δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἡ μὲν μήτηρ αὐθις καὶ Φίλιππος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι κηδεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐδεδοίκεσαν τὴν τε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλοτριώσιν καὶ τὸ δόγμα, μὴ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι φόνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου τότε δυναστεύοντος ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπεροψίαν, οὔτε ἀφικομένου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρος υἱὸν

44 ἐλθόντα οὔτε προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ'

of everyone toward him, he journeyed to Rome with a substantial crowd which, like a torrent, grew larger each day. Although he was safe from open attack because of the crowd, for this very reason he was particularly careful about plots, since almost all those who joined him were new acquaintances. Some of the other towns were not altogether favorably disposed to him, but from the colonies those who had served with Caesar and had been distributed on allotments flocked to him, happy to see the young man, but mourning Caesar and abusing Antony for not taking action against such a terrible defilement: they said that they themselves would wreak vengeance, if someone would lead them. Octavian praised them, but put the matter off for the present and sent them away. When he was at Tarracina, about four hundred stades from Rome, he receives news that Cassius and Brutus had been dispossessed of Syria and Macedonia by the consuls, and had received instead as compensation the smaller provinces of Cyrene and Crete; that certain exiles had returned; that Sextus Pompeius had been recalled; and that, on the basis of Caesar's memoranda, some new members had been added to the senate, and that many other things were going on.

13. When he arrived in the city, his mother and Philip-  
pus and all his other relatives were again apprehensive  
about the estrangement of the senate from Caesar, about  
the decree that no punishment was to be imposed for his  
murder, and about the contempt shown to Octavian by  
Antony, who was then dominant and had not met with  
Caesar's son when he arrived, nor sent word to him. Octa-

ἐπράυνεν, αὐτὸς ἀπαντήσκειν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἰπὼν  
οἷα νεώτερος ἐς πρεσβύτερον καὶ ιδιώτης ἐς ὑπατου  
καὶ τὴν βουλήν θεραπεύσειν τὰ εἰκότα. καὶ τὸ δόγμα  
ἔφη γενέσθαι μηδενὸς πω τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους διώκον-  
τος· ἀλλ' ὅποτε θαρρήσας τις διώκοι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον  
ἐπικουρήσειν καὶ τὴν βουλήν ὡς ἐννόμῳ καὶ τοὺς θε-  
45 οὺς ὡς δικαίῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἴσως. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ  
κλήρου καὶ τῆς θέσεως ὑπερίδοι, ἔς τε τὸν Καίσαρα  
ἀμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀδικήσειν εἰς τὴν δια-  
46 νομήν. ἀπερρήγνυ τε λήγων τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι μὴ κιν-  
δυνεύειν οἱ καλὸν εἶη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θνήσκειν, εἰ  
προκριθεὶς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τοσαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος  
ἀντάξιός αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο φιλοκινδυνωτάτου γεγονότος.  
47 τὰ τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὑπόγυά οἱ τότε ὄντα μάλιστα, ἐς  
τὴν μητέρα ὡσπερ ἐς τὴν Θέτιν ἐπιστρεφόμενος  
ἔλεγεν·

Αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ  
κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμύνειν.

καὶ τότε εἰπὼν Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἔφη κόσμον ἀθάνατον ἐκ  
πάντων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ μάλι-  
στα· αὐτὸς δ' ἀνεκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα οὐχ ἑταῖρον,  
ἀλλὰ πατέρα, οὐδὲ συστρατιώτην, ἀλλ' αὐτοκράτορα,  
οὐδὲ πολέμου νόμῳ πεσόντα, ἀλλ' ἀθεμίστως ἐν βου-  
λευτηρίῳ κατακοπέντα.

vian allayed even these fears, saying that he, the younger  
man and a private citizen, would call on Antony, the older  
man and a consul, and that he would treat the senate with  
due respect. As for the decree, he said that it had been  
passed because nobody had yet prosecuted the murderers,  
but that when someone summoned up the courage to do  
so, even the people and the senate would lend their sup-  
port for a lawful measure, as well as the gods, and Antony  
likewise, because it was just. If he were to overlook the 45  
inheritance and the adoption, he would be wronging Cae-  
sar and treating the people unfairly with respect to their  
share of the inheritance. As he was finishing what he had 46  
to say, he blurted out a remark that it would be honorable  
for him not only to risk danger, but even to die, if, having  
been advanced ahead of everyone by Caesar to such dis-  
tinction, he was to show himself worthy of a man who had  
been such a close companion of danger. Then turning to 47  
his mother as if she were Thetis, he spoke the words of  
Achilles, which were at the time particularly fresh in his  
mind.<sup>9</sup>

Would that I might die immediately, since I was not  
to come to the aid of my companion when he was  
being killed.

Having finished, he said that these words, and particularly  
his actions, had brought Achilles immortal glory from all  
men; and he called on Caesar not as a friend, but a father;  
not as a fellow soldier, but a commander in chief; not as  
one who had fallen by the law of war, but as the victim of  
sacrilegious murder in the senate.

<sup>9</sup> Homer, *Il.* 18.98.



- 48 14. Ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἢ μήτηρ, ἐς ἡδονὴν ἐκ τοῦ δέους  
ὑπαχθείσα, ἠσπάζετο ὡς μόνον ἄξιον Καίσαρος καὶ  
λέγειν ἔτι ἐπισχοῦσα ἐπέσπερχεν ἐς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα  
σὺν τῇ τύχῃ. παρήνει γε μὴν ἔτι τέχνη καὶ ἀνεξικα-  
49 κία μᾶλλον ἢ φανερά θρασύτητί πω χρῆσθαι. καὶ ὁ  
Καῖσαρ ἐπαινέσας καὶ πράξειν ὑποσχόμενος οὕτως,  
αὐτίκα τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιέπεμπεν, ἐς  
ἕω συγκαλῶν ἕκαστον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ πλήθους.  
ἔνθα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου, στρατη-  
γούντα τῆς πόλεως, ὑπαντιάσας ἔφη δέχεσθαι τὴν  
θέσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος· ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θε-  
50 τοὺς ἐπὶ μάρτυσι γίνεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀπο-  
γραψαμένων δὲ τῶν δημοσίων τὸ ῥῆμα, εὐθύς ἐκ τῆν  
ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχώρει. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐς κήποις,  
οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ δεδώρητο Πομπηίου γενομένους.  
διατριβῆς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας πλείονος γενομένης ὁ  
μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ τάδε ἐς ὑποψίαν Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀλλο-  
τριώσεως ἐτίθετο, εἰσκληθέντος δὲ ποτε ἦσαν προσ-  
αγορεύσεις τε καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλων πύσματα εἰκότα.
- 51 15. Ὡς δὲ ἤδη λέγειν ἔδει περὶ ὧν ἦσαν ἐν χρείᾳ,  
ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπεν· “Ἐγώ, πάτερ Ἀντώνιε (πατέρα γὰρ  
εἶναι σέ μοι δικαιούσιν αἱ τε Καίσαρος ἐς σέ εὐερ-  
γεσῖαι καὶ ἢ σὴ πρὸς ἐκείνον χάρις), τῶν σοι πε-  
πραγμένων ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ μὲν ἐπαινώ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν  
ὀφλήσω, τὰ δ' ἐπιμέμφομαι, καὶ λελέξεται μετὰ παρ-  
52 ρησίας, ἐς ἣν ἢ λύπη με προάγει. κτεινομένῳ μὲν οὐ  
παρής, τῶν φονέων σε περισπασάντων περὶ θύρας,  
ἐπεὶ περιέσφζες ἂν αὐτὸν ἢ συνεκινδύνευες ὅμοια πα-

14. At this, his mother, transported from fear to joy, 48  
hailed him as the only man worthy of Caesar, and, restrain-  
ing him from saying any more, urged him to prosecute his  
plans with the help of Fate. She advised him, however, to  
employ ingenuity and patience rather than at this stage  
open daring. Octavian applauded her and promised to act 49  
in that way, and immediately sent word around to his  
friends the same evening, asking them to come to the  
Forum at dawn and bring a crowd with them. Here he  
presented himself to Gaius Antonius, the brother of Ant-  
ony, who was urban praetor, and declared that he accepted  
the adoption of Caesar; for it is Roman custom that  
adoptions are witnessed before the praetors. When the 50  
public scribes had written down his declaration, Octavian  
went straight from the Forum to Antony, who was in the  
gardens formerly owned by Pompey that Caesar had given  
to him. There was a long delay at the gates, which Octavian  
suspected was due to Antony's aversion to him, but once  
he was admitted they greeted each other and made the  
proper mutual inquiries.

15. When the time came to speak of the business in 51  
hand, Octavian said: "Father Antony (for Caesar's bene-  
factions to you and your gratitude toward him justify the  
claim that you are a father to me), for some of the things  
that you have done in relation to him I commend you and  
owe you my thanks; for others I reproach you. I will speak  
with the freedom to which my grief drives me. When Cae- 52  
sar was killed you were not there, as the murderers de-  
tained you at the door; otherwise you would have saved  
him or run the risk of suffering the same fate. And if the

53 θείν· ὧν εἰ θάτερον ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, καλῶς, ὅτι μὴ  
 παρῆς. ψηφίζομένων δέ τινων αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τυράννῳ  
 γέρα ἀντίπας ἐγκρατῶς· καὶ τοῦδέ σοι χάριν οἶδα  
 λαμπράν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγνωσ συνανελεῖν σε  
 βεβουλευμένους, οὐχ, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἠγούμεθα, τιμωρὸν  
 54 ἐσόμενον Καίσαρι, ἀλλ', ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, τῆς τυ-  
 ραννίδος διάδοχον. ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκείνοι τυραν-  
 νοκτόνοι, εἰ μὴ καὶ φονεῖς ἦσαν· διὸ καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπι-  
 τῶλιον συνέφυγον ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν ἀμαρτόντες ἰκέται ἢ ὡς  
 ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐχθροί. πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία καὶ  
 τὸ ἀνεύθυνον τοῦ φόνου, ἢ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου  
 55 εἰ τινες ἐφθάρατο ὑπ' ἐκείνων; καὶ σὲ τὸ τῶν πλεόνων  
 ὄραν ἐχρῆν, ὕπατον ὄντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ θάτερα βουλο-  
 μένῳ σοι ἢ ἀρχῇ συνελάμβανε, τιμωρουμένῳ τηλι-  
 κούτον ἄγος καὶ τοὺς πλανωμένους μεταδιδάσκοντι.  
 σὺ δὲ καὶ ὄμηρα τῆς ἀδείας, οἰκέια αὐτοῦ σοῦ, τοῖς  
 ἀνδροφόνοις ἔπεμψας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. ἀλλ' ἔστων  
 56 καὶ ταῦτα οἱ διεφθαρμένοι σε βιάσασθαι. ὅτε μέντοι  
 τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀναγνωσθεισῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ σοῦ δίκαιον  
 ἐπιτάφιον εἰπόντος ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀκριβεῖ Καίσαρος  
 μνήμῃ γενόμενοι πῦρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφερον, καὶ φεισά-  
 μνοι χάριν τῶν γειτόνων ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἤξειν ἐπὶ  
 ὄπλα συνέθεντο, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνέπραξας καὶ  
 ἐστρατήγησας τοῦ πυρὸς ἢ τῶν ὄπλων ἢ δίκην γε  
 τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐπέγραψας, εἰ δίκης ἔδει κατὰ αὐτο-  
 φώρων, καὶ φίλος ὢν Καίσαρι καὶ ὕπατος καὶ Ἀντώ-  
 νιος;

57 16. "Ἀλλὰ Μάριος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνηρέθη

latter was going to happen, it was just as well you were not  
 there. When some people proposed rewards to the mur- 53  
 derers for acting against a tyrant, you strongly opposed  
 them. For this I give you my warmest thanks, even though  
 you knew that these men were planning to kill you, too;  
 not, in my opinion, because they regarded you as a poten-  
 tial avenger of Caesar, but, as they themselves say, because  
 they thought you would succeed to his tyranny. They were 54  
 not tyrant slayers without being murderers at the same  
 time, and that is why they took refuge on the Capitol, ei-  
 ther as guilty suppliants in a temple, or as enemies in a  
 citadel. How, then, did they get an amnesty and immunity  
 from prosecution for the murder, unless some of the sen-  
 ate and people had been bribed by them? You, as consul,  
 ought to have seen the will of the majority. Your office 55  
 would have enabled you to act differently, if you had  
 wanted, by avenging such a terrible pollution, and con-  
 verting the waverers. But in fact you sent hostages from  
 your own household to the murderers on the Capitol to  
 guarantee their safe conduct. But let us suppose that those  
 who had been bribed forced you to do this too. When 56  
 Caesar's will had been read, however, and you yourself had  
 delivered a fitting funeral oration, and the people, being  
 thus reminded so accurately of Caesar, had set out to burn  
 down the houses of the murderers, but spared them for  
 the sake of their neighbors, although they agreed to come  
 back in arms next day, why did you not cooperate with  
 them at that time? Why did you, as Caesar's friend, as  
 consul, as Antony, not take command of the torches and  
 weapons, or bring a case against the murderers, if a case  
 was needed against those caught in the act?

16. "You used the power of your office to have Marius 57

κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἀνδροφόνους δὲ ἐκφυγεῖν  
 ὑπερείδες καὶ ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐνίους διαδραμεῖν, ἃς  
 58 ἀθεμίστως ἔχουσι τὸν δόντα ἀνελόντες. Συρίαν μὲν  
 δὴ καὶ Μακεδονίαν εὖ ποιούντες οἱ ὑπατοί, σὺ καὶ  
 Δολοβέλλας, καθισταμένων ἄρτι τῶν πραγμάτων πε-  
 ρισπάσατε ἐς ἑαυτούς. καὶ τοῦδέ σοι χάριν ἦδειν ἂν,  
 εἰ μὴ αὐτίκα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσα-  
 σθε καὶ φυγάδας ἠξιώσατε ἡγεμονίαις αἰεὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ  
 δορυφορεῖσθαι. Δέκμον τε τὴν ἐγγὺς Κελτικὴν ὑπε-  
 59 ροράτε ἔχοντα, καὶ τόνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως αὐθέ-  
 ντην τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε τὴν  
 βουλὴν ἐρεῖ τις ἐγνωκέμαι. σὺ δ' ἐπεψήφίζες καὶ  
 προκάθησο τῆς βουλῆς, ᾧ μάλιστα πάντων ἤρμοζε  
 διὰ σαυτὸν ἀντειπεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι τὴν  
 σωτηρίαν ἣν ἐκείνοις χαριζομένων μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἡγε-  
 60 μονίας αὐθις ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ γέρα ὑβριζόντων Καί-  
 σαρα καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἀκυροῦντων. ἐπὶ τάδε με  
 δὴ τὸ πάθος ἐξήνεγκε παρὰ τὸ ἀρμόζον ἴσως ἐμοὶ τῆς  
 τε ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ αἰδοῦς. εἴρηται δ' ὅμως  
 ὡς ἐς ἀκριβέστερον φίλον Καίσαρι καὶ πλείστης ὑπ'  
 ἐκείνου τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἠξιωμένον καὶ τάχα ἂν  
 αὐτῷ καὶ θετὸν γενόμενον, εἰ ἦδει σε δεξόμενον Αἰ-  
 νεάδην ἀντὶ Ἡρακλείδου γενέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 <φασὶ><sup>12</sup> ἐνδοιάσαι, πολὺν τῆς διαδοχῆς λόγον ποιού-  
 μενον.

<sup>12</sup> φασὶ add. Steph.; οἶδα Schweig.; οἶμαι Nauck

executed by decree, but you did nothing to stop the mur-  
 derers escaping and, in some cases, taking up their com-  
 mands, which they hold wrongfully after killing the man  
 who assigned them. When the situation had only just  
 58 settled down, you and Dolabella, the consuls, proceeded,  
 very properly, to take Syria and Macedonia off them for  
 yourselves. I would have thanked you for this too, if you  
 had not immediately voted them Cyrene and Crete, and  
 thought it right to protect fugitives against me perma-  
 nently with provincial commands. You do nothing about  
 Decimus holding Cisalpine Gaul, although he, like the  
 rest, was one of my father's killers. Someone will say that  
 59 the senate made these decisions too, but you put the vote  
 and you presided over the senate, you who more than  
 anyone had a personal interest in opposing the measures.  
 To grant an amnesty to the murderers was merely a favor  
 from those wanting to assure their safety, but to vote them  
 provinces and rewards again was an act of people insulting  
 Caesar and subverting your judgment. Grief has, to be  
 60 sure, carried me this far, improperly perhaps, for one of  
 my age and for the respect I owe you. Nevertheless, what  
 I have said has been spoken to someone very specially  
 dear to Caesar, thought worthy by him of the greatest  
 honor and power, who would perhaps have been adopted  
 by him, if he knew that you would accept descent from  
 Aeneas rather than Heracles:<sup>10</sup> for <they say?><sup>11</sup> he hesi-  
 tated about this when he was giving careful attention to  
 the matter of his succession.

<sup>10</sup> Julius Caesar's family traced their origins to Aeneas, Anto-  
 ny's to Heracles.

<sup>11</sup> Editors have made various suggestions  
 to fill what appears to be a small lacuna in the text.

61 17. "Ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, πρὸς θεῶν τε  
 φιλίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ σοι Καίσαρος, εἰ μὲν τι καὶ  
 τῶν γεγονότων μεταθέσθαι θέλεις (δύνασαι γάρ, εἰ  
 θέλεις)· εἰ δὲ μή, τά γε λοιπὰ τοὺς φονέας ἀμυνομένῳ  
 μοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἔτι μοι πατρικῶν  
 φίλων συνίστασθαι καὶ συνεργεῖν· εἰ δέ σε τῶν ἀν-  
 δρῶν τις ἢ τῆς βουλῆς αἰδῶς ἔχει, μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖν. καὶ  
 62 τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τούτων· οἶσθα δ', ὅπως ἔχει μοι καὶ τὰ  
 οἴκοι, δαπάνης τε ἐς τὴν διανομὴν, ἣν ὁ πατήρ ἐκ-  
 ἔλευσε τῷ δήμῳ δοθῆναι, καὶ ἐπέιξεως ἐς αὐτήν, ἵνα  
 μὴ βραδύνων ἀχάριστος εἶναι δοκοίην μηδ' ὅσοι  
 καταλεχθέντες εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐπιμένουσι τῇ πόλει,  
 63 δι' ἐμὲ τρίβοιντο. ὅσα δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος εὐθέως ἐπὶ  
 τῷ φόνῳ πρὸς σὲ μετενήνεκται ὡς ἐπ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐξ  
 ἐπικινδύνου τότε οἰκίας, τὰ μὲν κειμήλια αὐτῶν καὶ  
 τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα κόσμον ἔχειν ἀξιῶ σε καὶ ὅσα ἂν  
 ἐθέλης ἄλλα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν διανο-  
 μὴν ἀποδοῦναί μοι τὸ χρυσίον τὸ ἐπίσημον, ὃ συν-  
 ηθροίκει μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἐκεῖνος, οὓς ἐπενόει,  
 64 ἀρκέσει δ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν  
 μεριζόμενον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς δαπάνης, εἰ μὲν θαρρή-  
 σαιμί σοι, παρὰ σοῦ ἂν ἴσως ἢ διὰ σοῦ δανεισαίμην  
 ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἂν διδῶς· διαπεπράσεται  
 δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ ἡ οὐσία."

65 18. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος ὁ Ἀντώνιος  
 κατεπλάγη, τῆς τε παρρησίας καὶ τῆς εὐτολμίας  
 παρὰ δόξαν οἱ πολλῆς καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν φανείσης·  
 χαλεψάμενος δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει τὸ πρέ-

17. "As for the future, Antony, I beg you, in the name 61  
 of the gods who protect friends, and in the name of Caesar  
 himself, please repeal even what has been enacted, for you  
 have the power to do so, if you want. If not, at least from  
 now on stand beside me and help me take vengeance on  
 the assassins, with the help of the people and of whatever  
 friends of my father I still have. But if respect for the kill-  
 ers or for the senate holds you back, do not be hard on us.  
 That is enough on this topic. You know about my private 62  
 affairs and the cost of making the distribution to the  
 people that my father ordered, and the urgency of doing  
 it, so that I avoid appearing ungrateful by delay, so that  
 those who have been assigned to colonies do not stay in  
 the city and waste their time on my account. Of Caesar's 63  
 property that was transferred immediately after the mur-  
 der from what was at the time a dangerous house to the  
 safety of yours, I ask you to keep the heirlooms and all  
 other trappings, and whatever else you would like from  
 me. But please return to me for the distribution the coined  
 gold that Caesar had collected for the campaigns he was  
 planning. That will be enough for me now to share out  
 among three hundred thousand men. The rest of the cost 64  
 perhaps I might borrow from you, if I may be so bold, or  
 through you from the public treasury, if you will grant it.  
 And my estate will be sold immediately."

18. Antony was astonished at Octavian's speech, as its 65  
 unexpected frankness and audacity appeared to him ex-  
 cessive and inappropriate for a man of his age. He was  
 offended by the words because they lacked the respect

66 πον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χρημάτων  
 τῇ ἀπαιτήσει, αὐστηρότερον αὐτὸν ᾧδε ἠμεΐψατο. “Εἰ  
 μὲν ὁ Καῖσάρ σοι μετὰ κλήρου καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ᾧ  
 παῖ, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατέλιπεν, εἰκὸς σὲ τῶν κοι-  
 67 νῶν τοὺς λογισμοὺς αἰτεῖν καμὲ ὑπέχειν. εἰ δὲ οὐδενί  
 πω Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔδοσαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, οὐδὲ  
 τῶν βασιλέων, οὓς ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν μηδ’ ἄλλων  
 ἔτι ἀνέξεσθαι, (ὃ καὶ τῷ πατρί σου μάλιστα οἱ φονεῖς  
 ἐπιλέγοντες φασὶν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν βασιλιζόμενον, οὐχ  
 ἡγούμενον ἔτι), ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ’ ἀποκρίσεως δεῖ πρὸς σὲ  
 περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ σὲ κουφίζω, μὴ  
 χάριν ὀφείλειν ἡμῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς. ἐπράσσετο γὰρ οὐ  
 σοῦ χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ μεγίστου  
 68 δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἔς τε Καίσαρα καὶ σὲ ἔργου. εἰ  
 γὰρ τοῦ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἔνεκα ἀδεοῦς καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνου  
 περιεῖδον ἐγὼ τιμὰς ψηφιζόμενας τοῖς φονεῦσιν ὡς  
 τυραννοκτόνοις, τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγίγνετο, ᾧ μήτε  
 δόξης μήτε τιμῆς τινος ἢ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων βεβαιώ-  
 σεως ἔτι μετῆν. οὐ διαθήκας εἶχεν ἄν, οὐ παῖδα, οὐκ  
 οὐσίαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ταφῆς ἀξιούμενον, οὐδὲ  
 ιδιώτου ἄταφα γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τὰ σώματα τῶν τυράν-  
 νων ὑπερορίζουσι καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ δη-  
 μεύουσι τὴν περιουσίαν.

69 19. “Ὡν ἐγὼ δεδιὼς ἕκαστον ὑπερηγωνιζόμενῳ Καί-  
 σαρος, ἀθανάτου τε δόξης καὶ δημοσίας ταφῆς, οὐκ  
 ἀκινδύνως οὐδ’ ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐμαυτῷ, τυχεῖν, πρὸς τε  
 ἄνδρας ταχυεργεῖς καὶ φόνου πλήρεις καί, ὡς ἔμαθες,  
 ἤδη καὶ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ συνομωμοσμένους πρὸς τε τὴν βου-

due to him, and still more by the demand for money, and  
 he replied in these somewhat severe terms: “My boy, if 66  
 Caesar had left you the political leadership, along with his  
 estate and name, it would be proper for you to ask me for  
 an explanation of my public decisions, and for me to pro-  
 vide it. But since the Roman people never allowed anyone 67  
 to succeed to political power, not even the kings, whom  
 they expelled and swore never to put up with any others  
 again—this is the very charge the assassins make against  
 your father when they say they killed him for acting like a  
 king, no longer as a leader—I am under no obligation to  
 give you an answer on my public decisions. For the same  
 reason I release you too from thanking me for my actions.  
 They were done not for your sake, but for the people’s,  
 except for one thing of the greatest importance of all both 68  
 to Caesar and to yourself. For if, to ensure my own secu-  
 rity and to shield myself from hostility, I had allowed hon-  
 ors to be voted to the murderers as tyrant slayers, Caesar  
 would have become a tyrant, with no further share of glory  
 or honor or confirmation of his decisions. He would have  
 had no will, no son, no estate, his very body would have  
 been denied a burial, even a private one. For the laws  
 cast out unburied the bodies of tyrants, dishonor their  
 memory, and confiscate their property.

19. “Fearing each of these consequences, I took up the 69  
 struggle for Caesar, not without danger and the risk of  
 hostility to myself, to secure his immortal glory and a pub-  
 lic funeral. I was contending against hotheaded, murder-  
 ous men, who as you know had already conspired against

- 70 λήν ἀχθομένην σου τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ταῦτα κινδυνεύειν καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ἡρούμην ἐκῶν  
μᾶλλον ἢ ἄταφον καὶ ἄτιμον γιγνόμενον περιδεῖν  
Καίσαρα, ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εὐτυχέ-  
στατον ἐς τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἀξιοτιμώτατον ἐκ πάντων  
71 ἐμοὶ γενόμενον. τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς μου τοῖσδε κινδύνοις  
καὶ σὺ τὰ νῦν σοι παρόντα πάντα λαμπρὰ τῶν Καί-  
σαρος ἔχεις, γένος, ὄνομα, ἀξίωμα, περιουσίαν. ὦν σε  
δικαιότερον ἦν ἐμοὶ χάριν εἰδέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐκλει-  
φθέντα εἰς τὴν τῆς βουλῆς παρηγορίαν ἢ ἐς ἀντίδο-  
σιν τῶνδε, ὦν ἔχρηζον, ἢ κατ' ἄλλας χρείας ἢ λογι-  
72 σμοὺς ἐπιμέμφεσθαι πρεσβυτέρῳ νεώτερον ὄντα. καὶ  
τάδε μὲν ἀρκέσει σοι περὶ τῶνδε εἰρησθαι ἐνσημαίνῃ  
δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας με ἐπιθυμῆν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντα  
μὲν, οὐκ ἀπάξιον δὲ ἡγούμενον εἶναι, καὶ ἄχθεσθαι  
μὴ τυχόντα τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος, ὁμολογῶν  
μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος ἀρκεῖν.
- 73 20. "Περὶ δὲ τῶν σῶν χρειῶν, ἐθέλοντα μὲν σε ἐκ  
τῶν δημοσίων δανείσασθαι ἡγούμενῃ ἂν εἰρωνείαν λέ-  
γειν, εἰ μὴ πιθανὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖν σε κενὰ πρὸς τοῦ  
πατρὸς ἀπολελείφθαι τὰ κοινὰ ταμεία, τῶν προσ-  
όδων, ἐξ οὗ παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ  
τοῦ ταμείου συμφερομένων καὶ εὐρεθησομένων ἀν-  
τίκα ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος περιουσίᾳ, ὅταν αὐτὰ ζητεῖν  
74 ψηφισώμεθα. ἄδικον γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦτο ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα  
ἔσται, τεθνεῶτά τε ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντα ἄδικον  
εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ζῶν ἠτείτο τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν  
ιδιωτῶν πολλοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσί σοι καθ' ἓνα τῆς οὐ-

me; and against the senate, who were annoyed with your  
father's rule. But I willingly chose to risk these dangers 70  
and to suffer anything rather than allow Caesar to remain  
unburied and dishonored, the best man of his time, the  
most fortunate in almost every respect, and the one I hon-  
ored most of all. It is because of these very dangers I 71  
risked that you yourself enjoy all the present distinctions  
of Caesar, his family, his name, his rank, his wealth. It  
would have been more just of you, a young man, to thank  
me, your senior, for these things, rather than to reproach  
me for concessions made to appease the senate, or pay  
them back for the things I needed, or to meet other needs  
or calculations. Enough on that subject. You also hint 72  
that I aspire to political dominance—it is not the case,  
although I am thought to be worthy of it—and that I am  
disappointed not to be included in Caesar's will, although  
you agree that the family of the Heraclidae too is good  
enough for me.

20. "As to your financial needs, I might have thought 73  
that your wish to borrow money from the public resources  
was sarcasm, had it not been a credible proposition that  
you were still ignorant of the fact that the public treasuries  
were left empty by your father. From the time he took up  
power, the state revenues went to him, not the treasury,  
and they will be found among his resources as soon as we  
vote an investigation into the matter. There is nothing 74  
unfair to Caesar about this, now that he is dead, and even  
when alive if he had been asked for the accounts he would  
not have said it was unfair. As there are many private  
persons in dispute with you about individual items in the

75 σίας οὐκ ἀδήριτον αὐτὴν ἔχων γνώση. τῶν δὲ μετενεχθέντων πρὸς με χρημάτων οὔτε τὸ πλήθός ἐστιν, ὅσον εἰκάζεις, οὔτε τι νῦν ἔστι παρ' ἐμοί, πάντα τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ δυνάμει, πλὴν Δολοβέλλα καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν νειμαμένων μὲν εὐθὺς ὡς τυράννου, δι' ἐμὲ δὲ μετατεθέντων ἐς χάριν τῶν ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐψηφισμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ τὰ λοιπὰ φέρων οἴσεις ἀντὶ

76 τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἂν σωφρονῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπέμψουσιν, ἂν σωφρονῶσι,<sup>13</sup> τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας· ὁ δὲ δῆμός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρτιδίδακτος ὣν ἔμαθες, ἀστάθμητον ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσση κῦμα κινούμενον· ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰεὶ τοὺς δημοκόπους ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξάρας ἐς γόνυ ἔρριψε.”

77 21. Τούτων τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσχεράνας ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς ὕβριν εἰρημένοις ἀπεχώρει, τὸν πατέρα ἀνακαλῶν θαμινὰ ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς πρᾶσιν αὐτίκα προυτίθει πᾶσαν, ὅση κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῦ, προτρέπων ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆσδε

78 τῆς σπουδῆς· φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθρας γενομένης καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ζήτησιν εὐθὺς εἶναι τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ψηφισαμένης, οἱ πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν ἐπὶ τῷ νέῳ Καίσαρι τῆς πατρώας ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας οὐνεκα καὶ τῆς νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ δημοκοπίας καὶ περιουσίας, ἣ δὴ

<sup>13</sup> συμφρονῶσι P; σωφρονῶσι L

estate, you may assume that you will not have undisputed possession of it. As for the money transferred to my house, 75 it was neither as much as you suppose, nor is any of it now at my disposal. For, apart from Dolabella and my brothers, those in office and with power divided it all up immediately, on the grounds that it was the property of a tyrant, although they were brought round by me to support what we had voted concerning Caesar. If you have any sense, when you get the rest of it, you will give it to those who are disaffected instead of to the people. And, if the disaffected 76 have any sense, they will send the people away to their colonies. The people, as you know from your recent Greek studies, are as unstable as the waves moving on the sea: one comes, another goes.<sup>12</sup> In the same way, among us too, the people are forever raising the demagogues to a height, and then casting them down on their knees.”

21. Furious at the many insulting things said in this 77 speech, Octavian went away calling his father repeatedly by name. He immediately offered for sale all the property which had come to him by the inheritance, trying to encourage the people to support him by moving so quickly. With Antony's hostility toward him now made clear, and 78 after the senate had voted that an investigation of the public finances should take place immediately, most people began to be apprehensive about the young Caesar because of the kindness shown by his father to the soldiers and the people, because of what was now his own popular appeal based on the distribution of the money, and because of his wealth, which had come to him in such large

<sup>12</sup> This is based on, rather than a direct quote from, Demosthenes (*De falsa leg.* 136).

πάνυ αὐτῷ πολλή προσελθοῦσα οὐκ ἔδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἰδιώτου μέτρῳ καθέξειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλιστα, μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα, νέον ἄνδρα καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ πλούσιον, ἔταιρισάμενος ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν εἶναι πρότερος ἄψαιτο τῆς Καίσαρος δυναστείας. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς 79 τότε γιγνομένοις ἐφήδοντο, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πλούτου τῇ ζητήσει τῶν χρημάτων αὐτίκα διαλυθησομένου καὶ σφίσι τοῦ ταμείου περιουσίας πλήρους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσομένου· τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν εὐρήσειν παρὰ Καίσαρι.

80 22. Πολλοὶ τε αὐτῶν ἐς δίκας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπήγον περὶ χωρίων, ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ ἐπιλέγοντες ἄλλα τε ἕκαστοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις, ἐκ προγραφῆς<sup>14</sup> εἶναι τῶν δημευθέντων ἢ φυγόντων ἢ ἀναιρεθέντων. ἠγόν τε τὰς δίκας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπατον Δολοβέλλαν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ἐδικάζετο, πανταχοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοίως ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς χάριν Ἀντωνίου ἠττάτο, τὰ τε ὠνήματα τῷ πατρὶ 81 ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύς καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ψήφισμα τὸ βεβαιοῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα 82 πάντα. ὕβρεις τε πολλαὶ παρὰ τὰς δίκας ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζημίας προύκοπτεν ἐς ἄπειρον, ἔστε Πέδιον καὶ Πινάριον (οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος διαθηκῶν τοῦ κλήρου μοῖραν εἶχον) μέμψασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἄδικα πασχόντων παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς.

quantities that most people thought he would not retain the status of a private citizen. But they were particularly afraid that Antony would befriend the young, famous, and rich Octavian, make him his subordinate and be the first to lay hands on Caesar's fiefdom. Others were delighted 79 with what was happening at the time, believing that the two men would get in each other's way, and that Octavian's wealth would immediately disappear with the investigation, as a result of which they would have a treasury full of money. For they thought they would find most of the public funds in Caesar's estate.

22. Many of them brought lawsuits against Octavian 80 concerning landed property, each making different claims, but most having this in common, that the land belonged to those who, as a result of being proscribed, were victims of confiscation, exile, or execution. These suits were brought before Antony himself or the other consul, Dolabella. If any were heard before other magistrates, in the 81 large majority of cases, because there was a desire to please Antony, Octavian lost these too, although he pointed out that the purchases were made by his father from public money, and that the last decree passed by the senate had confirmed all of Caesar's acts. Great abuses of 82 justice were inflicted on him, and his losses were continuing endlessly, until Pedius and Pinarius, who had a share of the inheritance under Caesar's will, complained to Antony, both on their own behalf and Octavian's, that they were being treated unjustly in violation of the senate's

<sup>14</sup> ἐκ προγραφῆς codd.; πρὸ ἐγγραφῆς Goukowsky



- 83 ὧντό τε αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκλύειν δεῖν μόνον, τὰ  
 ἄλλα δὲ πάντα κυροῦν ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι πέπρακται. ὁ  
 δὲ ὠμολόγει μὲν τὰ πρασσόμενα ἴσως ἐναντίον ἔχειν  
 84 τοῖς συνεψηφισμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα δ' ἔφη  
 τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπειγούσης, τὸ μηδὲν ἀνατρέπειν τῶν  
 προδιωκμένων, οὐ τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ γε χάριν οὐδὲ ἐφ'  
 ἅπασιν ἀπλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ παρη-  
 85 γορίαν τοῦ δήμου θορυβουμένου τούτοις, ἐπιγραφῆ-  
 ναι. εἶναι δὲ δικαιότερον τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ψηφίσματος  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ῥήματι χρωμένους μὴ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς  
 ἀντιπράττειν ἀνδράσι τοσοῖσδε ἰδίων ἢ προγονικῶν  
 κτήσεων κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὲρ νεανίσκου το-  
 σόνδε πλοῦτον ἀλλότριόν τε καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸν παρ'  
 ἐλπίδα λαβόντος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδεξίως, ἀλλ' ἐς θρα-  
 σύτητα τῇ τύχῃ χρωμένου. σφῶν μέντοι φείσεσθαι τὸ  
 86 μέρος νειμαμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος  
 τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πινάριον ἀπεκρίνατο. καὶ εὐθύς ἐνέμο-  
 ντο, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις προσαπόλοιτο,  
 οὐ σφῶν ἔνεκα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῦ Καίσαρος·  
 ἔμελλον γὰρ αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πάντα χαριεῖσθαι.
- 87 23. Θεᾶς δὲ πλησιαζούσης, ἣν ἔμελλεν ὑπὲρ Βρού-  
 του στρατηγούντος ἐπιδώσειν Γάιος Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἀδελ-  
 φὸς Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὰλλα τοῦ Βρούτου τῆς στρατη-

<sup>13</sup> Quintus Pedius was praetor in 48 and suffect consul with Octavian in 43. He had been a legate of Caesar in Spain in 45,

decree.<sup>13</sup> They thought that he should annul only Caesar's 83  
 abuses of power, but ratify everything else he had done. Antony admitted that present actions were perhaps a little  
 inconsistent with the joint resolutions, but said that even  
 the resolutions had been worded differently from what  
 had been decided at the time. For it was only because the 84  
 amnesty was urgently required that the words 'not to over-  
 turn anything arranged beforehand' were added, not for  
 their own sake or to have general application to every-  
 thing, but to provide plausibility and appease the people,  
 who were riotously supporting the measure. It would be 85  
 fairer, he added, to observe the spirit rather than the letter  
 of the decree, and not offer inappropriate opposition to so  
 many men who had lost their own and their ancestral  
 property in the civil unrest, and to do so on behalf of a  
 young man who had unexpectedly received such a large  
 fortune that did not belong to him and was not private  
 wealth, and who was not using his good fortune intelli-  
 gently, but on the most irresponsible ventures. He said he  
 would treat them kindly once they had separated their  
 share from Octavian's. This was how Antony replied to 86  
 Pinarius and his associates. They immediately made the  
 division, to make sure they did not lose their share too in  
 the courts. They did not do this in their own interests, but  
 in Octavian's, for in a little while they would be giving him  
 a gift of the whole amount.

23. The games were now approaching, which Antony's 87  
 brother, Gaius Antonius, was going to give on behalf of  
 Brutus, the praetor, in whose absence he was also attend-

celebrating a triumph as proconsul. He and Lucius Pinarius were  
 cousins of Octavian.

γίας ἐπιτροπεύων ἀπόντος, παρασκευή τε ἦν ἐς αὐτὴν  
 δαψιλῆς καὶ ἐλπίς ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικλασθέντα  
 88 καλέσειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἀντι-  
 θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσον ἀργύριον ἐκ τῆς πράσεως  
 ἐγίγνετο, αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρος τοῖς φυλάρχοις ἀνεδίδου  
 νέμειν τοῖς φθάνουσι λαβεῖν· καὶ ἐς τὰ πωλητήρια  
 περιῶν ἀποκηρύσσειν ἔλεγεν ὅσον δύναιντο πάντα  
 τοὺς πιπράσκοντας ὀλιγίστου, διὰ τε τὰς δίκας ἀμφί-  
 βολα ἢ ἐπίφοβα ἔτι ὄντα καὶ διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος  
 σπουδὴν. ἅπερ αὐτῷ πάντα τὸν δῆμον εἰς εὐνοίαν  
 89 ἤγειρεν καὶ ἐς ἔλεον, ὡς ἀναξίω τοιάδε πάσχειν. ὡς  
 δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ περιουσίαν  
 ὄση τε παρὰ Ὀκταουίου τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ἐτέρωθεν ἦν  
 αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ  
 τὸ μέρος τοῦ κλήρου Πινάριον καὶ Πέδιον αἰτήσας,  
 πρὸυθηκεν ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν πιπράσκεσθαι, ὡς τῆς  
 Καίσαρος περιουσίας οὐδ' ἐς τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκούσης  
 διὰ τὰς ἐπηρείας, ὁ δῆμος οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου  
 Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λο-  
 γιζόμενος εἶναι ἐκπαθῶς αὐτὸν ἠλέει καὶ ἐπῆνον ὧδε  
 πάσχοντα καὶ ὧδε φιλοτιμούμενον δῆλοί τε ἦσαν οὐκ  
 ἐς πολὺ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου ὕβριν ὑπεροψόμενοι.  
 90 24. Διέδειξαν δὲ παρὰ Βρούτου θεᾶς, πολυτελεστά-  
 τας δὴ γενομένας· ἐμμίσθων γάρ τινων ἀνακραγόν-

<sup>14</sup> The *Ludi Apollinares*, instituted during the Second Punic War, and organized by the urban praetor, were celebrated between July 6 and 13.

ing to the other praetorian duties.<sup>14</sup> Extensive prepara-  
 tions were being made, and there was a hope that the  
 people might lose their resolve in the spectacle and recall  
 Brutus and his associates. Octavian, on the other hand, in 88  
 his counterattempt to win over the crowd, continued to  
 distribute all the money he got from his sale to the head  
 men of the tribes by turns, to be divided by them among  
 the first comers. He also went around the auction rooms  
 saying that his sales' agents would set the lowest possible  
 price on everything, given both the uncertainty of title and  
 fear caused by the lawsuits, and the fact that he was in a  
 hurry. All of this won him the goodwill of the people and  
 their pity for someone who did not deserve what was hap-  
 pening to him. To enable the distribution, he also offered 89  
 for sale, in addition to his inheritance from Caesar, his own  
 property that came to him from his father, Octavius, and  
 whatever he had from other sources, as well as everything  
 belonging to his mother and Philippus, and Pedius' and  
 Pinarius' share of the inheritance, which he asked them  
 for. He maintained that because of the abusive way he was  
 being treated, Caesar's estate was not even sufficient for  
 this one purpose. No longer reckoning that the benefac-  
 tion was coming from the first Caesar, but from the pres-  
 ent one, the people began to pity him deeply and praise  
 him both for his endurance and his ambition. It was evi-  
 dent that they would not ignore for long Antony's abusive  
 behavior toward him.

24. They showed their feelings clearly during Brutus' 90  
 games, which were certainly very extravagant. For al-  
 though some, who had been hired for the purpose, shouted

- των κατακαλείν Βρούτῳν τε καὶ Κάσσιον, ἐπεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς θέατρον συνεδημαγωγέϊτο ἐς τὸν ἔλεον, ἐσέδραμον ἀθροοὶ καὶ τὰς θέας ἐπέσχον, μέχρι τῆν
- 91 ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν σβέσαι. Βρούτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος, ἐπεὶ σφῶν τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὁ Καῖσαρ διέχεεν, ἔγνωσαν εἰς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ὡς πρὸ Ἄντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα σφίσιν ἐψηφισμένας, χωρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τῶνδε φανερῶν γενομένων ἠπέιγετο καὶ Δολοβέλλας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ πρὸ Συρίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς χρηματιούμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς.
- 92 ὁ δ' Ἄντωνιος ἠγούμενος ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά οἱ δεήσειν δυνάμεως, τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατιάν, ἀρετῇ τε οὖσαν ἀρίστην καὶ πλήθει μεγίστην—ἐξ γὰρ ἦν τέλη (καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῖς τοξοτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἢ γυμνητῶν συνεζεύγνυτο, ἵππος τε πολλή καὶ παρασκευὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐντελής) δοκοῦντα προσήκειν Δολοβέλλα, Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Παρθναίους ἐπιτετραμμένῳ, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐς Παρθναίους ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι—πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπενόει μετενεγκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἀγχοῦ, ὡς τὸν Ἰόνιον περάσαντα εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἶναι.
- 93 25. Ἄφνω δὴ φήμη κατέσκηψε, Γέτας τὸν θάνατον τὸν Καίσαρος πυθομένους Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν ἐπιτρέχοντας, καὶ ὁ Ἄντωνιος τὴν βουλήν ἤτει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς Γέταις ἐπιθήσων δίκην· ἐς τε γὰρ Γέτας αὐτὸν πρὸ Παρθναίων Καίσαρι παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ τὰ Παρθναίων ἠρεμεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλή τὴν
- 94 φήμην ὑπενόει καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ

that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, and the rest of the audience were won over by the populist rhetoric to pity them, crowds ran in and stopped the games until the demand petered out. With the hopes they placed in the games frustrated by Octavian, Brutus and Cassius decided to go and seize by force Syria and Macedonia, which, they argued, had been voted to them before Dolabella and Antony. When their intentions became clear, Dolabella also hurried to Syria, by way of Asia first, in order to collect money there. As for Antony, in the belief that he would need an army for future purposes, he conceived the idea of transferring to himself the army in Macedonia, which was the best in terms of courage, and very large in terms of the number of men, for it consisted of six legions, besides all the other archers and light-armed troops stationed with them, a large force of cavalry, and a full supply of all the corresponding equipment. Although, because Caesar had been about to use it against the Parthians, the Macedonian army was apparently under the command of Dolabella, who had been entrusted with Syria and Parthian affairs, Antony planned to transfer it to himself because it was very near, and, by crossing the Ionian gulf would immediately be in Italy.

25. Suddenly a rumor flew around that the Getae, on learning of Caesar's death, had made an incursion into Macedonia and were pillaging it. Antony asked the senate to give him the army in order to punish them, since it had been formed for Caesar to use against the Getae before the Parthians, and the Parthian front was quiet at the moment. The senate were suspicious of the rumor, and sent

Ἀντώνιος τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων ἐψηφίσατο μὴ ἐξεῖναί πω κατὰ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν περὶ δικτάτρος ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἐψηφίζεῖν μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην, ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῶνδ' ἑνὸς ὑπεριδόντα  
 95 νηποινεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων ἀναιρεῖσθαι. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐλὼν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα πράττουσι συνθέμενος ἐν τέλος δώσειν, ἠρέθη τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δυνάμεως εἶναι στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων, ἃ ἐβούλετο, Γάιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτίκα σὺν ἐπέιξει τὸ δόγμα φέροντα τῷ στρατῷ  
 96 διεπέμπετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπισκέπται τῆς φήμης ἐπανελθόντες Γέτας ἔλεγον οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, προσέθεσαν δέ, εἴτε ἀληθὲς εἴτε ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διδαχθέντες, ὅτι δέος ἦν, μὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς ποι μετελθούσης οἱ Γέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδράμοιεν.  
 97 26. Ὡδε μὲν εἶχε τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν συνέλεγον, καὶ Τρεβώνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἐτείχιζε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐλθόντα οὐκ ἐδέχετο οὔτε Περγάμῳ οὔτε Σμύρνη, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀγορὰν ἔξω τείχους ὡς ὑπάτῳ προτίθει. ἐπιχειροῦντος δ' ἐκείνου  
 98 σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνύοντος, ὁ Τρεβώνιος αὐτὸν ἔφη δέξασθαι Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον εὐθὺς ἀπιόντι τοὺς ἐφεσομένους ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεμπεν, οἱ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπιόντα τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὀρῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑπονοοῦντες, ὀλίγους σφῶν ὑπολιπόντες ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν  
 99 ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐνεδρεύ-

a mission to investigate, but Antony allayed their fear and suspicion by passing a measure that it would be illegal for any reason whatever to make a proposal about the office of dictator, or to put it to the vote, or to accept if given it. Anybody who disregarded any of these provisions could be killed with impunity by anyone who encountered him. It was this in particular that won over his audience, and 95 having agreed with Dolabella's agents that he would give him one legion, Antony was chosen supreme commander of the forces in Macedonia. Having gotten what he wanted, he immediately sent his brother Gaius on an urgent mission to communicate the decree to the army. Those investigating the rumor now came back and reported that they 96 had seen no Getae in Macedonia, but they added (either truthfully or because they were instructed to do so by Antony) that there was a fear, if the army was transferred elsewhere, that the Getae would invade Macedonia.

26. While this was the situation in Rome, Cassius and 97 Brutus were collecting money and troops. Trebonius, governor of Asia, was fortifying the towns for them, and refused to receive Dolabella in either Pergamum or Smyrna when he arrived. The one thing he did allow him, however, since he was a consul, was to buy supplies outside the walls. In his anger Dolabella attacked the walls, but without effect, and Trebonius said that he would let him into 98 Ephesus. He immediately left for Ephesus, and Trebonius sent troops to follow him at a distance. When night came on, these men saw Dolabella heading off, and still suspecting nothing, they left a small contingent to follow him, and returned to Smyrna. Dolabella, having laid an ambush for 99

100 σας τε καὶ περιλαβὼν ἔκτεινε καὶ ἦλθε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔπι  
 νυκτὸς εἰς Σμύρναν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφύλακτον εὐρῶν εἶλε  
 101 διὰ κλιμάκων. Τρεβώνιος δὲ τοῖς συλλαμβάνουσιν  
 αὐτὸν ἔτι εὐναζόμενον ἠγείσθαι πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν  
 ἐκέλευεν· ἔφασθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκὼν· καὶ τις τῶν λοχα-  
 γῶν αὐτὸν ἐπισκώπτων ἠμείψατο· “Ἴθι σύ, δεῦρο τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν καταλιπὼν· ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐ σέ, ἀλλὰ τὴν κε-  
 102 φαλὴν ἄγειν προστέτακται.” καὶ τότε εἰπὼν εὐθὺς  
 101 ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα Δολοβέλλας μὲν  
 αὐτὴν προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ βήματος,  
 ἔνθα ὁ Τρεβώνιος ἐχρημάτιζε, προτεθῆναι· ἡ στρατιὰ  
 δὲ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ ὁ οἰκετικὸς ἄλλος ὄμιλος αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ  
 τοῦ φόνου Καίσαρος ὁ Τρεβώνιος μετεσχῆκει καὶ  
 κτεινομένου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν ὀμιλίᾳ περὶ θύρας τοῦ  
 βουλευτηρίου περισπάκει, εἰς τε τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα αὐ-  
 τοῦ ποικίλως ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν οἷα σφαῖραν  
 ἐν λιθοστρώτῳ πόλει διαβάλλοντες εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ  
 γέλωτι συνέχεάν τε καὶ συνέτριψαν· καὶ πρῶτος ὁδε  
 τῶν φονέων δίκην τήνδε ἔδεδῶκε.  
 102 27. Ὁ δ’ Ἀντώνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ  
 τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπεινόμενος, καὶ προφάσεως  
 ἄλλης εἰς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἠξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς  
 Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτι-  
 κήν, ἧς ἠγείτο Δέκμος Βρούτος Ἀλβίνος, εἰδὼς μὲν,  
 ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὀρμώμενος  
 ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὡς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ εἰς  
 103 τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν· ἡ δὲ  
 βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσις

this small contingent, captured and killed them, and went  
 back to Smyrna the same night while it was still dark. Find-  
 ing it unguarded, he captured it by scaling the wall with  
 ladders. Trebonius, who was still in bed, told his captors 100  
 to take him to Dolabella, saying that he was willing to fol-  
 low them. One of the centurions answered sardonically,  
 “You go, but leave your head here, for we were ordered to  
 bring your head, not you.” With these words he immedi-  
 ately cut off his head. Early in the morning Dolabella or- 101  
 dered it to be displayed on the governor’s tribunal, where  
 Trebonius used to transact public business. Since Trebo-  
 nius had participated in the murder of Caesar by detaining  
 Antony in conversation at the door of the senate house  
 while the murder was taking place, the soldiers, along with  
 the crowd of their camp followers angrily visited various  
 abuses on the rest of his body, and on his head, which they  
 threw to each other like a ball across the town’s pavement,  
 laughing, until they had smashed it and broken it into  
 pieces. In this way Trebonius was the first of the assassins  
 to meet his punishment.

27. Antony was developing plans to transport his army 102  
 from Macedonia to Italy, and being short of any other  
 excuse for this step, he asked the senate to let him ex-  
 change the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine  
 Gaul, of which Decimus Brutus Albinus was the governor.  
 While he was aware that Caesar too had set out from Cis-  
 alpine Gaul when he defeated Pompey, he wanted to give  
 the impression that he was recalling the army not to Italy,  
 but to Gaul. The senate, who regarded this Celtic bastion 103

ἡγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινέ τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἤσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενούου. ἰδία τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρηματα ἀγείρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο· οὕτως  
 104 ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν δῆμον αἰτῆσαι νόμον τὴν Κελτικὴν, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν Δολοβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαίῳ τὸν Ἰόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.  
 105 28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν, ὡς προσετέτακτο θέαι δ' ἦσαν, ἃς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσειν· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θέας τῷ πατρὶ τὸν τε χρύσειον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ  
 106 κατὰ πάσας θέας ἐψηφίσαντο προτίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἤγεν ὡς ὑπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, "Ἀνάφερε," εἶπεν, "Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ᾗ τὸ δόγμα,  
 107 προθήσω." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσε. ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεῶν ὁ πα-

<sup>15</sup> Critonius, aedile in 44, is known only for his involvement

as falling under their own authority, were annoyed, and realizing now for the first time that they had been tricked, regretted giving Macedonia to Antony. The leading senators sent word privately to Decimus telling him to keep a firm hold on his province, and to raise another army and money in case he was faced with violence from Antony. This is a measure of how much the senate had come to fear Antony and how angry they were at him. But Antony was intending to ask the people, not the senate, to pass a law giving him Gaul, in the same way that Caesar also got it previously, and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to frighten the senate he instructed his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Ionian gulf immediately to Brundisium.

28. Gaius set about carrying out his orders. It was now the time of the festival that Critonius, as aedile, was due to produce.<sup>15</sup> Octavian was preparing his father's gold throne and crown for the occasion, as it had been decreed that these should be publicly displayed for him at all festivals. When Critonius said that he would not tolerate carrying the costs for Caesar to be honored, Octavian brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the senate, but Octavian was annoyed and said, "Refer it, but I will display the throne as long as the decree is in force." At this Antony became angry and prohibited it, and, even more unreasonably, prohibited it at the next festival produced by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honor of Venus Genetrix when he also dedicated a temple to her in his forum, along

in this story, but it is not clear which games Appian means—perhaps the *Ludi Florales* held at the end of April.

- 108 τῆρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει. τότε δὴ  
καὶ μάλιστα μῖσος ἤδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸν  
Ἀντώνιον ἐγίγνετο, ὡς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν Καίσαρα φιλο-  
νικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρί-  
109 στως. αὐτὸς τε ὁ Καίσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἷα φρουρᾶς  
τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εἴ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς  
καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπιφθόνως  
ικέτευεν οὗ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε πάσχοντος  
ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἐκόντος, Καίσαρι δὲ τῷ σφῶν  
αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἀμύνειν, ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς  
Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι  
βέβαιον ὧν εἰλήφασι παρὰ Καίσαρος, εἰ μηδὲ αὐτῷ  
110 Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε  
πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατε-  
βόα· “Καίσαρι μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι μήτε ἐνυ-  
βρίζειν, εὐεργέτῃ σου μάλιστα, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ  
μάλιστα γεγενημένῳ· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὑβρεων, ἐς  
ὅσον θέλεις, ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀρπα-  
γὴν ἐπισχεῖν, μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν  
διανέμησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν· ἀρκέσειν γὰρ  
ἐμοὶ πενομένῳ τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἂν διαμένη,  
καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, εἰ ἐάσης δοθῆναι.”  
111 29. Ἐφ’ οἷς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο  
καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλησαμένου  
δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔξ-

with the forum itself.<sup>16</sup> It was at this moment particularly 108  
that a general antipathy toward Antony was now becoming  
clear, since it was thought that he was not so much engag-  
ing in rivalry with the present Caesar as boorishly insult-  
ing the former one. Octavian himself, accompanied by a 109  
crowd that was like a bodyguard, moved about among the  
people and those who had received some favor from his  
father, or had served under him in the army, maliciously  
begging them to overlook the many and substantial out-  
rages he had suffered and not to worry about him, since  
he accepted them, but to defend Caesar, their commander  
and benefactor, against the affront of Antony; and they  
would be defending themselves too, because they would  
never be secure in what they had received from Caesar, if  
the decrees passed even in honor of Caesar himself did 110  
not remain in force. Everywhere in the city he would  
clamber up to a high point and loudly denounce Antony,  
saying, “Don’t be angry with Caesar, Antony, because of  
me. And don’t insult the man who became your benefactor  
in particular, indeed your greatest benefactor. As for me,  
heap up your insults on me as much as you like, but desist  
from preying on his estate until the citizens have had their  
designated share; then you can take all the rest. Poor  
though I may be, I will be satisfied with my father’s repu-  
tation, if it lasts, and with his bequest to the people, if you  
allow it to be paid.”

29. As a result of this there was now a persistent and 111  
open outcry from all quarters against Antony. He in turn  
issued more bitter threats against Octavian, and when

<sup>16</sup> The Forum Iulium was dedicated in 46. The *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* were held at the end of July.

- 112 *ενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντες ὤρ-  
μηστο· καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου ταξίαρχοι,  
ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μέ-  
γιστα ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου τότε προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ὕβριν  
αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίουσαν καὶ διὰ σφᾶς καὶ δι' ἑαυτόν,  
113 ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρ-  
όντων ἀγαθῶν παρ' ἐκείνου τυχόντα. συγγιγνώσκων  
οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προ-  
φέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδούμενος, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσα-  
ρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτι-  
κῆς δεόμενος, ὡμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμνυεν  
αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ  
νεανίσκου ἔνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένον τε ἐπα-  
χθῶς ἔτι τηλικούδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος αἰδέσι-  
μον ἢ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς ἄρχοντας·  
114 ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου χρήζειν ἔτι νου-  
θεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξιούντων ἕνεκα αὐτὸς  
καθέξειν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν  
τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπανήξειν, ἣν κακείνος ἀπέχηται τῆς  
ἀμετρίας.*
- 115 30. Ταῦτα οἱ ταξίαρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνῆγον ἀμ-  
φοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέβαι-  
νον ἐς φιλίαν. ὃ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς προ-  
γράφετο αὐτίκα, ὀρρωδούσης πάνυ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ  
ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν προβουλεύει,  
κωλύειν προβουλεύομενον, εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς  
τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρει, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐς κώλυσιν ἐπι-  
πέμπειν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλως ἐλευθεροῦν

such threats were made public, everyone responded even  
more aggressively against him. Even the officers of Anto- 112  
ny's guard, who had served with the elder Caesar, and who  
were at the time held in the highest honor by Antony,  
asked him to restrain his insolence, both on their account  
and on his own, as he had served under Caesar and it was  
due to Caesar that he had met with his present good for-  
tunes. Antony recognized the truth of these words and, out 113  
of respect for the men who spoke them, and because he  
now needed help from Octavian himself with the people  
to exchange his province for Gaul, agreed with what was  
being said. He swore that his actions were not what he had  
planned at all, but that he had changed his mind because  
the youngster was offensively overbearing for one who was  
still so young, and who had no respect or regard for his 114  
elders and for the magistrates. He maintained that for his  
own good the young man still needed a reprimand for this  
behavior, but because his officers made the request them-  
selves, he said he would restrain his anger and revert to  
his previous disposition and policy, if Octavian would also  
refrain from his immoderate behavior.

30. The officers welcomed this reply and brought the 115  
two men together, who after some mutual recriminations  
agreed to form a friendship. The law concerning the prov-  
ince of Gaul was promulgated at once, to the utter dismay  
of the senators. They intended to block it in the senate, if  
Antony introduced it in the senate first, and, if he brought  
it to the people without consulting the senate first, to send  
in the tribunes to veto it. There were some who even  
recommended that the province be made free of Roman



- 116 ἡγεμονίας ἤξιουν· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγχοῦ τὴν Κελ-  
 τικὴν οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ  
 Δέκμῳ μὲν αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτει-  
 νεν, αὐτῷ δ' ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν κατα-  
 στρεψάμενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρί-  
 πτων ἤδη ταῦτα φανερώς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφηδομένους  
 117 τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἢ μὲν  
 βουλή τὴν λοχίτιν<sup>15</sup> ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγήσε-  
 σθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοινισάμενοι  
 τὴν φυλέτιν<sup>16</sup> ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐληλυθυῖαν.  
 118 καὶ ὁ δημότης λεώς, ἀχθόμενος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συν-  
 ἔπρασεν ὁμως διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς περι-  
 σχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον. ἐδέϊτο δὲ μάλιστα μὲν, ἵνα  
 μὴ Δέκμος ἄρχοι χώρας τε ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατιᾶς  
 ἀνδροφόνος ὢν τοῦ πατρός, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς χάριν  
 Ἀντωνίου συνηλλαγμένον. προσεδόκα δὲ ἄρα τι καὶ  
 119 αὐτὸς ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. διαφθαρέντων  
 δὲ χρήμασι τῶν δημάρχων ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατα-  
 σιωπώντων ὁ νόμος ἐκυροῦτο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς Ἀντωνίῳ  
 μετ' αἰτίας εὐπρεποῦς ἤδη τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐπέρα.  
 120 31. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐς τὴν  
 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καίσαρ συνέπρασεν Φλα-

<sup>15</sup> φυλέτιν codd.; λοχίτιν Schweig.

<sup>16</sup> λοχίτιν codd.; φυλέτιν Schweig.

<sup>17</sup> The reading of all the manuscripts is that Antony sum-  
 moned the Centuriate Assembly, not the Tribal Assembly,

control altogether, so greatly had they come to fear the  
 proximity of Gaul. But Antony leveled a countercharge 116  
 against them, saying that they trusted Decimus with the  
 province because he had killed Caesar, and that they dis-  
 trusted himself because he had not killed the man who had  
 subdued Gaul and brought it to its knees. These claims he  
 now hurled openly against everyone, accusing them all of  
 being pleased at what had happened. When the day for 117  
 the voting arrived the senate expected that the Centuriate  
 Assembly would be convened, but while it was still night  
 Antony's men roped off the Forum and summoned the  
 Tribal Assembly, who had gathered by prearranged plan.<sup>17</sup>  
 Although the common people were annoyed at Antony, 118  
 they nevertheless cooperated with him because Octavian  
 stood by the ropes and asked them to do so. He asked this  
 particularly to prevent Decimus, one of his father's mur-  
 derers, from having command of an important territory  
 and army and, in addition, to oblige Antony, with whom  
 he was reconciled. To be sure, he also expected to get  
 something from Antony in return. As the tribunes had 119  
 been bribed by Antony and remained silent, the law was  
 passed and now that Antony had a plausible reason, his  
 army began to cross the Ionian gulf.

31. On the death of one of the tribunes of the people, 120  
 Octavian supported Flaminius for election as his replace-

whereas before (above, 27.104) Appian explicitly says that Antony  
 intended to ask the people for this law (i.e., the Tribal Assembly).  
 Editors since Schweighäuser have accordingly usually transposed  
 the two. A problem remains, in that the Centuriate Assembly met  
 in the Campus Martius, not the Forum.

μινίω· καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλειν, ἐπενόουν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις δῆμαρχον ἀποφῆναι  
 121 τὸν Καίσαρα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθόνει καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ δημαρχῶν τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι· Ἀντωνίος τε τῆς ἄρτι συγκειμένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδὼν, εἴτε ἐς χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἢ παρηγορίαν, ἀχθομένης τῷ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς νόμῳ, εἴτε ἀπ' οἰκείας γνώμης, προύγραφεν ὡς ὑπατος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγχειρεῖν παρανόμως, ἢ χρήσεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ τῆς  
 122 ἐξουσίας. ἀχαρίστου δ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ὑβριστικῆς ἅμα ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῆς προγραφῆς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος διώργιστο καὶ φιλονικῆσειν ἔμελλον ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ὥστε δεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντωνιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν, τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν  
 123 δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον· ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ, ὡς σαφῶς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ἤδη, πολλοὺς περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποικίδας πόλεις ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἃ πάσχοι, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστων γνώμην καταμανθάνειν· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατόπεδα ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τινὰς ἀγορὰν φέροντας καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θαρροῦσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαρριπτεῖν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.  
 124 32. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν· οἱ ταξίαρχοι δὲ αὐθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καιρὸν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον· “Ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντωνιέ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ σοῦ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρεταὶ γιγνόμενοι διετε-

ment. The people, believing that Octavian wanted the office himself, but was not announcing his candidature because he was under age, formed a plan to vote him in as  
 121 tribune at the election. The senate begrudged him this promotion, and were afraid that if he were tribune he would bring his father's murderers to justice before the people. Antony, ignoring his recently agreed friendship pact with Octavian, either to oblige the senate, or to conciliate them, annoyed as they were at the law about the province of Gaul, or for his own reasons, issued an edict in his capacity as consul to the effect that Octavian should not attempt anything contrary to law; and that if he did, he would use the full measure of his authority against him. As the edict showed a lack of gratitude to Octavian, and  
 122 was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter became extremely angry and intended to oppose Antony vigorously in the election, with the result that he became anxious and canceled the vote, claiming that the remaining tribunes were sufficient. On the grounds that there  
 123 was now open conspiracy against him, Octavian sent numerous agents to his father's colonies to tell them how badly he had been treated and to find out what the feelings were in each of them. He also sent some men carrying provisions into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to establish relations with the most intrepid of them, and secretly distribute pamphlets among the ordinary soldiers.

32. This is what Octavian was doing. As for the military  
 124 tribunes, once again they asked for a meeting with Antony, and spoke as follows: “Antony, we and the others who served with you under Caesar together established his authority and continued to attend to its daily needs. We are

λούμεν, ἔχθει μὲν ἴσῳ καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τοὺς φονέας  
 αὐτοῦ γινώσκουμεν εἰς ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν  
 βουλήν ἐκείνοις ἐπιρρέπουσαν, τοῦ δήμου δ' ἐξελά-  
 σαντος αὐτοὺς ἀνεθαρρήσαμεν, οὐ πάντῃ τὰ Καίσα-  
 ρος ὀρώντες ἄφιλα οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα.  
 125 τὴν δ' ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν εἶχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλω  
 τε Καίσαρος ὄντι καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκ  
 πάντων καὶ ἄρχοντι νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπι-  
 126 τηδείῳ. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ θρασέως ἐς  
 τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων καὶ χρήματα  
 καὶ στρατιὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς  
 σοι Δέκμον ἐπαλειφούσης, καὶ σοῦ τὰς φροντίδας ἐς  
 τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν δαπανῶντος, δέδι-  
 μεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὕτω παρ-  
 όντα πόλεμον ἢ στάσις ὑμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθῆται  
 καὶ διαπραχθῆ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἃ βούλονται.  
 127 ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντα σε ἀξιούμεν, ὁσίας τε χάριν ἐς τὸν  
 Καίσαρα καὶ φειδοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων  
 σοι γενομένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμ-  
 φερόντων οὐνεκα, ἕως ἔτι δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μὲν, ὅπερ  
 ἀρκέσει, μόνον συνεπαμῦναι τοὺς φονέας τιμωρου-  
 μένῳ, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ γενό-  
 μενόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα τοὺς  
 ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας."  
 128 33. Τοσαῦτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εἰπόντας ὁ Ἀντώνιος  
 ὦδε ἡμείψατο· "Ὅση μὲν εὐνοία καὶ σπουδῇ πρὸς  
 Καίσαρα περιόντα ἐχρώμην, φιλοκινδυνότατος ἐκ  
 πάντων ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας γενόμενος, ἴστε σαφῶς,

aware that his murderers hate and conspire against us in  
 equal measure, and that the senate are tending to favor  
 them. But when the people drove the assassins out we took  
 fresh courage, seeing that Caesar's cause was not alto-  
 125 together without friends, forgotten or unappreciated. We  
 placed our future security in your hands, as you are the  
 friend of Caesar, and after him the most experienced com-  
 mander of all, and our current leader, and most suitable  
 126 in every way. Our enemies, however, are recovering, au-  
 daciously forcing their way into Syria and Macedonia, and  
 raising money and troops against us, while the senate are  
 setting Decimus Brutus on you. Yet you are wasting your  
 concerns on your disagreement with the young Caesar,  
 and we are quite reasonably afraid that your feud will be  
 an additional burden in the coming war that is all but upon  
 us, and that our enemies will achieve their wishes against  
 127 us. We ask you to keep all this in mind, both for the sake  
 of your piety toward Caesar, and out of consideration for  
 us, who in no way find fault with you, and indeed for your  
 own interests even more than ours: we ask you, while you  
 still can, simply to cooperate sufficiently with Octavian to  
 enable him to take vengeance on the murderers, and to  
 exercise dynastic power immediately yourself, thus easing  
 your worries and providing us with the means to ease ours,  
 for we fear both for ourselves and for you."

33. To this speech of the tribunes Antony made the  
 128 following reply: "Fellow campaigners, fellow participants  
 in events, you are well aware what goodwill and enthusi-  
 asm I had for Caesar when he was alive, I who was most

- 129 συστρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρατυχόν-  
τες· ὅση δ' αὖ κακείνος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμήσει  
χρώμενος διετέλει, οὐ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ  
ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο καμὲ Καίσαρι  
συναλεῖν, ὡς ἐμοῦ περιόντος οὐ καθέξοντες ὧν ἐπ-  
ενόουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ  
εὐνοία τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπεία  
τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ὡς μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὺς ὥσπερ  
130 ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλ' ἓνα ἀνελεῖν ὡς τύραννον. τίς ἂν οὖν  
πιστεύσειεν ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι  
γεγενημένου καὶ προτιμᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ  
τὸν φόνον ἐκόντα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιβούλοις,  
ὡς οἶεται Καίσαρ ὁ νέος; πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία  
τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονία; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ  
τῆς βουλῆς, ἐμοὶ βούλεται. μάθετε, ὡς ἐγένετο.
- 131 34. "Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος  
ἄφνω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα πλείστον  
ἐμὲ φιλία τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγνοία τοῦ ἀκρι-  
βοῦς· οὐ γάρ πω τὴν συνθήκην ἐώρων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὅσοις.
- 132 ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομά-  
χοις τὸ Καπιτώλιον καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ  
βουλή σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, ἧ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ φανερώτερον,  
γέρα τε τοῖς ἀνελοῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο.  
καὶ εἰ τύραννος ὁ Καίσαρ ἐφάνη, ἡμῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἀπο-

- prepared of all to face danger in his service. But it would  
not be fair of me to bear witness to the gratitude and  
special honor he in turn continually devoted to me. The 129  
murderers, too, were acquainted with both these facts,  
and so conspired to kill me with Caesar, because they  
believed that if I were alive they would not be able to do  
what they had in mind. Whoever persuaded them to  
change their minds did not do so out of concern for my  
safety, but to preserve the plausibility that they were ty-  
rant slayers, and to avoid the appearance of doing away  
with a number of people because they were personal en-  
emies, as opposed to one person because he was a tyrant.  
Who, then, would ever believe that I do not care about 130  
Caesar, my benefactor, and that I respect his enemies  
above him, and that I willingly condone his murder at the  
hands of those who plotted against me also, as the young  
Caesar imagines? What, then, was the source of the am-  
nesty they received for the murder, or the provincial com-  
mands they got? For Octavian wants to lay these charges  
against me rather than the senate. Let me tell you how this  
happened.
34. "When Caesar was suddenly butchered in the sen- 131  
ate, I more than anyone was gripped by fear, because of  
my friendship with Caesar and because I lacked accurate  
information, for I did not yet have an impression of the  
conspiracy or how many people it was aimed against. The 132  
people were creating a disturbance, the murderers and  
some gladiators having seized the Capitol were keeping it  
closed off, and the senate were on their side, which is even  
more clearly the case now, and were in the process of vot-  
ing the killers rewards for being tyrant slayers. If Caesar  
had been declared a tyrant, the fact is we would all have

- 133 λέσθαι πᾶσιν ὡς τυράννου φίλοις. ὦδε δὴ με ἔχοντα  
 θορύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν γνώμης  
 παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἀπορηῆσαι, σκοποῦντες εὐρήσετε,  
 ἔνθα μὲν ἔδει τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἔνθα δὲ ὑποκρί-  
 134 σεως, εὐμήχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ πάντων καὶ τὰ  
 λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰ γέρα τὰ ψηφίζο-  
 μενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ὅπερ, ἀντιτάξας ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ τῇ  
 τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς σφαγεύσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἔπραττον  
 σὺν θράσει παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐπικινδύνῳ, τότε μόνον  
 ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀσφαλῶς περιέσε-  
 135 σθαι, ὅταν μὴ Καίσαρ εἶναι δόξη τύραννος. τῷ δ'  
 αὐτῷ δέει τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῆς ἐχο-  
 μένων, ὅτε μὴ Καίσαρ εἶη τύραννος, ἀνδροφονίας  
 αὐτοὺς ἀλώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλονικούντων, εἶξα  
 τῆς ἀμνηστίας διδομένης ἀντὶ τῶν γερῶν, ἵν' ὅσων  
 136 ἔχρηζον ἀντιλάβοιμι. τὰ δὲ ἦν πόσα καὶ πηλίκαι;  
 μήτε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπηλείφθαι τὴν  
 ἐμοὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἡδίστην μήτε τὴν περιουσίαν  
 δεδημεύσθαι μήτε τὴν θέσιν, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν οὗτος γαυριᾶ,  
 διαλελύσθαι μήτε τὰς διαθήκας ἀκύρους γενέσθαι τό-  
 τε σῶμα τεθάφθαι βασιλικῶς καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ τὰς  
 πάλαι δεδομένας ἀθανάτους διαμένειν καὶ τὰ πεπραγ-  
 μένα πάντα κύρια εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα καὶ  
 τοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ στρατιώτας,  
 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθαι σωτηρία καὶ ἐνδόξῳ βίῳ ἀντὶ  
 ἐπονειδίστου.
- 137 35. "Ἄρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγα ἢ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας τὴν  
 βουλήν ἀνταιτήσαι δοκῶ; ἢ δοῦναι ἂν αὐτὰ ἢ βουλή

died as the associates of a tyrant. In the midst of the con- 133  
 fusion and anxiety and fear in which I found myself, at a  
 time when it would not have been surprising if I had been  
 at a loss for a plan, if you look, you will find that where  
 daring was needed I was the most intrepid, and where  
 dissimulation was required I proved very resourceful. The 134  
 first thing of all to be done, and the rest was dependent on  
 it, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators.  
 This I accomplished with reckless and dangerous daring,  
 by setting myself decisively against the senate and the as-  
 sassins, because I believed at the time that we Caesarians  
 could be safe only if Caesar were not to be judged a tyrant.  
 Our enemies and the senate itself were gripped by the 135  
 same fear, namely that if Caesar were not to be a tyrant,  
 they would be convicted of murder, and for this reason  
 they offered stubborn resistance. So, when an amnesty  
 was offered instead of the honors, I yielded in order to get  
 what I wanted in return. How many things did I want, and 136  
 how important were they? That Caesar's name, to me the  
 sweetest of all, should not be erased; that his property  
 should not be confiscated by the state; that the adoption  
 on which this young man prides himself should not be  
 annulled; that the will should not be declared invalid; that  
 his body should receive a royal burial; that the honors  
 previously decreed to him should remain in force forever;  
 that all his acts should be confirmed; and that his son, and  
 we his associates, whether generals or common soldiers,  
 should be guaranteed safety, and a life of honor instead of  
 disgrace.

35. "Do you think that what I asked of the senate in 137  
 return for the amnesty was small or insignificant? Or that

χωρὶς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ἦν μὲν δὴ καὶ καθαρῶς ἀντι-  
 δοῦναι τάδε τῶνδε ἄξιον καὶ φείσασθαι σὺν ἀληθεί-  
 γνώμη φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἀθανάτου Καίσαρος δό-  
 ξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς σωτηρίας· οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ μετὰ  
 138 τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν  
 δίκην. ἐπεὶ γέ τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἃ πρῶτα ἔχρηζον  
 ἐκράτησα καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὡς ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ μεθεῖντο,  
 ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλκον, οὐ ψη-  
 φίσμασιν ἢ δόγμασιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' ἀσήμεν δη-  
 μοκοπία, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς  
 ταφῆς ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἀπο-  
 γυμνῶν καὶ τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπιδει-  
 κνὺς ἡμαγμένην τε καὶ κατακεκομμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρε-  
 τὴν καὶ τὸ φιλόδημον αὐτοῦ παλιλλογῶν, ἐκπαθῶς ἐν  
 139 δ' ὡς θεόν. τάδε γάρ μου τὰ ἔργα καὶ ῥήματα ἠρέθισε  
 τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦψε μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, καὶ  
 ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας  
 140 ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ὅπως ἀντιπραττούσης  
 καὶ λυπούμενης τῆς βουλῆς ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἔδειξαν,  
 ἐμὲ μὲν αἰτιώμενοι τῆς δημοκοπίας, τοὺς δὲ φονέας  
 ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, <Δέκμον  
 μὲν ἐς τὴν Κελτικήν><sup>17</sup> Βρούτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς  
 Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, αἱ μάλιστα μεγάλων στρατῶν  
 ἦσαν, ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δεδομένου χρόνου δι-  
 141 δάξαντες ἐπὶ προφάσει φροντίδος σίτου. ἕτερον δὴ με  
 δέος ἔτι μείζον ἐπελάμβανεν, οὐκ ἔχοντά πω στρατὸν

the senate would have given them without the amnesty?  
 It would have been proper to make this mutual exchange  
 honestly, and in all sincerity spare men who were murder-  
 ers for the sake of Caesar's immortal reputation and our  
 complete security, but in fact I did not do it with that in-  
 138 tention, but in order to postpone punishment. So, when I  
 had prevailed on the senate for my primary needs and the  
 assassins were relaxing as if they were in the clear, I took  
 fresh courage and began to undermine the amnesty, not  
 with votes of the assembly or decrees of the senate (for  
 that was impossible), but by a subtle appeal to the people.  
 I brought Caesar's body into the Forum using his burial as  
 an excuse; I revealed his wounds, pointing out how many  
 there were and displaying his bloodstained and shredded  
 clothing; I kept talking passionately and publicly about his  
 courage and love for the people, weeping for him as a  
 murdered man, but appealing to him as god. These acts 139  
 and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled their  
 passions against the amnesty, sent them against the houses  
 of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city.  
 That this all came about in the face of irritated opposition 140  
 from the members of the senate, they immediately made  
 clear by accusing me of rabblery, and sending the  
 assassins off to provincial commands, <Decimus to Gaul,>  
 Brutus to Syria, Cassius to Macedonia, provinces filled  
 with a large number of troops, and instructing them to  
 hurry there before the appointed time, on the pretense of  
 looking after the corn supply. And now a new and still 141  
 greater fear gripped me, since I had no army of my own

<sup>17</sup> Δέκμον μὲν ἐς τὴν Κελτικήν add. Goukowsky

ἴδιον οὐδένα, μὴ πρὸς ἐνόπλους τοσοῦσδε ἄνοπλοι καθιστώμεθα. καὶ ὁ σύναρχος ὑποπτος ἦν, ἐμοί τε διάφορος ὢν αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου γενέθλιον τῇ πόλει τιθέμενος.

- 142 36. “Ὡδε δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἐπειγόμενος ἐξοπλίσαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ’ ἐκείνων τὰ ὄπλα μετενεγκεῖν, Ἀμάτιον ἔκτεινα καὶ κατεκάλεσα Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοῖσδε αὐθις ἀλούσα ἡ βουλή πρὸς με μεταθόιτο.
- 143 καὶ οὐδ’ ὡς αὐτῇ πιστεύων ἔπεισα Συρίαν αἰτεῖν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνέπραξα αἰτοῦντι, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεῦσι Δολοβέλλας ἐχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς αἰσχροὺς ἢ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντιπεῖν ἐμοί περὶ Μακεδονίας. οὐ μέντ’ ἂν οὐδ’ ὡς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλα, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιάν προμεθῆκα τῷ Δολοβέλλα ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι.
- 145 τοὺς δ’ αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφείλοντο ἂν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαμβάνοντες ἔθνη. δεῆσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, οἷα ἀνθ’ οἷων καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἐδόθη, Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὢν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφίσις ὄντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀφηρημένα βιάζονται.
- 146 οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήνεκτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τέχναις καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ ἀντιδόσεσιν ἐτέρων· οὐ γάρ πω τῶν ὄπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

as yet, that we would stand defenseless against such massive armed forces. I was also suspicious of my colleague, as he was forever at odds with me, he had pretended to be involved in the plot against Caesar, and had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the city.

36. “While I was, thus, at a loss what to do, desiring to 142 disarm our enemies and transfer their armaments to us instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Pompeius in order to trap the senate again by such means into changing sides to me. But even then I did not trust them, so I persuaded Dolabella to ask for Syria, not from the senate, but 143 from the people by a law. I supported his request, to turn him from being a friend of the murderers into an enemy, and to shame the senate, after the precedent set by Dolabella, into not opposing me on Macedonia. But, as it was, 144 they would not have given me Macedonia, even after Dolabella had been provided for, because of the army stationed there, if I had not previously transferred the army to Dolabella, on the grounds that Syria and the Parthian campaign had been allotted to him. And again, they would 145 not have taken Macedonia away from Cassius and his party, nor Syria, unless they got other provinces for them in exchange to ensure their safety. But when an exchange was needed, look what they got instead—Cyrene and Crete, unguarded by troops. Even our enemies despise them, as they offer no security for them, and they are now trying to take by force the provinces removed from them. This, then, was how the army too was transferred from 146 our enemies to Dolabella using craft, stratagem, and exchange; for with no sign yet of me getting armaments, I had to act using the laws.

147 37. "Γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕτερον  
στρατὸν ἀγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδο-  
148 νίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἠπόρου. φήμη δὲ κατ-  
έσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν. ἀπιστουμένης δὲ  
καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεψομένων ἀπεσταλμένων,  
εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μὴ  
ἐξεῖναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι μήτε λαβεῖν δι-  
δομένην ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσαν μοι τὸν  
149 στρατόν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρῶτον ἑμαυτὸν ἠγησάμην  
ισόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐ τοῖσδε τοῖς φανεροῖς,  
ὡς οἶεται Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλέοσί τε καὶ δυνατω-  
150 τέροις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δ' ἐργα-  
σαμένω μοι ἕτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλειπεν ἐν πλευραῖς,  
Βρούτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἠγούμενος καὶ ὄδε χώρας ἐπι-  
καίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ· ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ θρασύτερον  
εἰδὼς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφηρούμην, ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι  
τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος ἀντιδώσειν,  
151 γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην. ἀγανακτούσης δὲ τῆς  
βουλῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἤδη καθορώσης καὶ ἴστε οἶα  
καὶ ὅσα Δέκμω πολλῶν γραφόντων καὶ ἐπαλειφόντων  
ἤδη τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ ὑπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν  
ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν  
ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς τὸ  
Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρων ὡς χρησόμενος δὴ ἐς τὰ ἐπεί-  
γοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοῖς, <ὡς><sup>18</sup> εἰπεῖν, χρησόμεθα, ὡς ἂν  
αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

<sup>18</sup> ὡς add. Goukowsky

37. "After these events, while our enemies were col- 147  
lecting another army, I had need of the army in Macedo-  
nia, but was at a loss for an excuse to take it. A rumor flew  
around that the Getae were pillaging Macedonia. This met 148  
with disbelief, and while a commission was sent out to  
investigate, I introduced a motion about the dictatorship,  
that it would be illegal to propose an appointment to it, to  
vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The senators were  
particularly taken with this, and they gave me the army.  
Then for the first time I considered myself equally 149  
matched with my enemies, not merely with these openly  
hostile ones, as Octavian thinks, but with the more numer-  
ous and more powerful ones who still choose to remain  
unseen. With this much accomplished, there remained 150  
one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, he too  
in command of a convenient province and a large army.  
Knowing him to be a very daring man, I set about taking  
Gaul off him by promising, as a means of preserving plau-  
sibility for the senate, to provide Macedonia in exchange,  
but stripped of an army. The senate were furious, for they 151  
now saw the trap, and you know what kind of letters, and  
how many, they have been writing to Decimus, and how  
they have been setting my successors in the consulship  
against me.<sup>18</sup> I decided, therefore, to take a bolder course  
and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of  
asking the senate, and I brought the army over from Mace-  
donia to Brundisium to use, of course, for emergencies.  
And with the help of the gods, so to speak, we will use it,  
as needs demand.

<sup>18</sup> The consuls designated by Caesar for 43 were Gaius Vibius  
Pansa Caetronianus and Aulus Hirtius.



- 152 38. "Οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέους τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπισχόν-  
τος μετεβάλομεν ἔς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
ἐγκρατῆ καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ὧν ἐκφανέν-  
των ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἡ τῶν πλεόνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους  
153 σπουδῆ. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅση μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μεταμέλεια  
τῶν ἐψηφισμένων, ὅσος δὲ ἀγὼν ἀφελέσθαι με τὴν  
Κελτικὴν ἤδη δεδομένην. ἴστε, ἃ γράφουσι Δέκμῳ  
καὶ ὅσα τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ πείθουσι περὶ τῆς  
154 Κελτικῆς μεταψηφίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε πα-  
τρῶοις καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεῖ γνώμῃ καὶ σὺν ταῖς ὑμετέραις  
ἀνδραγαθίαις, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκράτει, ἀμννοῦ-  
μεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βο-  
155 ηθοῦντες. ταῦτά μοι γιγνόμενα μὲν, ὧ συστρατιῶται,  
ἔτι ἔχρηζον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἐξενήνεκται  
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὓς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς  
ἐς ἅπαντα τίθεμαι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴ τινες αὐτὰ οὐ  
συνορῶσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνου Καίσαρος ἀχαρί-  
στως ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντος."
- 156 39. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διεξιόντος, παρέστη τοῖς  
ταξίαρχαις αὐτὸν ἅπαντα μετ' ἐχθρας ἀκριβοῦς ἐς  
τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ βουλῇ, πεποιη-  
κένοι. ἠξίου δὲ καὶ ὧς τῷ Καίσαρι συναλλαγήναι  
καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς συνήλλασσον αὐθις ἐν τῷ  
157 Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σω-  
ματοφυλάκων τινὰς ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρήγαγεν ὡς  
ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καί-  
σαρος, εἴτε συκοφαντῶν εἴτε τῷ ὄντι νομίσας εἴτε  
περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμε-

38. "In this way we have exchanged the great fear that 152  
formerly gripped us for guaranteed security for ourselves  
and courage against our enemies. With all this now openly  
revealed, so too was the zeal of the masses against our  
enemies made clear. You see how much the latter regret 153  
the decrees they have passed, and what a fight they are  
making to deprive me of Gaul, even though it has already  
been assigned to me. You know what they are writing to  
Decimus, and how hard they are trying to persuade my  
successors in the consulship to repeal the decree concern-  
ing Gaul. But with the help of our paternal gods, a pious 154  
policy, and your nobility, all of which helped Caesar to  
conquer, we will avenge him, prosecuting our case with  
the help of both body and mind. While all these things 155  
were happening to me, fellow soldiers, I needed them to  
remain unspoken, but now that they are in the past, I have  
laid them before you, as I consider you partners in every-  
thing I do and say. If there are others who do not have the  
same view of these matters, share this information with  
them—but not with Octavian, who is behaving ungrate-  
fully toward me."
39. When Antony had finished setting out these details, 156  
the tribunes were reassured that everything he had done  
in scheming against the senate had been done out of gen-  
uine hatred for the assassins. Nevertheless they asked him  
to come to terms with Octavian, and, on getting his agree-  
ment, brought about a reconciliation between them again  
on the Capitol. Not long after, however, Antony trans- 157  
ferred some of his bodyguards to his associates, maintain-  
ing that Octavian was plotting against him and these were  
his agents. He may have been making a false accusation,  
or really believed it, or he had heard of the men sent into

νος καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλήν μεταφέρωι ἐς τὸ  
 158 σῶμα. ὁ τε λόγος ἐκδραμῶν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἤγειρε  
 πάνδημον, καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γάρ, οἷς  
 τι λογισμοῦ βαθέος ἦν, ἤδεσαν Καίσαρι συμφέρειν  
 Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλάπτοντα ὅμως περιεῖναι, ἐπίφοβον  
 ὄντα τοῖς φονεῦσιν· ἀποθανόντος γὰρ ἀδεέστερον  
 ἐκείνους ἅπασιν ἐπιτολήσειν, βοηθουμένους μάλι-  
 στα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὦδε μὲν εἵκαζον οἱ συνετώτεροι  
 159 τὸ δὲ πλεόν, ὀρώντες, οἷα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Καί-  
 σαρ ὑβριζόμενός τε καὶ ζημιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ  
 ἄπιστον ἐτίθεντο τὴν διαβολὴν οὐδὲ ὄσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν  
 ἐνόμιζον Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβου-  
 160 λεύσθαι. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἐξ-  
 ἔτρεχε σὺν ὀργῇ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβόα αὐτὸς ἐπιβου-  
 λεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ φιλίαν  
 ἔτι οἱ μόνην οὔσαν· ἐπὶ τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντωνίου  
 δραμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβόα καὶ θεοὺς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ ἀρὰς  
 161 ἠρᾶτο πάσας καὶ ἐς δίκην ἐλθεῖν προυκαλεῖτο. οὐ-  
 δενὸς δὲ προϊόντος, “Ἐν τοῖς φίλοις,” ἔφη, “Δέχομαι  
 τοῖς σοῖς κριθῆναι,” καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπέτρεχεν ἔσω. κωλυ-  
 θεῖς δὲ αὐθις ὤμωζε καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς  
 περὶ θύρας ἠγανάκτει κωλύουσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλεγ-  
 162 χθῆναι. ἀπιὼν τε τὸν δῆμον ἐμαρτύρετο, εἴ τι πάθοι,  
 πρὸς Ἀντωνίου δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε  
 σὺν πάθει πολλῷ μετέπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς  
 163 τῆς πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγίγνετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ

his encampments, and turned the plot to block his actions  
 into a plot against his life. But the story spread rapidly, 158  
 immediately causing a widespread disturbance among the  
 people and great indignation. For there were only a few  
 who had sufficient reasoning power to realize that it was  
 in the interests of Octavian for Antony to live, damaging  
 though he was, because the murderers were afraid of him.  
 If he were to die, they would dare anything more fear-  
 lessly, especially as they had the support of the senate.  
 While the more intelligent deduced this, the majority, see- 159  
 ing how much Octavian suffered every day from the indig-  
 nities and losses inflicted on him, regarded the accusation  
 as credible, and considered it sacrilegious and intolerable  
 that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life  
 while he was consul. Octavian hurried off, furiously angry, 160  
 to confront even those who held this opinion, shouting out  
 that he was the one being plotted against by Antony, to  
 alienate from him the friendship of the people, which he  
 alone still had. Rushing to Antony's door, he yelled the  
 same accusation, and called the gods to witness, swearing  
 all kinds of oaths, and challenging Antony to take a legal  
 case. When nobody came forward he said, “I agree to 161  
 submit myself to the judgment of your associates,” and  
 with these words attempted to enter the house. On being  
 prevented from doing so, he again cried out and poured  
 abuse on Antony, and was indignant at the doorkeepers for  
 preventing Antony from being questioned. As he was leav- 162  
 ing, he called the people to witness that, if anything hap-  
 pened to him, his murder would be at the hands of Antony.  
 He spoke these words with such passion that the crowd  
 began to change their mind and regret somewhat their  
 previous assessment. There were doubters, even then, 163

τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὤκνουν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ πιστὸν νέμειν, καὶ τινες ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφοῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἄρτι ἐν ἱερῷ, μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἠγοῦντο ἐπινοεῖν εἰς ἀφορμὴν φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἢ ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρουχιῶν Καίσαρι.

- 164 40. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπεσταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπωκισμένους ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπικουρήσειν, ἀνδύωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐξῆει διὰ τάδε. δείσας δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφρούρητον αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν ἦει, πείσων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύεσθαι, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὠκισμένας. καὶ ἔπεισε 165 Καλατίαν πρώτην, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνη Κασιλῖνον, δύο τάσδε Καπύης ἑκατέρωθεν· ἐπιδούς δ' ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἤγεεν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, οὔτε ὠπλισμένους ἐντελῶς οὔτε συντεταγμένους πω κατὰ ἴλας, ἀλλ' ὡς 166 ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν, ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπανιόντα, ὡς ἐπύθοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεθ' ἑτέρας προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὡς χρησόμενοι κατ' Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρι ἠσμένιζον· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διαλλαγὰς ἐωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονέων.

who were reluctant to put any trust in either of them. Some blamed events on the hypocrisy of both of them, believing that they had recently come to an agreement in a temple, and were devising all this as a stratagem against their enemies. Still others thought that it was a contrivance of Antony either as a pretext to increase his bodyguard, or to alienate the colonists from Octavian.

40. When reports came to Octavian from the agents he 164 had sent off secretly that the army at Brundisium and those being settled in colonies would help him if they could because they were angry at Antony for neglecting Caesar's murder, Antony set off for Brundisium for this reason. Octavian was afraid that Antony would return with his army and catch him unprotected, so he went to Campania with money to persuade the towns founded by his father there to join his army. He convinced Calatia first, 165 and then Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua. By giving five hundred drachmas to each man, he collected about ten thousand men, not yet fully armed or mustered in cohorts, but serving merely as a bodyguard under one banner.<sup>19</sup> At Rome they were afraid of Antony 166 coming back with an army, and when they heard that Octavian too was approaching with another army, some were doubly afraid, while others were pleased at the prospect of using Octavian against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other on the Capitol, thought this was all an act, designed to give Antony sole power in exchange for Octavian getting the lives of the assassins.

<sup>19</sup> Army pay in the first century BC was 225 denarii for a legionary (Appian uses drachmas for denarii). So Octavian was offering a considerable amount of money.

- 167 41. Ὡδε δὲ αὐτῶν θορυβουμένων, Καννούτιος ὁ  
 δήμαρχος, ἐχθρὸς ὦν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Καί-  
 σαρὶ φίλος, ὑπήντα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐκ-  
 μαθὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἐχθρας Ἀντωνίου  
 σαφοῦς ἐπιέναι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδιότας  
 Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι,  
 168 στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δ'  
 εἰπὼν ἐσῆγε τὸν Καίσαρα, ἀυλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ  
 ἄστεος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως  
 ἱερῷ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διο-  
 σκούρων παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεῶν περιέστησαν οἱ  
 στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιέζωσμένοι, Καν-  
 νούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου<sup>19</sup>  
 καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπήνει, στρατὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος  
 ἀγείροντα, καὶ ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ παρεκάλει κατὰ Ἀντω-  
 νίου. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦς ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ ὦν  
 169 αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάθει, δι' ἃ καὶ τόνδε τὸν στρα-  
 τὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἶη συνειλεγμένος· ἔφη τε ἐς πάντα  
 τῆς πατρίδος ὑπηρέτης καὶ κατήκοος ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς  
 τὰ νῦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἔτοιμος.
- 170 42. Ὡδε δ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν δια-  
 λύσαντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἠγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναν-  
 τίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀφί-  
 χθαι ἢ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν  
 φονέων ἄμυναν, ἤχθοντο τῇ κατ' Ἀντωνίου προαγο-

<sup>19</sup> Post Ἀντωνίου, om. καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα . . . κατὰ Ἀντωνίου  
 LBJ

41. With affairs disturbed in this way, the tribune Can-  
 nutius, an enemy of Antony, and therefore friendly to  
 Octavian, went to meet Octavian.<sup>20</sup> Having learned his  
 intentions, Cannutius addressed the people, saying that  
 Octavian was advancing in a state of open hostility against  
 Antony, and that those who were afraid that Antony was  
 aiming at tyranny should side with Octavian, as they had  
 no other army at present. On finishing this speech, he  
 brought Octavian, who was encamped outside Rome at  
 the temple of Mars, fifteen stades away, into the city.  
 When they arrived, Octavian proceeded to the temple of  
 the Dioscuri, and his soldiers surrounded it, carrying their  
 swords concealed. Cannutius was the first to address the  
 people in a speech against Antony, praising Octavian for  
 raising an army in defense of his country and urging him  
 to protect Rome against Antony. Then Octavian also re-  
 minded them of his father, and of what he himself had  
 suffered at the hands of Antony, which was the reason he  
 had recruited this army as a means of protecting himself.  
 And he said that he would serve and obey his country in  
 all things, and that he was ready to confront Antony in the  
 present situation.

42. After Octavian had finished this speech and subse-  
 quently dissolved the assembly, the soldiers, who thought  
 that they had come for the entirely opposite purpose, that  
 is, to support the reconciliation of Antony and Octavian,  
 or at least just to protect Octavian and take vengeance on  
 the assassins, were annoyed at the proclamation against

<sup>20</sup> We know of Tiberius Cannutius only during his tribunate  
 in 44.

- ρεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφῶν γεγονότος καὶ ὄντος  
 ὑπάτου· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ἤτουν εἰς τὰ  
 οἰκέια ὡς ὀπλιούμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἰδίων  
 171 ὀπλων ἀνέξεσθαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον. ὁ  
 δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν προσ-  
 ἐδόκησε μετενεχθεῖς, ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοῦ μᾶλλον  
 ἢ βία περιέσεσθαι, συνεχώρει ταῖς προφάσεσι καὶ  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐς τὰ  
 172 οἰκέια. πάντας δ', ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθηδόνα, ἐπήνει  
 τῆς συνόδου καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ἑτέραις δωρεαῖς καὶ δαψι-  
 λέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ  
 ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις.  
 173 χιλίους μὲν δὴ μόνους ἢ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων  
 ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμείναι (διαφέρονται γὰρ  
 περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ)· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἐξήεσαν,  
 ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ  
 κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐ-  
 πειθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἃ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν τε  
 174 εἰλήφεσαν καὶ ὧν ἠλπίζον ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἷόν τε  
 ὄχλος ἀνώματος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐ-  
 πρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὀπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἐπανήεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τὴν Τυρ-  
 ρηνίαν<sup>20</sup> καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα περιήει, στρατεῶν  
 ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἑτέροις· καὶ πάντας ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἔπεμπεν.  
 175 43. Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφῆκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκ  
 πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα· ἐπιμεμφόμε-

<sup>20</sup> τὴν Τυρρηνίαν Goukowsky; τὴν τε Ῥάβενναν codd.

Antony, who had once been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not stand to use weapons other than their own. Others hinted at the truth. Finding himself in a situation quite the opposite of what 171 he was expecting, Octavian was at a loss for what to do, but hoping to get the better of them by persuasion rather than by force, he gave in to their excuses, and sent some of them to get their arms, and others he simply sent home. Hiding his disappointment, he praised all the assembled 172 company, presented them with new gifts, and said that he would reward them still more generously, and always employ them on urgent matters as friends of his father rather than soldiers. This speech influenced only one thousand 173 out of ten thousand to remain with him—or three thousand. (The number is disputed.) The rest then left, but soon remembered the hard work involved in farming and the profits of military service and the words of Octavian and his compliance with their wishes and the favors they had received from him and hoped to receive in the future. And so, as you would expect from a fickle mob, they 174 changed their mind, and seizing upon their excuse for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavian was already crisscrossing Etruria and the whole surrounding area with new supplies of money, continually enlisting new forces and sending them all to Arretium.

43. Four of the five Macedonian legions had joined 175 Antony in the middle of Brundisium. Blaming him for not

176 νοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέπεμπον ὡς περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενον πρώτου. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς χαλεπτόμενος τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχευεν, ἀλλ' ὠνειδίξεν ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθηναίων ὑπὸ οὗ μετενεχθείσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιαῦσδε χάριτος ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μεираκίου προπετοῦς, ὧδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν

177 εἰς διαφθορὰν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρήσειν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐψηφισμένην οἱ χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικὴν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκάστω δοθήσεσθαι δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐγέλασαν τῆς σμικρολογίας καὶ χαλεπήναντος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθορύβουν καὶ διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ ἐξ-  
178 ανέστη τοσοῦτον εἰπών· "Μαθήσεσθε ἄρχεσθαι." αἰτήσας δὲ παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων τοὺς στασιώδεις (ἀνάγραφτος γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατοῖς αἰεὶ καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος) διεκλήρωσε τῷ στρατιωτικῷ νόμῳ καὶ οὐ τὸ δέκατον ἅπαν, ἀλλὰ μέρος ἕκτεινε τοῦ δεκάτου, νομίζων σφᾶς ὧδε καταπλήξειν δι' ὀλίγον. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐς φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὀργὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ μῖσος ἐτρέποντο.

179 44. Ταῦτα δ' ὀρώντες οὓς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶνδε προπετόμφει, βιβλία πολλὰ τότε μάλιστα διερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίου μικρολογίας τε καὶ ὠμότητος ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος μνήμην τοῦ προτέρου καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ νῦν καὶ χορηγίας δαψιλῆς μετατίθεσθαι. οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος μηνύμασι τε με-

pursuing the matter of Caesar's murder, they conducted him without applause to the speaker's platform, so that he could explain this to them first. Antony was angry at their silence, and did not keep his temper, but rebuked them for their failure to thank him for transferring them from Parthia to Italy, or to mention this favor. He also blamed them for not personally bringing him the men sent by a precocious youth—for that is what he called Octavian—to subvert their cause. He would find these men himself, and lead his army to the prosperous land of Gaul, which had been voted to him, and would give one hundred drachmas to every man present. They laughed at his tightfistedness, and when he became angry they grew even more disorderly and began to scatter in all directions. Antony took his leave, saying, "You will learn what it means to be ruled." Then he asked the military tribunes to bring him the troublemakers (for it is the practice in Roman armies always to keep a record of each man's performance), drew lots according to military law, and put to death not every tenth man, but a proportion of ten percent, in the belief that he would quickly cow them in this way. But this turned them to anger and hate rather than fear.

44. When they saw this, the men Octavian had sent to subvert the soldiers used that moment in particular to distribute a large number of pamphlets throughout the camp, urging them to replace Antony's meanness and cruelty with the memory of the elder Caesar and the assistance and generous abundance provided by the present Caesar. Antony tried to find these men by heavy use of

- γάλους ἐζήτει, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς, εἴ τις ἐπικρύπτοι. οὐδένα  
 δὲ συλλαβῶν ἐχαλέπηεν ὡς τοῦ στρατοῦ σφᾶς ἐπι-  
 180 κρύπτοντος. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς  
 ἀποικίαις τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένων  
 ἐθορυβεῖτο. καὶ ἐπελθὼν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη  
 χαλεπήναι μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης στρατι-  
 ωτικῆς ὀλίγοις ἀντὶ πλεόνων ὧν ἐκόλαζεν ὁ νόμος,  
 αὐτοὺς δὲ εἶδέναι σαφῶς οὔτε ὠμὸν οὔτε μικρολόγον  
 181 Ἀντώνιον. "Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν φθόνος οἰχέσθω, κεκορεσμέ-  
 νος," ἔφη, "Καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι  
 τὰς δὲ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ δωρεάν (οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό  
 γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης), ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς  
 ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευτικὸν μᾶλλον [ἢ δωρεάν]<sup>21</sup> ἐκέ-  
 λευσα δοθῆναι, καὶ χρὴ νόμῳ πατρίῳ τε καὶ στρατι-  
 ωτικῷ καὶ ἐς τὰδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὐπειθεῖς ὑπάρχειν."  
 182 ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οὐδέν τι ἔτι προσθεῖς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ  
 μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἠσσησθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ  
 183 ἐλάμβανον, εἴτε μεταγρόντες εἴτε καὶ δεδιότες. ὁ δὲ  
 αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ταξiάρχους, εἴτε μηνίων ἔτι τῆς στά-  
 σεως εἴθ' ἑτέρως ὑπονοῶν, ἐνήλλασσε, τοὺς δὲ λοι-  
 πούς καὶ τᾶλλα ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ προῦπε-  
 μπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τὴν παραθαλάσσιον ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ  
 Ἀριμίνου.  
 184 45. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδα  
 σπέιραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρό-  
 πον ὥδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ὁρ-  
 μήσων. ἐσῆει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν ἴλην

informers and threats against anyone who hid them, but  
 as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the  
 army was sheltering them. When news arrives of what  
 Octavian had been doing in the colonies and at Rome, he  
 became alarmed, and appearing before the army again,  
 apologized for what had happened, out of military neces-  
 sity, to a few men—rather than the larger number liable  
 by law for punishment—and said they knew very well that  
 Antony was neither cruel nor mean. "Let us banish ill will,"  
 he said, "having had our fill of crimes and punishments.  
 The one hundred drachmas which I ordered to be given  
 you is not a donative, for that would be unworthy of Ant-  
 ony's good fortune, rather a small present to mark our first  
 meeting; but it is necessary to remain obedient to the laws  
 of our country, and of the army, in this matter as in all  
 others." After delivering this speech, he did not yet add  
 anything to the donative, to avoid giving the impression  
 that the general was yielding to his army, but the troops  
 accepted the gift, either because they changed their mind  
 or they were afraid. Perhaps he was still angry about the  
 disobedience, or he had some other suspicion, but Antony  
 replaced their military tribunes, while he generally kept  
 the remainder in their jobs and sent them ahead in detach-  
 ments along the seacoast toward Ariminum.

45. He himself selected a praetorian cohort comprising  
 the best men, in terms of physique and character, from the  
 whole army, and began to make his way to Rome, intend-  
 ing to set out for Ariminum from there. He entered the  
 city in swaggering manner, leaving his squadron of cavalry

<sup>21</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ δωρεάν codd.; ἢ δωρεάν secl. Mend.

- πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους· συνθήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο, καὶ αἱ φυλα-
- 185 καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς μεμψόμενος Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐσιῶν ἤδη μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθείσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τέταρτον
- 186 ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθείσθαι. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὡς δ' ἐφ' ἕτερα αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ
- 187 Ἄλβην πόλιν ὡς μεταπέισων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέλεσι προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ, καὶ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐς Τίβυρον ἐξήει, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐξιούσι· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη σαφὴς ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.
- 188 46. Δεῦρο δὲ ὄντι ἢ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἅπασα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον· οἱ καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὀρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συνδραμόντας (πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν) συνώμνουν ἐκόντες οὐκ ἐκλείψειν τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πίστιν, ὡς ἀπορήσαι, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλησίαν

encamped outside, but bringing an entourage of battle-ready troops, and armed night guards for his house. Pass-words were given to these men, and the guards were 185 changed in rotation, just as in camp. He convened the senate in order to criticize Octavian for what he had been doing, but just as he was going in, he learns that one of his four legions, the so-called legion of Mars, had, while on the road, gone over to Octavian; and as he was delaying his entry to ponder his difficulty, news is brought to him that another legion, the Fourth, had followed the example of the legion of Mars and gone over to Octavian's side. Distracted as he was, he entered the senate, pretending 186 that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and from there to the town of Alba, to persuade the deserters to change their minds. But they shot at him from the walls, 187 and he retreated. After sending five hundred drachmas a man to the other legions, he took those he had with him to Tibur. He was wearing the uniform of a man going to war, for it was clear that there was already a state of war, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Gaul.

46. While Antony was at Tibur nearly the whole senate, 188 and most of the equestrian order, came there to pay their respects to him, as well as the most distinguished of the plebeians. They found him swearing in his current soldiers and the large number of his veterans who had flocked to his side, and they voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not abandon their goodwill and loyalty to him: this caused people to wonder who those men were who, a little before, had vilified Antony at



- 189 τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶς οὕτως  
 ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτι-  
 κῆς ἀρχή. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρὶς γε τῶν νεο-  
 λέκτων, τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετάπεμπτα  
 (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίκτο), ἐξεστρατευ-  
 μένων δὲ ἓν, οἷ<sup>22</sup> καὶ γηρῶντες ὅμως ἐδόκουν νεοσυλ-  
 190 λόγων ἀμείνους ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν Ἀν-  
 τωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγίγνετο τέλη γεγυμνασμένων ἀνδρῶν  
 καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον ἄλλο ἔπεται, καὶ  
 ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰ καὶ τὰ νεόλεκτα. Λέπιδός τε  
 ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τέσσαρα τέλη καὶ Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων  
 δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἐδόκουν  
 αἰρήσεσθαι τὰ Ἀντωνίου.
- 191 47. Καίσαρι δὲ ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα, τὰ  
 ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἐν δὲ νεο-  
 συλλόγων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευμένων,  
 οὐκ ἐντελῆ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ὀπλίσε-  
 σιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυλλόγων καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπληρού-  
 192 μενα. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας ἐς Ἄλβην ἐπέστειλε  
 τῇ βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἐφήδετο μὲν αὐθις Καίσαρι,<sup>23</sup> ὡς ἀπο-  
 ρεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ προύπεμπον Ἀντώνιον  
 ἤχθοντο δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἐς  
 193 τὸν Καίσαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπαινέσαντες δ' ὅμως αὐ-  
 τοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὅ-  
 τι χρὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἱ νέαι

<sup>22</sup> ἐξεστρατευμένων δὲ ἓν, οἷ Schweig.; ἐξεστρατευμένοι δὲ ἔνιοι codd. <sup>23</sup> Καίσαρι edd.; Ἀντωνίῳ codd.

Octavian's public meeting. Such was the brilliant sendoff 189  
 he received on his way to Ariminum, which is where the  
 province of Gaul begins. His army, apart from the new  
 recruits, consisted of the three legions summoned from  
 Macedonia (the remainder had now arrived), and one of  
 discharged veterans, who, even though old men, were  
 nevertheless thought to be twice as good as the new re-  
 190 cruited. So Antony had four legions of well-trained troops,  
 and the usual auxiliary force accompanying them, besides  
 his bodyguard and the new recruits. Lepidus in Iberia  
 with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in  
 Transalpine Gaul with three, were thought to be on his  
 side.<sup>21</sup>

47. Octavian had two equally impressive legions, the 191  
 ones that had deserted from Antony to him, also one le-  
 gion of new recruits, and two of veterans, which although  
 under strength and not fully equipped, were filled out with  
 new recruits. He brought them all together at Alba and 192  
 then communicated with the senate. They were, once  
 again, delighted with him, so that on this occasion too,  
 people wondered who those men were who had given  
 Antony his sendoff. The senators were, however, annoyed  
 with the legions for going over to Octavian rather than to  
 the senate. All the same, they praised the troops and Oc- 193  
 tavian, and said they would vote on what they had to do as  
 soon as the new magistrates entered office. It was clear

<sup>21</sup> Caesar appointed Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (consul 46, 42)  
 to govern Nearer Spain and Narbonese Gaul, and Lucius Muna-  
 tius Plancus (consul 42) the rest of Transalpine Gaul. Gaius Asi-  
 nius Pollio (consul 40) was governor of Further Spain.

ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ σαφές, ὅτι  
χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατὸν δὲ οὐ-  
δένα πω ἔχοντες ἴδιον οὐδὲ καταλέξαι χωρὶς ὑπάτων  
δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς πάντα ἀνετίθεντο.

- 194 48. Τῷ Καίσαρι δ' ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεάς τε καὶ  
ραβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες, ἠξίου  
ἑαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφῆναι, πολέμου τε ἡγεμο-  
νεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἄρχουσι ταχθέντων. ὁ δὲ  
τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπήνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἀν-  
ετίθετο· καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρεῖν ἀθρόους  
ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβενομένους ἐπέιχεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς βου-  
λῆς ψηφιομένης ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτήν, "Καὶ μᾶλλον, ἦν  
αἰσθωνται τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν  
195 ὄκνον." διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων  
ἐς ὑπεροψίαν αὐτὸν αἰτιωμένων, ἐξελογεῖτο αὐτοῖς τὴν  
βουλήν οὐκ εὐνοία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ  
Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορία, "Μέχρι καθέλω-  
μεν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ  
καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντες δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν· ὦν  
196 αἰσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὴ πρότεροι  
τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ὡς προλαβοῦσι μὲν  
ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὕβριν ἢ βίαν, αἰδε-  
σθεῖσι δ' ἴσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτοὶ δέει, μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν  
197 λάβοιμι." τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἐθεᾶτο γυμνάσια τῶν δύο  
τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, διαστάν-  
των τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ δρώντων ἀφειδῶς ἔργα πο-  
λέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνον θάνατον. ἦσθεῖς οὖν τῇ

that they were going to use these forces against Antony, but as they did not yet have an army of their own, and did not have the authority to enlist one without the consuls, they adjourned all business for the new magistrates.

48. The soldiers of Octavian produced *fasces* for him 194  
and properly uniformed lictors, and urged him to assume  
the title of *propraetor*, since he was their leader in war and  
they were always marshaled under the command of magis-  
trates. He thanked them for the honor, but referred the  
matter to the senate. And when the men wanted to march  
off en masse to secure it, he would not allow it and pre-  
vented them from sending a delegation, because, so he  
argued, the senate would vote these measures of its own  
accord, "And even more so," he said, "if they see your  
enthusiasm and my hesitation." In this way they were per- 195  
suaded with difficulty to disperse, but when their leaders  
complained that he was ignoring them, he explained to  
them that it was not so much out of goodwill that the sen-  
ate were leaning toward him, but out of fear of Antony and  
their own lack of an army; "And that will be the case," he  
continued, "until we destroy Antony, and the murderers,  
who are friends and relatives of the senators, and collect  
a military force for them. I can see this, and I am only  
pretending to help them. Let us not be the first to expose 196  
this pretense. If we anticipate them in taking the magis-  
tracy, they will accuse us of arrogance and violence,  
whereas if we show respect they will perhaps give it of  
their own accord out of fear that I will accept it from you."  
After this speech he watched the training exercises of the 197  
two legions that had deserted from Antony as they faced  
off against each other, and unsparingly did everything re-  
quired in battle with the sole exception of killing. Octavian

θέα καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπιβαίνων ἄσμενος, ἑτέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐπέδιδου καί, εἴ τις πολέμου χρεία γένοιτο, νικήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακισχιλίας. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλείᾳ δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

- 198 49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κελτικῇ τὸν Δέκμον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετιέναι, πειθόμενόν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ φειδόμενον ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὸν δῆμον εἶκειν οἱ πρόπον ἢ διὰ τὴν βουλήν Ἀντωνίῳ
- 199 μᾶλλον. Ἀντωνίου δ' αὐτῷ προθεσμίαν ὀρίζοντος, μεθ' ἣν ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσεται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὀρίζειν ἑαυτῷ, μὴ θᾶσσον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιος. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐμαρῶς ἂν αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι ὄντος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔκρινε προελθῆν. αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δείσας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ οὐδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τινα αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάσσεται γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλούσης αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ ἀναλεύξας ἐχώρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπιόντα πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα, τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλειε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μουτιναίων ἐς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποζύγια τε ὅσα ἦν κατέθνε καὶ ἐταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος ἢ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνίον ὑπέμενε. στρατιὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε
- 200 πλῆθος καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὧν ἐν μὲν ἦν ἀρτιστρατεύρων ἀνδρῶν ἔτι ἀπείρων, δύο δέ, ἃ καὶ πρότε-
- 201

was delighted with what he saw and, happy to use the excuse, gave each man an additional five hundred drachmas, and announced that if the need for real war arose, and they were victorious, he would give them five thousand drachmas. In this way, by means of lavish gifts, Octavian consolidated his hold on the mercenaries.

49. Such was the situation in Italy. In Gaul Antony 198 ordered Decimus to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the Roman people, and for his own safety. In reply Decimus sent him the letter conveyed by the senate, arguing that it was inappropriate for him to yield to Antony because of what the people ordered, any more than because of what the senate ordered. When Antony fixed a 199 deadline for him, after which he would treat him as an enemy, Decimus told him to fix a later date, and so avoid very quickly becoming an enemy of the senate. Although Antony would easily have defeated him, as he was still in open country, he decided to proceed first against the towns. When these received him, Decimus was afraid that 200 he would not even be able to enter any of them, and forges a letter from the senate calling him to Rome with his army. Having broken camp, he set out on the road for Italy, everyone welcoming him since he was leaving the area, until he was passing through the rich town of Mutina. Here he closed the gates, collected together what the townspeople had to create a food supply, slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in fear of a long siege, and waited for Antony. His army consisted of a large number of glad- 201 iators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of still inexperienced new recruits. The other two

ρον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀργῇ τὴν Μουτίνην ἀπετάφρευέ τε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε.

- 202 50. Καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον νομηνίαν ὑπατοὶ γενόμενοι Ἴρτιός τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθύς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν
- 203 αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ συνήγουν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος φίλοι πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἤξιουν ἢ δὴ ψηφίσασθαι, τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον ὄπλοις καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾶκας αὐτῷ δεδομένον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
- 204 διαγαγόντα· ἐπελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα προαίρεσιν, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει φανερώς δορυφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶνδε λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἄκραν ὄπλοις καὶ συνθήμασι κεχρημένου καὶ τᾶλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος ἢ κατὰ
- 205 τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν. Λεύκιος δὲ Πείσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανής, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσωνι δι' αὐτὸν ἢ δι' Ἀντώνιον ἢ κατ' οἰκίαν γνώμην προσετίθεντο, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν ἤξιουν, ὡς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου καταδικάζειν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ χθῆς ὑπάτου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὗ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτὸς εἶπε πολλάκις.
- ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἀγχώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα περιήλθον, ἅμα δ' ἔω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελέγοντο· ἔνθα τῶν Κικερωνείων

had served under him before and were completely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him angrily, and cut off Mutina with a ditch and wall.

50. While Decimus was under siege, at Rome on the first day of the new year,<sup>22</sup> the incoming consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, offered sacrifice and then summoned a meeting of the senate in the Capitol itself to discuss Antony. Cicero and his associates recommended that Antony now be voted a public enemy, since he had defied the wishes of the senate and taken Gaul by force of arms as a bastion against his country, and had brought into Italy the army given to him to use against the Thracians. They also criticized him for the rest of his political program after the death of Caesar, for openly being protected at Rome by a large number of centurions, for guarding his house with arms and passwords as if it were a citadel, and for behaving toward them in other respects more arrogantly than befitted an annual magistrate. Lucius Piso, however, one of the most distinguished men of Rome, who was representing Antony's interests in his absence, along with those who sided with Piso, either for his own sake, or because of Antony, or for some personal reason, proposed that Antony be summoned to a hearing, as it was not the custom of their fathers to condemn a man without trial, nor was it fitting to do so in the case of a man who was consul only the previous day, especially when Cicero, among others, had often lavished unstinting praise on him. The senate was equally divided at that moment in their opinions, and remained in session until night. Early the next morning they reconvened in the senate house to consider the same

<sup>22</sup> 43 BC.

ἐπιβαρούντων ἐψήφιστο ἂν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμιος, εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλουιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁ κωλύων ἀεὶ δυνατώτερος.

- 207 51. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μάλα φορτικῶς ὠνείδιζόν τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκδραμόντες ἠρέθιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐξέτρεχεν, ἕως ἢ βουλή κατέσχε δείσασα, μὴ μεταπέσειε τὸν δῆμον
- 208 ἐς μνήμην ἀγαγὼν Ἀντωνίου. οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ δίκης οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ δεδώκει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὠργίζοντο πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἀνακινήσαντι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐς αὐτὸν προκατεχρῶντο· καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἠρέϊτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμως προκαθελεῖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον.
- 209 τοιαῦδε μὲν ἢ βουλή γνώμη τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχεν ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ τὴν ψήφον, ὡς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευεν, ἐψήφισαντο ὅμως Δέκμον τε ἐπαινέσαι οὐκ ἐκστάντα Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἰρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσῃ Καίσαρα συστρατηγεῖν οὗ νῦν ἔχει στρατοῦ, ἐπίχρυσόν τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετιέναι τοῦ νόμου θᾶσσον ἔτεσι

<sup>23</sup> In senatorial debates, seniority dictated the order of speakers, first current officeholders, then former consuls. This measure

question, and with the Ciceronian group now dominant, Antony would have been declared a public enemy, if Salvius, one of the tribunes, had not ordered a postponement until the next day. (For among the magistrates the one who has the veto always prevails.)

51. The Ciceronians abused Salvius too in a most vulgar manner and heaped insults on him, and hurrying out of the senate roused the people against him and summoned him to appear before them. Undaunted, Salvius was all set to rush out to them, until the senators stopped him because they were afraid that by reminding the people of Antony, he might change their mind. For the senate were not unaware of the fact that they were condemning a distinguished man before holding a trial, and that the people had granted him the province of Gaul. But since they were anxious on behalf of the assassins, they were angry with Antony for being the first to arouse hostility against them after the amnesty. This was why they were also using Octavian against him. Octavian was not unaware of this, but had nonetheless also made his own decision to eliminate Antony first. Such was the thinking that led the senate to be angry with Antony. Although they postponed the vote, as the tribune ordered, they did, however, pass a vote to praise Decimus for not abandoning Gaul to Antony; to instruct Octavian to share command of the army he had at this time with the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa; to erect a gilded statue of him; to allow him now to give his opinion among those of consular rank and to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal age;<sup>23</sup>

ensured the young Octavian an influential voice in the senate. The legal age for the consulship was forty-two.

δέκα, ἕκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ἐς  
 αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσιν, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Καί-  
 210 σαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα  
 ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὡς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔργῳ διὰ  
 τῶνδε εἰδέναι πολέμιον ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρ-  
 211 χον ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντεροῦντα. Ἀντωνίου  
 δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἔτι μειράκιον οἷ τε  
 ἄλλοι οἰκείοι καὶ φίλοι δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν  
 δυνατῶν οἰκίας διέθεον ἰκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς  
 τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰόντας ἠνώχλουν, ριπτούμενοί τε  
 212 στολῇ παρὰ θύραις ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς  
 φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰ-  
 φνιδίου γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δείσας δ' ὁ Κικέρων  
 ἐβουληγόρησεν ὧδε.  
 213 52. "Ἄ μὲν ἔδει γνῶναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἐχθρὸς ἔγνω-  
 μεν· οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμῶμεν, τούτοις  
 ἐψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον. Σάλουιον δὲ τὸν μόνον  
 ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ἢ πάντων εἶναι χρὴ συνετώτερον  
 214 ἢ φιλία τάδε πράσσειν ἢ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων ἀμαθία. ὦν  
 τὸ μὲν αἰσχιστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ δόξομεν ἀσυνετώτε-

<sup>24</sup> Antony's mother was Julia, daughter of Lucius Julius Caesar (consul 90). His wife at the time was Fulvia, the widow of Publius Clodius Pulcher and Gaius Scribonius Curio, both prominent populist politicians and supporters of Julius Caesar. She and Antony had a son, Antyllus, who was only about three years old at this time. Appian's use of the Greek word *meirakion* to describe

and to arrange payment from public funds of the sum Octavian promised to the legions that came over to him from Antony, if they were victorious. After passing these 210 decrees the senate adjourned, so that Antony would know that he had in fact been declared a public enemy by these measures, and that on the following day the tribune would have no further objection to make. Antony's mother, how- 211 ever, along with his wife, his son (who was still a young lad) and his other relatives and friends spent the whole night hurrying around the houses of the powerful soliciting their help.<sup>24</sup> In the morning they accosted those going into the senate, threw themselves at their feet with wailing and weeping and, dressed in black, shouted from their position 212 by the doors. The senate began to waver when faced with the sound and sight of this, and with such a drastic and sudden change of fortune. Cicero was alarmed and ad- 213 dressed the senate as follows:<sup>25</sup>

52. "The decisions we needed to make about Antony 213 we made yesterday. With those honors that we granted his enemies, we voted him a public enemy. Salvius, who alone stood against us, must either be wiser than everyone else, or moved to act by private friendship, or ignorance of present circumstances. Of these alternatives, one is a dis- 214 grace to us, that is, if all of us together show ourselves to

him implies a much older boy, perhaps an unrecorded son of Antony's previous marriage to his cousin Antonia.

<sup>25</sup> In composing this speech, Appian appears to make little or no use of Cicero's famous series of attacks on Antony, the fourteen speeches known as the *Philippics*, the fifth of which was delivered on January 1, 43.

ροι πάντες ἐνὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ Σαλουίῳ, εἰ φιλίαν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμῶν· ἀμαθῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πιστεύειν ὑπάτοις ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς, οἱ τοσοῖδε τὴν ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διὰ τε ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ὑπὲρ τὸν Σάλουιον, καταγιγνώσκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι δ' ἐν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαις αἰεὶ τὸ πλεόν δικαιοτέρον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρήζει τὰς αἰτίας μαθεῖν, 215 λελέξεται διὰ βραχείος, ὡς ἐν ἀναμνήσει, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν. τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀντώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ὥρμησε χωρὶς ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Θρακίας λαβὼν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐκάτερα τούτων αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐνέδρα καὶ οὐ λαβὼν ἔπραξε δι' ἑαυτοῦ. 216 σπείραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ βασιλικὴν συνέταξεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερώς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἐδορυφόρουν τε καὶ ἐνυκτοφυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι. ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα, συντομώτερον ἐφιέμενος ὧν ἐπόθει Καίσαρ.<sup>24</sup> Καίσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ φθάσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὡς εὐκαιρον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὀρμητήριον, 217 ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐδυνάστευσεν ἡμῶν.

<sup>24</sup> ἐπόθει Καίσαρ Goukowsky; ἐπένθει Καίσαρος codd.

be more stupid than a single individual; the other is a disgrace to Salvius himself, if he has prioritized private friendship over the common interest. If he was not well acquainted with the present circumstances he should have trusted in the consuls, rather than himself, and in the praetors, and in his colleagues who serve as tribunes with him, and in us the other senators, who are so imposing in dignity and numbers, so much his superiors because of our age and experience, and who condemn Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is always on the side of the majority. But if he still needs to be told the reasons, 215 let me briefly articulate the most important of them, by way of a reminder. On Caesar's death Antony appropriated our money. He received from us the governorship of Macedonia, but made straight for Gaul without our permission. He got an army to use against the Thracians, but instead brought it to Italy to use against us. He asked us for each of these powers in order to trap us, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundisium he organized a royal cohort for personal protection, and men wielding swords openly formed his bodyguard in the city and stood on watch at night with a password. He set out to lead all the rest of his army from Brundisium to Rome, aiming to achieve more quickly what Caesar desired. But he was anticipated by the younger Caesar with another army, became alarmed, and changed course for Gaul as a convenient base of attack against us, because Caesar too had used it as his base when he made himself our master. 216 217

218 53. "Τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταπλησσομένους,  
 ἵνα πρὸς μηθὲν αὐτῷ παρανομοῦντι κατοκνή, διεκλή-  
 ρωσεν εἰς θάνατον, οὐ στασιάσαντας ἢ φυλακὴν ἢ  
 τάξιεν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ' ὧν μόνων ὁ στρατιω-  
 τικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ὠμὴν ὥρισε τιμωρίαν, καὶ  
 ὅμως αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ  
 κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης· ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἢ  
 γέλωτος ἤγεν εἰς θάνατον τοὺς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον  
 219 οὐ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τοιγα-  
 ροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνηθέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 αὐτοῖς ὡς εὖ πράξασι δωρεὰς χθὲς ἐψηφίσασθε· οἱ δὲ  
 οὐ δυνηθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ  
 χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολιορ-  
 κοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμέτερον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμέτερον, ᾧ  
 γράφετε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ, Ἀντώνιος δ'  
 220 ἐξιέναι κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον ψηφίζο-  
 μεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ἢ Ἀντώνιος ἡμᾶς ἤδη πολεμῆι,  
 καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἄρα Δέκμου  
 πεσόντος ἢ τε χώρα τοσσήδε οὔσα καὶ ὄμορος ἡμῖν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ Δέκμου στρατὸς εἰς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν  
 ἐλπίδας Ἀντωνίῳ προσγένηται. τότε γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς  
 ἔοικεν, ὁ δήμαρχος ψηφιεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν ἡμῶν  
 γένηται δυνατώτερος."

221 54. Ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος οἱ φίλοι θο-  
 ρυβοῦντες ἀπαύστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, μέ-  
 χρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἢ τε ἄλλη βουλή  
 κατ' αἰδῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἠσύχασε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος  
 222 ἠνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων· "Ὁ μὲν νόμος, ὧ

53. "It was for this purpose that, in order to cow his 218  
 army so that they would not object to any of his illegal  
 activities, he had lots drawn to put men to death who had  
 not mutinied or left their watch or abandoned their post  
 in battle—and these are the only conditions under which  
 military law prescribes such a cruel punishment, a punish-  
 ment which few have used, even in such situations, only  
 with reluctance and when forced to in the middle of ex-  
 treme danger. Antony condemned citizens to death for  
 saying something or laughing, a death, moreover, of men  
 not convicted of wrongdoing but merely chosen by lot. For 219  
 this reason those who could do so deserted from him, and  
 yesterday you voted them a donative for doing the right  
 thing. Those who were not able to make their escape have  
 become his accomplices in wrongdoing under the influ-  
 ence of fear: they march against your territory like ene-  
 mies and besiege your army and your general, to whom  
 you write with instructions to remain in Gaul, while An-  
 tony orders him to leave. So, is it we who are voting Antony 220  
 a public enemy, or is it Antony who is already making war  
 against us? And these are things our tribune still does  
 not know, and will, I suppose, not know until Decimus is  
 killed, and both the huge territory that borders on Italy  
 and Decimus' army as well contribute to boosting Antony's  
 hopes of success against us. It is only at that point, it seems,  
 when Antony has become stronger than us, that the tri-  
 bune will vote him a public enemy."

54. Cicero was still speaking when his supporters pre- 221  
 vented anyone from replying by their constant uproar.  
 Eventually Piso himself came forward, and the rest of the  
 senate grew silent out of respect for the man, and even the  
 Ciceronians restrained themselves. Piso said: "Members 222



βουλή, δικαιοὶ τὸν εὐθνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαί τε τῆς  
κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνε-  
σθαι· καὶ τὸν δεινότατον εἰπεῖν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα  
223 προκαλοῦμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀκνεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου  
κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματά τινα εἶπεν ὡς μέ-  
γιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὄντα, παρήλθον  
224 ἐγὼ δείξων αὐτὰ ψευδῆ βραχυτάταις ἀποκρισεσι. τὰ  
<γὰρ><sup>25</sup> χρήματά φησιν Ἀντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ τὴν  
Καίσαρος τελευτὴν σφετερίσασθαι, τοῦ μὲν νόμου  
τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ ὠρι-  
σμένη δίκη ζημιούντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρα  
κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τότε κατηγορήσαντος, ὅτι  
ὁ Καίσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε καὶ κενὰ κατα-  
λέλοιπε τὰ ταμεία, Ἀντωνίου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ζητεῖν  
αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν  
γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων καὶ γέρας τοῖς μηνύουσι  
δεκάτην ὑπεσχημένων, ἣν διπλασιάσομεν ἡμεῖς, εἴ  
τις Ἀντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

225 55. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων· τὴν δὲ Κελ-  
τικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφισάμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς Ἀντωνίῳ,  
ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δῆμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρωνος,  
ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ἕτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγε-  
226 μονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάλαι. μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου  
τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ  
παραχωροῦντι πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν  
οὐδὲν ἔτι κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέ-

<sup>25</sup> γὰρ add. Goukowsky

of the senate, the law requires that a man under investiga-  
tion hear in person the charges against him, and that he  
be judged only after speaking in his own defense. And on  
this matter, I appeal to that most brilliant lawyer, Cicero.  
Since he is reluctant to accuse Antony while he is here, 223  
but in his absence brings certain charges which he consid-  
ers the most serious of all, and irrefutable, I have come  
forward to show, in the briefest of replies, that these  
charges are false. For he says that Antony appropriated 224  
public monies after the death of Caesar. But, in the first  
place, the law does not declare the thief a public enemy,  
imposing instead a limited punishment; second, when  
Brutus killed Caesar, he made the same accusation before  
the people, that Caesar had plundered the money and left  
the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a  
decree to investigate these matters, and you adopted and  
approved his motion and promised a reward of ten percent  
to informers, which we on our part will double, if anybody  
has anything they can prove against Antony in this matter.

55. "So much for the money. In relation to the gover- 225  
norship of Gaul, it was not we who voted this to Antony,  
but the people, who gave it to him by a law passed in the  
presence of Cicero himself, and in the same manner as  
they have often given other commissions, and indeed gave  
this very governorship to Caesar on an earlier occasion.  
One of the stipulations of the law is that Antony, on com- 226  
ing to his allotted province, should declare war on Deci-  
mus if he does not withdraw, and lead his army into Gaul  
against the man opposing him, instead of using it against  
the Thracians, who are no longer causing any upheaval.

- 227 γοντα μετάγειν. ἀλλὰ Κικέρων Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἡγέι-  
ται πολέμιον, ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὄπλα, Ἄν-  
228 τώνιον δὲ πολέμιον, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ  
αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αἰτιᾶται οὐς  
ἔδει μεταπέιθειν, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ τὴν  
χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ  
τῷ φόνῳ, Ἄντωνίῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν.  
229 οὐ γὰρ εὖ βουλευομένων ἐστὶ διαστασιάζεσθαι πρὸς  
τὸν δῆμον ἐν καιροῖς μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνοις οὐδὲ  
ἀμνημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τότε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν,  
τὸ κρίνειν τὰ φίλια καὶ πολέμια. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν  
πάλαι νόμων ὁ δῆμος αὐτοκράτωρ εἰρήνης πέρι καὶ  
πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὧν μηδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιστήσειε μηδὲ  
ἐπιμνήσειεν ἡμῖν, προστάτου λαβόμενος.  
230 56. "Ἄλλ' ἔκτεινέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Ἄντωνίος.  
αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὧν καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεχειροτο-  
νημένος. καὶ οὐδεὶς πω τῶνδε λόγον ὑπέσχευ αὐτο-  
κράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν  
τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι  
οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἀπειθείας τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἣν  
καὶ νικῶντές τινες ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὗθνε  
231 τοὺς ἀνελόντας. οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενῆς οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ  
Κικέρων ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φόνου κατηγορῶν πολέμιον  
κοινὸν ἀντὶ τῶν ὠρισμένων ἐπιτιμίων τοῖς φονεῦσι  
232 τίθεται. Ἄντωνίῳ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅπως τε ἄτακτον

- But Cicero does not consider Decimus a public enemy 227  
when the latter takes up arms against the law, and yet does  
consider Antony a public enemy when he fights on the side  
of the law. If Cicero is accusing the law itself, he is accus- 228  
ing those who passed it: he should have persuaded them  
to change their mind, not given his agreement and then  
insulted them. And he should not have entrusted the prov-  
ince to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city  
after the murder, while refusing to entrust Antony with  
what the people granted him. It is not fitting for good 229  
counselors to argue with the people in times of especially  
acute danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding  
who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged  
to the people. According to the ancient laws the people  
are the sole and absolute master in matters of peace and  
war. Let us hope that this does not occur to the people and  
that they do not get themselves a leader and vent their  
anger on us.  
56. "But, so another charge goes, Antony executed cer- 230  
tain soldiers. Well, he was commander in chief and ap-  
pointed to that position by you, and no commander in  
chief has ever yet been required to account for such mat-  
ters. For the laws have not judged it to our advantage that  
a general should be answerable to his troops. There is  
nothing worse in an army than disobedience, and even  
after winning a victory some soldiers have been put to  
death without anyone calling to account those who exe-  
cuted them. Now it is not even any of their relatives, but 231  
Cicero who is complaining, accusing Antony of murder  
and designating him a public enemy instead of invoking  
the prescribed penalties for murderers. The desertion of 232  
two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant

ἦν καὶ ὅπως κατεφρόνει, δημοῖ καὶ τὰ μεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε Ἀντωνίῳ στρατεύειν, αὐτομολήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικούς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων ὅμως ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρὸς ἐμισθοδότησε· καὶ μή ποτε ὑμᾶς λυπήσειε τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἢ ἐχθρα· κατηγορεῖ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, αἰὲ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατεύματα θεραπευόντων, οὐ κολαζόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ᾤκησεν οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀντωνίου μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε πύθωμαι καθ' ἕκαστον ὧδε.

234 57. "Τίνα ἔκτεινεν ὡς τύραννος ἄκριτον ὁ νῦν κινδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δ' ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως; τίνα δὲ ὑμῖν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ' ἓνα μὲν τοιόσδε ἦν, ἐπεβούλευε  
235 δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ; πότε, ὦ Κικέρων; ὅτε τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐκύρου τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε μηδένα διώκεσθαι φόρου; ἢ ὅτε ζήτησιν εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐπηνέσατε πάντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δι' ὑμᾶς οὐ διέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδένα μήτε ἐψηφίζειν, ἢ  
236 νηποινεῖ πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθνήσκειν; ταῦτα γάρ

Antony's army was, legions which you voted should serve under Antony's command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavian. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday had them paid out of the public treasury. I pray that you may never come to regret this precedent! Personal animosity has led Cicero astray into inconsistency. For he accuses Antony of tyrannical behavior and punishing his soldiers, when it is always the case that such conspirators are lenient toward and do not punish the men serving under them. Since Cicero has not hesitated to slander as tyrannical all the rest of Antony's administration since Caesar's death, well now, let me examine his acts one by one.

57. "As someone who now stands in danger of being condemned without trial, who exactly has Antony put to death without trial acting in tyrannical fashion? Who has he expelled from the city? Who has he slandered to you? Or, if he was so good toward individuals, did he plot against everyone collectively? And I ask you, Cicero, if he did, when was that? Was it when he secured the amnesty for past events? When he declined to prosecute anyone for murder? When he proposed an inquiry into the public accounts? When he recalled Sextus Pompeius from exile, the son of your Pompey, and reimbursed him for his father's estate out of the public treasury? Or, was it when he caught the false Marius in the act of conspiracy, and executed him, and you all applauded, and because you did so, it was the only act of Antony that Cicero has not discredited? Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever introduce a proposal to appoint a dictator, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by anyone who wished? For these

ἔστιν, ἃ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἡμῖν Ἀντώνιος ἐν δύο μηνσίν, οἷς μόνος<sup>26</sup> ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Καίσαρα, ἄρτι μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντας, ἄρτι δὲ ὑμῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις· οὗ τίνα καιρόν, εἰ πονηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείνονα εἶχεν; ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἐναντία· οὐκ ἦρχε. πῶς; 237 οὐ μόνος ἦρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα; οὐ στρατὸν εἶχεν ἔτοιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένον; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλήν; 238 οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος, φίλου τέ οἱ καὶ εὐεργέτου ὄντος καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντος; οὐχ ἑτέραν εἶχεν οἰκείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένον ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ὧν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἢ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα, συνέγνω δέ, ὅσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδομένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

239 58. "Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἀναμφίλογα Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὀράτε· ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ μαντεύματα ἐπάγουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσειε δὲ προλαβόντος αὐτὴν ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου, τὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἡμῖν ἀσήμαντον οὐχ ἡγέεται πολέμιον;

<sup>26</sup> μόνος Goukowsky; μόνοις codd.

are the public acts that Antony carried out for us during the two months in which he remained in sole control after Caesar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers, the very time you feared for the future. If he were a villain, what better opportunity could he have had? But, on the contrary, you will say, he was not in authority.<sup>26</sup> How can that be? Did he not exercise sole authority after Dolabella departed for Syria? Did he not keep an armed force that you gave him in readiness in the city? Did he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night because of the conspiracy of his enemies against him? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Caesar, his friend and benefactor, the man on whom the people bestowed their particular affection? And did he not have another personal excuse in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? Yet he did not kill or exile any of them, but pardoned them, in as far as he could do so with respectability, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were granted to them.

58. "You see, then, men of Rome, the most grave and unambiguous accusations that Cicero makes against Antony. But since in addition to charges, my opponents introduce prophetic forecasts, namely that Antony was intending to lead his army against Rome, but became afraid when Octavian got there first with another army, how is it that mere intention is enough to make a man a public enemy, but when someone actually comes and pitches his camp right beside us without proper insignia, Cicero does not regard him as a public enemy?"

<sup>26</sup> The Greek text, and Appian's precise meaning, are disputed at this point.

- 240 πῶς δ', εἴπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἀφίκετο; ἢ τρισ-  
 μυρίους ἔχων συντεταγμένους ἔδεισε τρισχιλίους  
 τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντας ἀνόπλους, ἀσυντά-  
 κτους, ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ  
 εὐθύς, ὡς ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἰρούμενον, καταλιπό-  
 241 ντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἐλθεῖν ἔδεισε, πῶς ἦλθε  
 μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Τίβυρον ἐξ-  
 ἰόντα πόσοι προεπέμπομεν καὶ πόσοι συνώμνυμεν  
 οὐχ ὀρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων ἐπαίνους ἐς τὴν  
 242 πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ' αὐτὸς  
 Ἀντώνιος, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐγίγνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ  
 νῦν ὄντα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν; μη-  
 τέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μεираκιον υἱόν; οἱ κλαίουσι καὶ  
 δεδίασι νῦν οὐ τὴν Ἀντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν δυναστείαν.
- 243 59. "Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξενήνοχα δείγμα τῆς  
 Ἀντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μεταβολῆς·  
 παραίνεσιν δ' ἐπιθήσω τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι μήτε ἐς τὸν  
 δῆμον μήτε ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἔχθρας καὶ  
 κινδύνους ἐπάγειν τοῖς κοινοῖς, νοσοῦσης ἔτι τῆς πο-  
 λιτείας καὶ ἀπορούσης τῶν ὀξέως ἀμνούντων, δύνα-  
 μιν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συστησαμένους, πρὶν θορυβῆσαί  
 τι τῶν ἔξω, τὴν ἀρκέσουσαν, τότε τοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἐπέι-  
 244 γουσιν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ κρίνειν, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε, δυ-  
 ναμένους τὸ κεκριμένον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταῦτα;  
 εἰ ἂν Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἐῶμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἢ χάριν τοῦ  
 δήμου τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν ὧν  
 ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμπω-

Why did Antony not come, if he had wanted to? Or, with 240  
 his thirty thousand regular troops are we to think that  
 he was afraid of Octavian's three thousand ill-equipped,  
 disorganized men who had joined his side only to effect a  
 reconciliation, and abandoned him as soon as they found  
 out that he had decided on war? If Antony was afraid to 241  
 come with thirty thousand, how is it he dared to come with  
 only one thousand? When he left for Tibur with them, how  
 many of us accompanied him on his way, and how many  
 of us voluntarily swore an oath of loyalty to him? What  
 praises Cicero lavished on his policies and virtues! If 242  
 Antony himself was deciding any such terrible thing, why  
 did he leave us the pledges that are now outside the senate  
 house, his mother and his wife and his young son, who  
 weep in fear not of Antony's policies, but of the domina-  
 tion of his enemies.

59. "I have brought these matters to your attention as 243  
 a demonstration of how to exonerate Antony, and show  
 how Cicero has changed his mind. I will add an exhorta-  
 tion to right-minded men not to wrong the people or  
 Antony, and not to introduce personal hostilities and dan-  
 gers in public, while the state is sickly and short of resolute  
 defenders. Instead, put together an adequate force in the  
 city before causing any trouble abroad, and then keep an  
 eye on those who press you at any stage, and pass judg-  
 ment on whoever you want to, when you have the capacity  
 to enforce your decision. How can this be done? By allow- 244  
 ing Antony to keep Gaul, using the people either as an  
 excuse or to oblige them, and by recalling Decimus to  
 Rome with his three legions and, when he arrives, sending

- 245 μεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ  
 ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετέστη,  
 καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω γὰρ πέντε τελῶν ἡμῖν  
 ὑπαρχόντων ψηφίζοίμεθα ἄν, ὃ τι δοκιμάζοιμεν, ἐγ-  
 κρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐλπίδας αἰωρούμενοι.
- 246 60. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ  
 φιλονικίας ἀκροωμένοις· τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ  
 ἀπαρασκεύως δι' οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἐκ-  
 θορυβοῦσιν ὑμᾶς κριτὰς παραινῶ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι  
 μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἀνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ στρατιᾶς  
 ἄρχοντας ἱκανῆς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμοῦν, ἀνα-  
 μιμνησκομένους Μαρκίου τε τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ καὶ τὰ  
 ἔναγχος δὴ ταῦτα Καίσαρος, ὃν στρατιᾶς ὁμοίως  
 ἠγούμενον καὶ σπουδὰς ἀρίστας ἂν ἡμῖν γενομένας  
 προτείνοντα προπετῶς πολέμιον ψηφισάμενοι τῷ ὄντι  
 247 πολέμιον ἠναγκάσαμεν γενέσθαι, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦ δήμου πρὸ βραχέος τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς Καίσαρος  
 ἐπιδραμόντος, μὴ ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ δοκῶμεν τοῖς μὲν  
 ἠγεμονίας ἐθνῶν διδόναι, Δέκμον δὲ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ  
 δήμου νόμον ἀκυροῖ, καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμιον κρίνειν,  
 248 ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ὦν τοὺς μὲν  
 εὖ βουλευομένους ἐνθυμείσθαι χρὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔτι πλα-  
 νωμένων, τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους καὶ δημάρχους ἠγεμόνας<sup>27</sup>  
 κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς κοινοῖς γενέσθαι."

<sup>27</sup> ἠγεμόνας Mend.; πλείονας codd.

him off to Macedonia, but holding back the legions. And 245  
 if, as Cicero says, the two legions that deserted from An-  
 tony in fact deserted to us, let us summon them too to  
 leave Octavian and come to Rome. In this way, with five  
 legions at our disposal, we would be able to pass whatever  
 measures we approve, and do so with confidence, and with-  
 out depending on the hopes of any individual.

60. "I have addressed these words to those who listen 246  
 without malice or aggression. Those who are thoughtlessly  
 and hastily agitating you out of personal hostility or rivalry  
 I urge not to make hurried or reckless judgments against  
 the most powerful men, in command of big armies, and  
 not to force them into war against their will. Remember  
 Marcus Coriolanus, and indeed, the recent case of Cae-  
 sar: by recklessly voting him a public enemy when he too  
 was leading an army and offering a treaty that would have  
 been excellent for us, we forced him to become an enemy  
 in reality.<sup>27</sup> I urge you also to be considerate of the people, 247  
 who only recently attacked Caesar's assassins, to make sure  
 we do not appear to insult them by giving some of the mur-  
 derers provincial governorships, and by praising Decimus  
 for ignoring a law of the people, while voting Antony a  
 public enemy because he received Gaul from the people.  
 It is necessary that men of good counsel take these matters 248  
 into account on behalf of those who are still in doubt, and  
 that the consuls and tribunes take on the role of leaders in  
 the midst of these public dangers."

<sup>27</sup> According to the story made famous by Shakespeare, Gnaeus Marcus Coriolanus was forced out of Rome for his harsh behavior, took up residence with the Volscians, and led them in war against Rome.

249 61. Ὡδε μὲν ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ὠνείδιζεν  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αἴτιος ἐγένετο μὴ ψηφι-  
 σθῆναι πολέμιον Ἀντώνιον. οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε τῆς  
 Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν σφαγέων φίλοι τε  
 καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέους ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου  
 λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι τὸν φόνον Καίσαρι συναλλαγίς·  
 διὸ καὶ στασιάζειν αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζον Καίσαρά τε  
 250 καὶ Ἀντώνιον. ἐψηφίσαντο δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προαγορεύσαι  
 Μακεδονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας  
 ἐντολάς, εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτ' ἐξεπίτηδες, Κικέρωνα συγ-  
 γράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι προσέταξαν.  
 251 ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην παραφέρων συνέγραφεν ὧδε· "Μου-  
 τίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ἀπανίστασθαι καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν  
 Κελτικὴν μεθίεναι, ἐντὸς δὲ Ῥουβίκωνος ποταμοῦ,  
 τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὀρίζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς, ἡμέρα  
 ῥητῇ γενόμενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντα τῇ  
 252 βουλῇ." οὕτω μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐν-  
 τολάς ὁ Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσ-  
 ῆσδε ὑπούσης, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ  
 ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρωνι κακῶς  
 253 ἐπινοοῦντος. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίου λειψάνων κο-  
 μισθέντων καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως γνωσθείσης  
 ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἢ βουλῇ τὸν Δολοβέ-  
 λαν ἔκρινεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

254 62. Οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσβεις,  
 αἰδούμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἀλλόκοτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἔφα-  
 σαν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος σὺν  
 ὀργῇ πολλὰ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα

61. Such was Piso's defense of Antony, which criticized 249  
 and at the same time frightened his opponents, and which  
 was clearly the reason why Antony was not voted a public  
 enemy. He did not, however, succeed in getting control of  
 Gaul for Antony to govern, for the friends and relatives of  
 the assassins prevented this out of fear that, once the war  
 came to an end, he might be reconciled with Octavian and  
 seek to avenge the murder. That is why they continually  
 tried to arrange that Octavian and Antony should be at  
 odds with each other. They passed a motion to proclaim 250  
 that Antony should have Macedonia instead of Gaul, and  
 instructed Cicero—it is not clear whether they chose him  
 by accident or design—to compose a document contain-  
 ing the senate's other orders and give it to the envoys. But 251  
 Cicero falsified the decree and wrote as follows: "Antony  
 must immediately raise the siege of Mutina, cede Gaul to  
 Decimus, withdraw south of the river Rubicon (which  
 forms the boundary between Italy and Gaul) on a speci-  
 fied day, and submit all his affairs to the authority of the  
 senate." Such were the provocative and false instructions 252  
 Cicero drew up, not, so it seems, because of an underlying  
 personal hostility, but because some divine spirit was in-  
 terfering in public affairs to effect change, and was intend-  
 ing bad things for Cicero himself. Since it was also the case 253  
 that Trebonius' remains had recently been repatriated and  
 people had more accurate information about the violence  
 done to him, the senate had no difficulty in deciding to  
 declare Dolabella a public enemy.

62. The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, 254  
 ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said  
 nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony was  
 furious and directed fierce abuse against the senate and

ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠγοῦνται τύραννον ἢ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καίσαρ μὲν εἶλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φονέας προτίθησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν ὄντα φίλον ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα λαβόντι τὴν Κελτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολεμεῖ. “Τῶν τε ἐψηφισμένων μοι 255  
τελῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτομολήσασιν γέρα δίδωσι, τοῖς δὲ παραμείνασιν οὐ, διαφθείρων οὐκ ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ 256  
τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνους ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ἣ καὶ γὰρ συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἀνδρας αἰδεσίμους· Ἀντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἠγείται πολεμίου, ὅτι τῶν δεδομένων ἐχόμεθα. ἦδε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς αἰτία· κἂν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὔτε πολέμιος οὔτε μόναρχός εἰμι. ταῦτα μέντοι μαρτύρομαι λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνηστίαν.”

257 63. Τοιάδε πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραφε τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἂν ἐς ἅπαντα ὡς πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράψαντι τὰς ἐντολὰς ὦδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι· “Ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκέ μοι τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμῳ, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθοῦντα τῷ νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτήσω μόνον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλή καθαρεύσῃ ποτὲ τοῦ μύσου, ἐμπι- 258  
πλαμένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα.” τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἶπέ τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλή αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ'

Cicero. He expressed astonishment that they should consider Caesar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman empire) a tyrant and a king, but not Cicero. Caesar had made him a prisoner of war, but did not kill him, while Cicero values Caesar's assassins more highly than his friends. He hated Decimus while he was a friend of Caesar, but loves him once he became his murderer. He sides with the man who received Gaul after Caesar's death from nobody, but makes war on the man who received it from the people. “He rewards those who deserted from the 255  
legions voted to me, but not those who stayed, in the process subverting military discipline not so much for me as for Rome. Although he has granted an amnesty to the 256  
murderers, to which I too gave my assent on account of two men who deserve respect, he regards Antony and Dolabella as public enemies because we hold on to what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I just withdraw from Gaul, then I am no longer either public enemy or autocrat! I guarantee that this situation will bring an end to our unloved amnesty.”

63. After saying a great deal along the same lines, Antony wrote in reply to the decree that he would obey the 257  
senate in all matters, as they represented his fatherland, but to Cicero who composed the instructions, this was his answer: “The people gave me Gaul by a law, and I will go after Decimus for not obeying the law. I will also exact punishment for the murder from him alone, on behalf of them all, so that the senate may at last be purged of the pollution of which it now takes its fill through Cicero's support of Decimus.” In response to what Antony said, 258  
and wrote in his reply, the senate immediately voted him



αὐτῷ στρατόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταῖεν αὐτοῦ· Μακεδονίας  
 δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις  
 ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μάρκον Βρούτον ἄρχειν, μέχρι  
 259 κατασταίῃ τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἰδιόν τε εἶχεν ἤδη στρατόν  
 καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου τινὰ προσειλήφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε  
 μακράς τε καὶ ὀλκάδας καὶ χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ  
 ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ ὄπλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν Δημη-  
 τριάδι Γαίῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ γιγνόμενα εὔρεν· οἷς  
 ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἢ βουλή τότε ἐψηφίζετο ἐς τὰ συμ-  
 260 φέροντα τῆς πατρίδος χρῆσθαι. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ  
 Κάσσιον ἄρχειν τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλα·  
 τοὺς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι τινὸς ἔθνους ἢ στρατοῦ Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἕω, πάντα ὑπακούειν ἐς ὃ τι προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἢ  
 Βρούτος.  
 261 64. Ὡδε μὲν ὀξέως σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν  
 Κάσσιον ἐξελάμπρυνον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἕκαστα μαθὼν  
 ἠπόρητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμνηστίαν ἠγούμενος εὐπρέπειαν  
 ἐσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἐλέους<sup>28</sup> συγγενῶν ἀν-  
 δρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων, καὶ τὰς βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας  
 ἀσφάλειαν· Δέκμῳ τε τὴν Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας  
 Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ τυραννίδος διαφέρεσθαι, ᾧ προσ-  
 262 ποιήματι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ' Ἀντωνίου· τὸ δὲ  
 καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι δι' ἓνα τῶν

<sup>28</sup> ἐλέους Goukowsky; ἔλεος P; ἐλέου L; ἔλεον BJ

a public enemy, and the troops under his command, if they  
 did not detach themselves from him. As for Macedonia  
 and Illyria itself, along with the forces still remaining in  
 both, Marcus Brutus was to be in command, until public  
 affairs were stabilized. Brutus already had his own army, 259  
 and had received additional troops from Appuleius.<sup>28</sup> He  
 also had warships and transports and about sixteen thou-  
 sand talents in money, and large quantities of arms which  
 he found in Demetrias, where they had been collected for  
 Gaius Caesar long before. The senate now voted that he  
 should avail of all these resources for the benefit of the  
 fatherland. They also decided that Cassius should be gov- 260  
 ernor of Syria and make war on Dolabella, and that all  
 other provincial governors and army commanders east of  
 the Ionian Sea should take their orders from Cassius or  
 Brutus.

64. In this way the senate quickly took the opportunity 261  
 to make things look brighter for Cassius and his associates.  
 But on hearing all the details, Octavian did not know what  
 to do. He regarded the amnesty as a decent display of  
 humanity and pity for the relatives and peers of the men,  
 and the rather minor commands as a form of protection.  
 Confirming Decimus in Gaul seemed to Octavian to be a  
 product of the senate's dispute with Antony about his tyr-  
 anny, which was the excuse they used to employ himself  
 against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella a public en- 262  
 emy because he had put one of the murderers to death,

<sup>28</sup> Marcus Appuleius (consul 20) had been quaestor in 45, and  
 then proquaestor in Asia. On his way back from Asia in late 44,  
 he met Brutus at Carystus in Euboea and handed over his forces  
 and funds to him.

ἀνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ  
 τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἔθνη διαλλάξαι στρα-  
 τόπεδά τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ χρήματα καὶ  
 ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἀποφῆναι πάντων, ὅσοι πέραν  
 εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰουίου θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν μὲν Πομ-  
 263 πηίου μοῖραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος καθαιρού-  
 ντων. ἐνεθυμείτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς μειράκιον  
 τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρασχόντων  
 καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἴδιον αὐ-  
 τοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὄντα ἀφαιρουμένων· ὑπάτων γὰρ  
 264 συστρατηγούντων οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον· τά  
 τε γέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστᾶσιν ἐψηφι-  
 σμένα τοὺς αὐτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμοῦν· καὶ τὸν  
 πόλεμον ὅλως αὐτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἔχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν  
 βουλήν ἀποχρησθαί οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι καθ-  
 ἔλωσιν αὐτόν.

265 65. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύων ἐπὶ τῇ  
 δεδομένη ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη· “Καὶ τάδε μοι  
 παρ’ ὑμῶν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, γέγονεν, οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ’  
 ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδίδοτε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλή δι’ ὑμᾶς  
 ἔδωκεν. ὥστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων ἴστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν  
 ὀφλήσοντα καί, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχωσιν εὐπραγεῖν,  
 266 ἀποδώσοντα ἀθρόως.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὸν στρατὸν οἰ-  
 κειούμενος ὑπήγετο, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ  
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξενάγει, Ἴρτιος δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν  
 στρατὸν ἐμερίζετο καί, ὡς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν  
 ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ἦτει τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ  
 παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὄντα τοῦ

the transfer of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the  
 largest provinces, the sudden granting of large armies and  
 large sums of money to them, and their appointment in  
 command of all the governors east of the Ionian Sea—  
 these were clearly the actions of men trying to build up  
 the party of Pompey and destroy that of Caesar. He also 263  
 mulled over their sly treatment of him as an adolescent, in  
 providing him a statue and a front seat at the theater, and  
 giving him the title of *propraetor*, when in fact they were  
 taking from him the army rightfully his: for a *propraetor*  
 is nothing when consuls are in joint command. And the 264  
 rewards voted only to those soldiers who had deserted  
 from Antony were an insult to the men serving with him-  
 self. In short, the war brought him disgrace, for the truth  
 was the senate were only using him against Antony until  
 they had destroyed the latter.

65. Octavian kept these thoughts to himself, and after 265  
 offering sacrifice on assuming the command granted to  
 him, he addressed the army: “These honors, too, my fellow  
 soldiers, have come to me from you, not just right now, but  
 from the moment that you set out to give me the com-  
 mand: for it was because of you that the senate granted it  
 to me. You should know, therefore, that you will have my  
 gratitude for this too, and that, if the gods grant us success,  
 I will repay you in full.” While he was conciliating the army 266  
 in this way and making it his own, one of the consuls,  
 Pansa, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the  
 other, Hirtius, was dividing the command of the army with  
 Octavian. Following secret instructions he received from  
 the senate, Hirtius demanded as his share the two legions  
 that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were  
 the most distinguished in the army. Octavian conceded

στρατοῦ τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ἅπαντα  
 συνεχώρει, μερισάμενοι δὲ ἐχείμαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων  
 267 παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη Δέκμος μὲν  
 ἔκαμνεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, Ἴρτιος δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν  
 Μουτίνην ἐχώρουν, μὴ κάμνοντα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν  
 268 ὁ Ἀντώνιος παραλάβοι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυ-  
 λασσομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πανσυδὶ μὲν οὐ συν-  
 επλέκοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἵππομαχίαι δ'  
 ἦσαν πυκναί, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἵππέας ἔχοντος Ἀν-  
 τωνίου· τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ χειμάρρους  
 ἐκτεταφρευμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεστέ-  
 ρει.

269 66. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δ' ἐν  
 Ῥώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἤγειν ὑπὸ  
 δημοκοπίας· καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι, ὅπλα τε  
 εἰργάζετο συναγαγὼν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς ἀμισθὶ καὶ  
 χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυντάτας ἐσφοράς τοῖς  
 270 Ἀντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθει. οἱ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐσέφερον  
 ἐκλυόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι Πούπλιος Οὐεντί-  
 διος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαίῳ Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ  
 φίλος ὢν, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος,  
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς Καίσαρος ἀποικίας ἐκδραμὼν ὡς γνώρι-  
 μος δύο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεστράτευσε τέλη καὶ ἐς  
 271 τὴν Ῥώμην συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἠπέιγετο. τότε μὲν  
 δὴ θόρυβός τε ἦν ἄπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας  
 ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλείους μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ ὁ  
 Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος

everything, and once the division was made, he and Hir-  
 tius went into winter quarters together. As winter ad- 267  
 vanced Decimus now began to suffer from hunger, and  
 Hirtius and Octavian advanced toward Mutina to prevent  
 Antony receiving the surrender of Decimus' exhausted  
 army. Mutina, however, was being closely guarded by 268  
 Antony, and they did not join battle with him with their  
 full force, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cav-  
 alry engagements, but although Antony had a much larger  
 force of cavalry, the difficult terrain of the plain, which was  
 cut by streams, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

66. While this was happening at Mutina, at Rome in 269  
 the absence of the consuls Cicero took the lead in courting  
 popular support. He held frequent assemblies of the peo-  
 ple, had arms produced by uniting the workmen without  
 paying them, collected money, and exacted heavy contri-  
 butions from the partisans of Antony. These readily paid 270  
 up in order to avoid slanderous accusations, until Publius  
 Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Caesar and was an  
 associate of Antony, was unable to endure the oppression  
 of Cicero, and hurried off to Caesar's colonies, where he  
 was well known, reenlisted two legions for Antony, and  
 pressed on to Rome to arrest Cicero.<sup>29</sup> Boundless turmoil 271  
 ensued. Most people were despondent and removed their  
 women and children, and Cicero himself fled from the  
 city. When Ventidius learned this he turned back to join

<sup>29</sup> Publius Ventidius Bassus was one of the tribunes of 45, and although praetor in 43, he resigned the praetorship to become one of the suffect consuls at the end of the year after the reconciliation of Octavian and Antony. No other sources mention him marching on Rome to arrest Cicero.

μαθῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε. διακλειόμενος δὲ  
 ὑπὸ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἰρτίου ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα  
 παρήλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλλογίσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς  
 272 ἔσομένοις. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ  
 στρατιᾶς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλῆιον αὐτῷ προσ-  
 ἔεμπον ἄγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ  
 τὸ Ἄρειον τέλος ἐς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν.  
 273 ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερείδεν ὡς οὐδὲν  
 πλέον ἢ κωλύσων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀγῶνος, οὐκ  
 ἔχων τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδῖον  
 ἐλωδέστερον ὄν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε  
 τέλη τὰ ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἔλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποιήτου καὶ  
 στενῆς οὔσης, ἐκατέρωθεν τῷ δόνακι κρύπτων.  
 274 67. Καρσουλῆίου δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς  
 διαδραμόντων, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείοις καὶ  
 πέντε ἄλλαις τάξεσιν ἐς τὴν χειροποιήτου ὁδὸν  
 ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρεύουσαν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ ἔλος  
 ἐκατέρωθεν ὄν περισκεπτομένων, ὃ τε δόναξ διακινού-  
 μενος ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ ἀσπίς ἤδη πού καὶ κράνος  
 ἐξέλαμπε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς Ἀντωνίου τάξις αὐτοῖς  
 275 αἰφνίδιον ἐπεφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δ' Ἄρειοι  
 περιειλημμένοι τε πάντοθεν καὶ οὐδαμόσε διαδραμεῖν  
 ἔχοντες ἐκέλευον <τοὺς νεήλυδας><sup>29</sup> εἰ παραγένοντο,  
 μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ὡς μὴ συν-  
 τάράξιαν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατηγίδι δὲ  
 Ἀντωνίου τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν

<sup>29</sup> τοὺς νεήλυδας add. Schweig.

Antony, but his way was barred by Octavian and Hirtius,  
 and he headed for Picenum, where he recruited another  
 legion and waited to see what would happen. On the ap- 272  
 proach of Pansa and his army, Octavian and his staff sent  
 Carsuleius to him with Octavian's praetorian cohort and  
 the legion of Mars to assist him in passing through a de-  
 file.<sup>30</sup> Antony had ignored the defile on the grounds that 273  
 he could only block Pansa's route in it, and he wanted a  
 battle. As he had no chance to perform brilliantly with his  
 cavalry, because the plain was marshy and cut by gullies,  
 he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh,  
 hiding them in the rushes on both sides of the road, which  
 had been artificially constructed and was narrow.

67. After hurrying through the defile by night, at day- 274  
 break Carsuleius and Pansa, with only the legion of Mars  
 and five other cohorts, came to the causeway, which was  
 still free of the enemy, and reconnoitered the marsh on  
 either side. They were suspicious of the way the rushes  
 moved, and here and there a shield or helmet glinted in  
 the light, and suddenly Antony's praetorian cohort ap-  
 peared right in front of them. The soldiers of the legion of 275  
 Mars, although surrounded on all sides and having no-  
 where to escape, ordered the new recruits, if they came  
 up, not to join in their fight, so that they did not cause  
 distraction by their inexperience. And so the praetorians  
 of Octavian were marshaled against the praetorians of

<sup>30</sup> Decimus Carfulenus (Appian's text is corrupt) was a tribune  
 of the people in 44 and was probably killed in the battle Appian  
 describes here.

αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς δύο διαιρεθέντες ἐνέβαινον ἐς ἐκάτερον  
 ἔλος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεστάτου τῆ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῆ δὲ  
 276 ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἐλῶν ὄντων δύο ἦσαν οἱ  
 πόλεμοι, τῆ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γινώσκειν τὰ ἀλ-  
 λήλων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν διόδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες  
 277 πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμου. γνώμη δὲ ἦν  
 τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς Ἀρείους ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτο-  
 μολίας οἷα προδότας σφῶν γενομένους, τοῖς δ' Ἀρεί-  
 οῖς ἐκείνους τῆς ὑπεροψίας τῶν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ δι-  
 278 εφθαρμένων. συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλοις τὸ κράτιστον ὡς  
 εἶεν<sup>30</sup> τῆς ἐκατέρου στρατιᾶς, ἤλπιζον ἐν τῷδε τῷ  
 ἔργῳ μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰδῶς  
 ἦν τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὖσιν δι' ἐνὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ  
 φιλοτιμία μόνοις τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.  
 279 68. Οὕτω μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπήεσαν διωργισμένοι τε  
 καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς  
 οἰκείον ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε  
 ἠλάλαξαν ὡς οὐκ ἐκπλήξοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ  
 280 πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφήκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσω-  
 μένος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὡς ἐν  
 ἔλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτε-  
 ροι τοὺς ἑτέρους ὤσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὡς  
 ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγὴ τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός,  
 ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντι-  
 βοῆς· ὃ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντι-

<sup>30</sup> εἶεν Schweig.; εἶη codd.

Antony. Pansa and Carsuleius divided their force in two  
 and advanced into the marsh on either side of the road,  
 with Pansa in command of one wing, Carsuleius of the  
 other. As there were two marshes, there were two battles, 276  
 the road running between them preventing the partici-  
 pants from knowing how the other was faring; and on the  
 road itself the praetorians were fighting another battle of  
 their own. The Antonians were determined to punish the 277  
 legion of Mars for desertion, which they regarded as a  
 betrayal of themselves, while the legion of Mars were  
 determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the  
 killings committed at Brundisium.<sup>31</sup> Recognizing in each 278  
 other the elite of both armies, they hoped to decide the  
 whole war by this single engagement. One side was moved  
 by the shame of two legions being beaten by one; the other  
 by ambition that a single legion should get the better of  
 two.

68. Thus spurred on by animosity and ambition they 279  
 attacked each other, believing that this was their battle  
 rather than their generals'. Being experienced soldiers  
 they raised no battle cry, as they knew they would not ter-  
 rify each other, nor in the engagement did any of them  
 utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. Since there 280  
 was no possibility of flanking movements or charges  
 among the marshes and gullies, they met together in close  
 order, and neither side being able to push the other back,  
 they were locked together with their swords as in a wres-  
 tling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds  
 and slaughter and groaning, but no cries; and when one  
 fell he was immediately carried away and another took his

<sup>31</sup> As described above at 43.178.

281 καθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἐδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων δίσταντο καὶ αὖθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.

282 69. Πονουμένων δὲ ὧδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἢ μὲν στρατηγῆς ἢ Καίσαρος ἅπασα διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἀρείων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσουλήϊω μᾶλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδόντων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πάνσᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαροῦντο, διεκαρτέρουν δ' ὅμως ἐπ' ἴσης ἐκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας ὀβελῶ τὴν λαγόνα τρωθεὶς ἐς Βονωνίαν ἐξεφέρετο. τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρουν, ἐπὶ πόδα πρῶτον, εἶτα μεταβαλόντες ὀξύτερον ὡς ἐν φυγῇ. καὶ οἱ νεήλυδες ἰδόντες ἔφηνον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο ὁ ταμίας Τορκουᾶτος συνεστῶσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης, ὑπονοήσας ἐν χρείᾳ γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεήλυδες ἐς αὐτὸ ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἴταλοὶ μὲν ὄντες ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις· ἢ δὲ ἄσκησις ἄρα τοῦ γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῇ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἄρειοι οὐκ ἐσῆλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸ ἔστησαν· κατάκοποι δὲ ὄντες ὄργων ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐπίοι, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τέλους δια-

place. They needed neither exhortation nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. 281 When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a moment to catch their breath, as in gymnastic exercises, and then came to grips again. When the new recruits arrived, they were amazed at the sight of such deeds being carried out in good order and silence.

69. With everyone making superhuman efforts in this way, Octavian's praetorian cohort was annihilated. 282 The section of the legion of Mars under Carsuleius' command got somewhat the better of their opponents, who gave way, not shamefully, but little by little. Those under Pansa were struggling in the same way, but both sides persevered with equal stubbornness until Pansa was wounded in the side by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. At that point the men under his command retired, at first step by step, but then they changed to a more rapid movement, as if in flight. When the new recruits saw this they fled in disorder, shouting loudly, to their palisade, which the quaestor, Torquatus, had constructed for them while the battle was still in progress, suspecting that it would be needed.<sup>32</sup> The new recruits crowded into it in disorder, although they were no less Italian than the legion of Mars—it is, of course, training that makes so much more difference to courage than racial background. As for the 284 soldiers of the legion of Mars, to protect their reputation they did not go into the palisade, but took up position beside it. Although exhausted, they were still angry and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody attacked them.

<sup>32</sup> Manlius Torquatus, quaestor in 43, was attached to the consul Pansa.

γωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὡς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεήλυσιν ἐπιδραμῶν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

285 70. Ἴρτιος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἀπεχούσης, ἔετο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων. ἤδη τε ἦν ὀψία δείλη, καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπανήεσαν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἴρτιος ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν ἐπιφαίνεται συντεταγμένος ὀλοκλήρῳ  
286 τέλει καὶ ἀπαθεί. οἱ δὲ συνετάχθησαν μὲν αὐθις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο· οἷα δὲ ἀκμήτων ἠσσωμένοι κεκμηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἴρτίου διέφθειρε, καίπερ οὐ διώκοντος αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἐλῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἤδη μελαινομένης διέλυσε  
287 αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὄπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡμιθνήτων καὶ τετρωμένων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατεφρόνον.  
288 ἵππεις δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου περιθέοντες, ὅσοι παρήσπιζον αὐτῷ, δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνετίθεντο ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχάζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσι ἐς  
289 τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὦδε μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέφθαρτο ἡ ἰσχὺς διὰ Ἴρτιον ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ἠύλισατο ἐν κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἀχαρακῶτως· Ἀγορὰ Κελτῶν ἢ κώμη καλεῖται. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων

Antony steered clear of the legion of Mars as being too much trouble, but he attacked the new recruits and slaughtered many of them.

70. Hirtius learned of the battle when he was at Mutina, sixty stades away, and rushed off with the other legion that had deserted Antony. It was already late in the afternoon, and the victorious Antonians were returning, no longer in formation, singing songs of victory, when Hirtius made a sudden appearance in front of them with a whole, fresh legion, marshaled for battle. Under force of necessity Antony's men again lined up for battle, and against these enemies too performed many splendid deeds; but in their exhaustion they were overcome by the fresh troops, and the great majority of them were killed in this action of Hirtius, although he did not pursue them, as he was afraid of the marshes, and with night coming on he let them disperse. A great extent of the marsh was filled with weapons and corpses and men who were half-dead and wounded, but even the unwounded ignored their own men because of their fatigue. The cavalry of Antony's personal guard went around picking them up all night. Some they put on their horses instead of themselves, others to ride with them, still others they urged to take hold of the horses' tails, run alongside them and so help themselves to get to safety. In this way Antony's force was destroyed by Hirtius' attack, although it had fought bravely. He bivouacked for the night without building a palisade in a village called Forum Gallorum, near the plain. Besides the loss of Octavian's entire praetorian cohort, and a few

ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἑκατέρων, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα, Ἰρτίου δὲ ὀλίγοι.

290 71. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἀνεζεύγνυον ἐς τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ στρατόπεδα πάντες. γνώμη δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσῶδε πταίσματι μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μεγάλη μάχη μηδ' ἐπιόντων ἀμύνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τὰ ἐφήμερα μόνα αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλεῖν, μέχρι παραδῶη Δέκμος αὐτὸν ἐς ἔσχατον ἤδη λιμοῦ τετραμμένος, Ἰρτίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα  
291 τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπέιγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκτάσσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐπεξῆγεν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Μουτίνης ἀφυλακτότερα ὄντα διὰ δυσχέρειαν ἐχώρουν ὡς βιασόμενοι βαρεῖ στρατῶ παρεσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐξήπτετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τότε  
292 μόνοις. ἀμυνομένων δὲ κακείνων αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς χωρούσης, ἐφ' ἃ ἐβούλοντο, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐξῆγε δύο  
293 τέλη· οἱ δὲ ἡσθέντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἄλλα δὲ Ἀντωνίου τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὧν βραδέως ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἰόντων ἐκράτουν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ μάχῃ. Ἰρτίος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος  
294 ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐσδραμῶν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχευεν, ἕως μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξεώσθη πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. διενυκτέρευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἑκάτεροι.

295 72. Καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος δευτέρα τῆδε συμπεσῶν πληγῇ

of Hirtius' men, other casualties amounted to about half of both armies.

71. The next day they all withdrew to their camps at 290 Mutina. After such a substantial reverse, Antony resolved not to confront his enemies in a great battle any more, not even in a defensive action if they attacked, but to harass them on a daily basis with his cavalry, until Decimus, now worn down by extreme famine, surrendered. On the other hand, it was precisely for this reason that Hirtius and Octavian resolved to press for battle. As Antony would not 291 come out when they offered battle, they went round to the other side of Mutina where it was less closely guarded because of the difficulty of the terrain, with the intention of forcing their way into the town by weight of numbers. Even at this point Antony hung on their rear using only his cavalry. But as the enemy, too, defended themselves 292 against him just with their cavalry, while the rest of the army advanced on its objective, Antony grew afraid for the fate of Mutina, and led out two legions. Hirtius and Octavian were delighted at this, and turning to face them started to fight. Antony ordered up other legions from his 293 other camps, but they took time to come as they had not expected the call and had a considerable distance to travel, and Octavian's forces won the battle. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, and was killed fighting near the general's tent. Octavian rushed in to collect his body and occupied the camp until he was pushed out by Antony a short 294 time later. Both sides passed the night under arms.

72. After sustaining this second defeat, Antony con- 295



συνεβουλευέτο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῆς προτέρας αὐτὸν γνώμης ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα· τό τε γὰρ πάθος ὁμοιον ἀμφοῖν γεγονέναι καὶ Ἴρτιον ἀνηρηῆσθαι καὶ Πάνσαν νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἰππεῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφίχθαι λιμοῦ  
 296 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδώσειν. ὧδε μὲν ἤρεσκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἤδη θεοῦ βλάπτουτος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸς ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσδράμοι ἢ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, “Ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων,” ἔφη, “Τιγνομένων ἡμῖν ἀχρήστων, ὑπερ-  
 297 ὄψεταιί με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἠττώμενον. εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἐξανασταίμεν, Οὐεντίδιός τε ἡμῖν αὐτίκα προσέσται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρωμένως [οἱ]<sup>31</sup> συμμαχήσουσι.” ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἄτολμος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνὴρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο καὶ ὤδευεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων.

298 73. Δέκμῳ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο· τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων ἐκποδῶν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἐδεδοίκει. τὰς τε οὖν γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοπτε πρὸ ἡμέρας καὶ κελητίῳ τινὰς ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἀποστέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἠξίου δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς λόγους οἱ συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς πο-

<sup>31</sup> οἱ del. Goukowsky

sulted with his associates immediately after the battle. They thought he should persevere with his previous plan to besiege Mutina and refuse to go out to battle. For, they argued, the losses had been much the same on both sides; Hirtius had been killed and Pansa wounded; they had a bigger force of cavalry; and with the arrival of extreme famine, Mutina would very soon surrender. Such was the  
 296 advice of his associates, and it was the best course. But Antony, now with some divinity plaguing him, had become afraid that Octavian would break into Mutina, as he tried to do the previous day, or would put his hand to fencing him in, having greater manpower to make this workable. “In which case,” he said, “even our cavalry will be of no  
 297 use to us, and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a defeated man. But if we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will immediately join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will give us vigorous military assistance.”<sup>33</sup> This is what he said—and he was not a timid man in the face of danger—and when he had finished, he immediately struck camp and set off toward the Alps.

73. Decimus may have been delivered from the siege,  
 298 but now Octavian provided a new source of fear. For with both consuls out of the way, he began to fear Octavian as a personal enemy. So he cut down the bridges over the river before daybreak and sent some representatives to Octavian in a boat, acknowledging him as the author of his safety and asking to enter discussions with him, with the river between them and the citizens as witnesses. For he

<sup>33</sup> For Lepidus and Plancus see above, 46.190 with note 21.

λίταις· πείσειν γάρ, ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαψεν, ἐς  
 299 τὴν Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν ἐπηγμένον ὑφ' ἐτέρων. Καί-  
 σαρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἀποκριναμένου τε πρὸς ὀργὴν  
 καὶ τὴν χάριν, ἣν δίδωσίν οἱ Δέκμος, διωθουμένου.  
 "Οὐδὲ γὰρ Δέκμον ἐγὼ πάρεμι περισώσων, ἀλλ' Ἀν-  
 τωνίῳ πολεμήσων, ᾧ μοι καὶ συναλλαγῆναί ποτε  
 θέμις· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ ἐς ὄψιν ἢ λόγους ἐλθεῖν  
 300 ἐπιτρέπει· σωζέσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει δο-  
 κεῖ." πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔστη τε πρὸ τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, σὺν βοῇ  
 τὰ γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε, διδούσης οἱ  
 τὴν Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευέ τε Καίσαρι χω-  
 ρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἡγε-  
 μονίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔτι χωρεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ  
 301 αὐτὸν διώκων ἀρκέσειν. ὁ δὲ ἤδει μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς  
 αὐτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θρασύτητα αὐξανόμενον, δυνηθεὶς  
 δ' ἂν ἐκ προστάγματος ἐλεῖν ἐφείδετο ἔτι καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸν Πάνσαν ἐς Βονωνίαν τραπεὶς ἔγραφε τῇ βουλῇ  
 περὶ ἀπάντων. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Πάνσας.  
 302 74. Καὶ Κικέρων ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν δῆμον  
 ἀνεγίνωσκεν ὡς ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ  
 βουλῇ μόνον· θυσίας τε ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα  
 ἡμερῶν ἱκεσίους<sup>32</sup> ἐψηφίζετο, ὅσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς  
 οὔτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ  
 τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδου Δέκμῳ· καίπερ ἔτι  
 Πάνσα περιόντος (ἤδη γὰρ ἀπεγινώσκετο), στρατη-  
 γόν τε τὸν Δέκμον ἀπέφηνεν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ μόνον εἶναι

said he would convince him that a divine spirit led him  
 astray when he was brought into the plot against Caesar  
 by others. Octavian answered the messengers angrily, re- 299  
 jecting Decimus' thanks, saying, "I did not come here to  
 rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony. With him I may  
 rightly be reconciled at some point, but nature forbids me  
 even to look at Decimus or enter conversation with him.  
 Let him be spared, however, as long as those in Rome ap- 300  
 prove." When Decimus heard this, he stood in front of the  
 river bank and, calling Octavian by name, read in a loud  
 voice the letter of the senate giving him command of Gaul.  
 He forbade Octavian to cross the river into someone else's  
 command without consular authority, or to continue to  
 march against Antony; for he himself had sufficient forces  
 to pursue him. Octavian was aware that Decimus was em- 301  
 boldened to behave with such impudence by the senate,  
 and although he had the power to issue an order for his  
 arrest, he restrained himself for the moment, and turned  
 back to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report of  
 events to the senate, as did Pansa.

74. In Rome Cicero read the letter of Pansa to the 302  
 people, as Pansa was a consul, but only read Octavian's  
 letter to the senate. For the victory over Antony, he car-  
 ried a vote to have fifty days of thanksgiving—a longer  
 period than the Romans had ever voted even after victory  
 over the Celts or in any other war. He set about giving the  
 army of the consuls to Decimus, for although Pansa was  
 still alive, there was no hope he would survive, and he  
 wanted to appoint Decimus the sole commander against

<sup>32</sup> ἱκεσίους Schweig.; ἐτησίους codd.

καὶ εὐχὰς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου περι-  
 γενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἴστρος αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου  
 303 καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἐβεβαίου τε αὐθις τοῖς δύο τέλεσι  
 τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσι τὰς ἐκάστῳ προῦπε-  
 σχημένους παρὰ τοῦ κοινού Ῥωμαίων ἐπινικίους  
 δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ὡς ἤδη νενικηκόσι καὶ στέ-  
 φανον αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς αἰεὶ θαλλοῦ περιτίθε-  
 304 σθαι. περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομέ-  
 νοις, οὐδὲ τοῦνομα ὅλως· οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο  
 ὡς Ἀντωνίου καθηρημένου. ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ  
 καὶ Πλάγκῳ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλησιάσειαν  
 Ἀντωνίῳ.

305 75. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Πάνσας δ' ἐκ τοῦ  
 τραύματος ἀποθνήσκων Καίσαρά οἱ παρεστήσατο  
 καὶ εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἐμαυτῷ,  
 ἀναιρεθέντι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἐπαμύνειν οὐδὲ τοῖς πλείοσι  
 μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ καλῶς ποιῶν  
 306 ὑπήκουσας, καίτοι στρατὸν ἔχων. δείσαντες δ' ἐν  
 ἀρχῇ σὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλοτιμότατον κάκεινον ἐς τὴν  
 Καίσαρος γνώμην φανέντα, διαφερομένοις ὑμῖν ἐφή-  
 σθησαν ὡς ἐς ἀλλήλους συντριβησομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 σε καὶ στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιούντο εὐ-  
 307 πρέπεσι καὶ ἀσθενέσι τιμαῖς οἷα μειράκιον. σοβαρω-  
 τέρου δὲ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μάλιστα  
 ὀφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι δεδο-  
 μένην οὐκ ἐδέξω, διαταράχθησαν καὶ συστρατηγεῖν  
 σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτι-

Antony. He also had public prayers offered that Decimus  
 might prevail over Antony. Such was Cicero's frenzy and  
 tactlessness in opposing Antony. He reconfirmed to the 303  
 two legions that had deserted from Antony the five thou-  
 sand drachmas per man from public funds previously  
 promised to them as the rewards of victory, on the grounds  
 that they had already achieved victory, and gave them the  
 permanent right to wear an olive crown at public festivals.  
 But on the subject of Octavian there was nothing in the 304  
 text of the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned.  
 He was immediately disregarded, as though Antony were  
 already destroyed. Letters were also written to Lepidus,  
 to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio with instructions to close  
 with Antony and wage war.

305 75. Such was the course of events at Rome. In the  
 meantime Pansa, who was dying of his wound, summoned  
 Octavian to his side, and said, “As far as I am concerned,  
 your father was as dear to me as my own life, but when he  
 was killed I was unable to help him or to avoid aligning  
 myself with the majority, to whom, I note, you too have  
 wisely submitted, even though you had an army. In the 306  
 beginning, they were afraid of you and Antony, who, like  
 you, seemed very ambitious to pursue Caesar's policies,  
 and they were delighted when you fell out at the prospect  
 that you would destroy each other. When they saw that you  
 had become master of an army, they tried to win you over  
 with plausible but paltry honors, treating you like a boy.  
 But as soon as they could see you were a man of some 307  
 pride and master of your ambition, especially at that mo-  
 ment when you turned down the command offered by  
 your army, they were alarmed. They appointed you to  
 share the command with us in order that we might detach

κώτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐλπίσαντες ἠττηθέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἀσθενέστερόν τε καὶ μόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἤδη πᾶσαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἐταιρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξειν τὴν Πομπηίου· τότε γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον.

- 308 76. "Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ἰρτίος τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποιούμεν μέχρι συστῆλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψία· ἠττηθέντα δὲ σοὶ συναλλάσσειν ἐπενοούμεν, ὡς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τότε χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ μοίρᾳ χρησιμώτατον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοὶ πρότερον, ἠττημένου δὲ νῦν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ἰρτίου τεθνεώτος καμὲ τοῦ χρεῶν ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἵνα μοι γινώσκης χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοίρᾳ γενόμενος, ὡς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τά τε σαντῶ συμφέροντα γινώσκης καὶ τὴν
- 310 ἐμὴν καὶ Ἰρτίου προαίρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τὸν μὲν οὖν στρατὸν, ὃν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδοῦναί σοι, καὶ παραδίδωμι· τοὺς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεις λαβών, καὶ τούσδε σοὶ παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλὴν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἡμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἶναι, καὶ τό τε ἔργον ἐπίφθονον ἔσται σοὶ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξαν-
- 311 ἴστησί σε, ὃ ταμίας παραλήψεται Τορκουᾶτος." ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανε. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὃ ταμίας, καθὰ προσέτασεν ἢ

your two more effective legions from you, hoping that when one of you was defeated, the other would be weakened and isolated, and that after getting rid of him they would destroy the whole Caesarean party and revive that of Pompey. That is the main point of their policy.

76. "Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, 308 until we could humble Antony, who was behaving with insolent arrogance; but we intended when he was defeated to reconcile him to you, having it in our power to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Caesar's friendship, the one thing that would be of most use to our party in the future. It was impossible to reveal this to you before, but now that 309 Antony has been defeated, and Hirtius is dead, and fate is carrying me away, the time was right for saying it—not to win your gratitude after my death, but to ensure that you, who were born to a divine destiny, as your achievements prove, recognize where your own interests lie, and understand the policy adopted by Hirtius and myself, and the necessity for it. It would, therefore, be entirely appropriate 310 for me to return the troops that you yourself gave us, and I do so now. If you want to have the new recruits and keep them, these too I will hand over to you. But if they are inordinately overawed by the senate, in view of the fact that their officers were sent to keep watch on us, and if the task would cause resentment against you and force your hand before it was necessary, my quaestor Torquatus will take command of them." With these words he handed the 311 new recruits to his quaestor and died. The quaestor transferred them to Decimus, as the senate instructed, and

βουλή, Δέκμῳ παρεδίδου, Ἴρτιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε μετὰ τιμῆς.

- 312 77. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περί τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδο-  
νίαν τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. Γάιος Καίσαρ ὅτε Συρίαν διώ-  
δευε, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλελοίπει τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους  
ἤδη διανοούμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Καί-  
κιλιος Βάσσος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ἰούλιος Σέξστος,  
μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενές, ὅπερ ἐκδιαιτώ-  
μενον ἐς τρυφὴν τὸ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπήγετο παντα-  
313 χοῦ. μεμψαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε καὶ  
καλῶν αὐτὸν ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ βραδέως ὑπήκουσεν, ἄγειν  
ἐκέλευσεν ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενο-  
μένων ἢ στρατιὰ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον  
314 κατηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ  
Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συγ-  
γνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου διαγωνιεί-  
σθαι καὶ ἐς ταῦτ<sup>33</sup> Βάσσον ἀναγκάσαντες ἄλλο  
315 συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὧδε μὲν τισι  
περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβωνι δ', ὅτι τῆς Πομπηίου  
στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν ιδιωτεύων ἐν  
Τύρῳ, διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο

<sup>33</sup> ταῦτὸ Goukowsky; αὐτὸ codd.

Octavian organized a splendid funeral for Hirtius and Pansa, and sent their remains to Rome with full honors.

77. In the same period, the following events took place 312  
in Syria and Macedonia. When he was passing through  
Syria, Gaius Caesar had left a legion there, as he was al-  
ready thinking of an expedition against the Parthians.<sup>34</sup>  
Caecilius Bassus had administrative charge of it, but the  
title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man  
related to Caesar himself, who had adopted luxurious ways  
and was leading the legion around in an altogether unfit-  
ting manner.<sup>35</sup> On one occasion, when Bassus criticized 313  
him for this, Julius insulted him, and some time later,  
when he summoned Bassus and the latter was slow to  
comply, he ordered his men to drag him by force before  
him. A violent disturbance developed, and the men, un-  
able to endure Julius' outrageous behavior, killed him with  
their javelins. They immediately regretted this and began 314  
to fear Caesar's reaction. So, they swore a common oath to  
fight to the death if they were not pardoned and restored  
to a position of trust, and they forced Bassus to take the  
same oath. They also enlisted and put into training an-  
other legion. This is what some sources believe about Bas- 315  
sus, but according to Libo, he was a soldier in Pompey's  
army, and after the latter's defeat lived as a private citizen  
in Tyre, where he bribed certain legionaries, who slew

<sup>34</sup> The date was 47.

<sup>35</sup> Sextus Julius Caesar was clearly the legionary commander, but it is not clear what job in the legion Appian means to assign to Quintus Caecilius Bassus (who was an equestrian, not a senator).

- 316 τὸν Σέξστον καὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁπο-  
 317 τέρως δ' ἐγένετο, Στάιον Μοῦρκον<sup>34</sup> οἶδε, μετὰ τριῶν  
 318 τελῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐγ-  
 319 κρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἕως ὃ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλείτο Μάρ-  
 320 κιον Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ  
 βοηθῶν ὃ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν.  
 78. Ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκούντο, ὃ Κάσσιος  
 σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαβὼν τὰ τε τοῦ Βάσσου δύο τέλη  
 παρελάμβανε αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων  
 αὐτὸν ἕξ, φιλία τε παραδόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνθυπάτω κατ-  
 ηκόων γενομένων· ἐψήφιστο γάρ, ὡς μοι προείρηται,  
 πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε καὶ Βρούτῳ. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ  
 Ἄλληνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον,  
 ἐπανῆγεν ἕξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἥσσης  
 Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καί-  
 σαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὃ  
 Κάσσιος οὐδὲν προπευσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ  
 περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι, δέι-  
 σαντα τοῖς τέσσαρσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. ὦδε μὲν  
 δὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δώδεκα τελῶν ἀθρόως  
 ἐκράτει καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο τέλε-  
 σιν ἐλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειότητος ἐσ-

<sup>34</sup> Στάιον Viereck; Ξέστιον codd.; Μοῦρκον Perizonius; Μοῦλκον hic et deinceps codd.

<sup>36</sup> There was a first-century BC Roman historian by the name of Libo (Cornell No 36), who could be Lucius Scribonius Libo

Sextus and put themselves under Bassus' command.<sup>36</sup> Whichever one is right, Bassus' men stoutly resisted Staius Murcus, whom Caesar sent against them with three legions, until Murcus appealed to Marcus Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and Crispus arrived to help him with another three legions.<sup>37</sup>

78. While Bassus was under siege by these forces, Cassius suddenly arrived and immediately took over both the two legions of Bassus and the six besieging him: these yielded to him out of friendship and because they were subject to his proconsular authority. For, as I have already mentioned, a vote had been passed that everyone was to obey Cassius and Brutus. What is more, Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, had recently brought back from there four legions of soldiers dispersed as a result of the defeats of Pompey and Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Caesar.<sup>38</sup> With no advance warning he was trapped by Cassius in Palestine and forced to join his side, as he was afraid to fight against eight legions with four. In this way Cassius unexpectedly gained control of twelve legions all at once, with which he surrounded and laid siege to Dolabella, who had arrived from Asia with two legions and had been admitted to Laodicea out of friend-

(consul 34, and brother-in-law of Octavian), but some analysts are tempted to emend the text so that we have a reference to the more famous historian, Livy.

<sup>37</sup> Lucius Staius Murcus (the manuscripts get his name wrong) was given proconsular command of Syria for 44. Quintus Marcus Crispus was governor of Bithynia in 45 and 44.

<sup>38</sup> Aulus Allienus (praetor 49) had served as proconsul in Sicily from 48 to 46, then as legate in Asia from 44 to 43.

δεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μα-  
θούσα ἐφήδετο.

321 79. Μακεδονίας δὲ περὶ Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου  
Μάρκου ἀδελφός, Βρούτῳ διεφέρετο καὶ ἐπολέμει,  
τέλος ἔχων ἐν ὀπλιτῶν· καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἡσσώμενος  
322 ἐνήδρευσε. ὁ δ' ἐκφυγὼν ἀντενήδρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰρ-  
γασατο ἀποληφθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ  
στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους προσέταξε· τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀντα-  
σπασαμένων οὐδὲ τὴν πείραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθῆκεν  
323 ἀπαθείς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς  
περιελθὼν αὐθις ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις κατέστησε καὶ πάλιν  
οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἡσπασατο. οἱ δέ, ὡς πολι-  
τῶν τε περιφειδόμενον καὶ τῆς δόξης ἄξιον ἧς εἶχεν  
ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ πραότητι, ἠγάσαντο καὶ ἀντησπά-  
σαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν μετεβάλλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ  
Γάιος ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν  
στρατὸν πολλάκις διαφθείρων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀνηρέθη.  
324 οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν  
ἔξ ἐγένετο τέλη· καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη  
κατέλεξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον καὶ  
τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

325 80. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ Μακε-  
δονίαν ἦν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν ὕβρει θέμε-  
νος ἀντὶ οὗ Δέκμον ἠρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ,  
τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπέκρυπτε, θρίαμβον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρ-  
326 γασμένοις ἦται. καταφρονούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς  
ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπινοῶν, ἔδεισε, μὴ δια-  
φθαρέντος Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφρονηθείη, καὶ

ship. The senate were delighted when they heard the  
news.

79. In Macedonia, Gaius Antonius, the brother of Marc 321  
Antony, challenged Brutus for dominance and cam-  
paigned against him with one legion of infantry. On get-  
ting the worst of it, he laid a trap for him. Brutus escaped 322  
from the ambush, and laid a counterambush, but he did  
no harm to those he caught in it, instead ordering his own  
troops to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did  
not return the salute and rejected the attempt, he let them  
out of the ambush unharmed. Circling around by other 323  
roads he stopped them again in steep terrain, and again  
did not attack, but saluted them. Impressed by the fact  
that he was sparing Roman citizens and deserved the  
reputation he had for wisdom and mercy, they now re-  
turned the salute and changed sides to him. Gaius also  
surrendered himself and was treated with honor by Bru-  
tus, until after trying to subvert the army several times he  
was found out and executed. In this way, Brutus too col- 324  
lected his forces, six legions, including his former troops;  
and since he had a high opinion of the Macedonians, he  
enlisted two legions from them. These too he trained in  
the Italian way.

80. Such, then, was the state of affairs in Syria and 325  
Macedonia. In Italy Octavian considered it an insult that  
Decimus instead of himself had been chosen for the com-  
mand against Antony, but he concealed his anger and  
asked for a triumph for his exploits. Scorned by the senate 326  
for harboring ambitions beyond his years, he feared that  
if Antony were destroyed he would be despised even

327 τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν συμβάσεις ἐπόθει, καθὰ καὶ Πάνσας  
 αὐτῷ διεσήμαιεν ἀποθνήσκων. τοὺς τε οὖν ἀλωμέ-  
 νους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἢ στρατιώτας  
 ἐφιλανθρωπεύετο, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίους ἐγκατέλεγεν ἢ τοὺς  
 328 ἐθέλοντας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεμπεν, ὡς οὐ δι'  
 ἔχθρας ἀνηκέστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰόντα· Οὐεντιδίῳ τε τῷ  
 Ἀντωνίου φίλῳ, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ὄντι, παραστρατο-  
 πεδεύσας καὶ δέος ἐμβαλῶν ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν πολέ-  
 μιον, ἐδίδου δὲ ὁμοίως συνεῖναί οἱ ἢ ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῆς  
 ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀγνωσίας. ὦν Οὐεντίδιος συν-  
 329 εἰς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπήει. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Δέκιον, τῶν  
 τινα ἡγεμόνων Ἀντωνίου, περὶ Μουτίνην ληφθέντα  
 διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων μεθήκεν, εἰ θέλοι, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 ἀπιέναι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 γνώμης πολλὰ ἔφη σύμβολα τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν ἐξ-  
 ενηνοχέναι, τοῖς δ' ἄφροσιν οὐδὲ τὰ πλείονα ἀρκέ-  
 σειν.  
 330 81. Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δὴ τάδε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεσήμαιεν,  
 Λεπίδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ σαφέστερον ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἐς  
 αὐτὸν ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς τῶν σφαγέων ἀθρόας προαγω-  
 γῆς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐς χάριν τῆς  
 Πομπηϊανῆς ἐταιρείας καθ' ἓνα τῶν Καίσαρος ἑκα-  
 στος ὅμοια Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, κακείνῳ δι' ἀφροσύνην  
 331 καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους τάδε παθόντι. ἡξίου τε  
 ἐς μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐς δὲ  
 τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς συμφρονεῖν, ἕως ἔτι δύνανται,  
 καὶ ὄνειδίξειν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμείσθαι τε τοὺς ὑπὸ

more, and he began to long for the reconciliation with  
 Antony suggested to him by Pansa when he was dying.  
 Accordingly, he began to show kindness to the stragglers 327  
 from Antony's army, both officers and soldiers, enlisting  
 them among his own troops, or if they wanted to return to  
 Antony, sending them back, in order to show that he was  
 not moved by implacable hatred in proceeding against  
 him. Octavian also camped beside Ventidius, an associate 328  
 of Antony, who had three legions with him. This fright-  
 ened Ventidius, but Octavian took no hostile action against  
 him, and made the same offer as before, either to join him,  
 or to leave unmolested and go back to Antony and reprimand  
 him for not recognizing their common interests.  
 Ventidius understood this, and went off to Antony. Octa- 329  
 vian also gave honorable treatment to Decius, one of  
 Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina,  
 and allowed him to return to Antony if he wanted to.  
 When Decius asked about his attitude toward Antony, Oc-  
 tavian replied that he had given plenty of indications to  
 people of good sense, and to those without it, not even  
 more signs would be sufficient.

81. After conveying these signals to Antony, Octavian 330  
 wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning  
 the insult to himself and the rapid advancement of the  
 murderers. His intention was to instill in them the fear  
 that, in order to satisfy the Pompeian faction, all the  
 Caesarians would, one by one, have the same sort of  
 experience as Antony, who was himself suffering the con-  
 sequences of his own folly and disdain for this danger. He 331  
 advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey  
 the senate, but also that they should confer together for  
 their own safety, while they still could, and reprimand



σφίσιν ὀπλίτας· οὐ διαλυμένους, οὐδ' ὅτε παύσαιντο  
 τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἶεν εὐεπίθετοι,  
 ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἐν ἀλλοτρία συνοικίεσθαι διὰ τὴν  
 ἰσχὺν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἢ καθ' ἓνα τῶν πατρίδων  
 332 ἀπολαύειν. τάδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ Λεπίδῳ τε ἐπέστειλε  
 καὶ Ἀσινίῳ· Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πι-  
 μπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγνυ-  
 333 ντο, ὃ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν. Πλάγκος  
 δὲ προσεγένετο μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκ-  
 μος ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυ-  
 νηγετήσῃν αὐτίκα, ὥσπερ νενικηκότων.<sup>35</sup>  
 334 82. Οἳ τε Πομπηϊανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι  
 διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν  
 ἀπειληθέναι, καὶ θυσίαι καθ' ἓνα ἦσαν καὶ χειροτο-  
 νίαι δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὐθυναν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀντωνίου.  
 335 πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσα-  
 ρος διατεταγμένων· Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἢ πάνυ  
 σμικρά, πάντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων  
 διωκῆκει, καὶ τόδε σαφῶς εἰδυῖα ἡ βουλή τὰ μὲν τινα  
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσεσι διέλυνεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἤλπιζε  
 336 διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προύγραφον, ὃ τι τις λάβοι  
 παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντωνίου, πάντα αὐτίκα ἀπογράφε-  
 σθαι καὶ διδάσκειν· ἀπειλαί τε τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἐπε-

<sup>35</sup> ναυτικῶν περ ἤδη γεγονότων. οἳ τε Πομπηϊανοὶ codd.; αὐτίκα, ὥσπερ νενικηκότων, Goukowsky; et alii alia

<sup>39</sup> The text refers here to naval actions (*nautikon*) having taken place, which does not seem to make sense, and there is

Antony on these matters; and they should follow the ex-  
 ample of their own soldiers, who, in order to avoid making  
 themselves easy for their enemies to attack, did not go  
 their separate ways, even when they retired from military  
 service, but preferred to settle together in foreign coun-  
 tries because of the strength this offered, rather than for  
 each of them individually to enjoy their home territory.  
 This is what Octavian wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. Deci-  
 mus' original army now fell sick from eating their fill after  
 suffering from famine, and contracted dysentery, and the  
 new soldiers were still untrained. But Plancus joined him  
 with his own army, and Decimus wrote to the senate to say  
 that he would immediately hunt down Antony in his wan-  
 derings, as if he and Plancus had already won the victory.<sup>39</sup>

82. When the Pompeians learned what had happened,  
 an astonishing number appeared, exclaiming that they had  
 just regained their ancestral freedom: every one of them  
 offered sacrifices, and a ten-man commission was ap-  
 pointed to investigate Antony's government. This was a  
 pretext for annulling the ordinances made by Caesar, for  
 Antony had made no directives himself, or only very minor  
 ones, but had conducted all his administration in accor-  
 dance with Caesar's memoranda. The senate were well  
 aware of this, but were finding excuses for revoking some  
 of his measures, and hoped in this way to annul the whole  
 lot of them. Accordingly, the ten commissioners gave pub-  
 lic notice that everyone must register and account for  
 whatever they had received during Antony's period in of-

general agreement that something must be wrong with it. Out of  
 many editorial suggestions, I have adopted Goukowsky's reading  
 as one example of how to extract better sense.

- 337 τίθεντο. καὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ μετήεσαν ἀντὶ Ἰρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσα· μετήει δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔτι πέμπων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ συνάρξαι, ὡς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικήσονται πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὄντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνην ἐς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὄπλων εὐπρεπῆ, οὗ δὴ καὶ πρῶην ἔνεκα τὸν θρίμβον αἰτῆσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθέσθαι σπονδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔξω στρατηγούσι ὑπονοουμένων καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεύσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὑβρισμένον καὶ στρατοῦ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι τε παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ μηνίοντος ἐν ὄπλοις· ὡς δ' ἂν τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελέσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφρονα, τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῆ παιδαγωγόν. ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἢ τε βουλὴ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μάλιστα τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδιότες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ τίσαιο ὑπατεύων.
- 338
- 339
- 340 83. Ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ γιγνομένων ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεῶνα πείσας τὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ οὔτε χάρακα

fice, and appended threats against those who disobeyed. The Pompeians sought the consulship for the rest of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa. Octavian was also going after it, although he no longer communicated directly with the senate, instead dealing privately with Cicero, whom he urged to be his colleague in office: Cicero, he said, would carry out the duties of the office, being the older and more experienced man, while he himself would merely enjoy the benefits of the title to provide a dignified way of laying aside his arms, which was why he had just recently asked for a triumph.<sup>40</sup> Given his ambition for office, Cicero was excited by these words, and told the senate that he had learned of an agreement under consideration by the provincial commanders, and advised that they should conciliate a man who had been insulted and who still had command of a large army, and put up with an underage magistrate in Rome rather than an enraged man with an army. But in order to prevent him doing anything contrary to the interests of the senate, Cicero urged them to choose as his colleague an older man of good sense to be a firm guide for his youthfulness. But the senate laughed at Cicero's ambition for office, and the relatives of the murderers especially opposed him, fearing that once Octavian was consul he would take vengeance on them.

83. For various reasons, there were legal delays on the election. In the meantime Antony crossed the Alps, having prevailed upon Culleo who had been posted by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where Lepidus was camped. On the assumption, however, that he was making

<sup>40</sup> A triumphing general's victory should be so complete that he no longer needed his army.

341 περιεβάλετο οὔτε τάφρον ὡς δὴ φίλῳ παραστρατο-  
 πεδεύων. διαπομπαὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους πυκναί,  
 Ἄντωνίου μὲν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος φιλίας τε καὶ χαρίτων  
 ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ' αὐτὸν ὅμοια πεί-  
 σονται καθ' ἕνα πάντες, οἱ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο  
 φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλήν δεδιότος πολεμῆν  
 αὐτῷ κελεύουσαν, ὑπισχνουμένου δ' ὅμως οὐ πολεμή-  
 342 σειν ἐκόντος. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τό τε  
 ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τὸ Ἄντωνίου καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν  
 αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπε-  
 δείας ἀγάμενοι, ἐπεμίγνυντο τοῖς Ἄντωνίου λανθάνον-  
 τες, εἶτα φανερώς οἷα πολίταις τε καὶ συστρατιώταις  
 γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλυόντων ὑπερεώρων  
 καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ναυσὶν  
 ἐγεφύρουν· τό τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγη-  
 μένον ὑπὸ Ἄντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύ-  
 αζεν.

343 84. Ὦν αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τις ἐκ τῆς  
 βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρευε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ ἀπι-  
 στοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς πολλὰ διελόντα ἐκ-  
 πέμψαι κατὰ δὴ τινὰς χρείας, ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἢ τῆς προ-  
 344 δοσίας ἢ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐς τρία διελών,  
 ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἐξορμᾶν ἐς φρουρὰν ταμιείων πλησι-  
 αζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐς  
 τὴν ἔξοδον ὀπλισάμενοι, τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέ-  
 δου κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεώγνυνον Ἄντωνίῳ.

camp beside a friendly force, he did not put up a palisade  
 or dig a ditch. Messages flew between them thick and fast. 341  
 Antony reminded Lepidus of their friendship and the va-  
 riety of favors he had done him, pointing out that after  
 himself all who had been associates of Caesar would suffer  
 a similar fate, one by one. Lepidus was afraid of the senate,  
 who had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he  
 promised nevertheless that he would not do so of his own  
 accord. Lepidus' troops, having great respect for Antony's 342  
 reputation, noting the exchange of deputations and admir-  
 ing the basic nature of his camp, began to mingle with his  
 men, at first secretly, then openly, inasmuch as they were  
 citizens and fellow soldiers; and disregarding the attempts  
 of the tribunes to prevent this behavior, they built a pon-  
 toon bridge over the river to facilitate their mutual con-  
 tacts. The legion known as the tenth, which had originally  
 been recruited by Antony, got things ready for him inside  
 their camp.

84. Laterensis, one of the senatorial elite, saw what was 343  
 happening and warned Lepidus.<sup>41</sup> As Lepidus did not be-  
 lieve him, Laterensis advised him to divide his army into  
 several sections and send them off on various tasks, as a  
 means of showing whether they were loyal or disloyal.  
 Lepidus divided them in three, and ordered them to make 344  
 a sortie by night to protect some convoys that were ap-  
 proaching.<sup>42</sup> But at about the time of the last watch, the  
 men on duty armed themselves as if for departure, seized  
 the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to

<sup>41</sup> Marcus Iuventius Laterensis had been praetor in 51 and was a legate of Lepidus in 43.

<sup>42</sup> Or perhaps, "to protect some storehouses in the vicinity."

- 345 ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Λεπίδου σκηνὴν ἴετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ  
παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν καὶ  
τὸν Λέπιδον αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον ἐς ἀτυ-  
346 χοῦντας πολίτας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς  
εὐνήης ἄζωστος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξέθορε καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποι-  
ήσειν καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἠσπάζετο καὶ ἐξελογεῖτο τῆς  
347 ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ νομί-  
ζουσιν, ἄπρακτον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄτολμον, οὐ μὴν  
ἅπασι τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ πιθανόν·  
οὐ γὰρ πῶ τι αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπέ-  
348 πρακτο, δέους ἄξιον. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς μέγα  
δυνάμεως αὐθις ἐπήρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπιφο-  
βώτατος· στρατὸν γὰρ εἶχεν, ὃν τε ἐξάνεστησε Μου-  
τίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον ἵππικόν, τρία τε  
αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσγεγένητο τὰ Οὐεντι-  
δίου, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ σύμμαχος ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ ἔχων  
ὀπλιτικὰ τέλη καὶ πολὺν ὄμιλον ἄλλον καὶ παρα-  
σκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. καὶ τοῖσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνο-  
μάζετο ἔτι, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἅπαντα διώκει.
- 349 85. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε ἐς Ῥώμην θαυμαστὴ  
καὶ αἰφνίδιος ἦν αὐθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οὐ  
πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως ἐς δέος, τῶν δὲ ἐς θάρ-  
σος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων. αἱ τε προγραφαὶ  
τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπῶντο σὺν ὕβρει, καὶ αἱ χει-  
350 ροτουῖαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέιχοντο ἔτι μᾶλλον· ἢ τε  
βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀποροῦσα, καὶ δεδιυῖα, μὴ συνθοῖντο  
ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμπε μὲν ἐς  
Βρούτῳν τε καὶ Κάσσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Λεύκιον

Antony. He set off at a run to the tent of Lepidus, with 345  
Lepidus' entire army escorting him and demanding from  
Lepidus peace and compassion for his unfortunate fellow  
citizens. Lepidus jumped out of bed to meet them in a 346  
state of undress, just as he was, promised to do what they  
asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity in his own  
defense. Some think that he actually fell on his knees be- 347  
fore Antony, being an irresolute and timid man, but by no  
means all historians trust this report, and I do not find it  
credible: for he had not yet committed any hostile act  
against Antony to cause him to be afraid. In this way Ant- 348  
ony again rose to great power, and became an object of  
extreme fear to his enemies; for he had the army with  
which he had retired from Mutina, including a superb  
force of cavalry, and the three legions of Ventidius that had  
joined him on the road, and Lepidus had become his ally  
with seven legions of heavy infantry, a large force of aux-  
iliary troops, and splendid equipment. Lepidus retained  
nominal command of these, but Antony directed every-  
thing.

85. When this news was announced at Rome, another 349  
wonderful and sudden transformation took place, some  
exchanging their recent contempt for Antony with fear,  
and others replacing fear with daring. The public notices  
of the ten commissioners were violently torn down, and  
the consular elections were still further postponed. The 350  
senate were completely at a loss what to do and fearful that  
Octavian and Antony would join forces with each other.  
They secretly sent two of their own members, Lucius and  
Pansa, to Brutus and Cassius, under pretense of attending

καὶ Πάνσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐξιόντας, ἀμύ-  
 351 νειν αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ δύναιτο, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπὸ  
 τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε  
 Κορνηφικίῳ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἐτέρας ἄρχοντι Λιβύης  
 καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντι, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ τούσδε  
 Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα  
 352 ὑπονοοῦντες· ἡ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς ᾧδε ἤπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδιότες μὴ συνθοῖτο Ἄντωνίῳ,  
 στρατηγὸν αὐθις ἐπὶ Ἄντωνίῳ μάλα ἀπρεπῶς ἐχειρο-  
 τόνουν ἅμα Δέκμῳ.

353 86. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὀργὴν ὑπὲρ  
 τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς συνεχῶς ὑβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν πεμπομένων,  
 πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας  
 δραχμάς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν· ἐδίδασκέ τε  
 πέμποντας αἰτεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγούς. καὶ  
 ἡ βουλή συνίει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτα διδασκομένους,  
 ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔφη δι' ἐτέρων πρέσβεων.  
 354 καὶ ἔπεμπον, οὓς ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπ'  
 Ἄντωνίου μεθεστηκόσιν ἐντυχεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος,  
 καὶ διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἐχούσημόνη, χω-  
 ρεῖν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἔνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα ἀπαν-  
 355 τήσειν. ταῦτ' ἐπισκήψαντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἤδη τὸ

<sup>43</sup> It is not possible to identify Lucius and Pansa.

<sup>44</sup> After the battle of Thapsus in 46, Julius Caesar added a new province of Africa to the existing one. The two provinces, Africa

games in Greece, to urge them to lend all assistance pos-  
 sible.<sup>43</sup> They also recalled from Africa two of the three 351  
 legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be handed  
 over to Cornificius, who was governor of the other prov-  
 ince of Africa, and a senatorial supporter.<sup>44</sup> They knew  
 that these troops too had served under Gaius Caesar, and  
 they were suspicious of anything to do with Caesar. But 352  
 their difficulties drove them to this, since in spite of their  
 fear that the young Caesar would join forces with Antony,  
 they quite incongruously reappointed him to the com-  
 mand against Antony, along with Decimus.

86. As for Octavian, he now roused the army to anger, 353  
 both on account of himself for the continual insults he had  
 suffered, and on their own account, since they were being  
 sent on a second campaign before they had received the  
 five thousand drachmas the senate had promised to give  
 them for the previous campaign. He advised them to send  
 representatives to ask for the money, and they sent their  
 centurions. The senate understood that the men had been  
 coached to take this action, and said that they would reply  
 through other envoys. They instructed their representa- 354  
 tives to meet with the two legions that had defected from  
 Antony, without Octavian being present, and advise them  
 not to place their hopes on one man, but on the senate,  
 which alone had permanent power, and to go to the camp  
 of Decimus, where they would find their money. These 355  
 were the instructions they gave for what to say, and they

Vetus (Old Africa) and Africa Nova (New Africa), were reunited by the emperor Augustus. Quintus Cornificius (Africa Vetus) and Titus Sextius (Africa Nova) were probably praetors in 45, before taking up their governorships in 44.

ἡμισυ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν  
 ἐχειροτόνου, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι  
 356 τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων  
 τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεῖν σφίσιν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος,  
 ὑπέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι· ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκέτι τοὺς λό-  
 γους καθίει δι' ἐτέρων οὐδὲ μέλλειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς  
 ἐς τὸν στρατὸν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθὼν, τά τε ὑβρί-  
 σματα, ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγένητο, κατ-  
 ἐλέξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐπι-  
 357 βουλήν, καθ' ἓνα καθαιρουμένους, δεδιέναι τε αὐτοῖς  
 περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένοις ἔς τε πο-  
 λέμιον τῆς μοίρας στρατηγὸν καὶ πολέμους ἐτέρους  
 ἀφ' ἐτέρων, ἵν' ἢ ἐκφθαρεῖεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 στασιάσειαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην  
 ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μό-  
 νοις δίδοσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν ἐμ-  
 βάλοιεν.

358 87. "Ἴστε δέ," ἔφη, "Καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔναγχος  
 ἠττήθη οἷά τε τοὺς Πομπηιανούς ἐπύθεσθε ἐν ἄστει  
 πεπονηκέναι κατὰ τῶν τινος δωρεᾶς παρὰ Καίσαρος  
 εἰληφότων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἢ ὑμῖν ὦν ἐλάβετε παρ' ἐκεί-  
 νου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἢ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας,  
 ὧδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστευόντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς  
 359 σφαγεῦσι; κἀγὼ μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὃ τι ἂν ἐπι-  
 γίγνηταί μοι (καλὸν γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικου-  
 ροῦντα), ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑμῶν δέδια τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε,  
 360 κινδυνευόντων ἐς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. Ἴστε μὲν  
 δὴ με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὗ στρατηγεῖν μοι

then delivered half the donative and appointed ten men  
 to distribute it, refusing to add Octavian to this group,  
 even as an eleventh man. But the senatorial envoys re- 356  
 turned without accomplishing their mission, as the two  
 legions would not agree to meet them without Octa-  
 vian being present. Octavian now stopped communicating  
 through intermediaries and thought he should delay no  
 longer. Making a personal appearance before his assem-  
 bled troops, he detailed the insults delivered to him by the  
 senate, and the plot against all Gaius Caesar's partisans,  
 who were being destroyed one by one. He urged them to 357  
 fear for their own interests if they were transferred to a  
 general who was hostile to their party, or sent to one war  
 after another with the purpose of either having them  
 killed or setting them against each other. This, he said, was  
 the reason why, although they had all conducted the cam-  
 paign at Mutina together, rewards were given to only two  
 legions, in order to cause discord and division among  
 them.

87. "You are also aware," he said, "of the reasons why 358  
 Antony suffered his recent defeat, and you have heard  
 about the actions taken by the Pompeians at Rome against  
 those who received any benefits from Caesar. What guar-  
 antee do you have of keeping the lands and monies you  
 got from him, what guarantee do I have of my personal  
 safety, while the relatives of the murderers hold power in  
 the senate as they do? For myself, I will accept my fate, 359  
 however it turns out for me, for it is also a noble thing to  
 suffer in the service of a father; but I fear for you, so many  
 and such fine men, who face danger on my behalf and my  
 father's. You certainly know that I have am free from 360  
 ambition, from the occasion when you offered me the

διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείοις οὐκ ἔδεχόμεν· ἐν δὲ μόνον ὁρῶ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτήριον, εἰ δι' ὑμῶν ὑπάτος ἀποδειχθείην. τά τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται, ἀποικίαι τε προσέσονται αἰ ἔτι ὀφειλόμεναι, καὶ γέρα πάντα ἐντελῆ· ἐγὼ τε τοὺς φονέας ὑπὸ δίκην ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν ὑμῖν καταλύσαιμι πολέμους.”

361 88. Ὡν λεγομένων ἢ τε στρατιὰ προθύμως ἐπέβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἔπεμπον αἰτήσοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἃ ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κορουῖνός τε ἄρξειε νεώτερος ὢν ἔτι καὶ Σκιπίων ὑστερον, ὃ τε πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος ἐκάστου πολλὰ ὄναιτο ἢ πατρὶς. τά τε ἔναγχος ταῦτά,<sup>36</sup> καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγνον αὐτοῖς καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πρὸς αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι ἤδη δεδόσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν μετιέναι θᾶσσον ἐτῶν δέκα.

362 ταῦτα τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλείονι παρρησίᾳ λεγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγοὺς ὄντας ὧδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἐπέπλησσον ὡς θρασυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιώταις πρέπον. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζοντο καὶ ἄγειν σφᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσοντες

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<sup>36</sup> ταῦτά Goukowsky; ταῦτα codd.

<sup>45</sup> After a law passed in 180, the minimum age for holding the consulship was forty-two. Marcus Valerius Corvus (or Corvinus)

command with its insignia, and I refused it. But I see only one route to safety for both of us, and that is for me to be appointed consul with your help. For that way, all my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies still due will be founded, and all your rewards will be paid in full. And as for me, after bringing the murderers to justice, I would put an end to any other wars for you.”

88. The army cheered this speech enthusiastically and immediately sent their centurions to ask for the consulship for Octavian. When the senate answered by referring to his youthfulness, the centurions said what they had been instructed to say, that in ancient times Corvinus had been consul when still too young, and more recently the Scipios too, both the first and the second; and that the youthfulness of each one of them had been of great benefit to the country.<sup>45</sup> As for recent examples, they also cited the cases of Pompey the Great and Dolabella, and noted that Octavian himself had already been granted permission to hold the consulship ten years in advance of the legal age. The centurions spoke with considerable candor, and some of the senators who could not stand such license from men who were mere centurions rebuked them for an audacity that exceeded what was fitting for soldiers. When the army heard of this, they were even more angry and urged Octavian to lead them immediately to Rome, saying that

held the first of the six consulships attributed to him in 348, at the unusually young age of twenty-two. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the hero of Rome's victory in the war against Hannibal, was first elected consul in 205, at the age of thirty. Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus needed a suspension of the rules to take up the consulship in 147, when he was thirty-eight.

αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέτῳ χειροτονία, Καίσαρος υἱὸν ὄντα,  
πολλά τε τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφήμεον.  
364 ὦδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀρμῆς ἔχοντας ὁ Καίσαρ ἰδὼν ἤγεν  
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, ὀκτὼ τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἵππον  
365 ἱκανὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περά-  
σας δὲ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐς  
τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὃν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ  
τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέρασεν, ἐς δύο πάντας  
διήρει· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὸ  
δὲ ἄμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐτρόχαζεν, ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι  
366 ἀπαρασκεύους καταλαβεῖν. μέρους τε τῶν χρημάτων  
ὑπαντῶντος, ἃ ἐς τὰ γέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ βουλή  
πεπόμφει, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὁ Καίσαρ  
προὔπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς ἐκφοβήσοντας· καὶ οἱ μὲν  
ἔφενγον μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων.  
367 89. Ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης θόρυ-  
βος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἄπλετος, διαθεόντων τε ἀκόσμως  
καὶ γύναιά τινων ἢ παῖδας ἢ ὅσα τιμιώτατα ἄλλα ἐς  
ἀγροὺς ἢ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς πόλεως μεταφερόντων· οὐ  
γάρ πω σαφοῦς ὄντος, ὅτι μόνης ὀρέγοιτο ὑπατείας,  
πολέμιον στρατὸν ἐπιέναι σὺν ὀργῇ πυνθανόμενοι ἐς  
368 πάντα ἐδεδοίκεσαν. ἢ βουλή δ' ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως,  
οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἐτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους  
τε, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέμφοντο, οἱ μὲν  
ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλουντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν  
Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον  
ὑπεροψίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὄντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου τῆς  
διανεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον ἐπι-

they would elect him themselves in a special vote, as he  
was Caesar's son; and they did not stop lavishly praising  
the first Caesar. Seeing them in such a state of eagerness, 364  
Octavian led them away straight from the meeting, eight  
legions of infantry, a considerable force of cavalry, and the  
usual auxiliaries attached to the legions. Having crossed 365  
the river Rubicon from Gaul into Italy—which his father  
had also crossed before him in the same way to set the civil  
war in motion—he divided his army into two. One of these  
groups he ordered to follow at a leisurely pace, but with  
the better and specially selected division he made a forced  
march, hurrying to catch his opponents still unprepared.  
On the march he came across some of the money sent by 366  
the senate to pay for the soldiers' rewards, and fearing the  
reaction of his mercenaries, he secretly sent ahead men to  
frighten off the escort, who took to flight with the money.

89. When news of this reached the city, there was wide- 367  
spread commotion and panic, as people rushed around in  
disorder and some transferred their wives and children  
and whatever else was most precious, to the countryside  
or to the strongholds of the city. For it was not yet clear  
that Octavian was aiming only at the consulship, and hav-  
ing heard that a hostile army was approaching in anger,  
they were completely terrified. The senate were frantic 368  
beyond measure, as they had no military forces at hand,  
and, as happens in times of panic, they began to blame  
each other. Some said they had taken the command against  
Antony from Octavian in an overbearing manner; others  
blamed the contempt with which they had treated his not  
unjustified request for a triumph; others blamed their be-  
grudgery over the distribution of money; others again the  
fact that they had not even enrolled him as an eleventh



γράφαντες· οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄθλα, οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε ἐντελῆ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφίσιν ἔλεγον ἐκπο-  
 369 λεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέμ-  
 φοντο, Βρούτου μὲν καὶ Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε  
 ὄντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἔτι, ἐν δὲ πλευραῖς Ἀντωνίου  
 καὶ Λεπίδου πολεμίων· οὗς ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν Καίσαρι  
 συναλλαγῆσεσθαι, πάμπαν ἤκμαζεν ὁ φόβος. Κι-  
 κέρων τε, ὃς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνεται.

370 90. Ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσις, ἀντὶ  
 μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς πεντα-  
 κισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτῶ δοθῆναι,  
 Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν διανέμειν  
 καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν ἀπόντα. πρέ-  
 σβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οἱ τὰδε φράσειν ἔμελλον αὐτῷ  
 371 κατὰ σπουδὴν. ὧν ἄρτι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετ-  
 ἄνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ, μὴ δεῖν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως  
 καταπεπληῆχθαι, μηδὲ ἕτεραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα  
 ἀναιμωτί, μηδὲ ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένους ἐκ βίας  
 τυγχάνειν, μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος  
 ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ὀπλισαμένους δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνό-  
 372 των τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἐπιούσι προτείνειν· προσδοκᾶν  
 γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὄπλα τῇ πα-  
 τρίδι ἐποίσειν· εἰ δὲ φέροιεν, ἀνέχεσθαι τε πολιορ-  
 κίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ἢ Πλάγκος ἔλθοι καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι  
 μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκόντας ἐνδέξασθαι δου-  
 λείαν ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον· τά τε ἀρχαῖα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ

commissioner; and yet others claimed that the army was  
 at war with them because the actual rewards had not been  
 given to them either in timely fashion or in full. They put  
 369 particular blame on their ill-timed belligerence, when  
 Brutus and Cassius were too far away and still organizing  
 themselves, while their enemies Antony and Lepidus were  
 on their flanks. When they contemplated the possibility  
 that these two would come to an agreement with Octavian,  
 their panic reached altogether critical levels. Cicero, who  
 up to this point had been their most conspicuous per-  
 former, did not even make an appearance.

90. There was a sudden change of position by everyone  
 370 on all issues. Instead of two thousand five hundred drach-  
 mas, five thousand were to be given, and to all eight le-  
 gions, instead of just the two. Octavian was to make the  
 distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was  
 allowed to stand for the consulship in absentia. Represent-  
 atives hurried from the city intending to convey this in-  
 formation to him urgently. But they had only just left  
 371 Rome when the senate began to change their mind: they  
 should not be browbeaten in such a cowardly manner, nor  
 accept another tyranny without a drop of blood being  
 spilled, nor accustom those seeking office to win it by vio-  
 lence, or serving soldiers to rule their country by ultima-  
 tum. They should rather arm themselves with what they  
 had available and confront the invaders with the laws. For  
 372 they did not expect even these men to bear arms against  
 their country when faced by the laws. But if they did, it  
 would be better to endure a siege until Decimus and Plan-  
 cus arrived, and defend themselves to the death, than sub-  
 mit voluntarily to an irreversible slavery. And they cited  
 the noble attitude to freedom of the ancient Romans and

ἐλευθερία φρονήματα καὶ πάθη, πρὸς οὐδέν ἐνδόντων ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ἀνελέγοντο.

- 373 91. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης  
 μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκετο,  
 τοὺς θεοὺς σφᾶς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐποτρύ-  
 νειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο, καὶ μετεψηφίζετο  
 374 ἅπαντα, Κικέρωνος αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντος· ἡ τε  
 στρατεύσιμος ἡλικία προεγράφετο πᾶσα, καὶ τὰ δύο  
 τέλη τάδε, τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἰππῆες  
 χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἕτερον, ὃ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολελοί-  
 πει, πάντες οἶδε μερισθέντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν  
 καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευ-  
 σαν, ἐφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπι-  
 διηρημένων σφίσι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 πόλιν· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη καὶ  
 ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειεν ἠττωμένους  
 375 φυγεῖν διὰ θαλάσσης. καὶ τάδε σὺν εὐθαρσείᾳ πράσ-  
 σοντες οὕτως ὀξέως ἠλπίζον ἀντικαταπλήξειν τὸν  
 Καίσαρα, καὶ ἡ μεταπίσειν παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 στρατεύματος αἰτεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖ-  
 σθαι· τοὺς τε τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε μεταθήσε-  
 σθαι προσεδόκων, μέχρι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ  
 376 ἀγών. τὴν δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὔτε  
 φανερώς οὔτε λάθρα ζητοῦντες εὕρισκον. ἐθορυβοῦ-  
 ντο οὖν αὖθις ὁμήρων μεγάλων ἀφηρημένοι· καὶ τῶν  
 Καισαριανῶν οὐπω σφίσιν ἐπικλωμένων, ὑπὸ ἐκείνων  
 αὐτὰς ᾧδε ἀκριβῶς ἐνόμιζον ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.  
 377 92. Καίσαρι δὲ ἔτι τῶν πρέσβων ἐντυγχανόντων

what they had suffered in refusing to give way at all in their defense of freedom.

91. When the two legions they had sent for from Africa 373  
 arrived in harbor the same day, it seemed to them that the  
 gods were encouraging them to defend their freedom.  
 Their change of mind was confirmed; they canceled all  
 their previous decisions, and Cicero was once again to be  
 seen in public. All men of military age were drafted into 374  
 the army, and those two legions from Africa, along with  
 one thousand cavalry and another legion that Pansa had  
 left behind for them—all were divided into units. Some  
 guarded the hill called the Janiculum, where they also  
 stored the money, others the bridge over the Tiber, and  
 the city praetors were assigned command of the different  
 units. Others made ready boats, ships, and money in the  
 harbor, in case they were defeated and had to escape by  
 sea. They hoped that by doing all this with confidence and 375  
 such speed they would alarm Octavian in return, and ei-  
 ther persuade him to change his mind and seek the consul-  
 ship from them and not the army, or resist him with deter-  
 mination. They also expected the members of the opposite  
 party to change their position, inasmuch as it was now a  
 struggle for freedom. But they were unable to find Octa- 376  
 vian's mother and sister, even though they looked for them  
 openly and in secret. So they were disturbed at again being  
 deprived of important hostages. As the Caesarians were  
 no longer cooperating with them, they believed that it was  
 by them that the women were being hidden so carefully.

92. While Octavian was still meeting with the senato- 377

τὰ μετεψηφισμένα ἀγγέλλεται· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπολιπόντες ἀνέστρεφον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς. ὁ δὲ τῷ στρατῷ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρωξυμένῳ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει, σὺν 378 φόβῳ μή τι πάθοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες· ἔς τε τὸν δῆμον τεθορυβημένον ἰππέας ἔπεμψεν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπικελεύων, καὶ τεθηπότεων πάντων τὰ πέραν τοῦ Κυριναλίου λόφου κατέλαβεν, οὐδενὸς ἔς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἢ κωλύειν 379 ὑποστάντος. ἦν τε αὖθις ἑτέρα θαυμάσιος ἄφνω μεταβολή, θεόντων ἐς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ προσαγορευόντων· ἔθει δὲ καὶ ὁ δημότης λεῶς καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπεδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ 380 τὸν στρατόν, ἔνθαπερ ἦν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐχώρει τῆς ἐπιούσης πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, φυλακὴν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἰκανήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε ὑπήντων δι' ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέρη καὶ προσηγόρευον, οὐδὲν ἐνδέοντες ἢ φιλοφροσύνης ἢ θεραπείας ἀσθενοῦς. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παρ- 381 θένων ἠσπάσαντο. καὶ τὰ τρία τέλη, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπεριδόντα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ μετετίθετο· καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ ἦρχον αὐτῶν, Κορνοῦτος μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σπονδῶν καὶ πίστεων ἔτυχον. 382 Κικέρων τε τῶν σπονδῶν πυθόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντυχὼν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν εἰσήγησιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπήρην, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

rial envoys, news is brought to him of the rescinding of the decrees; the envoys left him and returned in embarrassment. With his army even more irritated, Octavian advanced rapidly, fearing that something bad might happen to the women of his family. The people of Rome were in 378 a state of agitation, so he sent horsemen to tell them not to be afraid, and to everyone's astonishment he seized the area north of the Quirinal hill, no one standing up to fight him or block his way. Yet again another wonderful and 379 sudden transformation took place: the nobility rushed to greet him, as did the common people too, who took the good discipline of the troops as a sign of peace. The following day, leaving his army where it was, Octavian ad- 380 vanced to the city, bringing with him an adequate body-guard. On this occasion too others came in groups to meet him all along the road, and greeted him in a way that lacked nothing of friendliness or weak-willed obsequiousness. His mother and sister embraced him in the temple of Vesta in the company of the Vestal virgins. The three 381 legions, ignoring their generals, sent a deputation to him and came over to his side. Of the praetors who commanded the troops, Cornutus took his own life, while the others arranged a truce and safe passage.<sup>46</sup> When Cicero 382 heard of the truce he arranged through associates of Octavian to meet with him. At the meeting he defended himself and emphasized his proposal about the consulship which he himself had earlier introduced in the senate. Octavian limited himself to the ironic reply that Cicero was the last of his friends to come and meet him.

<sup>46</sup> Marcus Caecilius Cornutus was *praetor urbanus* in 43 and, therefore, the senior official in Rome after the death of the consuls Hirtius and Pansa.

383 93. Νυκτὸς δ' ἄφνω δόξης γενομένης, ὅτι δύο τέλη  
Καίσαρος, τὸ τε Ἄρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, μεταθοῖτο ἐς  
τὴν πόλιν ὡς δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα,  
οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπί-  
384 στευσαν, καίπερ ὄντος ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρατοῦ νομί-  
σαντές τε ἀνθέξειν αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἀρίστοις πρὸς τὰ  
λοιπὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρι τις ἐτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἰσχὺς  
ἐπιγένοιτο, νυκτὸς ἔτι Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς  
τὴν Πικηνίτιδα ἐξέπεμπον στρατὸν ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν  
τινα δημάρχων Ἀπουλήιον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐποίουν τὸ  
385 εὐαγγέλιον ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἡ τε βουλὴ νυκτὸς  
ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεον, Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ ταῖς  
θύραις αὐτοῦς δεξιουμένου. ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς δόξης φα-  
νείσης ἐν φορείῳ διέφυγεν.

386 94. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν στρα-  
τὸν ἐγγυτέρω τῆς πόλεως προήγαγεν, ἐς τὸ πεδίου τὸ  
καλούμενον Ἄρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τότε μὲν οὐ-  
δένα ἡμίνατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς Πικήνην ἐκ-  
δραμόντα, καίπερ οἱ προσαχθέντα ὡς εἶχε ληφθεὶς ἐν  
σχήματι οἰκέτου, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἅπαντας ἐς δόξαν  
φιλανθρωπίας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προ-  
387 γράφησαν. τὰ χρήματα δέ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ  
Ἰανούκλῳ ἢ ἐτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλα συνενεχθῆναι κελεύ-  
σας, ὅποσα Κικέρωνος ἐσηγουμένου πρότερον αὐτοῖς  
ἐπεγέγραπτο, διένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακο-  
σίας δραχμὰς τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσειν  
ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, μέχρι χειροτο-

93. During the night a rumor suddenly started that two 383  
of Octavian's legions, the legion of Mars and the Fourth,  
had deserted to the city's side on the grounds that they had  
been led against their country by deception. The praetors  
and the senate put complete trust in this report without 384  
checking it, even though the army was very near. Thinking  
that with the help of these two elite legions they would  
hold out against the rest of Octavian's army until joined by  
reinforcements from somewhere else, while it was still  
night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to  
raise troops, and ordered Apuleius, one of the tribunes, to  
hurry around the city and bring the good news to the  
people.<sup>47</sup> The senate assembled hurriedly during the 385  
night, with Cicero welcoming them at the door, but when  
the rumor was shown to be false, he fled in a litter.

94. Octavian laughed at them and moved his army 386  
nearer to the city, to what is called the Campus Martius.  
At the time he did not punish any of the praetors, not even  
Crassus who had rushed off to Picenum, although he was  
brought before him just as he had been captured, wearing  
slave's clothes. Instead he let them all off in order to win  
a reputation for clemency. Not much later, however, they  
were sentenced to death on the proscription lists. He or- 387  
dered that all the public funds on the Janiculum and else-  
where be collected, and he distributed to his men the  
amount that had been previously assigned to them on Cic-  
ero's proposal, that is, two thousand five hundred drach-  
mas per man, and promised that he would give them the  
rest in due course. Then he left the city until the people

<sup>47</sup> Manius Aquilius Crassus was one of the praetors of 43. The  
tribune, Publius Apuleius, was a close associate of Cicero.

- 388 νήσαιεν ὑπάτους αἰρετούς. αἰρεθεῖς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν ᾧ  
περ ἐβούλετο Κοῖντῷ Πεδίῳ, ὃς τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δε-  
δώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν  
αὐθις ὡς ὑπατος ἐσῆει, καὶ ἔθνε, δώδεκά οἱ γυπῶν  
φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν οἰκί-  
389 ζοντι ὀφθῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο  
τῷ πατρὶ αὐθις κατὰ νόμον κουριάτιον. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ  
δήμου γίνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν· κουρίας γὰρ ἐς μέρη  
τὰς φυλὰς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες καλοῦσιν, ὡς  
390 Ἕλληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας. ἐπινομώτατος δ'  
ἔστι Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων καὶ  
δύναται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἴσα τοῖς γνησίοις παισὶν  
ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους.  
391 Γαῖῳ δ' ἦν τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολ-  
λοὶ τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τὸδ' ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ  
Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γε-  
νομένη, καὶ τῆσδε ἐδεήθη.
- 392 95. Νόμῳ δ' ἐτέρῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον Δολο-  
βέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνου δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι. καὶ εὐθὺς  
ἦσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος γραφομένων  
τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγνωκέναι μόνον. καὶ  
γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη, καὶ τισιν οὐδ' ἐπιδημή-  
393 σασιν, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκτείνετο. πᾶσι δ' ὀρισθείσης  
ὑπὸ κηρύγματι μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἅπαν-  
τες ἐάλωσαν, ἐφορῶντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καί-

<sup>48</sup> For Quintus Pedius, see above, 22.82, 23.89.

- had elected the consuls of their choice. Once he had been 388  
elected himself, together with Quintus Pedius, the man he  
wanted as his colleague, and who had given him his own  
share of Caesar's inheritance, he entered the city again as  
consul.<sup>48</sup> While he was offering sacrifice, twelve vultures  
appeared for him, the same number, they say, seen by  
Romulus when he was founding the city. After the sacri- 389  
fices he had himself readopted by his father by means of  
a *lex curiata*, which is what happens when the adoption  
takes place before the people. (The Romans call *curiae* the  
units into which they divide their tribes and local districts,  
what, for comparative purposes, the Greeks call phra-  
tries.) Among the Romans this is the most formal means 390  
of adoption in the case of those without fathers. Such  
adoptees have exactly the same rights as the natural chil-  
dren with respect to the relatives and freedmen of the  
adopters. As well as many other magnificent advantages, 391  
Caesar had a large number of wealthy freedmen, and this  
was perhaps the main reason why Octavian also needed  
this form of adoption in addition to his previous one,  
which was a testamentary adoption.
95. With new legislation Octavian rescinded the 392  
condemnation of Dolabella as a public enemy, and authorized  
legal actions for murder in the case of Caesar. Indictments  
followed immediately, Caesar's associates bringing charges  
against some for direct involvement in the murder and  
others just for conspiracy to murder. This latter accusation  
was actually brought against some who were not even in  
the city when Caesar was killed. A single day was fixed by 393  
public proclamation for all the accused, and all were con-  
demned by default. Octavian presided at the tribunals,

σαρος καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσαν  
 φέροντος πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὃς τότε  
 μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ  
 394 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὄδε προυγράφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖσδε  
 ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόιντος Γάλλιος, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Γαλ-  
 λίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρατηγίαν  
 ἄρχων, αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρατηγίαν τῆς  
 Λιβύης, καὶ οὐπω<sup>37</sup> τυχὼν ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ Καίσαρι  
 395 καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν περιεῖλον οἱ σύναρχοι,  
 τὴν δ' οἰκίαν διήρπασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἣ δὲ βουλή κατ-  
 εγίνωσκε θάνατον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ νεὼς ἐπιβὰς οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι  
 φανῆναι.  
 396 96. Τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς ἐς  
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις, πυνθανόμενος ἤδη τοῖς ἀμφὶ  
 τὸν Βρούτου εἴκοσι συνῆχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ χρή-  
 ζων ἐπ' αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐξῆει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἴόνιον καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεζεύγνε, τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς  
 ἐπιμένων. Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσα-  
 ρος ἔπειθε τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους  
 397 συναλλαγῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δὲ προ-  
 εώρων μὲν ὅτι μὴ σφίσι μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσὶν  
 αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ' ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασ-  
 σίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐπήνουν δ' ὅμως καὶ συνετίθεντο

<sup>37</sup> οὐπω Goukowsky; οὕτω codd.; et alii alia

and none of the judges voted for acquittal, except one  
 nobleman, who in fact escaped trouble at the time, but a  
 little later he too was condemned to death on the proscrip-  
 tion lists along with the others.<sup>49</sup> It was in this period, so 394  
 it seems, that Quintus Gallius, the *praetor urbanus* and  
 brother of Marcus Gallius who was with Antony, asked  
 Octavian for the governorship of Africa, but even before  
 getting it, plotted against Octavian. His colleagues stripped 395  
 him of his praetorship, the people looted his house, and  
 the senate condemned him to death. Octavian ordered  
 him to go to his brother, but although he seems to have  
 embarked on a ship, he was never seen again.

96. With this much achieved, Octavian set his mind to 396  
 arranging a reconciliation with Antony, as he had learned  
 that Brutus and his party had already collected an army of  
 twenty legions, and he needed Antony's help against them.  
 So he left the city and made for the coast of the Ionian  
 gulf, withdrawing in a leisurely way, and waiting to see  
 what the senate would do. For, once Octavian had de-  
 parted, Pedius tried to persuade the senators to reconcile  
 themselves with Lepidus and Antony, and not regard their  
 differences as irreconcilable. Although they foresaw that 397  
 such a reconciliation would not be in their own or in the  
 country's interest, but would merely provide Octavian  
 with military assistance against Brutus and Cassius,  
 nevertheless they gave their approval and agreed under

<sup>49</sup> This was Publius Silicius Corona (mentioned by Appian in *BCiv.* 4.27.118), whose career is otherwise unknown: see also *Cass. Dio* 46.49.5. *Plutarch* (*Brut.* 27.3) says that Silicius merely burst into tears at the arraignment of Brutus, and was proscribed for that.

398 ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου τε  
 καὶ Λεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς στρατῶν κατελύετο,  
 εἰρηναῖα δὲ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ  
 αὐτοῖς συνήδετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ  
 Δέκμου ὑπισχνεῖτο ἤξειν, εἰ δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλο-  
 φρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφνω καὶ ἐπήνουν, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος  
 ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτίσσεσθαι Δέκμον τε ὑπὲρ Καίσα-  
 ρος καὶ Πλάγκον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμίξειν Καί-  
 σαρι.  
 399 97. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διώκοντι δὲ  
 τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Δέκμον προσγίγνεται Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος  
 ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκῳ μὲν Ἀσίνιος ἔπραξε  
 διαλλαγᾶς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μεθ-  
 ἴστατο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὥστε ἤδη βαρυτάτης δυνά-  
 400 μως ἦρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. Δέκμῳ δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὧν  
 τέσσαρα μὲν τὰ ἐμπειροπολεμώτατα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ δι-  
 ἐφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει ἔτι, τὰ νεοστράτευτα δὲ ἦν ἕξ,  
 ἀταλαίπωρα ἔτι καὶ πόνων ἄπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μά-  
 χεσθαι, φεύγειν ἔκρινε πρὸς Βρούτον ἐς Μακεδονίαν.  
 401 ἔφευγε δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἄλπεων, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥάβεν-  
 ναν ἢ Ἀκυληίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὤδευε ταύτη, ἄλλην  
 μακροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον ἐπενόει, τὸν τε Ῥήνον  
 περᾶσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερελ-  
 402 θεῖν· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου  
 πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστράτευτοι καταλιπόντες ἐς Καί-  
 σαρα ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τέσ-  
 403 σαρα ἐς Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἤδη χωρὶς τῶν  
 σωματοφυλάκων ἰππέων Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τοῖς

duress. So the decrees hostile to Antony and Lepidus, and  
 the soldiers under their command, were repealed, and  
 new conciliatory ones sent to them. Octavian expressed  
 398 his delight in a letter to them, and promised to come and  
 help Antony against Decimus Brutus, if he needed it.  
 They instantly replied to him in a friendly spirit and com-  
 plimented him. Antony wrote that he would himself pun-  
 ish both Decimus on Caesar's account and Plancus on his  
 own, and would join forces with Octavian.

97. Such was the extent of their correspondence with  
 399 each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined  
 by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also made an  
 arrangement with Plancus, who came over to Antony's side  
 with three legions, so that Antony now commanded a very  
 powerful force. Decimus had ten legions, of which the  
 400 four most battle-hardened had been devastated by famine  
 and were still unwell, while the other six were new levies,  
 not yet used to hard work and with no experience of hard-  
 ship. So, despairing of battle, he decided to flee to Marcus  
 Brutus in Macedonia. He did not withdraw along this side  
 401 of the Alps, but made for Ravenna or Aquileia. However,  
 since Octavian was on the road in this region, he devised  
 another longer and more difficult route—to cross the  
 Rhine and make his way over the wilder barbarian areas.  
 At this, the new recruits, bewildered and exhausted, were  
 402 the first to desert him and join Octavian; they were fol-  
 lowed by the four older legions joining Antony, along with  
 all the rest of his force, apart from his bodyguard of Celtic  
 cavalry. Even the men of this group who wished to do so, 403

ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ οἰκεία σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι  
 καὶ διαδοῦς ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἔτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τρια-  
 κοσίων τῶν παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον  
 ἐφέρετο. δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περᾶν σὺν ὀλίγοις,  
 404 ἀπελείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶνδε πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἤλλαξε  
 δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐς τὸ Κελτικόν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ἅμα  
 καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἷά τις  
 Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἔτι περιιών, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ  
 Ἀκυληίας, λήσεσθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.  
 405 98. Ἄλους δὲ ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἤρето μὲν ὅτου  
 Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἶη, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι Καμίλου,  
 πολλὰ πεποικῶς εὖ τὸν Κάμιλον, ἄγειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς  
 406 ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀχθέντα ἰδὼν ἐφιλο-  
 φρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερόν καὶ τοῖς δήσασι ἐπεμέμ-  
 φετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυβρίσασι ἀνδρὶ τοσῶδε, κρύφα  
 407 δ' ἐπέστελλεν Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος τι παθὼν ἐπὶ  
 τῇ μεταβολῇ οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκέ-  
 λευσε τῷ Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν  
 ἐκπέμψαι· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παρ-  
 408 οῦσι θάψαι. τοῦτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἱππάρχῃ τε Καί-  
 σαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξαντι τῆς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς  
 ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 κεχειροτονημένῳ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας Κελτικῆς ἄρχειν. καὶ  
 409 δεύτερος τῶν σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίῳ δίκην ἐδί-  
 δου μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν πού καὶ ἡμισυ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως. τῷ  
 δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλος, σφαγεὺς καὶ  
 ὄδε Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνηρέθη, εὐνου-  
 χίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρία.

Decimus allowed to return to their own homes and, after  
 distributing the gold he still had with him, he made his  
 way to the Rhine with the three hundred followers who  
 stayed. As it was difficult to cross the river with such small  
 numbers, even these abandoned him, all but ten. He 404  
 changed into Celtic clothing, and, as he was already fluent  
 in the language, he made his escape with these ten men,  
 passing himself off as a Gaul, no longer going around by  
 the longer route, but toward Aquileia, thinking that be-  
 cause his group was so small, he would escape notice.

98. But he was captured by bandits and tied up. When 405  
 he asked to which Celtic prince their people answered,  
 and learned that it was Camilus, a man for whom he had  
 done many favors, he told them to bring him to Camilus.  
 Camilus, on seeing Decimus led to him, greeted him 406  
 warmly in public, and rebuked those who had tied him up  
 for insulting so great a man through ignorance; but se-  
 cretly he sent word to Antony. Antony reacted emotionally 407  
 to this change in fortune, and could not bear to see Deci-  
 mus, but ordered Camilus to kill him and send him his  
 head. When he saw the head he told his attendants to bury  
 it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been com- 408  
 mander of Caesar's cavalry and his governor of the older  
 province of Gaul. He had been designated by him for the  
 consulship of the coming year and for the governorship of  
 the other province of Gaul. He was the second of the  
 murderers, after Trebonius, to meet punishment, about a  
 year and a half after the assassination. At the same time 409  
 Minucius Basilus, who was also one of Caesar's murderers,  
 was killed by his slaves, because he castrated some of them  
 as a form of punishment.



XVI

ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ

1. Δύο μὲν δὴ Γαίου Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὕτω δίκην, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν στρατηγίαις ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, Τρεβώνιος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκμος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ· ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βρούτος, οἱ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἤρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτουν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀπάσης, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς πολὺς, ἰππικός τε καὶ ναυτικὸς καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆες ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήματα, ἣ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἤδε ὑποδείκνυσιν. 2 ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐγίγνοντο αἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφέντων ἔρευναί τε καὶ ἀνευρέσεις<sup>1</sup> καὶ παθήματα πάμπαν ἐπαχθῆ, οἷα οὔτε ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμοις οὔτ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνου Σύλλα τοῦ πρώτου 3 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς θάνατον προγράψαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐζήτει καὶ ἐκόλαζεν, οὓς εὖροι. Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυψάντων

<sup>1</sup> αἱ εὐρέσεις codd.; ἀνευρέσεις Gaillard-Goukowsky; ἀναυρέσεις Schweig.

BOOK XVI

CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

1. So it was that two of Gaius Caesar's murderers had received their punishment, having been defeated in their own provinces, Trebonius in Asia, Decimus in Gaul. As for Brutus and Cassius, who were the main instigators of the conspiracy against Caesar, they controlled the whole region from Syria to Macedonia, commanding extensive military forces, made up of cavalry and sailors and more than twenty legions of infantry, together with ships and money. This fourth book of the *Civil Wars* sets out how they paid the price for what they did. It was during this 2 period that those in Rome proscribed to die were hunted down, found, and subjected to altogether terrible sufferings, the likes of which could not be recalled as happening either among the Greeks in their civil conflicts or wars, or among the Romans themselves, the sole exception being in the time of Sulla, who was the first to publish lists 3 of the personal enemies he had condemned to death. For Marius tracked down and punished those he could find, but Sulla proclaimed large rewards for anyone at all to kill the proscribed, and corresponding penalties for those who

ὁμοίαις τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν προέγραφεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προείρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο.

4 2. Καίσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ' ἐχθρας  
 συνήεσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν, ἐς νησιίδα τοῦ Λα-  
 βινίου ποταμοῦ βραχείαν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἐκάτε-  
 ρος ὀπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε· καὶ τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθ-  
 ιστάντες ἐχώρουν σὺν τριακοσίοις ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς  
 5 τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν  
 διηρεύνα τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμῦδι κατέσειεν ἡκειν  
 ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους  
 μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολιπόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἦεσαν ἐν  
 6 περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδρευον οἱ τρεῖς, Καίσαρος ἐν  
 μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἡμέραις  
 ἔωθεν ἐς ἑσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἔκριναν· ἀποθέσθαι  
 μὲν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Οὐεντίδιον αὐτὴν  
 ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους μεταλαβεῖν, καινὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν  
 ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε  
 καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἣν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς  
 ἀρχεῖν, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις· ὧδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ  
 7 δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δόγμα ἴσως τὸ Ἀντωνίου  
 κωλύον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφῆναι  
 μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτήσια ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν νειμαμένους,  
 ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅπασαν ἄνευ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> In Book 1 of the *Civil Wars*.

<sup>2</sup> Appian is unclear about the title. They were officially called

hid them. But events in the time of Marius and Sulla have already been narrated in the sections about them.<sup>1</sup> The subsequent proscriptions happened as follows.

2. Octavian and Antony met to replace their hostility 4  
 with friendship on a small, flat island in the river Lavinius,  
 near the town of Mutina. Each had five legions of soldiers.  
 These they arrayed opposite each other while they them-  
 selves advanced to the bridge over the river taking three  
 hundred men each. Lepidus went ahead to make a per- 5  
 sonal inspection of the island, and signaled with his cloak  
 to each of them to come. Leaving the escort of three hun-  
 dred at the bridge with their staff, they advanced to the  
 middle of the island in full view, and there the three sat  
 together in council, Octavian presiding in the center be-  
 cause of the office he held. After meeting for two days 6  
 from dawn to dusk, they came to the following decisions:  
 Octavian would resign the consulship and Ventidius take  
 his place for the rest of the year; a new magistracy in-  
 tended to bring an end to the civil wars would be created  
 by law for Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian; they would hold  
 this office for five years, with power equal to that of the  
 consuls, deciding to use this terminology instead of the  
 word "dictators," perhaps because of Antony's decree ban-  
 ning the future appointment of a dictator;<sup>2</sup> they would 7  
 immediately appoint the annual magistrates of the city for  
 the next five years, dividing up the provincial governor-  
 ships so that Antony would have the whole of Gaul, except

*triumviri rei publicae constituendae* (three-man commission for ordering the state), and Appian presumably means that they were called triumvirs rather than dictators. For Antony's abolition of the dictatorship, see *BCiv.* 3.25.94.

συναφοῦς τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ἣν παλαιὰν ἐκά-  
 λουν Κελτικήν· ταύτης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν καὶ Ἰβη-  
 ρίας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ· Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναι Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδῶ  
 καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

- 8 3. Ὡδε μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνεί-  
 ματο <τὸ><sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τὰ πέραν ἄρα τοῦ Ἰονίου μόνα  
 ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον κρατοῦντας ἔτι  
 αὐτῶν, Κασσίῳ δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολεμεῖν <ἔκριναν><sup>3</sup>  
 9 Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα· Λέπιδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς  
 τὸ μέλλον καὶ<sup>4</sup> τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπο-  
 μένειν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰβηρίας δι' ἐτέρων· τοῦ δὲ  
 Λεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτὸν Λέπιδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ  
 ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἑπτὰ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καίσαρα καὶ  
 Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καίσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον,  
 ὡς ἂν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος εἴκοσιν ἄγοι.  
 10 ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ  
 πολέμου, ἄλλαις τε δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεσι  
 τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἱ καὶ περιουσία  
 καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελ-  
 λον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῷ διανεμήσεσθαι,  
 ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γενόμε-  
 11 ναι. καὶ ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανέστα-  
 ται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπύη καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Οὐενουσία  
 καὶ Βενεβεντὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἰπ-  
 12 πώνιον. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ  
 στρατῷ διέγραφον, ἔδοξε δὲ σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους

the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was  
 called Old Gaul; Lepidus would have this, along with Ibe-  
 ria; while Octavian was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily,  
 and any other islands in this region.

3. This was how the triumvirs divided up that part of 8  
 the Roman empire that was under their control. They  
 postponed, of course, only the assignment of the parts  
 beyond the Ionian gulf, since these were still under the  
 control of Brutus and Cassius, and decided that Antony  
 and Octavian were to wage war against Cassius and Bru-  
 tus. For Lepidus was to be consul the following year and 9  
 remain in the city because of what needed to be done  
 there, governing Iberia through legates. Of Lepidus' army,  
 he himself would retain three legions to control Rome,  
 while Octavian and Antony would divide the other seven  
 between them, three to Octavian and four to Antony, so  
 that each of them would take twenty legions to the war.  
 They were now to encourage the army to win the spoils of 10  
 victory by granting them, along with other gifts, eighteen  
 Italian towns to settle—towns which stood out for their  
 wealth and the beauty of their estates and houses, and  
 which were to be divided among them, land, buildings,  
 and all, as a substitute for spear-won plunder from enemy  
 territory. The most famous of these towns were Capua and 11  
 Rhegium and Venusia and Beneventum and Nuceria and  
 Ariminum and Hipponium. In this way they earmarked 12  
 the finest parts of Italy for the soldiers. They also decided  
 to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that they

<sup>2</sup> τὸ add. Gaillard-Goukowsky      <sup>3</sup> ἔκριναν add. Gaillard-  
 Goukowsky      <sup>4</sup> καὶ codd.; καὶ Gaillard-Goukowsky

ἐχθροὺς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς τάδε  
καθισταμένοις καὶ πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον ἔκδημον.  
13 ταῦτα μὲν ἔδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο· καὶ αὐτῶν  
ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ὑπάτος ἀνέγνω τοῖς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ  
χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανουμένων. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπαιώνι-  
σαν τε καὶ ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

14 4. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν  
Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερὰ ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὠρύνοντο  
ὀμαλῶς οἷα λύκοι, σύμβολον ἀηδές, καὶ λύκοι τὴν  
ἀγορὰν διέθειον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν πόλει ζῶον, βούς  
τε φωνὴν ἀφήκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκου  
ἐφθέγγατο, καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ μὲν ἴδρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ  
αἷμα ἴδρου, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγάλοι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος  
ὄπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὀρωμένων ἠκούετο.  
ἀμφὶ τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδῆ σημεῖα πολλά, καὶ λιθώδεις  
ἐγίγνοντο ὑετοί, καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ  
15 ἀγάλματα ἔπιπτον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλή θύτας καὶ  
μάντις συνῆγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος  
αὐτῶν, τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπὼν, καὶ  
δουλεύσειν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὸ στόμα  
κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἕως ἀπέθανεν.

16 5. Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γενόμενοι τοὺς  
ἀποθανουμένους συνέγραφον, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς ὑφ-  
ορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες, οἰ-  
κείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ φίλους ἐς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν  
17 ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὕστερον. προσ-  
κατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἕτεροι μεθ' ἐτέρους, οἱ μὲν  
ἀπ' ἐχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνου προσκρούματος ἢ φιλίας

would not cause trouble while they were making these  
arrangements and at the same time waging war abroad.  
Such were the decisions they reached and consigned to 13  
writing. As he was consul, Octavian read everything out to  
the soldiers, except the list of those who were to die, and  
the soldiers applauded what they heard and embraced  
each other to mark their reconciliation.

4. While all this was happening, there were many 14  
frightening prodigies and portents at Rome. Dogs howled  
just like wolves—a sinister omen—and wolves, an animal  
not usually encountered in the city, ran through the Fo-  
rum. An ox spoke in a human voice. A newborn infant  
spoke. Statues sweated; some even sweated blood. Men  
speaking in loud voices and the clash of weapons and the  
sound of galloping horses were heard, but nothing was  
seen. There were many grim signs around the sun, there  
were showers of stones, and lightning continuously struck  
the temples and statues. In response to these things, the 15  
senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria. The  
oldest of them, having said that the monarchies of olden  
times would return, and that they would all be slaves ex-  
cept only himself, closed his mouth and held his breath  
until he died.

5. The triumvirs met in private to compose the list of 16  
those who were to die. They put on the list not only the  
powerful men they distrusted, but also their personal en-  
emies, and they traded with each other their own family  
and friends for execution, both at the time and later. For 17  
they did, in fact, make continuous additions to the list, in  
some cases out of personal hostility, in others merely be-

18 ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων ἔχθρα, ἢ πλούτου διαφέροντος.  
 ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων πολλῶν,  
 Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας φόρων  
 δεδομένων τε καὶ προσοδομένων ἔτι καὶ βασιλέων  
 καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώ-  
 19 πης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας πολέμοις τε καὶ εἰσφο-  
 ραῖς τετρυμένης ἀποροῦντες· δι' ἃ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις  
 καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφορὰς βα-  
 ρυτάτας, καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόη-  
 σαν. ἤδη δέ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἐπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας  
 20 προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε καὶ  
 δημεύσεως κατεγνωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἀμφὶ  
 τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἐς  
 δισχιλίους. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοὶ τε καὶ θεῖοι  
 τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνων,  
 ὅσοι τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκε-  
 σαν.  
 21 6. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου διελ-  
 θόντες ἐς Ῥώμην προγράψειν ἔμελλον, δυνώδεκα δὲ  
 ἄνδρας, ἢ, ὡς ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς  
 μάλιστα δυνατούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προ-  
 22 ανελεῖν ἐπιπέμψαντας ἄφνω. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν τέσσαρες  
 αὐτίκα ἀνῆρέθησαν ἐν ἐστιάσεσιν τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεσι  
 ζητουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐρευνωμένων νεῶν τε  
 καὶ οἰκιῶν, ἄφνω θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦν  
 καὶ βοαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὡς ἐν ἀλισκο-  
 23 μένῃ πόλει. τῷ γὰρ ἐγνώσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίγνε-  
 σθαι, μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ μηδένα τῶν προκατεγνω-

cause of a grudge, or because the victims were friends of  
 their enemies or enemies of their friends, or outstandingly  
 wealthy. For the triumvirs needed a great deal of money 18  
 to carry on the war, since the taxes from Asia had been  
 paid to Brutus and Cassius, and were still accruing to  
 them, and kings and satraps were also contributing, while  
 they themselves were short of money in a Europe, par- 19  
 ticularly Italy, worn out by wars and imposts. This was why  
 the triumvirs levied very heavy contributions on private  
 citizens, and finally even on women, and devised new taxes  
 on sales and rents. By now, too, some were proscribed  
 because they had handsome villas or city residences. The 20  
 number of senators who were sentenced to death and con-  
 fiscation of property was about three hundred, and of  
 those known as equestrians about two thousand. These  
 figures included brothers and uncles of the men writing  
 the lists, and of the officers serving under them, anyone  
 who had crossed the leaders or their subordinates.

6. After their meeting, they intended to go to Rome to 21  
 post the list of the majority of the proscribed, but they  
 decided to send orders without warning for the prior ex-  
 ecution of twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most  
 powerful men, among whom was Cicero. Four of these 22  
 were killed immediately, either at dinner or wherever they  
 happened to be. But when the others were being hunted,  
 and searches made in temples and houses, there was a  
 sudden panic, which lasted all night: people were shouting  
 and running about wailing as if in a city that was being  
 taken by storm. For when it was known that men were 23  
 being arrested, but no names had been published of those

σμένων, πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἠγείτο ζητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν  
 24 περιθεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν  
 τὰ ἴδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαί τι  
 δεινὸν ἀλόγως αἰρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν· καὶ τάχα ἂν  
 ἔδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπατος μετὰ κηρύκων  
 25 περιθέων ἐπήλπιζε περιμείναντας ἐς ἕω τὰ ἀκριβέ-  
 στατα μαθεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἕω παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν προύγραφεν ὁ Πέδιος τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα ὡς  
 μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν  
 καὶ μόνους κατεγνωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο, ἀγνοῶν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

26 7. Καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτη-  
 σεν, ἐσῆσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀνὰ μέρος  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ  
 Λέπιδος, σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι τάξεσι καὶ ὀπλιτῶν  
 27 ἕκαστος ἐνὶ τέλει. ὡς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις  
 ἦν πλήρης ὄπλων τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἐς  
 τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἤγετο ἐκκλη-  
 σία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομοθέτει και-  
 νὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἐς πεντα-  
 ετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ  
 Καίσαρος, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις, ἣν ἂν τις Ἑλ-  
 λήνων ἀρμοστὰς ὀνομάσειεν, ὃ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 τοῖς ἀρτύνειν<sup>5</sup> καθισταμένοις τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐτίθεντο  
 ὄνομα, οὔτε διαστήματος ἐς δοκιμασίαν οὔτε κυρίας

<sup>5</sup> ἀρτύνειν Keil; ἄρτι BJ

already condemned, each person thought that he was the  
 one being sought by those running around. Thus despair- 24  
 ing of their situation, some were about to set fire to their  
 own houses, others to the public buildings, choosing with-  
 out thinking to do some terrible deed before suffering one  
 themselves. And they would perhaps have done so, if the  
 consul Pedius had not hurried around with heralds and  
 encouraged them to wait until daylight and get more ac-  
 25 curate information. When morning came Pedius, contrary  
 to the intention of the triumvirs, published the list of the  
 seventeen men deemed solely responsible for the civil  
 disasters and the only ones condemned. To the rest he  
 gave public guarantees, ignorant, as he was, of the deci-  
 sions that had been made.

7. Pedius died from the stress of the night. The trium- 26  
 virs entered the city separately on three successive days,  
 Octavian and Antony and Lepidus, each with his praeto-  
 rian cohort and one legion of soldiers. With their entry, 27  
 the city was immediately filled with weapons and military  
 standards positioned in strategic places. A public meeting  
 was convened at once in the middle of all this, at which a  
 tribune, Publius Titius, proposed a law to establish a new  
 magistracy for settling the current situation: it was to last  
 for five years and consist of three men, Lepidus and An-  
 tony and Octavian, with power equal to that of the consuls.  
 A Greek would call them "harmosts," which is the name  
 the Spartans gave to those they appointed to administer  
 their subject territories.<sup>3</sup> No period was ordained for scru-

<sup>3</sup> Spartan harmosts were military governors sent into subject  
 or conquered places, but apart from the extensive power they  
 wielded, they are not a close analogy for the triumvirs.

28 ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας προτεθείσης· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα  
 ἐκυροῦτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑπτα-  
 καίδεκα, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν προγραφαὶ  
 κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως προτίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον  
 ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. καὶ τις προσετίθετο  
 τοῖς πίναξιν αἰεὶ τῶν προσκαταγινωσκομένων ἢ τῶν  
 προανηρημένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως  
 29 ἀνηρηθῆσθαι. διετέτακτό τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς  
 τοὺς τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἐπὶ ῥητῷ κέρδει φέρεσθαι καὶ ἦν  
 τὸ κέρδος ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, θεράποντι δὲ ἐλευ-  
 30 θερία τε καὶ ἀργύριον. παρέχειν δὲ ἐς ἔρευναν πάντας  
 τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον ἢ κρύψαντα ἢ τὴν ἔρευ-  
 ναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἴσοις ἐνέχεσθαι. μηνύειν δὲ  
 ἕκαστα τούτων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις κέρδεσι.  
 31 8. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφή· "Μάρκος Λέπιδος,  
 Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάουιος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονη-  
 θέντες ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινά, οὕτως λέγου-  
 32 σιν· εἰ μὴ δι' ἀπιστίαν οἱ πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἦσαν  
 ἐλεεινοί, τυχόντες δὲ ἐγίγνοντο τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐχθροί,  
 εἶτα ἐπίβουλοι, οὐτ' ἂν Γάιον Καῖσαρα ἀνηρήκεσαν,  
 οὓς ἐκείνος δορὶ λαβὼν ἔσωσεν ἐλέῳ καὶ φίλους θέ-  
 μενος ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς προήγαγεν  
 ἀθρόως, οὐτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐνυβρίσασι καὶ πολεμίους  
 ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε ἀθρόως ἠναγκαζόμεθα χρή-  
 33 σθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλευμέθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος  
 Καῖσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσειτον ὁρῶντες τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ

tiny of the measure, nor a day fixed for voting on it, but it  
 was passed into law straight away. That night, proscription  
 lists of a further one hundred and thirty men, in addition  
 to the seventeen, were posted up in many parts of the city,  
 and a little later one hundred and fifty more. Additions  
 were constantly being made to the public notice boards of  
 people newly condemned or previously killed by mistake,  
 to create the impression that they had been lawfully exe-  
 cuted. It had been decreed that the heads of all the victims  
 be brought to the triumvirs for a fixed reward, which for  
 a free person was payable in money, and for a slave in both  
 money and freedom. Everyone was required to make their  
 property accessible for search. Those who took in fugi-  
 tives, or hid them, or refused to allow a search to be made,  
 were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed; and  
 anyone willing to lay information about each of these is-  
 28 29 30 31

8. The edict of proscription ran as follows: "Marcus  
 Lepidus, Marc Antony, and Octavius Caesar, the men  
 elected to govern and set the republic to rights, make this  
 declaration. If it were not for the fact that the wicked men  
 who in their treachery begged for mercy and were given  
 it, and when they were given it became enemies of their  
 benefactors and then conspirators against them, they  
 would not have assassinated Gaius Caesar, men whom  
 Caesar himself had made prisoners, but spared out of pity  
 and admitted to his friendship, advancing their cause col-  
 lectively with offices, honors, and gifts; nor would we have  
 been compelled to treat collectively in this way those who  
 abused us and declared us public enemies. Now that we  
 can see, however, from their plots against us and from  
 Caesar's fate that their depravity cannot be tamed by kind-  
 31 32 33

34 φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ παθεῖν  
 αἰρούμεθα. μὴ δὴ τις τὸ ἔργον ἄδικον ἢ ὠμὸν ἢ ἄμε-  
 τρον ἠγείσθω, ἕς τε Γάιον καὶ ἕς ἡμᾶς οἷα πεπόνθα-  
 μεν ὄρων. Γάιον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα καὶ  
 ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ φοβερώτατα Ῥωμαίοις καθ-  
 ελόντα τε ἔθνη καὶ κτησάμενον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν  
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ὄρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης  
 ἀποπειράσαντα, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν ἄγνωστον εὐ-  
 ρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ  
 ὄψεσι θεῶν, κατέκανον εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαῖς ἐν-  
 υβρίσαντες, οἱ πολέμῳ ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ  
 περισωθέντες κληρονόμοι τέ τινες αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας  
 35 ἐγγραφέντες εἶναι οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μύσει τῷδε  
 τοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας  
 ἐξέπεμψαν, αἷς ἐκείνοι χρώμενοι τὰ τε κοινὰ τῶν χρη-  
 μάτων ἤρπασαν, καὶ στρατὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγείρουσι  
 καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἕτερον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ βαρβάρων αἰεὶ  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμίων, τὰς τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις τὰς  
 μὲν οὐ πείθοντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ κατέσκαψαν ἢ κατήρει-  
 ψαν, τὰς δὲ καταπλήξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ'  
 ἡμῶν.  
 36 9. "Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα,  
 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβάνοντος ἀντίκα  
 37 δίκην διδόντας ὄψεσθε. τῶν δὲ μεγίστων ἡμῖν ἠνυ-  
 σμένων καὶ ὑπὸ χερσὶν ὄντων, Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ Κελ-  
 τικῆς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἴκοι, ἓν ἐστὶ λοιπὸν ἔτι ἔργον,  
 στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτόχειρας  
 38 Γαίου. μέλλουσι δὴ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔκδημον

ness, we choose to anticipate our enemies rather than suf- 34  
 fer at their hands. In view of what we have suffered in  
 relation to Caesar and to ourselves, let no one consider our  
 action unjust, cruel, or excessive. Caesar was Imperator  
 and Pontifex Maximus, he had defeated and annexed the  
 peoples most feared by Romans, he was the first man to  
 venture on an unsailed sea beyond the Pillars of Heracles  
 and discover a land unknown to Rome, and yet men cap-  
 tured by him in war but spared, some even named in his  
 will as heirs of his estate, attacked and murdered him by  
 stabbing him twenty-three times in the middle of the sup-  
 posedly sacrosanct senate house, in the sight of gods. The 35  
 rest of the senate, instead of punishing these accursed  
 men for their vile crime, sent them off to commands and  
 governorships, which they have used to seize public mon-  
 ies with which they are collecting an army against us, and  
 are asking for another from barbarians ever hostile to our  
 empire. Of the cities subject to Rome, some whom they  
 could not win over they have burned, or ravaged, or de-  
 stroyed; others they lead by terror against their country  
 and against us.

9. "We have taken vengeance on some of these men 36  
 already, and with divine assistance you will soon see the  
 rest punished. Although we have finished the main part of 37  
 this work in that we have Iberia, Gaul, and affairs here at  
 home under control, one task still remains, and that is to  
 campaign against Caesar's assassins overseas. As we are 38  
 about to fight a war on your behalf away from home, it



ἀγωνιέισθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ὀπίσω καταλιπεῖν, ἐπιβησομένους ταῖς ἀπουσίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῦ πολέμου καιροφυλακήσοντας, οὐδ' αὖ βραδύνειν διὰ τούσδε ἐν ἐπέιξει τοσῆδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκποδῶν αὐτοὺς ἀθρόως ποιήσασθαι, ἄρξαντάς γε τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, ὅτε πολεμίους ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῖν στρατοὺς ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι.

- 39 10. "Κακέϊνοι μὲν τοσάσδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας ἡμῖν συναπόλλυον, οὔτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὔτε φθόνον ἀνθρώπων ὑφορώμενοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ πλήθει μὲν οὐδενὶ χαλεπανοῦμεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιλεξόμεθα πάντας, ὅσοι διηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἢ περιουσίας ἢ ἀξιώσεως οὐδ' ὅσους ἕτερος πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἔκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κακέϊνος ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καθιστάμενος, ὃν Εὐτυχῆ προσείπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν, καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὔσης τρισὶ πλέονας  
40 ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἐνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φανλοτάτους τε καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμννούμεθα. καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡσσον ἡμῶν· ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν διαφορομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεινὰ πάσχειν, ἀνάγκη δὲ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι παραμύθιον ὑβρισμένῳ τε καὶ παρωξυμμένῳ καὶ πολεμίῳ πρὸς  
41 τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν, οὓς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλαβεῖν, αἰρούμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι συλλαβεῖν· καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἢ διωργισμένοις

seems unsafe, both for us and for you, to leave our other enemies behind to exploit our absence and keep watch on the contingencies of war for advantageous opportunities; nor on the other hand do we think we should delay in such an emergency because of these men, but rather we should remove them entirely out of our path, seeing that they began the war against us when they voted to declare us and the armies under our command public enemies.

10. "They for their part set about destroying so many 39  
tens of thousands of citizens along with us, overlooking the vengeance of the gods and the hatred of men. We, however, will not vent our anger on any large group of people, nor will we identify as our enemies everyone who merely disagreed with us or plotted against us, or anyone just because of their wealth, resources, or rank; nor will we pick out as many as another Emperor before us killed, when he, too, was reestablishing order in a time of civil war, and whom you named 'Fortunate' on account of his success, although it is necessarily the case that three men have more enemies than one.<sup>4</sup> We will take vengeance only 40  
on the worst and most guilty of all. This we will do in your interest no less than in our own. For as long as we are in dispute, it is inevitable that you will all suffer badly, caught in the middle. Necessity also requires some consolation for the army, which has been insulted, provoked, and registered as an enemy of the state by our common adversar-  
ies. Although we had the power to arrest immediately 41  
those we had decided on, we prefer to publish their names rather than seize them still unawares. This, too, we do in your interests, so that it will not be possible for enraged

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla.

πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηριθμημένους καὶ ὠρισμένους ἔχοντες ὀνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀπέχωνται.

42 11. "Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοίνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων τῷδε  
τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδένα μηδὲ κρυ-  
πτέτω μηδὲ ἐκπεμπέτω ποι μηδὲ πειθέσθω χρήμασι.  
43 ὅς δ' ἂν ἢ σώσας ἢ ἐπικουρήσας ἢ συνειδῶς φανῇ,  
τοῦτον ἡμεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ὑπολογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἢ  
44 συγγνώμην, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις τιθέμεθα. ἀνα-  
φερόντων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ  
μὲν ἐλεύθερος ἐπὶ δισμυρίαῖς δραχμαῖς Ἀττικάῖς καὶ  
πεντακισχιλίαις ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης, ὁ δὲ δούλος ἐπ' ἐλευ-  
θερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαῖς Ἀττικάῖς καὶ τῇ τοῦ  
δεσπότητος πολιτεία. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς μηνύουσιν  
ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς ἐγγεγράφεται  
τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ κατάδηλος ᾖ." ὧδε  
μὲν εἶχεν ἡ προγραφὴ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἐς  
Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ Λατίνης μεταβαλεῖν.

45 12. Πρῶτος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφοισι Λέπιδος, καὶ  
πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Λεπίδου  
Παῦλος, καὶ δεύτερος ἦν τῶν προγραφόντων Ἀντώνιος  
καὶ δεύτερος τῶν προγραφομένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντωνίου  
Λεύκιος, οἶδε μὲν, ὅτι πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐψη-  
46 φίσαντο. τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ πί-  
νακι προκειμένων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν

soldiers to take excessive action against the innocent, and to make sure that, having a set number designated by name, they will keep their hands off everyone else in accordance with their orders.

11. "So, with Fortune looking kindly on this proclama- 42  
tion, let no one take in, hide, send off anywhere, or be  
persuaded by money to do so, any of those whose names  
are appended below. We will place on the list of the pro- 43  
scribed anyone shown to have saved, abetted, or connived  
with them, and will accept no excuse and give no pardon.  
If those who kill the proscribed bring us their heads, a free 44  
man will receive twenty five thousand Attic drachmas per  
head, a slave his freedom and ten thousand Attic drachmas  
and the same citizenship as his master. Informers will re-  
ceive the same rewards. No one who receives such re-  
wards will be listed in our records, so that their identity is  
not made public." Such was the text of the triumviral pro-  
scription, allowing for the fact that it is a translation from  
Latin into Greek.

12. The first man listed of those issuing the proscrip- 45  
tions was Lepidus, and the first man proscribed was his  
brother Paullus; the second proscriber was Antony and  
the second man proscribed was his uncle Lucius.<sup>5</sup> The  
reason for this is that these two men had been the first to  
have Lepidus and Antony voted public enemies. The third 46  
and fourth victims, mentioned on another list of consuls-  
designate for the following year, were Plotius, the brother

<sup>5</sup> Lucius Aemilius Lepidus had been consul in 50; Lucius Julius Caesar, brother of Julia, the mother of Antony, who had supported Cicero against his nephew, was consul in 64.

ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πλώτιος, Ἀσινίου δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κοϊντίος.  
καὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἄρα μόνην οἶδε τῶν ἄλλων  
προύκειντο μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς θάμβος καὶ δυσελπιστίαν,  
47 μηδένα ρύσεσθαι τινα προσδοκᾶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Θω-  
ράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, λεγόμενος ὑπό τινων  
48 ἐπιτροπεύσαι Καίσαρος. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἱ  
τε πύλαι κατεείχοντο καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξ-  
οδοί τε καὶ λιμένες ἢ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς  
φυγὴν ὑποπτον ἦν ἢ ἐς λαθραίους καταφυγᾶς· τὴν τε  
χώραν ἐπετέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περι-  
θέουσι, καὶ ἐγίγνετο πάντα ὁμοῦ.  
49 13. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν  
πόλιν, ὡς ἕκαστός πη συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια  
αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν  
τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν  
φυγαί τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν  
50 περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐς φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐς  
τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς  
καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυ-  
51 ομέναις ὑπεκάθηντο μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκε-  
σαν γὰρ οὐχ ἦσσαν τῶν σφαγέων οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἢ  
παῖδας οὐκ εὐμενῶς σφίσιν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευ-  
θέρους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων  
χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμία τῶν χωρίων.

<sup>6</sup> Lucius Plotius Plancus, praetor in 43, was a brother of the prominent Antonian Lucius Munatius Plancus (consul 42). Gaius

of Plancus, and Quinctius, the father-in-law of Asinius.<sup>6</sup> It was not just because of their rank that these were placed at the head of the list, but rather to create astonishment and despair, in that no one could expect to protect another person. Even Thoranius, said by some to have been Octavian's guardian, was on the list of the proscribed.<sup>7</sup> At the same time as the publication of the lists, the gates and all other exits from the city were held under guard, along with the harbors, marshes, pools, and anywhere else suspected of offering escape or a secret refuge. The centurions were given the task of patrolling and searching the countryside. All these things were happening at the same time.

13. There resulted throughout both the countryside and the city a large number of sudden arrests, wherever an individual was caught, and various forms of execution, along with decapitations to provide evidence for the reward. People fled in unseemly ways, and exchanged formerly splendid clothing for strange disguises. Some climbed down into wells, others into the filth of underground sewers; others again went up into smoky attics or sat in complete silence under close-packed roof tiles. For some were no more afraid of the assassins than they were of ill-disposed wives and children; others feared their freedmen and slaves, others their creditors, or neighboring landholders who wanted their land. In fact, all the ill

Asinius Pollio (consul 40), whose *Histories* Appian is believed to have used as a source, was also a supporter of Antony. His father-in-law, Quinctius, is a little known figure.

<sup>7</sup> Appian has perhaps confused Gaius Turranius (praetor 44) with the better known Gaius Toranius, who became Octavian's guardian in 59.

52 ἐπανάστασις γὰρ δὴ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ὑπούλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιστος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσδε τὰς ἀρχὰς μετιόντων ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐς πόδας ἰδίου θεράποντος ῥιπτουμένων σὺν ὀλοφύρσεσι καὶ σωτήρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἴκτιστον δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἐλεηθεῖεν.

53 14. Ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὡς ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμου καταλήψεσιν· οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἢ πολέμιον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγέων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδιότας, σφίσι δὲ αὐτίκα γιγνομένους ἐξ οἰκείων πολεμίους, ἢ δι' ὑπούλον ἔχθραν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν  
54 ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον. ἄπιστος γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόως ἕκαστος ἐς τὸν οἰκείον ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέου προτίθει· ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἢ εὖνους ἐδεδίει βοηθεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἢ  
55 συνειδέναι δι' ὁμοιότητα<sup>6</sup> τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἔς τε τὸ ἔμπαλιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τινῶν ἄφνω συλλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὅμοια καὶ συνήσπιζον ἀλλήλοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἔκδοτοι γεγένη-

<sup>6</sup> ὁμοιότητα codd. plurimi; ὁμότητα L

feeling that had up to this point festered under the surface now broke out all at once. An improper change occurred in men of senatorial rank, whether consuls, praetors, or tribunes, both those who were about to enter these offices, or who had already held them: they were now throwing themselves sobbing at the feet of their own slaves, calling their slaves saviors and masters. Most pitiable of all was the fact that having endured this, they obtained no mercy.

14. All types of iniquity were there, but not like those 53 encountered in civil unrest, or when towns are captured in time of war. For, unlike in those situations, when people were afraid of factional rivals or the enemy, but could entrust themselves to their own households, it was precisely the latter they feared more than the assassins. They were not afraid of them as they would be of men in war or civil discord, but because they had suddenly changed from being members of their households into enemies, either from some festering hatred, or under the influence of the advertised rewards, or because of the gold and silver in their houses. It was undoubtedly for these reasons that 54 everyone became disloyal to his own kinsman, prioritizing personal gain over pity for him. Those who remained faithful and well-disposed were afraid to help or hide or abet the victims in view of their liability to the same penalties.<sup>8</sup> The situation was totally different for them from 55 the terror faced by the first seventeen. At that point nobody had been proscribed, and after the unexpected arrest of some people, everyone feared the same would happen to them, and they stood by each other. But after the publication of the proscription lists, some people were im-

<sup>8</sup> Or possibly, "in view of the ferocity of the penalties."

ντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμνω περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐκνηγέτου. 56 ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναιρουμένων διήρπαζον, καὶ τὸ κέρδος αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγώγει· οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροί τε καὶ ἐπιεικέις ἐτεθήπεσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς παραλογώτερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθεῖεν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοιαι, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἀρχόντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τοιαύδε ἐργάζεται.

57 15. Ἐθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιρούοντας, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἀδικούμενοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λιμῷ τε ἐκουσίῳ δαπανῶντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἢ ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἢ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἢ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπίσχοντες ἢ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας, ἕτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς ἢ διωθόμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὠνούμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, 58 ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἢ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δῆλος ἦν ὁ μὴ προγραφεῖς νέκυσ, ὅτε οἱ προσκέοιτο ἢ κεφαλή· τῶν γὰρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθέντο παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν, ἔνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας 59 ἀντιλαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ. ἴση δ' ἦν ἐτέρων σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων, περισφύζοντων τε καὶ συμμηχανωμένων πολλὰ καὶ συναποθνησκόντων, ὅτε μὴ τύχοιεν ὦν

mediately betrayed to everybody, and others, now freed of worry about their own safety, began to join the assassins in hunting down the rest for money. Of the general population, some looted the houses of those who had been killed, and their private gains distracted them from recognizing their present calamities. Reasonable and more intelligent people, on the other hand, were astonished and dismayed: it seemed all the more paradoxical to them when they took into particular consideration the fact that, in the case of other cities, civil discord ruined them and harmony saved them, while at Rome the disagreements among their magistrates first ruined them, and then harmony gets to have such dreadful effects.

15. Some died defending themselves against their killers. Others made no resistance, as it was not their assailants who were doing them wrong. There were some who willingly starved themselves to death, or resorted to the noose, or threw themselves into the sea, or jumped off rooftops or into fires, or gave themselves up to their executioners, or even sent for them when they delayed. Others hid themselves and made abject entreaties, in an attempt to avert their miserable fate, or buy their way out of it. Some were killed by mistake, or by design, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was clear that a corpse was not that of a proscribed person if the head was still attached to it: for the heads of the proscribed were displayed beside the rostra in the Forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. An equal degree of devotion and courage was shown by others—wives and children and brothers and slaves—who rescued the proscribed, devised schemes with them and died with them

60 ἐπενόουν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανήρουν σφᾶς ἀνηρημένοις. τῶν  
δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς  
πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανή-  
χθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπὶ τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ  
στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτως ὁ καιρὸς  
ἦν ἐκείνος ἐπίδειξις παραδοξολογίας.

61 16. Καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο οὐκ ἐν ἰδιώτιδι πόλει οὐδὲ ἐν  
ἀσθενεῖ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δυνατωτάτην  
καὶ τοσοῦτων ἔθνῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἡγεμο-  
νίδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄρα ἐς τὴν νῦν καθ-  
62 ιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τοιαύδε ἕτερα ἐν  
αὐτῇ κατὰ τε Σύλλαν καὶ ἔτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον  
Μάριον, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ γνωριμώτατα τῶν κακῶν ἐν  
τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσῆν ἐκείνοις  
ἀταφία· ταῦτα δὲ ἀξιῶσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ  
τοῦ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν  
συστησαμένου τε ἐς ἔδραν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ  
ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἄρχον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπόντος, ἐπι-  
63 φανερότερα. ὧν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χείρω γενόμενα ἐν  
μνήμῃ τε μᾶλλον ὄντα, ὅτι καὶ τελευταῖα γέγονεν,  
ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα (οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον  
ἀναίρεσις ἀπλῆ καὶ φυγὴ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισι  
συγγνότων ὕστερον ἐπάνοδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφα-  
νῆς καταβίωσις), ἀλλ' ὅσα παραλογώτατα ὄντα μᾶ-  
64 λιστα ἂν ἐκπλήξειε καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσειε τοῖς προ-  
λεγόμενοις. πολλὰ δέ ἐστι, καὶ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν  
πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· ὀλίγα

when their plans did not work out. Some even killed them-  
selves over the bodies of the dead. Of those who escaped, 60  
some died in shipwrecks, fate weighing heavily on them  
without respite, while others were restored unexpectedly  
to magistracies at Rome, to military commands, and tri-  
umphs. Such was the display of extraordinary events that  
this period put on.

16. These things took place in no ordinary city, nor in 61  
a weak and small kingdom, but the deity shook to its foun-  
dations the most powerful of cities, mistress of so many  
peoples and of land and sea, with the longstanding inten-  
tion, no doubt, of establishing her present well ordered  
condition. To be sure, other similar events, with the addi- 62  
tion of the refusal to allow burial of the dead, had taken  
place in the time of Sulla and even before him, in the time  
of Gaius Marius, the most notable of which calamities I  
have likewise narrated in the books concerning those men.  
The present situation, however, is made more noteworthy  
by the rank of the triumvirs and especially by the character  
and good fortune of one of them, who established the  
government on a firm foundation, and left behind him his 63  
family and name still holding power to this day. I will now  
describe the most brilliant and the worst of these events,  
which have remained particularly memorable because  
they were the last. I will not be dealing with everything—  
for it is not worth recording mere killing, or exile, or the  
later return to Rome of some pardoned by the triumvirs,  
or their unexceptional life after returning—but only the  
most extraordinary things which would cause particular  
astonishment and give credibility to what I have said be- 64  
fore. The subject is large, and many Romans have written  
about it for themselves in many books. Because it is a long

δὲ ἐγὼ καθ' ἐκάστην ἰδέαν, ἐς πίστιν ἐκάστης καὶ ἐς εὐδαιμόνισμα τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

- 65 17. Ἦρξατο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔτι ὄντων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνηρέθη δημαρχῶν Σάλουιος. ἱερὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἄσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἴσχυεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων
- 66 τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἦν ὅδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκῶς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὕστερον δὲ συμπεπραχῶς ἐς πάντα Κικέρωνι. πυθόμενος δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπέιξεως τοὺς οἰκείους εἰστία ὡς οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσόμενος
- 67 ἐσδραμόντων δὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξανίσταντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἡρεμεῖν κατακλιθέντας, τὸν δὲ Σάλουιον, ὡς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρηζε, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον αὐθις ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὡς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθοιεν ὅμοια. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἰχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθηπότες ἀνανδοὶ μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτός, τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκειντο. δεύτερος δ' ἀνὴρ ἔθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρεσιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ. πυθόμενος δὲ

story, I will write up, in summary, just a few instances of each kind, to give credit to each, and to show the prosperity of our present situation.

17. The horror began, as it happened, with those still 65 in office, and the first one killed was the tribune Salvius. The tribunate is, according to the laws, sacred and inviolable, and had very considerable powers, so that tribunes have even imprisoned consuls. Salvius was the tribune 66 who at the beginning had vetoed the proposal to declare Antony a public enemy, but later he had cooperated with Cicero in everything. When he heard about the agreement of the triumvirs, and that they were hurrying to the city, he gave a banquet for his close friends, in the expectation that he would not have their company again on many occasions. When the soldiers burst in on the party, some of 67 the guests sprang to their feet in fear and confusion, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Seizing Salvius by the hair, the centurion dragged him across the table as far as was necessary, and cut off his head on the spot, again ordering those in the room to stay still, just as they were, and threatening that if there was a fuss, they would suffer the same fate. And to be sure, even after the centurion left, they continued to recline in dazed silence with the remains of the tribune's body far into the night. The second person to die 68 was the praetor Minucius, while he was presiding over an electoral meeting in the Forum.<sup>9</sup> When he heard that the soldiers were after him, he leaped up from his seat, and

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the Minucius Rufus who commanded eighteen ships for Pompey at Orricum in 48 (App. *BCiv.* 2.54.225; Caes. *B Civ.* 3.7.1).

ἐπιέναι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἔτι καὶ ἐννοούμενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐνήλασσαν ἐς τι τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐσδραμών, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπέμψας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ ἐλέω παραμέροντες εὐμαρέστερον ἄκοντες ἐποίησαν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐρεῖν.

69 18. Ἀνῶλιον ἕτερον στρατηγόν, τῷ παιδὶ μετιόντι ταμείαν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιομένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἳ τε συνόντες φίλοι καὶ οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον, πυθόμενοι προσγε-  
70 γράφθαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἀνῶλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἑαυτοῦ τινα φυγῶν, ᾧ βραχὺ καὶ ἐντελὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείῳ καὶ διὰ πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς, μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς τὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπήσας, ὠδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος, καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομίαν ἤρέθη. ἀναλύοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιῶταί τι προσκρούσαντες ἔκτειναν, οἳ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνηρέκεσαν. Θουράνιος δὲ οὐ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐστρατηγηκῶς, πατὴρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστου, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίου, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἠξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔστε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσαιο παρ' Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δ' ἐπιγελάσαντες "Ἡτη-  
71 σεν," εἶπον, "Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα." καὶ συνεῖς ὁ πρε-  
72

<sup>10</sup> There was a Lucius Villius Annalis, who had probably been praetor some time before 57 (Cic. *Fam.* 8.8.5-6). Appian may have gotten the date wrong or be referring to someone else.

devising a way to escape them even as he was still tearing around, he ran into one of the workshops, changed his clothes, and dismissed his attendants along with his insignia of office. But the attendants stayed nearby out of respect and pity, thus unintentionally making it easier for the murderers to find the praetor.

18. Annalis, another praetor, while escorting his son, 69 who as a candidate for the quaestorship was canvassing the voters, was abandoned by the associates with him and by the men carrying his insignia of office when they learned that Annalis' name had been added to the proscription lists.<sup>10</sup> Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had 70 a small, mean, and thoroughly contemptible apartment in the suburbs, where he remained safely hidden until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the apartment. He was given his father's estate by the triumvirs and appointed to the aedileship. But when he was returning home after a drinking session, some soldiers, the very ones who had done away with his father, took offense at something and killed him. Thora- 71 nius, who was no longer praetor, but had held the office, and was the father of a generally intemperate young man who had nonetheless some influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his execution for a short time, until his son could appeal to Antony for him.<sup>11</sup> They laughed at him, and said, "He already has, but against you, not for you." Understanding the situation, the elder Tur- 72

<sup>11</sup> As above (12.47), Appian is perhaps referring to Gaius Turranus (praetor 44) rather than Gaius Toranius, the former guardian of Octavian.



σβύτης ἕτερον αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ἦται διάστημα, μέχρῃς οὖ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρῶων, μὴ κακείνην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αἰτήσαιοτο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῷδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχροὺς δαπανῆσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἀλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

- 73 19. Κικέρων δέ, ὃς μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἴσχυσε, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγῶ μοναρχία, κατέγνωστο μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδί καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδί τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις· φυγῶν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφος οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον, ἀμφὶ Καιήτην πόλιν τῆς Ἰτα-
- 74 λίας, καταχθεὶς ἠρέμει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνωμένων (τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμώτατα πάντων Ἀντωνίου τε ἐζήτει καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες ὑπουργοῦν<sup>7</sup>) ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπᾶντες ἔκλαζον, ἐπεγείροντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως οἱ θεράποντες, σημηνάμενοι τὸ γινόμενον εἶναι σύμβολον ἐκ τοῦ θεῶν, ἐς φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγον
- 75 διὰ λόχμης βαθείας λανθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ μέρη διαθεόντων τε καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ που Κικέρων ὀραθείη, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' εὐνοία καὶ ἐλέῳ πλείν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἤδη, σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνα τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις ὄντι τὴν ἀτρα-
- 76 πὸν ἔδειξεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέδραμέ τε καὶ θεράποντας ἰδὼν

ranius asked for another very short delay until he could see his daughter, and when he did, he told her not to claim her share of the paternal inheritance in case her brother asked Antony for her death too. As it turned out, this young man also squandered his estate disgracefully, and having been convicted of theft, went into exile to avoid his fine.

19. Cicero, who was the dominant figure after the death of Gaius Caesar, exercising as much sole control as a popular leader could, was proscribed, along with his son and his brother and his brother's son and all his household and his partisans and associates. Having escaped in a small boat, he could not endure the nausea caused by the swell, and landed near the Italian town of Caieta at a country place of his own, which I saw when I was researching this incident; here he lay low. When those looking for him came near (and it was him most of all that Antony was tracking down with such determination, and everyone assisted Antony in this), some crows flew into his bedroom cawing and waking him from sleep, and pulling his bedclothes off his body, until his attendants interpreted this as a sign from one of the gods, put him in a litter, and again carried him toward the sea, escaping notice by going through a dense thicket. There were many ranging through the area in groups asking if Cicero had been seen anywhere. All the others, moved by goodwill and pity, said that he had already put to sea and was under way; but a cobbler, a client of Clodius, who had been Cicero's most bitter enemy, pointed out the path to Laenas, the centurion, who had a few soldiers with him. He hurried after

<sup>7</sup> ὑπουργοῦν Gaillard-Goukowsky; ὑπούργον P; om. codd. rell.

πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὀρμῶντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατηγικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν. "Ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐρανὸν λοχαγοί."

- 77 20. Τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὡς ἐλευσομένων πλεόνων κατεπλάγησαν, ὁ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ δίκην τινα διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε κατωρθωκῶς, ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπάσας ἀπέτεμνε, ἐς τρεῖς ἐπιπλήστων καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζων ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας. ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἧ τὸς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οἷα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐς μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλίπ-  
78 πικούς ἐπέγραφεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν, αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες· καὶ ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ  
79 τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς. ὁ δὲ ἦσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάσιν Ἀτ-  
80 τικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμιώτατόν οἱ γενόμενον ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βήματος ἀπεκρέμαντο ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημηγόρει· καὶ πλείους ὀψόμενοι συνέθεον ἢ ἀκροώ-  
81 μενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης,  
82 μέχρι κόρον ἔσχε τῆς θεᾶς τοῦ κακοῦ. ὦδε μὲν δὴ

<sup>12</sup> In his four *Philippics*, delivered between 351 and 340, Demosthenes urged the Athenians to resist Philip II of Macedon.

him, but seeing that Cicero's attendants far outnumbered his own escort and were rushing to his defense, being a very experienced commander, he called out, "Those centurions in the rear, come forward to my position!"

20. At this the attendants were terrified, thinking that more soldiers were coming, and Laenas, although he had once won a case in court through Cicero, pulled his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, and sawing it off because of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against Antony accusing him of being a tyrant, to which he had given the title *Philippics*, in imitation of the speeches of Demosthenes.<sup>12</sup> There was a rush to bring the good news to Antony immediately, some going by horse, others by ship. Antony was sitting in the Forum when Laenas pointed out Cicero's head and hand, while still a long way off, by waving them at him. Antony was particularly delighted, and garlanded the centurion and gave him two hundred and fifty thousand Attic drachmas over and above the stated rewards, as this man he had killed had been his greatest personal and public enemy. The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time from the rostra in the Forum, where previously he used to make public speeches; and more people came to see this than had come to listen to him. It is said that even while eating his meals Antony placed Cicero's head in front of the table, until he had his fill of such a dreadful sight. So it was, then, that

Cicero's fourteen speeches against Antony were delivered between September 44 and April 43 (with the exception of the second, which circulated in written form).

Κικέρων, ἐπί τε λόγοις ἀοίδιμος ἐς ἔτι νῦν ἀνὴρ, καὶ ὅτε ἦρχε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγρονὼς χρήσιμος, ἀνήρητο καὶ ἀνηρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐς  
 83 Βρούτον. Κόιντος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἅμα τῷ παιδί καταληφθεὶς ἐδέϊτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγείς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτησεῖν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἕτερον ἕτεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνεῖλον ὁμοῦ.

84 21. Ἐγνάτιοι δέ, πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, συμφυέντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανον· καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέμνητο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συν-  
 85 ἐπέπλεκτο. Βάλβος τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα μὴ βαδίζοντες ὁμοῦ φανεροὶ γένοιοντο, προύπεμψεν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εἶπετο ἐκ διαστήματος. ἐξαγείλαντος δέ τινος, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλήσ ἢ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, τὸν υἱὸν συνειληφθαι, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τοὺς σφαγείας μετεπέμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπολέσθαι ναυαγίῳ· οὕτω ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον  
 86 ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρρούντιος τὸν υἱόν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἔπεισεν ὡς νέον περισώζειν ἑαυτόν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἢ μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προύπεμψε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνηρημένον τὸν ἄνδρα

<sup>13</sup> As with many of the proscribed people and their families mentioned by Appian in the following chapters, it is not known who these Egnatii were.

Cicero was killed and abused after his death, a man famed for his eloquence even today, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul. His son had been sent beforehand to Brutus in Greece. But Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. As he asked the executioners to kill him before his son, and his son begged for the opposite, the executioners said that they would reconcile both requests, and, dividing themselves into two groups, each group of killers took one, and at an agreed signal, put them to death at the same time.

21. The Egnatii, father and son, died with one blow while in the arms of each other, and although their heads had been cut off, the rest of their bodies remained intertwined.<sup>13</sup> Balbus sent his son on ahead to the sea to escape, so that they would not stand out traveling together, and he followed a short distance behind.<sup>14</sup> When somebody told him, either to trick him or by mistake, that his son had been captured, he went back and sent for the executioners. As it happened, his son did die, in a shipwreck. In this way even the divinity added its weight to the disasters of the time. Arruntius with difficulty persuaded his son, who would not agree to flee without him, to save himself as he was a young man. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned home to bury her murdered husband.

<sup>14</sup> Valerius Maximus (5.7.3) calls this man Octavius Balbus, and Plutarch (*Caes.* 67.5) mentions a Gaius Octavius joining the conspiracy against Caesar after the assassination. So this is probably Gaius Octavius Balbus.

θάψει· πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης  
διεφθάρθαι λιμῶ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτήν.

- 87 22. Αἶδε μὲν δὴ παίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔστων  
εἰκόνες· ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὁμοῦ προγραφέντες, οἷς  
ὄνομα ἦν Λιγάριοι, ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ ἱπνῶ, μέχρι τῶν  
θεραπόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνευρόντων ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθη,  
ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγών, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω διεφθαρμένον,  
ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ  
88 ῥεῦμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀλιέων περισχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐναλά-  
μενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτωκότα, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἐφιλονίκηει καὶ  
ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐώθει, ἡσσωμένος δὲ τῶν ἀλιέων  
περιεγίγνετο “Καὶ οὐκ ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “Περισώζετε, ἀλλ’  
89 ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυτε.” οἱ δὲ καὶ  
ὡς αὐτὸν οἰκτείραντες περιέσωζον, μέχρι τινὲς τῶν  
στρατιωτῶν, οἱ τὴν γέφυραν ἐτήρουν, ἰδόντες ἐπέδρα-  
90 μόν τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἑτέρων δὲ ἀδελφῶν  
ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος, καὶ θεράπων  
αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεζήτει μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας,  
εὐρῶν δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεσθαι δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ  
91 τὸ ἄθλον ἀπέκοψε· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν κοπρῶνι κρυπτό-  
μενον ἕτερος ἐμήνυσε θεράπων, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελ-  
θεῖν μὲν ἀπηξίωσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντοῦντες ἐξήγα-  
γον καί, ὡς εἶχε, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονύψαντες  
92 ἀπέκοψαν. ἕτερος δέ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου,

When she learned that her son too had died at sea she  
starved herself to death.

22. Let these serve as examples of sons good and bad. 87  
As for brothers, two, by the name of Ligarius, having been  
proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven until their  
slaves found them.<sup>15</sup> One of them was killed immediately,  
and although the other escaped, when he learned that his  
brother had been killed, he threw himself into the current  
from the bridge over the Tiber. Thinking that he had fallen 88  
rather than jumped in, some fishermen held on to him. He  
struggled with them for a long time, trying to push himself  
into the current, but was overpowered by the fishermen,  
and survived. “You are not saving me,” he said, “but de-  
stroying yourselves by helping me, as I have been pro- 89  
scribed.” Nevertheless they had pity on him and tried to  
keep him safe, until some soldiers who were guarding the  
bridge saw him, ran up and cut off his head. There were 90  
two other brothers, one of whom threw himself into the  
river. A slave of his searched for his body for five days, and  
when he found it, it was still possible to recognize, so he  
cut off the head to get the reward. The other brother hid 91  
in a dung heap, but another slave informed on him. The  
executioners refused to go onto the dung heap, but got  
him out by poking him with their spears, and cut his head  
off just as it was, without even washing it. Another man, 92  
when his brother was arrested, ran up, not knowing that

<sup>15</sup> Cicero successfully defended Quintus Ligarius, a partisan  
of Pompey, before Caesar in 46 (the speech survives), but Lig-  
arius joined the conspiracy against Caesar (see *BCiv.* 2.113.474).  
He had two brothers, one of whom is probably the Ligarius men-  
tioned below at 23.93.

προσδραμῶν ἀγνοία τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ἐκείνῳ προγεγράφθαι, "Ἐμέ," ἔφη, "Κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου." καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνάγραφτον, "Εἰκότα ἀξιούεις," ἔφη. "Σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου γέγραψαι," καὶ εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔκτεινεν ἅμφω.

- 93 23. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δείγματα. Λιγάριον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαιναν, προδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἶπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένη βοῶσα. "Ἐγὼ τοῦτον ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δ' ὅμοια τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμια." καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὴν οὔτε ἀναιροῦντος οὔτε μηνύοντος ἀτάγγελος ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε καθ' ἑαυτῆς, κακείνων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδόντων, ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λιμῶ. καὶ τῆσδε μὲν ἐνθάδε ἐπεμνήσθη, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισώζουσα ἀπετύγχανέ τε καὶ συνεξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν. ὅσαι δὲ ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισωθείσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράψω.
- 94 95 96 97 ἕτεραι δὲ ἀθεμίστως ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν, ἡ Σεπτιμίῳ μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δέ τινος Ἀντωνίου φίλου διεφθείρετο. ἐπειγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐς γάμον ἐδεήθη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοῖς πίναξι προσετέθη. καὶ μαθὼν ἐς τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν οἴκοι κακῶν ἔφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὡς φιλοφρονουμένη τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλεισε καὶ ἐτήρει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕως οἱ σφαγεῖς

he too had been proscribed with him, and said, "Kill me before him." The centurion, having the written details to hand, replied, "That's a reasonable request, since your name is on the list before his."<sup>16</sup> And so saying, he killed both of them in the right order.

23. These, then, are examples concerning brothers. 93 Ligarius was hidden by his wife, who let one maidservant into the secret. Betrayed by her, she followed her husband's head as it was being taken away, shouting, "I took this man in; those who do so are liable to the same penalties as the proscribed." As nobody killed her or informed 94 against her, she came to the magistrates and laid an accusation against herself. But when they too ignored her, because of her love for her husband, she starved herself to death. I have mentioned this woman here, because she 95 failed to save her husband and did away with herself to be with him. The women whose love for their husband was successful, I will treat when I write about the husbands who were saved. Other women plotted in criminal fashion 96 against their husbands. Among these was a woman who had married Septimius, but who had been seduced by an associate of Antony.<sup>17</sup> Eager to move from adultery to marriage, she submitted a request to Antony through her lover, and Septimius was immediately added to the list of the proscribed. When he learned this, he fled to his wife's 97 house, since he was unaware of his domestic woes. Pretending to take care of him, she locked the doors and kept

<sup>16</sup> The Greek can mean "kill me instead of him," or, "kill me before him." The brother means the former, the centurion takes up the latter meaning. <sup>17</sup> This is perhaps the Gaius Septimius who had been praetor in 57.

παρεγένοντο· καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐκείνον ἀνῆρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθνε γάμους.

98 24. Σάλασσος δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἦκε μὲν ἐς πόλιν νυκτός, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δεινόν, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος αὐτὸν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος ἐπέγνω καὶ ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οἶκημα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ κρύψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο  
99 καὶ θρέψειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκά οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἡ δ' ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδιέναι δ' ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ θεραπαίναις τὸ ὑποπτον, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἤξειν ἔφη, καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετήει, καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσαν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπείξων· ὁ δὲ Σάλασσος, οἰχομένου τοῦ θυρωροῦ δείσας ὡς ἐς ἐνέδραν ἀπιόντος, ἐς τὸ τέγος ἀναδραμὼν ἐκαρᾶδόκει τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἰδὼν δὲ οὐ τὸν θυρωρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἡγουμένην ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. Φούλβιον δὲ ἐς  
100 θεραπαίνης φυγόντα παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηλευθερωμένης καὶ προῖκα ἐς γάμον ἐπιλαβούσης, ἡ τοσάδε εὖ παθοῦσα προῦδωκε ζηλοτυπία τῆς μεθ' ἑαυτὴν τῷ Φουλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

102 25. Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑποδείγματα γεγράφθω· Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης, πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ κατειργασμένος, διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἔργων καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον ἀνακεκλημένος, ὄγδοηκοντούτης ὢν ἤδη καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον προγεγραμμένος, ἀνε-

watch on her husband until the executioners arrived; and on the same day they killed him, she celebrated her marriage.

24. Being a fugitive and not knowing what to do, Salassus entered Rome at night, when he thought the danger would be markedly lessened. His house had been sold, and the only person to recognize him was the porter who had been sold along with the house, and who took him into his room and promised to hide him, and feed him as best he could. Salassus told the porter to send for his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very keen to come, but said that she was afraid of causing suspicion even to her maidservants by doing so at night, and said that she would come at dawn. At daybreak she went to collect the executioners, while the porter ran off to her house to hurry her up, in the belief that she was dawdling. With the departure of the porter, Salassus was afraid that he had gone off to set a trap, and rushed up to the roof to observe what was happening, but when he saw, not the porter, but his wife showing the executioners the way, he threw himself off the roof. Fulvius took refuge with a maidservant who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him, she betrayed him out of jealousy of the woman who had married Fulvius after his affair with her.

25. Let the above suffice as examples of wicked women. Staius, the Samnite, who achieved much for the Samnites during the Social War, and who had been enrolled in the Roman senate on account of his famous exploits, his wealth, and his family, was now eighty years old when he was proscribed because of his wealth. He threw open his

- πέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὅσα θέλοιεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης ἐπικλείσας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπόλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο.
- 103 Καπίτων δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγων τοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους καθ' ἓνα ἀνήρει, ὑπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιβρισάντων εἰς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐετουλῖνος δὲ
- 104 χεῖρα ἤθροισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον αὐτῶν τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἱ τοῖς στρατοῖς
- 105 ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμένοι πάνυ ἐδυσχέρανον. τούσδε οὖν ἔχων ὁ Οὐετουλῖνος ἀνήρει τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέοντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέονος οὐδ' ὡς ἔληξεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὑπο-
- 106 δεχόμενον, ἐπέρασεν. εἶτα ἐπολέμει καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἠσώμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἄλλοι συνῆσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, ὡς εἶδε πορθμευόμενον ἤδη τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεκόπη.
- 107 26. Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἐξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ γενομένου, προδοθεὶς ἤρπασε παρά του τῶν στρατιωτῶν ξίφος καὶ τὸν προδότην μόνον ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς
- 108 σφαγεῦσιν ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέσποτος δὲ οἰκέτης τὸν κεκτημένον ἐπὶ λόφου ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν

<sup>18</sup> See above, 3.10.

house to the people and to his slaves to take away whatever they wanted, and other things he himself gave away indiscriminately. Finally, when the house had been emptied, he locked the doors, set fire to it, and died, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, having partly opened his door, for a long time continued to kill those who were trying to force their way in one by one, until he died under the weight of numbers, having single-handedly killed many of them. At Rhegium Vetulinus collected a large band of proscribed men and those who had fled with them, as well as members of the eighteen towns which were extremely angry at being promised to the troops as the rewards of victory.<sup>18</sup> With these men Vetulinus killed some of the centurions who were roaming the area, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not stop, but crossed over to Sicily to join Pompeius, who controlled the island and was taking in fugitives.<sup>19</sup> Thereafter he continued to fight bravely, until, defeated in several engagements, he sent his son and the rest of the proscribed who were with him to Messena. As for himself, when he saw that the boat was already on its way across the straits, he fell on the enemy and was cut down.

26. Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been a favorite of his, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed only the man who betrayed him, surrendered himself to the executioners. A slave who was devoted to his master sat him down on a hill while he

<sup>19</sup> Sextus Pompeius, younger son of Pompey the Great, who continued his father's struggle against Julius Caesar, and subsequently resisted Octavian, until defeated and executed in 35.

- ἦει μισθωσόμενος αὐτῷ σκάφος. ἐπανιῶν δὲ κτεινόμενόν τε εἶδε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἤδη μέγα βοῶν "Ἐπίμεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὦ δέσποτα," εἶπε καὶ κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἄφνω. μετὰ δὲ ἐκείνον ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναιρῶν εἶπε τῷ δεσπότη· "Παραμύθιον ἔχεις." Λεύκιος δὲ δύο πιστοτάτοις ἀπελευθέρους χρυσίον δοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει, διαδράντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων τοῦ βίου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγεῦσι. Λαβιηνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς τῶν τότε συλλαβῶν τε καὶ κτείνας ἠδόξησεν ἄρα, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια γενναίως ἐνέγκοι, καὶ προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρὰ εὐνόοις θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ' αἰεὶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἢ κεφαλαῖς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ' ἔπεισε τοὺς θεράποντας ἄψαι πυρᾶν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανόντα θάπτοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευθέντες ἦψαν, ὁ δὲ ἐσήλατο ἐς αὐτήν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς διαίτης, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν. ἄλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθῆστο ἐκὼν καὶ βραδυνόντων τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγξατο ἐν μέσῳ.
- 114 27. Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος τότε πενθερός, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ φέρων τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀηδίαν ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.

<sup>20</sup> Gaius Asinius Pollio, the well known historian and loyal

- himself went down to the sea to hire a boat for him. As he was returning, he saw his master being killed, and when he was breathing his last, the slave shouted out loudly, "Wait a moment, master," and suddenly attacked the centurion and kills him. Then he killed himself, saying to his master, "There's something to console you." Lucius gave money to two of his most faithful freedmen, and was heading toward the sea when they ran off. Despairing of life, he turned around, and presented himself to the executioners. Labienus, who had arrested and killed many contemporaries in the time of the Sullan proscriptions, thought it distinctly unworthy not to suffer the same fate with fortitude, and going out in front of his house, he sat in a chair to await the executioners. Cestius was hiding in the country among slaves who were well disposed toward him, but with centurions roaming the area all the time carrying weapons, or heads, he could not stand the constant fear, and persuaded the slaves to light a pyre so they could say that Cestius had died and they were conducting his funeral. They fell for his trick and lit the pyre, and he jumped onto it. Aponius hid himself in a safe place, but he could not put up with the miserable lifestyle, and presented himself for execution. Someone else sat down of their own accord in full view, and when the executioners were slow in coming, hanged himself in public.
27. Lucius, father-in-law of Asinius, who was consul in that period, while fleeing by sea could not stand the nausea caused by the weather, and threw himself in the ocean.<sup>20</sup>

supporter of Caesar and then Antony, was consul only in 40. Appian uses adverbs like "then" (τότε) loosely, and probably only intends to refer to the general period.



- 115 Καισέννιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύγοντά τε καὶ βο-  
 ῶντα οὐ προγεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐπι-  
 βουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες  
 ἀναγινώσκειν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώ-  
 116 σκοντα ἔκτειναν. Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι προγέγρα-  
 πται, διωκόμενον ἄλλον ἰδὼν ἤρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τὸν  
 διώκοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἶη· καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς  
 τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας "Σὺ κακέϊνος" εἶπε καὶ τοὺς  
 117 δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κίλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῖων  
 καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐπύθοντο σφῶν τὰ ὀνό-  
 ματα προσγεγράφθαι, οὐπω τινὸς ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς,  
 ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀπαν-  
 118 τῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν. Σιλί-  
 κιος<sup>8</sup> δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κασσίῳ δικάζων, Καί-  
 σαρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐφεστῶτος  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα τὴν καταδικάζουσαν  
 φερόντων, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερώς,  
 ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγαλόφρονος ἐλευθεριότητος, νε-  
 κρὸν σῶμα ἐκκομιζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συν-  
 119 εβάσταζε τὸ λέχος. ἰδόντων δὲ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς  
 πύλας, ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ  
 σύνηθες ἐνὶ ἀνδρί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονο-  
 ούντων, τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνωμένων, μὴ νεκρὸν τις ὑπο-  
 κρίνοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Σιλίκιον ἤλεγχον οὐχ

<sup>8</sup> Ἰκελίος codd.; Σιλίκιος edd.

- While trying to evade his pursuers, Caesennius shouted 115  
 out that he had not been proscribed, but was being perse-  
 cuted by them for his money. They took him to the notice  
 board, however, and ordered him to read out his own  
 name, and while he was doing so killed him. Aemilius, not 116  
 knowing that he had been proscribed and seeing another  
 man being pursued, asked the centurion chasing him who  
 the proscribed man was. The centurion recognized Ae-  
 milius and replied, "You and that man there," and killed  
 them both. As Cillo and Decius were leaving the senate 117  
 house they found out that their own names had been  
 added to the proscription lists, and fled in disarray through  
 the city gates, although no one was going after them yet.  
 It was the very fact they were running that betrayed them  
 to the centurions who bumped into them. Silicius, who 118  
 was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius  
 when Octavian was supervising the courts with his army,  
 and who was the only one openly to vote for acquittal,  
 when the other judges were secretly voting for conviction,  
 now forgetful of his principled display of independence,  
 took up position under the body of a dead man being car-  
 ried away for burial, and joined those lifting the bier.<sup>21</sup>  
 Although the guards at the city gates noticed that there 119  
 was one more corpse-bearer than usual, they were not  
 suspicious of the bearers, but examined the bier to make  
 sure that no one was pretending to be dead. Silicius was  
 recognized, however, and killed by the executioners when

<sup>21</sup> The name of this man in the manuscripts is Icelius, but we know it was Publius Silicius Corona from Dio (46.49.5), who tells the story of him openly voting for the acquittal of Brutus and Cassius and later being proscribed.

ὁμότεχνον σφίσιν ὄντα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

120 28. Οὐᾶρος δ' ἀπελευθέρου προδιδόντος αὐτὸν ἀπέ-  
δρα, καὶ ὄρος ἐξ ὄρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρναίων  
ἔλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἔνθα ἑαυτὸν διαναπαύων ἡσύχαζε. τῶν  
δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσει λησστηρίου τὸ ἔλος περι-  
θεόντων, ἧ τε κόμη τοῦ δόνακος σαλευθείσα ἐνέφηγε  
τὸν Οὐᾶρον, καὶ ληφθεὶς ἔλεγεν εἶναι ληστής καὶ ἐπὶ  
121 τῷδε θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἠνείχετο. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν  
ἔμελλον καὶ βασανιεῖν ἐς τοὺς συνεγνωκότας, οὐκ  
ἐνεγκὼν ἤδη τοῦτο ὡς ἀπρεπέστερον, "Ἀπαγορεύω,"  
φησὶν, "Ἰμῖν, ὦ Μιντουρναῖοι, ὑπατόν με γεγενημέ-  
νον, καί, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἄρχουσι τιμιώτερόν ἐστι, προγε-  
γραμμένον μήτε βασανίζειν μήτε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι· εἰ γὰρ  
οὐκ ἔνι μοι διαφυγεῖν, ἄμεινον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων πα-  
122 θεῖν." ἀπιστούντων δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τὸν λό-  
γον ὑπονοούντων λοχαγὸς ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τὴν  
κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρ-  
123 ναίοις κατέλιπε. Λάργον ἕτεροι συνελάμβανον ἐν χω-  
ρίοις, οὐ Λάργον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον διώκοντες· οἰκτείραντες  
δ', ὅτι μὴ ζητούμενος ἀλοίῃ, φεύγειν μεθῆκαν ἀνά-  
τῃν ὑλῆν. ὃ δὲ ὑφ' ἐτέρων διωκόμενος δρόμῳ τοὺς  
προτέρους κατέλαβε καὶ "Ἰμεῖς," ἔφη, "Με κτείνατε  
μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν ἀντὶ τούτων  
ὑμεῖς φέρησθε."

124 29. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθνήσκων  
φιλανθρωπίας, Ῥούφος δὲ ἔχων συνοικίαν περικαλλῆ,

the bearers accused him of not being a member of their corporation.

28. Varus ran away when he was betrayed by a freed- 120  
man, and after moving from one mountain to another,  
chanced upon the marsh at Minturnae, where he stopped  
and rested quietly. The people of Minturnae were scour-  
ing this marsh looking for a bandit group, and the way the  
tops of the reeds were moving gave Varus' position away.  
When captured, he said he was a bandit, and accepted  
being sentenced to death. But they were also intending to 121  
torture him for information on his accomplices, and this  
was now something he would not accept, as being beneath  
his dignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnae," he said,  
"to persevere with the torture or execution of a man who  
has been a consul and—what is more valuable to our pres-  
ent rulers—a man who has been proscribed!<sup>22</sup> If it is not  
possible for me to escape, it is better to suffer my fate at  
the hands of my equals." The people of Minturnae were 122  
skeptical, and suspicious of his story, but a centurion  
scouring the area recognized Varus and cut off his head,  
leaving the rest of the body to the townspeople. Largus 123  
was arrested in the countryside by men who were pursuing  
someone else. They took pity on him because he had been  
captured when he was not being hunted and let him es-  
cape into the forest. But when chased by another group  
he ran back and caught up with his previous captors, say-  
ing, "I would rather you killed me, so that you who took  
pity on me get the reward instead of those men."

29. This was how Largus repaid their kindness by his 124  
death. Rufus, on the other hand, who owned a very hand-

<sup>22</sup> There was no consul at this time with the name Varus.

γείτονα Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, πάλαι μὲν ἀξιούση τῇ Φουλβίᾳ πρίασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ συνεχώρει, τότε δὲ καὶ δωρούμενος προεγράφη. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἀντωνίος οἱ προσφερομένην οὐχ ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προτεθῆναι. ἔπαυλιν ἕτερος εἶχε περικαλλῆ καὶ σύσκιον, ἄντρον τε καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βαθύ, καὶ τάχα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ προεγράφη. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγέων ἔτι μακρόθεν ἐπιθεόντων θεράπων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδνυ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότη χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἶναι καὶ δεδιέναι· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὁμοδούλων τις ἐνέφηγε τὴν ἐδραν. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ὧδε τοῦ δεσπότη, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐποίησεν. Ἀτέριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον θεράπων ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἐλεύθερος αὐτίκα γενόμενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ μετὰ σιγῆς εἶποντο κλαίοντες, ἕως ὃ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτόν, ὡς πλεονάσαντα τῆς χρείας, ἀνεδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου.

128 30. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, ἥψατο δὲ καὶ ὀρφανῶν διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ τότε τύχη. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῷ συνανηρέθη,

some apartment block beside the property of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose offer to buy the building in the past he had turned down, although he now gave it to her as a gift, was proscribed.<sup>23</sup> His head was brought to Antony, but he said it was nothing to do with him and sent it to his wife, who ordered that it be displayed on the apartment block rather than in the Forum. Another man owned a very handsome and well-shaded villa which had a beautiful, deep grotto. It was perhaps for this reason that he was proscribed. He happened to be relaxing in this grotto when the executioners came after him. While they were still some distance away, a slave sent him off into the deepest part of the grotto, put on his master's cloak and pretended to be him and to be afraid. He might have succeeded in getting killed if one of his fellow slaves had not revealed the trick. This was how the master came to be killed, but the people would not stop expressing their anger to the magistrates, until they got the informer hanged, and the slave who tried to save his master freed. While Haterius was in hiding, a slave informed against him, and was immediately given his freedom, but bid against Haterius' children for his estate, and insulted them intolerably. They followed him everywhere weeping and in silence. Eventually the people became indignant, and the triumvirs again made him a slave, of the proscribed man's children, because he had overstepped himself.

30. This was the sort of thing that happened to grown men, but the adversity of the times also affected orphans because of their wealth. One of these, who was on his way

<sup>23</sup> This seems to be the Publius Caesetius Rufus known by Valerius Maximus (9.5.4).

- 129 τὸν παῖδα περισχομένῳ τε καὶ οὐ μεθιέντι· Ἀτίλιος δὲ  
ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων περιθέμενος στολὴν ἦει μὲν, ὡς  
ἔθος ἐστί, σὺν πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ἱερά,  
ἄφνω δὲ ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ  
130 οἱ θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος ἐκ  
δαψιλοῦς παραπομπῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐχώρει· οὐ δε-  
ξαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους, οὐκ ἀξιώ-  
σας ἔτι ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἑτέρου μετὰ μητέρα, ἐς ὅρος  
ἔφυγεν· ὅθεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλή-  
φθη πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ληστεύειν τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ  
131 ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖν εἰθισμένου. οἷα δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς  
τὸν πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν αὐταῖς χοι-  
κίσι διέδρα καὶ παροδεύουσι λοχαγοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐμή-  
νυσέ τε καὶ ἀνηρέθη.
- 132 31. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Λέπιδος ἐπὶ Ἰβηρσιν  
ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ προυτέθη διάγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον·  
“Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ προειρήσθω πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν καὶ  
εὐχχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν· ὃς δ’ ἂν μὴ  
φαίνεται ταῦτα ποιῶν; ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις  
ἔσται.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐς τὰ ἱερά ἀνήγε,  
παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων μετὰ σχήματος ἰλα-  
133 ροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦς· τῶν δὲ προγεγραμμένων  
τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖτο, καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἦν ὁ  
τὰ χωρία ὠνούμενος, οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαρεῖν τοῖς ἡτυχηκό-  
σιν αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰσίῳ σφίσι τὰ ἐκείνων  
ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ὅλως χρυσίου ἢ  
ἀργύριον ἔχοντας ὁρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικτήσεις νῦν  
ἀκινδύνους, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄντα ἐπικίνδυνα.

to his schoolmaster, was killed together with his tutor, who  
threw his arms around the boy and would not let go.  
Atilius, who had just assumed the toga of adulthood, was  
going, as was the custom, with a band of friends to sacrifice  
in the temples, when his name was suddenly written up  
on the proscription lists, and his friends and attendants ran  
off. All alone and deserted by his large escort, he went to  
his mother. As even she was too afraid to take him in, he  
did not think it was worth trying anyone else after his  
mother, and fled to the mountains. From here he came  
down to the plain because he was starving, and was seized  
by a man who was used to robbing passersby, and putting  
them in chains to work for him. As a boy accustomed to  
luxury, he was unable to stand the work and made his es-  
cape to the main road still in his fetters, identified himself  
to some passing centurions, and was killed.

31. While these events were taking place, Lepidus cel-  
ebrated a triumph over the Iberians, and an edict was  
published in the following terms: “To good fortune! Let it  
be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate  
this day with sacrifices and feasting. Anyone seen not do-  
ing this will be put on the list of the proscribed.” Lepidus  
himself led the triumphal procession to the sacred pre-  
cincts, accompanied by the whole population, who put on  
an appearance of joy, but were hostile at heart. The houses  
of the proscribed were looted of their contents, but not  
many bought their estates, since people were ashamed to  
add to the burden of the unfortunate. They thought that  
their property would not bring them luck, that it was not  
at all safe to be seen in possession of gold and silver, and  
that additional acquisitions were not without danger at  
this time, while what they currently owned would be put

- 134 μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ θρασύτητα προσιόντες, ἅτε μόνοι, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὠνούντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσι, ἐλπίσασιν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς τάδε ἀρ-  
κέσειν, ἐνέδει μυριάδων ἔτι δισμυρίων.
- 135 32. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἱ μάλιστα πλούτῳ διέφερον· καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον ἐκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς ἀποκρυψαμέναις τι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα
- 136 μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ δούλοις μήνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον, οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου· Φουλβίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἤνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὠσάμεναι, δισταμένων τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὀρτησίας ἐς
- 137 τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης· “Ὁ μὲν ἤρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναιξὶ τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν· ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἤρμοζεν, ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦ-  
σαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεώσμεθα ὑπ’ αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε μὲν ἤδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἠδίκησθε· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε,

<sup>24</sup> This was the daughter of Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (consul 69), one of the greatest orators of the Republic and a rival

at much greater risk. The only ones to come forward did 134  
so out of recklessness, and bought at very low prices, be-  
cause they were the only buyers. So it was that, although  
the triumvirs hoped that these measures would provide  
enough for their war preparations, they were still short by  
two hundred million drachmas.

32. They told the people of this and published a list of 135  
one thousand four hundred women who were particularly  
conspicuous for their wealth. These were required to have  
their property assessed and contribute to the expenses of  
the war the sum approved by the triumvirs for each indi-  
vidual. Penalties were imposed for women hiding any of  
their belongings or for making a false return, and rewards  
were set for informers, both free men and slaves. The 136  
women decided to make an appeal to the female relatives  
of the triumvirs, and were successful with Octavian's sister  
and Antony's mother. When turned away, however, from  
the doors of Fulvia, Antony's wife, they were offended by  
her insulting behavior, and pushing their way to the mag-  
istrates' tribunal in the Forum, where the people and the  
bodyguards stood aside to let them through, they deliv-  
ered a speech, having chosen Hortensia for the task:<sup>24</sup> “As 137  
was fitting for women of our rank addressing a petition to  
you, we had recourse to your womenfolk; but what was not  
fitting was the treatment we received at the hands of Ful-  
via, and we have been driven by her to come to the Forum.  
You have already taken away our fathers and sons and 138  
husbands and brothers, on a charge that you were wronged  
at their hands; if you also take away our money, you will

of Cicero: see Val. Max. 8.3.3. Her speech remained famous a  
century later (Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.7).

- περιστήσετε ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων  
 139 καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δὴ τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν,  
 οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἠδικῆσθαί φατε, προγράψατε  
 καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες  
 οὔτε πολέμιον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθείλομεν οἰκίαν ἢ  
 στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἢ ἐπηγάγομεν ἕτερον ἢ ἀρχῆς  
 ἢ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κο-  
 λάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχούσαι;
- 140 33. "Τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς  
 μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμῖν  
 ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι  
 φατὲ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι;
- 141 καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισήνεγκαν; ἃς ἢ μὲν φύσις  
 ἀπολύει παρὰ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν  
 ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἅπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδύ-  
 νεύετε περὶ τῆ ἀρχῆς πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆ πόλει,
- 142 Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλούντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν  
 ἐκούσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ χωρίων ἢ προικὸς ἢ  
 οἰκιῶν, ὧν χωρὶς ἀβιώτων ἐστὶν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ  
 μόνων τῶν οἴκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων  
 οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἢ κατηγοροῖς οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην
- 143 ἢ βίαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν  
 ἐστὶν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φό-  
 βος; ἴτω τοίνυν ἢ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἢ Παρθυαίων, καὶ  
 οὐ χείρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μητέρων. ἐς δὲ  
 ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμὲν ποτε μήτε
- 144 συμπράξαιμὲν ὑμῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καί-

reduce us to a wretched condition unbecoming our birth,  
 our character, and our female nature. If you maintain that 139  
 you have been wronged at our hands too, as you say you  
 were by our husbands, then proscribe us as you did them.  
 But if we women have not voted any of you public ene-  
 mies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your  
 army, or led another one against you; if we have not hin-  
 dered you in obtaining offices and honors, why do we  
 share the penalties when we had no part in the wrongdo-  
 ing?

33. "Why should we pay taxes when we have no access 140  
 to the offices or the honors or the military commands or  
 the entire political process, which you have now brought  
 to such a sorry state by your rivalries? Because, according  
 to you, there is a war on? When have there not been wars,  
 and when have women ever paid taxes? Our nature ex- 141  
 empts us in all societies, even though our mothers did on  
 one single occasion transcend their nature and make a  
 contribution, when the Carthaginians were causing trou-  
 ble and you were in danger of losing the whole empire and  
 the city of Rome itself. But on that occasion they contrib- 142  
 uted voluntarily, not from their land, their country proper-  
 ties, their dowry, or their houses, without which free  
 women have nothing to live on, but only from the jewelry  
 they had at home, and even then not on the basis of an  
 assessment of these items or under threat of informers and  
 accusers, and subject to force and violence, but what they  
 themselves were willing to give. So what is it you are afraid 143  
 of now for our empire and country? Let war with the Celts  
 or the Parthians come, and we will not prove inferior to  
 our mothers in ensuring safety; but for civil wars may we  
 never pay a contribution, nor ever help you against each

σαρος ἢ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίννας ἠνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας, ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος· ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν.”

145 34. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀρτησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχάζόντων θρασυνοῦνται τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν· ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐξωθεῖν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἐξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης οἱ τε ὑπηρέται τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς 146 τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφον ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἱερέα καὶ πανταεθνῆ,<sup>9</sup> μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένου, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὁμοίου φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὁμοίοις, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτίκα δανείσαιεν αὐτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγκαιεν.

147 35. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιαῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἐπέειχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χείρονα ἐποίουν. ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἠτοῦντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαν ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ

<sup>9</sup> πανταεθνῆ codd.; ἀλλοεθνῆ Gaillard-Goukowsky

other. We did not pay tax in the time of Caesar or Pompey, 144 and neither Marius nor Cinna forced us to, nor even Sulla, and he governed the country as a tyrant. You, on the other hand, maintain that you are restoring ordered government.”

34. While Hortensia was delivering this speech, the 145 triumvirs were angry that, at a time when men were being quietly compliant, women were being boldly assertive, attending public meetings, scrutinizing the actions of the magistrates, and refusing even to pay money themselves when the men were serving in the army. They ordered the attendants to push the women away from the tribunal, but eventually there was booing from the crowd outside and the attendants stopped what they were doing; the triumvirs said they were postponing the matter till the next day. On the following day they published a list of four hundred 146 women, instead of one thousand four hundred, required to have their property assessed, and of any men in possession of more than one hundred thousand drachmas. This included citizen and resident alien, freedman and priest and men of all nations, without exception. They too were under the same threat of penalties and of the same rewards for informers, to force them immediately to lend the triumvirs two per cent of their wealth, and to pay a year's tax toward the war.

35. Such were the calamities that befell the Romans as 147 a result of the triumvirs' decrees, but the army contemptuously made things even worse. On the grounds that the triumvirs' security for conducting their actions lay solely with them, some of the soldiers demanded a house, or

ἔπαυλιν ἢ ὅλον κλῆρον, οἱ δ' αὖ παῖδας ἀνδράσι  
 <τισὶ><sup>10</sup> θετοὺς γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν ἕτερα  
 ἔδρων, κτινύντες τε τοὺς οὐ προγεγραμμένους καὶ  
 148 οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαιτίων διαφοροῦντες. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄρχοντας προγράψαι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπιστρο-  
 φήν τινα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γιγνο-  
 μένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἔδεισεν ἄψασθαι, μὴ  
 σφᾶς ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν παροξύνῃ, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς,  
 οἱ σχήματι στρατιωτῶν συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνοις,  
 λαβῶν ἐκρέμασε.

149 36. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς προ-  
 γεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· ὅσα δὲ  
 ἐκ παραλόγου τισὶν ἐγίγνετο ἔς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν  
 αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς ἀξίωσιν ὑστερον, ἐμοί τε ἡδίων εἰπεῖν  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὠφελιμώτερον ἐς μὴδ' ἐναπο-  
 150 κάμνοντας <ἀπ>ἐλπίζειν<sup>11</sup> περιέσεσθαι. αἱ μὲν οὖν  
 φυγαὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἦσαν ἐς Κάσσιον ἢ Βρούτον  
 ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κορνιφίκιον, καὶ τόνδε τῆς δημοκρα-  
 τίας μεταποιούμενον· ὁ δὲ πολὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἦει, γει-  
 τονεύουσιν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πομπηίου σφᾶς προθύ-  
 151 μως ὑποδεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς  
 τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν καιρῷ τότε ἔδειξε,  
 κήρυκας τε περιπέμπων, οἱ πάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν,  
 καὶ τοῖς περισώζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ θερά-

<sup>10</sup> τισὶ add. Gaillard-Goukowsky      <sup>11</sup> ἐς μὴδ' ἐναπο-  
 κάμνοντας <ἀπ>ἐλπίζειν Gaillard-Goukowsky; ἐς μὴδὲν ἀπο-  
 κάμνοντας ἐλπίζειν codd.

field, or villa, or whole inheritance belonging to the dis-  
 possessed, others that they should be adopted by certain  
 men as their sons. Others again behaved differently by  
 taking matters into their own hands and killing men who  
 had not been proscribed, or plundering the houses of  
 those who were accused of nothing. The result was that 148  
 the triumvirs even had to publish an edict that one of the  
 consuls should reverse acts that went beyond the proscrip-  
 tion order. The consul did not dare to deal with the legion-  
 aries, for fear of arousing their anger against him, but he  
 did arrest and hang certain slaves who were masquerading  
 as soldiers and taking part in their crimes.

36. These are particular examples of the extreme disas- 149  
 ters that befell the proscribed. It is more pleasant for me  
 to recount examples of cases where some men unexpect-  
 edly reached immediate safety and subsequent distinc-  
 tion, and more useful to my audience, as showing that  
 even when despondent they should never stop hoping to  
 survive. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or 150  
 to Brutus, or to Cornificius in Africa, who was also defend-  
 ing the democratic cause.<sup>25</sup> Most went to Sicily, however,  
 because it was close to Italy, and Pompeius received them  
 enthusiastically. Indeed he displayed a most intense con- 151  
 cern for these unfortunate people at that time, sending out  
 heralds to invite everyone to come to him, and offering to  
 those who saved them, whether slave or free man, double

<sup>25</sup> Quintus Cornificius was probably appointed governor of  
 Africa Vetus by Julius Caesar in 44. In 43 he was proscribed and  
 eventually defeated and killed by Titus Sextius, the governor of  
 Africa Nova, in 42.



- 152 πουσι προλέγων διπλάσια τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἰ-  
 ρούσι λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ στρογγύλα ὑπήντα τοῖς  
 πλέουσι, καὶ τριήρεις τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεον, ση-  
 μεία τε ἀνίσχουσαι τοῖς ἀλωμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχά-  
 νοντα περισωζουσαι. αὐτὸς τε τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις  
 ἀπήντα καὶ ἐσθήτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐμερί-  
 ζετο· τοῖς δὲ ἀξίοις καὶ ἐς στρατηγίας ἢ ναυαρχίας  
 ἐχρήτο. σπονδῶν τέ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γιγνομένων  
 ὕστερον, οὐ συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν  
 153 διαφυγόντας ἐς ταύτας περιλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρησι-  
 μώτατος οὕτως ἀτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίγνετο, καὶ  
 δόξαν ἐκ τούδε ἀγαθήν, ἴδιον ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ οὐχ  
 154 ἥσσονα τῆνδε ἐκείνης, προσελάμβανεν· ἕτεροι δὲ  
 ἐτέρως φυγόντες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν,  
 οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις ἢ τάφοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει,  
 σὺν ἐπινοίαις οἰκτραῖς διεγέροντο. φιλανδρίαί τε  
 παράδοξοι γυναικῶν ὤφθησαν καὶ παίδων ἐς πατέρας  
 εὐνοιαὶ καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότας. καὶ  
 τῶνδε ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.
- 155 37. Παῦλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λεπίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν  
 αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδουμένων, ἐπὶ  
 ἀδείας ἐξέπλευσεν ἐς Βρούτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον μετὰ  
 Βρούτον· ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ὕστερον γενομένης κα-  
 156 λούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἠξίωσε. Λεύκιον δέ, τὸν Ἀντωνίου  
 θεῖον, ἢ Ἀντωνίου μήτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὄντα εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπι-  
 κρύπτουσα, αἰδουμένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ τῆνδε τῶν λοχα-  
 157 γῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος. βιαζομένων δ' ὕστερον  
 ἐξέθορον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προκαθημένῳ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ

the rewards being given for capturing them. His small boats and merchant vessels met those who were at sea, while his warships sailed along the shore and made signals to the outcasts, and saved any they found. Pompeius himself went to meet the newcomers and provided them immediately with clothing and equipment. To those capable, he assigned military and naval commands. Later, when negotiating peace with the triumvirs, he would make no agreement until it also included these men who had taken refuge with him. In this way he proved of great service to his unfortunate country, and from this won a high reputation of his own in addition to, and no less significant than, that of his father. Others made their escape in different ways, or remained in hiding until the treaty, and survived by means of pitiable devices, some in the fields or in tombs, others in Rome itself. Examples were to be seen of the extraordinary love of wives for their husbands, of devotion of sons to their fathers, and of goodwill of slaves toward their masters that went beyond the natural order. The most remarkable of these I will now relate.

37. Paullus, the brother of Lepidus,<sup>26</sup> safely made his way by sea to Brutus, because the centurions deferred to him as the brother of their commander. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, from where he decided not to return to Rome, even when invited later after peace was restored. Antony's mother sheltered his uncle Lucius, her brother, without even hiding him, and the centurions also deferred to her for a long time as the mother of their commander. When, later, they used force, she rushed out into the Forum where Antony was presiding with his fellow

<sup>26</sup> See above, 12.45.

μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἔφη· “Ἐμαυτήν, ᾧ αὐτοκράτορ, μηνύω σοι Λεύκιον ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ ἔξειν, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁμοῦ κατακάνης· τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ 158 τοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπικεκήρυκται.” ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιμεμψάμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν, μητέρα δὲ οὐκ εὐγνώμονα—“Οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρήναι περισώζειν Λεύκιον, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν ὅτε σου τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι πολέμιον ἐψηφίζετο”—παρεσκεύασεν ὁμως Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα κάθ- οδον τῷ Λευκίῳ ψηφίσασθαι.

159 38. Μεσσάλας δὲ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ νέος ἐς Βρούτου ἔφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δείσαντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρόνημα προύγραψαν οὕτως· “Ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν ἀπέφηναν ἡμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπιδημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐξηρήσθω τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ 160 Μεσσάλας.” ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐδέξατο, Βρούτου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου περὶ Θράκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ τε ἔτι ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἄρχειν σφῶν τὸν Μεσσάλαν αἰρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας ἐπιβαρούση τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύ- 161 σασθαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἰκειότερος δὲ ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ συνῆν, μέχρι κρατούσης Ἀντωνίου Κλεοπάτρας ἐπιμεμψάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετήλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπατόν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀποχειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὐθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιος,

magistrates, and said, “I denounce myself to you, commander, for taking Lucius into my house, where I am keeping him and will continue to keep him until you kill us together. For the same penalties have been decreed for the proscribed and those who take them in.” Antony, although admitting she was a good sister, reproached her for 158 being an irrational mother, saying, “You should not be trying to save Lucius now, but should have stopped him when he was voting your son a public enemy.” Nevertheless, he got Plancus, who was consul, to pass a vote restoring his rights to Lucius.

38. When Messalla, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus, the triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: “Since the relatives of Messalla have made it clear to us that he was not even in the city when Gaius Caesar was assassinated, Messalla is to be removed from the list of the proscribed.”<sup>27</sup> Although he did not accept 160 the pardon, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, and their army, still numerous and in possession of ships and money and robust hopes, chose Messalla to take command of them, he refused and persuaded them to yield to the weight of fate and join forces with Antony. He joined 161 Antony’s entourage and was quite close to him until Cleopatra gained power over Antony, and Messalla denounced him and went over to Octavian’s side. Octavian appointed him consul in place of Antony himself, when the latter was deposed after again being voted a public enemy. He held a naval command at the battle of Actium

<sup>27</sup> As Appian outlines, Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (consul 31) had a long and distinguished career, eventually dying in AD 8.

καὶ περὶ Ἄκτιον ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου  
στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφισταμένους καὶ  
162 νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι. Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπίεσατο  
ἅμα τῷ Μεσσάλα καὶ ἐναύαρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλλα-  
γὰς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους  
ἐπόρθμευσε καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ  
Ἀντωνίου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.  
163 39. Ἀκίλιος δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως λαθῶν,  
οἰκέτου δ' αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὀπλίταις, τοὺς ὀπλίτας  
ἔπεισεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόνων πέμψαι τινὰς ἀπὸ  
σφῶν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ συμβόλων ὧν αὐτὸς  
ἔδίδου. ἡ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἅπαντα  
προθεῖσα ἔφη διδόναι μὲν ὡς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἃ ὑπ-  
έσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δέ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ μὴν  
ἐψεύσθη τῆς φιλανδρίας· οἱ γὰρ ὀπλίται καὶ ναῦν  
ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκιλίῳ καὶ προύπεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν.  
164 Λέντλος δέ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ συμφεύγειν τῆς γυναικὸς  
καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἐθέλων αὐτὴν  
συγκινδυνεύειν ἑαυτῷ, λαθῶν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν,  
στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ἐσήμηnen,  
165 ὅτι σώζοιτο καὶ στρατηγοίη. ἡ δ', ὅποι γῆς ἐστὶν ὁ  
ἀνὴρ, ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσαν ἐξέφυγε  
καὶ ἦδε σὺν θεράπουσι δύο· μεθ' ὧν ὥδευεν ἐπι-  
μόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἷα θεράπαινα, μέχρι διέπλευσεν

<sup>28</sup> Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus was the son of the Marcus Bibulus who had been Julius Caesar's colleague in the consulship of

against Antony, and then Octavian sent him as a general  
against the Celts who were in revolt, and awarded him a  
triumph for his victory over them. Bibulus made his peace 162  
at the same time as Messalla, was given a naval command  
by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the  
negotiations between Octavian and Antony. He was ap-  
pointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while still  
in office.<sup>28</sup>

39. Acilius escaped from the city without being seen, 163  
but a slave pointed him out to the soldiers. He persuaded  
them, however, by the hope of a larger reward, to send  
some of their group to his wife with proofs of identity that  
he gave them. When they arrived she offered them all of  
her jewelry, saying that she was giving it to them on the  
understanding that they would fulfill what they promised  
in return, although, so she said, she was not sure they  
would. But she was not disappointed in her love of her  
husband, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and sent  
him off to Sicily. When his wife asked to accompany him 164  
in flight and was keeping a close eye on him to that end,  
Lentulus was not prepared for her to share the danger  
with him, and so fled to Sicily without letting her know.  
After Pompeius appointed him a general, Lentulus sent  
her a message to say that he was safe and holding a com-  
mand. On learning what part of the world he had gone 165  
to, and avoiding her mother's surveillance, she too made  
her escape with two servants. Together with them she  
went on the road, living rough and cheaply like a slave

<sup>59</sup> Having sided with Brutus, he was proscribed, but he surrendered to Antony after the battle of Philippi in 42.

ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου περὶ ἐσπέραν. καὶ οὐ δυσ-  
 χερῶς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνην μαθοῦσα, εὔρε τὸν  
 Λέντλον οὐχ οἶα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν χαμεννίῳ καὶ  
 κόμη καὶ διαίτη πονηρᾷ πόθῳ τῆς γυναικός.

- 166 40. Ἀπουληίῳ δὲ ἠπέιλησεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμηνύσειν  
 αὐτόν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων αὐτὴν ἐπή-  
 γετο, συνήνεγκε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον,  
 ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίνοις ὀδεύοντι  
 167 φανερώς. Ἄντιον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στρωματοδέσμῳ κατ-  
 εἶλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τοῖς μισθοῦ φέρουσι καὶ διή-  
 νεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ὅθεν ἔφυγεν ἐς  
 168 Σικελίαν. Ῥηγίῖνον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς ἐς ὑπόνομον  
 λυμάτων καθήκεν, ἐς ὃν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμ-  
 βῆναι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοσμίαν, νυκτὸς ἄλλης εἰς  
 ἀνθρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ ὄνον ἀνθρακας φέροντα ἐλαύ-  
 νειν ἔδωκεν· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκ βραχέος διαστήματος ἠγείτο  
 169 φορείῳ φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ὀπλιτῶν  
 τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονοήσαντός τε καὶ ἐρευνημένου,  
 δείσας ὁ Ῥηγίῖνος ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὡς ὀδῶ χρώμενος  
 ἠξίου τὸν ὀπλίτην φείδεσθαι γυναικῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς  
 ἀνθρακέα μετ' ὀργῆς ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν (ἐστρά-  
 τευτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῷ ποτε ἐν Συρίᾳ) καὶ "Ἄπιθι  
 170 καὶ νῦν καλεῖν σε." Κοπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἤτησε

woman, until she made the crossing from Rhegium to  
 Messena one evening. She had no difficulty locating the  
 commander's tent, and there she found Lentulus, not  
 looking like an officer, but lying on a camp bed with dirty  
 hair and living a wretched existence, pining for his wife.

40. In the case of Apuleius, his wife threatened to in- 166  
 form on him if he fled without her. Although he took her  
 with him unwillingly, the fact that he was traveling openly  
 with his wife, and male and female attendants, proved  
 advantageous to his flight. Antius' wife bundled him up in 167  
 a bag of bedclothes and paid some porters to carry him  
 from the house to the coast, from where he escaped to  
 Sicily. Reginus' wife sent him down into underground 168  
 sewers one night, which the soldiers could not stand to  
 enter during the day because of the foul smell.<sup>29</sup> Another  
 night she disguised him as a charcoal dealer, and gave him  
 a donkey to drive and carry the charcoal. She herself led  
 the way, carried in a litter a short distance in front. One of 169  
 the soldiers at the city gates was suspicious of her litter  
 and searched it. Frightened by this, Reginus hurried for-  
 ward and, as if he were an ordinary traveler, urged the  
 soldier to leave women alone. The soldier, who took him  
 for a charcoal dealer, was replying angrily when he recog-  
 nized him (for he had once served under him in Syria),  
 and said, "Go on your way without fear, general, for it is  
 proper that I address you as such even now." Coponius' 170  
 wife, although previously chaste, begged a deal with An-

<sup>29</sup> This can hardly be anyone other than Gaius Antistius Regi-  
 nus, one of Caesar's legates in Gaul from 53 to 50, who is perhaps  
 the same Antistius who later supported Sextus Pompeius (see  
 App. BCiv. 5.139.579).

παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, σώφρων μὲν οὔσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἰωμένη.

- 171 41. Γέταν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔδοξε καίειν ὡς ἀπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωνήτῳ κατέλιπεν, ἔνθα ὁ πρεσβύτης μεταμορφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἔλυσε τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ
- 172 ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας δεδαπάνητο. Ὀππιον δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἀσθενεστάτου μένειν ἐθέλοντα, ἔφε-  
ρεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως ἐξήγαγέ τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Σικελίας ἄγων ἢ φέρων ἐκόμισεν, οὐδενὸς ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονοήσαντος ἢ ἐνυβρίσαν-  
τος, οἷόν που καὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν γράφουσιν αἰδέσιμον
- 173 τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν ὑστερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀγορα-  
νόμον· δεδημευμένης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπάνημα οἷ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμισθὶ συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἕκα-  
στος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ὅσον ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἐρ-  
ρίπτει, ἕως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλούτισαν. Ἀρριανοῦ δὲ
- 174 καὶ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν· "Τὸν ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεῖς προγραφέντα ἔκρυψέ τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περιέσωσε."
- 175 42. Μετέλλω δὲ ἦσθην υἱὸς τε καὶ πατήρ· καὶ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν πατήρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον αἰχμ-

tony for her husband's life, thus curing one misfortune with another.<sup>30</sup>

41. Geta's son pretended to cremate the body of his father in the courtyard of their house, claiming that he had hanged himself, but took him secretly to a newly bought farm, where the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the amnesty, he took off the bandage, but he had lost sight in that eye through lack of use. Oppius, being very weak because of old age, wanted to stay at Rome, but his son carried him on his back until he had brought him outside the gates, and took him the rest of the way to Sicily by guiding or carrying him. I suppose no one was suspicious of their appearance, or offered them violence, in the same way perhaps as written accounts say that Aeneas gained the respect of his enemies when he carried his father. In admiration of the young man, the people later elected him aedile, and when he could not meet the expenses of the office, as his property had been confiscated, the workmen built what he needed for his magistracy without charge, and all the spectators threw such coins as they were willing to give into the orchestra, until they made him a rich man.<sup>31</sup> Arrianus even left instructions in his will for the following inscription on his gravestone: "Here lies a man who was proscribed. His son, who was not proscribed, hid him, fled with him and saved his life."

42. There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The father held a command under Antony at the

<sup>30</sup> Gaius Coponius, praetor in 49, had commanded part of Pompey's fleet. <sup>31</sup> The story of Quintus Oppius (the son), aedile in 37, is also recounted in Cass. Dio 48.53.4-6.

- άλωτος έάλω και ήγνοείτο, ό δέ υίός τώ Καίσαρι συν-  
 εστρατεύετο και έστρατηγήκει και όδε περι τώ Άκτιον.  
 176 έν δέ Σάμω διακρίνοντι τώ Καίσαρι τούς αιχμαλώτους  
 ό μέν παίς συνήδρευεν, ό δέ πρεσβύτης ήγετο κόμης  
 τε έμπλεως και δύης και ρύπου και τής εκ τώνδε  
 μεταμορφώσεως. ως δέ έν τή τάξει τών αιχμαλώτων  
 ύπό του κήρυκος άνεκλήθη, άνέθορεν ό υίός εκ του  
 συνεδρίου και μόλις έπιγνούς τον πατέρα ήσπάζετο  
 177 συν οίμωγή· έπισχών δέ ποτε του θρήνου προς τον  
 Καίσαρα έφη· “Ούτος μέν σοι πολέμιος γέγονεν, ώ  
 Καίσαρ, έγώ δέ σύμμαχος· και χρη τουτον μέν σοι  
 δοϋναι δίκην, έμε δέ γέρας εύρέσθαι. αιτώ δή σε τον  
 πατέρα σώζειν δι' έμε ή δι' εκείνον έμε συγκατακα-  
 178 νείν.” οίκτου δέ έξ άπάντων γενομένου μεθήκε σώζε-  
 σθαι τον Μέτελλον ό Καίσαρ, καιτοι πολεμιώτατον  
 αυτώ γερόμενον και δωρεών πολλών, ει μεταθοίτο  
 προς αυτον απ' Αντωνίου, πολλάκις υπεριδόντα.  
 179 43. Μάρκον δέ οι θεράποντες συν ευνοία και τύχη  
 πάντα τον της προγραφής χρονον διεφύλαξαν ένδον  
 επί της οικίας, μέχρι της αδείας δοθείσης ό Μάρκος  
 180 έξήει της οικίας ως από φυγής. Ίρτιος δέ συν τοίς  
 οικέταις εκφυγών της πόλεως διώδευε την Ίταλίαν,  
 εκλύων τε δεσμώτας και συνάγων τούς αποδιδράσκον-  
 τας και πολίχνια δηών, όλίγα πρώτον, είτα και μείζω,

<sup>32</sup> This story is misplaced in Appian's account, having nothing to do with the triumviral proscriptions, but is presumably included at this point because it concerns the relationship of fathers and sons. The Caecilii Metelli were a famous Republican family,

- battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recog-  
 nized; the son was serving with Octavian and he too held  
 a command at Actium. At Samos Octavian was passing 176  
 judgment on the prisoners, and the son was sitting in  
 counsel with him, when the senior Metellus was led for-  
 ward unshaven, miserable and dirty and with his appear-  
 ance completely changed as a result. When he was sum-  
 moned by the herald in his rank of the prisoners, his son  
 sprang from the dais, and, recognizing his father with dif-  
 ficulty, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Eventually 177  
 restraining his grief, he said to Octavian, “This man was  
 your enemy, Caesar, I was your fellow soldier. It is re-  
 quired that you punish him and that I should be rewarded.  
 I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to  
 kill me too on his account.” There was an expression of 178  
 compassion from everyone, and Octavian spared Me-  
 tellus' life, even though he had been bitterly hostile to  
 him, and had often turned down the many gifts Octavian  
 had offered if he would desert Antony and come over to  
 his side.<sup>32</sup>  
 43. As for Marcus, his slaves protected him with good- 179  
 will and luck inside his own house for the whole period of  
 the proscriptions, until the amnesty was declared and  
 Marcus left the house as if he was returning from exile.<sup>33</sup>  
 Hirtius escaped from the city with his slaves and traveled 180  
 through Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and  
 attacking townships, small ones at first and then larger  
 ones. Eventually he commanded a sufficient force to sub-

but it is not possible to identify those involved in the story (which is not recorded elsewhere).

<sup>33</sup> As Marcus is only a praenomen, this is more likely to be a Marcius, probably the son of Quintus Marcius Rex (consul 68).

- μέχρι χειρὸς ἰκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἔθνος  
 ἐχειρώσατο καί, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς  
 181 Πομπήιον μεθ' ὅσων εἶχε διέπλευσε. Ῥεστίῳ δὲ οἰο-  
 μένῳ μόνῳ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἶπετο λανθάνων, ἀνάθρε-  
 πτος μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥεστίῳ καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον εὖ  
 182 παθῶν, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὕστερον ἐστιγμένος. ἀνα-  
 παυομένῳ δὲ ἐν ἔλει τῷ Ῥεστίῳ ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεράπων  
 ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα ὀφθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν  
 παρόντων στιγμάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημο-  
 νεύειν τῶν πρότερον εὐεργετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τι  
 σπήλαιον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ  
 183 συνέλεγε, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δὲ τινος ἀμφὶ τὸ  
 σπήλαιον τοῖς ἐγγύς ὀπλίταις περὶ τοῦ Ῥεστίῳ  
 γενομένης καὶ χωρούντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὁ οἰκέτης εἶπετο  
 συνεῖς καὶ τινα πρεσβύτην προοδεύοντα προδραμῶν  
 184 ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ  
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ὀδοιπόρου περισχόν-  
 των, "Ῥεστίῳνα," ἔφη, "Ἐκτεινα, τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ δεσ-  
 πότην, τάδε μοι τὰ στίγματα ἐγχαράξαντα." οἱ μὲν  
 δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενοι διὰ τὸ γέρας, ἠπεί-  
 γοντο μάτην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἀναστή-  
 σας διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν.  
 185 44. Ἄππιον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἐπαύλει, τῶν ὀπι-  
 τῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθήτα ἐνέδυσεν,  
 καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν οἷα δεσπότης ἀνακλιθεὶς ἐκὼν  
 ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος, παρεστῶτος ὡς οἰκέτου.  
 186 Μενηγίου δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαβόντων ὀπλιτῶν, θερά-

due the people of Bruttium. When an army was sent  
 against him he sailed across with all his resources to join  
 Pompeius. Restio believed that he was alone in his flight, 181  
 but without his knowledge he was followed by a slave who  
 had been brought up in Restio's own house, and who al-  
 though previously very well treated had later been branded  
 for misbehavior. While Restio was taking a break in a 182  
 marsh the slave came up to him and startled him by his  
 sudden appearance, but said to the terrified Restio that he  
 was more mindful of the former kindnesses shown to him  
 than he was aware of the present marks branded on him.  
 He found a resting place for his master in a cave, and took  
 work to collect food for him as best he could. The soldiers 183  
 in the neighborhood became suspicious of the cave with  
 regard to Restio, and made their way there to get him.  
 Understanding this, the slave followed them and rushed  
 up and killed an old man who was walking along the road  
 in front of them, and cut off his head. The soldiers were 184  
 astonished, and arrested him for killing a traveler, but he  
 said, "I have killed Restio, my master, the man who  
 branded me with these marks." The soldiers took the head  
 from him to get the reward, and hurried off, in vain, to the  
 city. The slave moved his master away and sailed across to  
 Sicily.

44. When Appius was resting in a farmhouse and the 185  
 soldiers burst in, a slave put on his master's clothes lay  
 down on the bed as if he was the master and voluntarily  
 died instead of his master, who was standing beside him  
 like a slave.<sup>34</sup> When soldiers seized the house of Mene- 186

<sup>34</sup> Valerius Maximus (6.8.6) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.11.60) tell  
 a very similar story about a man named Panapio, which is close  
 enough to Appius to explain a mistake by Appian.

πων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ὁμοδούλων συνεργούντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἕως ὅδε μὲν ὡς  
 Μενήνιος ἐκὼν ἀνήρητο, Μενήνιος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν δι-  
 187 ἐφυγεν. Οὐίνιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Οὐνίου, Φιλή-  
 μων, οἰκίαν κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ  
 τῆς οἰκίας ἔκρυψε ἐν λάρνακι, ἃς ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἐς  
 χρημάτων ἢ βιβλίων ἔχουσι φυλακὴν καὶ νυκτὸς  
 188 ἔτρεφε μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. ἕτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος,  
 τάφον δεσπότητος φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπότητον προ-  
 γραφέντα ἐφύλασσε ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.  
 189 Λουκρήτιος ἀλώμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγαθοῖς  
 ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ἦει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, φο-  
 ρεῖω φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἷά τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς  
 τὴν πόλιν. ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόντων τὸ σκέλος συντρί-  
 190 βεντος τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιθεὶς ἦει. παρὰ δὲ ταῖς  
 πύλαις γενόμενος, ἔνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα  
 προγραφεὶς ἐαλώκει, εἶδε λόχον ὀπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τόπου καταπλαγεῖς συν-  
 191 ἐκρύφθη μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν τάφῳ. τυμβωρύχων  
 δὲ τοὺς τάφους ἐρευνωμένων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς  
 τυμβωρύχοις παρέσχε περιδύειν, μέχρι Λουκρήτιον  
 192 ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος  
 περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερισάμενος ἐσθήτος,  
 ἦκε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ  
 διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξύ, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσαντο

nius, a slave got into his master's litter and was taken away  
 by his fellow slaves, who were complicit in the affair, until  
 he was executed, willingly standing in for Menenius, while  
 Menenius escaped to Sicily. In the case of Vinius, Phile- 187  
 mon, a freedman of his who owned a splendid house hid  
 him in the innermost part of the house, in a chest, one of  
 those made of iron which people use for keeping money or  
 books, and he would give him food at night until the dec- 188  
 laration of the amnesty. Another freedman, who was the  
 caretaker of his master's tomb, protected his master's son,  
 who had been proscribed, by keeping him in the tomb  
 alongside his father. Lucretius, who had been wandering 189  
 around as an outcast with two faithful slaves, was forced by  
 lack of supplies to go to his wife, and was carried to Rome  
 by the two slaves in a litter as he was a sick man.<sup>35</sup> One of  
 the bearers broke his leg, so Lucretius went on by foot,  
 leaning on the other slave. When they reached the gates 190  
 where his father had been arrested—he too had been pro-  
 scribed, by Sulla—Lucretius saw a cohort of soldiers com-  
 ing out of the city on the double. Unnerved by the coinci-  
 dence of being in the same place, he hid with the slave in  
 a tomb. When tomb robbers came to investigate the tombs, 191  
 the slave allowed himself to be stripped by them until Lu-  
 cretius could escape to the gates. There Lucretius waited 192  
 for him, shared his clothing with him, and having made his  
 way to his wife, was hidden by her in the space between a  
 double ceiling, until some friends got him pardoned by the

<sup>35</sup> This is almost certainly the Lucretius Vespillo mentioned by Caesar (*B Civ.* 3.7.1) as the commander of Pompeian ships in the Adriatic in 48. He was made consul by Augustus in 19.



παρὰ τῶν προγραφάντων. καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

193 45. Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύφθη παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεισε κάθοδον αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὁ Σέργιος ὕστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν  
194 ἀπολύουσιν ἔφερε φανερώς. καὶ οἶδε μὲν οὕτως ἐσώζοντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς στρατηγῶν σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς ὑπηρέτας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις διῆλθεν, ἐπιθλιβόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθεῖη πρὸς ἑτέρου, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἀπάντων οἷα στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπονδᾶς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπεσταλμένον, μέχρι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τριήρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκείνον.

195 46. Ἀπουλήιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρούντιος ὑποκριθέντες εἶναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς στρατιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς λοχαγοὶ διώκοντες ἑτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὁδὸν διελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλυον καὶ τοὺς ἀποδράντας συνέλεγον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἑκατέρω γενομένης σημεία τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ὄψις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ  
196 ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφὶ τινὶ λόφῳ σταθμεύουσι, μεγάλῳ δέει καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ ἔω περινεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἔδοξαν ἀλλήλους ἑκάτε-

proscibers. Later, with the return of peace, he held the consulship.

45. Sergius was hidden in the house of Antony himself 193 until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to pass a vote for his return. As a result, later on, during the civil discord between Octavian and Antony when the senate was voting to declare Antony a public enemy, Sergius was the only one to vote openly against the proposal. Such was the way 194 in which the men I have mentioned were saved. As for Pomponius, he disguised himself as a praetor and having dressed his slaves up as attendants crossed the city like a praetor escorted by lictors, his servants crowding around him so that he would not be recognized by anyone else. At the city gates he commandeered official vehicles and journeyed through Italy, with everyone welcoming him and escorting him on his way, on the assumption that he was a praetor sent by the triumvirs to Pompeius to negotiate a treaty. Eventually he sailed across to Pompeius on an official warship.<sup>36</sup>

46. Appuleius and Arruntius, on the other hand, pretended to be centurions, disguised their slaves as soldiers, 195 and rushed out through the city gates like centurions in pursuit of others. For the rest of their journey they took separate routes, releasing prisoners and collecting fugitives until each had a substantial force which now had standards and arms and looked like an army. They both 196 made their way to the coast, where they set up camp on either side of a hill, viewing each other with great apprehension. At daybreak, peering around the hill, each

<sup>36</sup> Valerius Maximus (7.3.9) recounts the same story but identifies the proscribed man as Sentius Saturninus Vetulo.

197 ρος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι καὶ συμ-  
πλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὰ  
ὄπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὴν τύχην ὡς  
ἐπιβαροῦσάν σφισιν ἐς ἅπαντα ἐπεμέμφοντο. δια-  
198 πλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βρούτον, ὁ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον, ὁ  
μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκατήλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε  
τῷ Βρούτῳ Βιθυνίας καὶ Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ  
198 παραδοῦς Βιθυνίαν κατήχθη. Οὐεντίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθε-  
ρος εὐθὺς μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδησεν ὡς παραδώ-  
σων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔπεισε  
καὶ ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὀπλίτας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὡς λο-  
χαγὸν ἐξήγαγε· τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Σικελίας  
διώδευσαν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλάκις ἑτέροις λοχα-  
199 γοῖς ζητοῦσιν Οὐεντίδιον.

199 47. Ἐτερον ἐν τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ φέ-  
ροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαῦλον οἶκημα  
μισθωτόν. στρατιώτου δ' αὐτῷ παρακατοικισθέντος,  
οὐδὲ τοῦτον φέρων τὸν φόβον ἐς θαυμαστὴν τόλμαν  
ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ κειράμενος ἠγείτο ἐν αὐτῇ  
200 Ῥώμῃ διδασκαλείου μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. Οὐολούσιος  
δὲ ἀγορανομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλον ὀργιαστὴν τῆς  
Ἰσιδος ἔχων ἤτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδν  
τὰς ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ  
διῆλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομπήιον.

<sup>37</sup> This is presumably the Marcus Appuleius (consul 20) mentioned in Book 3 (63.259; see n. 28). Lucius Arruntius commanded the center of Octavian's fleet at Actium (Plut. *Ant.* 66.3).

thought the other was an army sent against them, and coming to close quarters they began to fight a battle. Eventually at some point they realized what was happening, threw down their weapons and in their grief blamed fate for weighing heavily on them in all matters. Then they 197 took ship, Appuleius to join Brutus and Arruntius to Pompeius. The latter returned from exile with Pompeius, the former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell, surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was recalled from exile.<sup>37</sup> As soon as Ventidius was proscribed, a 198 freedman tied him up as if he was going to hand him over to the executioners. During the night, however, he prevailed on the slaves, disguised them as soldiers, and took his master away as if he were a centurion. On their journey through the rest of Italy to Sicily, they often stopped for the night in the company of other centurions looking for Ventidius.

47. A freedman hid another proscribed man in a tomb, 199 but as the latter could not bear the mental image of the place, the freedman rented a miserable dwelling and moved him there. When a soldier moved in beside him, this fear was also too much for him to take, but instead of cowardice he adopted an amazing daring, and having cut his hair ran a school in Rome until the amnesty. Volusius 200 was proscribed while holding the office of aedile. He had a friend who was an initiate of the cult of Isis, and asked him for his costume: having put on the ankle-length linen robe and the dog's head, he traveled to Pompeius celebrat-

He was made consul in 22. Seneca (*Epist.* 114.17) reports that he wrote a *History of the Punic War*.

- 201 Σίτιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν ὄντα καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψιλοῦς ἀναλώσαντα, ἐφύλασσον, σιδηροφοροῦντές τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπερύκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι μαραινομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπρέσβευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίτιον τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας εἰργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν. Σίτιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἢ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε τῆς ξένης <εἰργόμενος><sup>12</sup> ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς, ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκῶς, καὶ ἴσως
- 202 διὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προυγράφη. φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύοι, κατήγετο· καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὄντα ἐνέφηνε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε Καληνοῦ.
- 203 48. Οὐεργίνιος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἠδὺς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα χρήματα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μύσους τε πίμπλονται καὶ φόβων ἐς ὕστερον μεγάλων, περισώσαντες δὲ δόξης τε εὐσεβοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρημάτων ὕστερον
- 204 πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συν-

<sup>12</sup> εἰργόμενος add. Gaillard-Goukowsky

<sup>38</sup> As Appian himself notes (*BCiv.* 2.9.33), Marcus Terentius Varro had written an attack on the First Triumvirate called the *Three-headed Monster*. His allegiance to Pompey the Great may

- ing the rites in this disguise. The people of Cales protected Sittius, one of their own citizens who had spent a great deal of money on them from his abundant resources. Taking up weapons on his behalf, they threatened his slaves and kept the soldiers outside the walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent a delegation to the triumvirs for him, and succeeded in getting permission for Sittius to remain in his hometown, while being excluded from the rest of Italy. This Sittius was thus the first or only man to be excluded from foreign territory and spend his exile in his own town. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a distinguished soldier and former praetor, and it was perhaps for these reasons that he was proscribed, as somebody hostile to autocratic rule.<sup>38</sup> His close friends regarded it as a matter of pride to give him shelter, and competed with each other to do so. Calenus was the successful one and kept him in his country house, where Antony used to stop when traveling. Yet not a single slave belonging to either Varro himself or Calenus revealed the presence of Varro in the house.<sup>39</sup>
- 201 202 203 204 205
48. Verginius, who was a smooth talker, explained to his slaves that if they killed him for a small and uncertain amount of money, they would incur heavy pollution and be filled with great fears for the future; while, should they save him, they would enjoy a reputation for piety, excellent prospects, and, later, a much larger and more secure sum of money. So they went on the run with him as a fellow

also explain the fact that he was among the proscribed. Valerius Maximus (8.7.3) says he lived to the age of one hundred.

<sup>39</sup> Quintus Fufius Calenus (consul 47) was a staunch Caesarian and trusted by Antony (see *BCiv.* 5.3.14).

206 *έφευγον ὡς ὁμοδούλω καὶ γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο· ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐδίδασκε κακείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὐνεκα μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶη δικαιότερα καὶ πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, “Ἐνθα μοι τὸ γύναιον,” ἔφη, “Ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων συνετάξατο.” καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἶδε πεισθέντες κατήεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφίκτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργίνιου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς Πομπήιον προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράπωντα ὅμως ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐξαγγέλλειν ὑπολιπούσα. καὶ ὁ θεράπων τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἰδὼν ἀνέθορε τε ὡς ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυεν ὡς ὀρωμένην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ὄτῳ κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον ἅπασιν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀξιοῦντα σφᾶς περιμένειν, ἔσπε μετακληθείη τὸ γύναιον, ἢ συνελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσοντες φιλοπόνως· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχόν τε τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἔτι θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. Ῥέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξάμενος ὡς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ἤτει χρήματα, μηνύσειν ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ὁ δὲ, οἶόν τι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγων ἐποίησεν,*

slave, and when he was recognized on the road they tried to fight off the soldiers, but he was captured by them. He explained to the soldiers too, however, that they were not trying to kill him out of hatred, but solely for money, and that they would get more and more honorably earned money if they accompanied him to the coast. “Here,” he said, “my wife has arranged with me to bring a ship full of money.” They too were similarly persuaded by him and went down to the coast. His wife had come to the beach as arranged, but because Verginius was delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had put out to sea, although she did leave a slave behind on the beach to give the news. When the slave saw Verginius he ran up to him as he would to his master, and pointed out the ship as it was setting sail and told him about his wife and the money and reason why he himself had been left behind. The soldiers now believed the whole story, and when Verginius asked them to wait until his wife could be called back, or to go with him to her to get the money, they embarked in a small boat and rowed hard to bring him to Sicily. There they received what they had been promised, and did not leave Verginius, but remained in his service until the amnesty. A ship captain took Rebilus on board his vessel in order to bring him to Sicily, and then demanded money, threatening to inform on him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he was going into exile, and threatened in turn to lay information against him for receiving money to take

ἀντηπείλει μηνύσειν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄγοι,  
 μέχρι δείσας ὁ ναύκληρος διέσωσεν ἐς Πομπήιον.  
 210 49. Μᾶρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῶν προεγγραπτο  
 μὲν καὶ ὅδε διὰ τόδε, ἠττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συλ-  
 λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων, καὶ αὐτὸν  
 211 ὠνήσατο Βαρβούλας. δεξιὸν δὲ ὀρῶν ἐπέστησε τοῖς  
 ὁμοδούλοις καὶ χρήματα διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν  
 ἅπασι καὶ συνετὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ θεράποντος φύσιν  
 ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις  
 212 εἴη, περισώσειν ὁμολογήσαντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ  
 ἰσχυρῶς καὶ γένος ἀναπλάσσοντα καὶ ὄνομα καὶ  
 προτέρους δεσπότης ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίσας  
 213 ὀκνήσειν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ  
 εἶπετο καὶ ὧς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντῶντων τις  
 φίλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μᾶρκον ὡς οἰκέτην  
 αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήνυσε τῷ Βαρβούλα. ὁ δὲ  
 ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δι' Ἀγρίππα, καὶ ἀφείθη τῆς προ-  
 γραφῆς ὁ Μᾶρκος, καὶ φίλος ἐγίγνετο Καίσαρι καὶ  
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ  
 214 Ἄκτιον. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ  
 ἡ τύχη περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοτέροις· Βαρ-  
 βούλας τε γὰρ ἠττηθέντος Ἀντωνίου λαμβανόμενος

<sup>40</sup> Thucydides (1.137) and Plutarch (*Vit. Them.* 25) tell the story of how Themistocles, when traveling incognito to Asia after being ostracized at Athens, was blown by a storm to Naxos, which the Athenians were besieging. He revealed himself to the ship's

him on his ship.<sup>40</sup> Eventually the captain became afraid, and delivered Rebilus safely to Pompeius.

49. Marcus was serving under Brutus' command and 210  
 was another who had been proscribed for this reason. On  
 Brutus' defeat he was arrested, but pretended to be a slave  
 and was bought by Barbula.<sup>41</sup> Barbula could see that he 211  
 was clever, put him in charge of his fellow slaves and en-  
 trusted him with managing his financial affairs. But as he  
 was good at everything and more naturally intelligent than  
 a slave, Barbula began to be suspicious and encouraged  
 him to believe that if he admitted to being one of the  
 proscribed he would save his life. Since Marcus strenu- 212  
 ously defended himself and invented a family, a name, and  
 former masters, Barbula set about bringing him to Rome,  
 expecting that a proscribed man would be reluctant to go  
 there. But he went with him all the same. One of Barbula's 213  
 associates who went to meet him at the gates, saw Marcus  
 standing at his side like a slave, and privately told Barbula  
 who he was. The latter then petitioned Octavian through  
 Agrippa and Marcus' name was removed from the pro-  
 scription list. He became a close associate of Octavian, and  
 not long after served under his command against Antony  
 at Actium. Barbula too held a command, in his case for 214  
 Antony, and fortune came round full circle for both of  
 them. For when Antony was defeated, Barbula was cap-

captain, but to avoid betrayal to the Athenian forces, he had to threaten he would say he had bribed the captain to carry him.

<sup>41</sup> It is usually thought that Appian's story here involves the future consuls of 21, Marcus Lollius and Quintus Aemilius Lepidus (assumed also to have had the additional name Barbula).

ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος αὐτὸν ὡς  
 ἀγνοῶν ὠνήσατο, ἐκθέμενος δὲ ἅπαντα τῷ Καίσαρι  
 ἤτησέ τε καὶ ἔτυχε τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμεί-  
 215 ψασθαι. τοῖσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ  
 ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα παρέμεινεν· ἠρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον  
 ἀρχὴν ἐν ἄστει οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ.

50. Βαλβίνῳ δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν  
 Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος  
 ἰδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ  
 216 τοιαῦσδε ἀνάγκης παρέστη. Μαικήνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λε-  
 πίδου παῖδα βουλευσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδὶ συνεγνωκέαι· Λεπίδου γὰρ  
 217 αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερεώρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα  
 ὁ Μαικήνας ἐς Ἄκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ  
 μητέρα, ἵνα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὔσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ἤτει παρὰ  
 218 τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν  
 ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου  
 θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο  
 καὶ διωθουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις  
 εἶπεν· “Ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπι-  
 εἴκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικί με ἢ παιδὶ συγγνώμην λέγοντες·  
 σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν προέγραψα, κάτω δὲ εἶμι τῶν προ-  
 219 γραψάντων.<sup>13</sup> ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν  
 καὶ ἐς ἐμέ σοι παρεστῶτα, χάρισαί μοι τὴν γυναῖκα  
 ἀπαντήσῃν ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγνωμένῳ ἢ μετ’ ἐκείνης

<sup>13</sup> προγραφέντων E; προγραψάντων ceteri

tured, pretended to be a slave, and was bought by Marcus,  
 feigning ignorance of his identity. But he laid the whole  
 matter before Octavian and asked that he might repay  
 Barbula with like for like; and his request was granted.  
 This similarity of good fortune attended these men in later 215  
 times too, for the two of them held the consulship together  
 at Rome.

50. Balbinus, on the other hand, an exile who had re-  
 turned from exile with Pompeius and held the consulship  
 shortly after, was solicited by Lepidus, who had been de-  
 moted from political dynast to private citizen by Octavian.  
 Lepidus was acting under compulsion of the following  
 circumstances. Maecenas was prosecuting Lepidus' son 216  
 for conspiracy against Octavian, and also the young man's  
 mother for complicity in the crime. Lepidus himself he  
 ignored, no doubt regarding him as powerless. Maecenas 217  
 sent the son to Octavian at Actium, but in order to avoid  
 having a woman brought there under arrest, he required  
 the mother to provide a bond in the presence of the consul  
 to guarantee her appearance before Octavian. As nobody 218  
 offered the security, Lepidus loitered repeatedly at the  
 door of Balbinus, and also approached him when he was  
 giving judgment, and although the attendants pushed him  
 away and kept him at a distance, he did manage with dif-  
 ficulty to say to him: “Even the prosecution testify to my  
 virtue, since they do not say that I was complicit with my  
 wife or my son. I was not the one to have you proscribed,  
 yet I am now inferior to those who did proscribe you. But 219  
 keeping sight of the mutability of human affairs and of me  
 standing before you, allow me to guarantee my wife's ap-  
 pearance before Octavian, or to go there with her under

ἀπελθεῖν δεδεμένω.<sup>14</sup> ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λεπίδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβίνος ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναῖκα.

- 220 51. Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιάδε ἔσσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βρούτον καὶ μετὰ Βρούτον ἀποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἔλθων τιμῆς παρ' 221 ἐκατέρω καὶ στρατηγίας ἤξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς ἀπολογία τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν· καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ Ἄκτιον συμφορὰν ἐπισταλείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κικέρων ὄδε ὑπατεύων ἀνέγνω τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα πρότερον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλὴ. Ἄππιος δὲ διένειμε 222 τοῖς θεράπουσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ θεράποντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἄππιον, ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλπίδα μεταφέροντες, καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ 223 ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεῶς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίας Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βρούτον οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τὸδε καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχθη καὶ Καίσαρι φίλος ἐγί-

<sup>14</sup> δεομένω E; δεδεμένω ceteri

arrest." While Lepidus was still speaking, Balbinus could not endure this change of fortune, and released his wife from the bond.

51. Cicero, the son of Cicero, had earlier been sent 220 away to Greece by his father, who expected that something like this would happen. From Greece he made his way to Brutus, and after Brutus' death to Pompeius, both of whom honored him and thought him worthy of military 221 command. Subsequently Octavian, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, immediately appointed him to a priesthood, and shortly after made him consul and governor of Syria. When Octavian dispatched a report with news of Antony's defeat at Actium, it was this Cicero, as consul, who read it out to the people and posted it on the rostra where earlier his own father's head had been displayed.<sup>42</sup> Appius distributed his goods among his slaves 222 and then sailed with them to Sicily. When a storm overtook them, the slaves plotted to get his money, and put Appius in a small boat, pretending that they were transferring him to give him a better hope of survival; but, as it turned out, while he unexpectedly completed the crossing, their ship was wrecked and they all died. When Publius, Brutus' 223 quaestor, held out against the attempts of Antony's supporters to persuade him to betray Brutus, he was proscribed for this, but was restored and became an associate of Octavian. On one occasion, when Octavian came to visit

<sup>42</sup> Cass. Dio 51.19.4 indicates that it was the news of Antony's death that came when the younger Cicero was suffect consul in the second half of 30. He had not entered office at the time of Actium.

γνετο καὶ ἐπιόντι ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι προύθηκεν εἰκόνας  
Βρούτου καὶ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

224 52. Τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δόξαν τισὶ τῶν προγραφέντων  
εἰς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ  
ἄλλα παραλιπόντι τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· γιγνομένων δὲ  
τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμοις διὰ  
τῆνδε τὴν στάσιν ἐδονείτο· καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μεί-  
ζους ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τε Λιβύην Κορνιφικίου πρὸς Σέξ-  
στιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ  
225 περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπηίου. πάθη τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη  
πόλεσιν ἐκ δοριαλωσίας, ὑπεριδόντι δὲ τῶν ἐλασσό-  
νων τὰ μέγιστα δὴ καὶ δι' ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περι-  
φανέστατα Λαοδικεῦσι καὶ Ταρσεῦσι καὶ Ῥοδίσι καὶ  
Παταρεῦσι καὶ Ξανθίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, ὡς ἐν  
κεφαλαίῳ συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

226 53. Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι παλαιάν,  
ὄσπην Καρχηδονίου ἀφείλοντο· ἦν δὲ Ἰόβας εἶχεν,  
ὑστερόν τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
νέαν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβύην· εἶη δ' ἂν τῆς Νομαδι-  
227 κῆς. Σέξστιος οὖν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς νέας ἡγούμενος  
ἦται Κορνιφικίον ἐκστῆναί οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὡς Λι-  
βύης ἀπάσης ἐν τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καίσαρι  
νενεμημένης. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τὴν λήξιν ἔφη γινώσκειν τῶν

<sup>43</sup> Appian is referring to Lucius (not Publius) Sestius Quirin-  
alis, suffect consul in 23 (see Cass. Dio 53.32.4).

<sup>44</sup> That is, Julius Caesar. <sup>45</sup> Titus Sextius had served under  
Julius Caesar in Gaul. It is not clear whether Appian means he

him, Publius put on display some images of Brutus, and  
even for this he was praised by Octavian.<sup>43</sup>

52. These have been examples of the particularly un- 224  
expected things that happened to some of the proscribed  
leading them into peril or safety; many others I have left  
out. While they were taking place at Rome, wars resulting  
from this civil disorder were also disrupting everywhere  
abroad. The more important of these wars were in Africa  
between Cornificius and Sextius, in Syria between Cassius  
and Dolabella, and in Sicily against Pompeius. Towns suf- 225  
fered many disasters as a result of being taken by storm.  
Ignoring the lesser cases, the most important, and because  
of their reputation the most notorious of the others oc-  
curred at Laodicea and Tarsus and Rhodes and Patara and  
Xanthus. The following is a brief summary of the sort of  
thing that happened at each of them.

53. The Romans still call that part of Africa they took 226  
from the Carthaginians Africa Vetus; and for this reason,  
the land held by Juba, which they got later in the time of  
Gaius Caesar,<sup>44</sup> they call Africa Nova, although it could be  
regarded as Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, gover- 227  
nor of Africa Nova under Octavian's authority, asked Cor-  
nificius to cede Africa Vetus to him, because in the trium-  
viral allocations the whole of Africa had been assigned to  
Octavian.<sup>45</sup> Cornificius replied that he did not recognize

was appointed governor of Africa Nova by Caesar or by Octavian.  
As a supporter of Antony, he played a major role in the civil war  
in Africa until 40. Quintus Cornificius was an orator and poet, a  
friend of Cicero and Catullus, and a supporter of Caesar. Ap-  
pointed governor of Africa Vetus in 44, he was proscribed by the  
triumvirs in 43 and defeated and killed by Sextius in 42.



228 τριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένων, οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ  
 τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλω μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς· ἐκ  
 μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατὸν δὲ εἶχεν  
 ὁ μὲν βαρύν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος κουφότερόν  
 τε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορνι-  
 φικίου περιῶν ἀφίστη καὶ Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγὸν  
 229 τοῦ Κορνιφικίου, μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμά-  
 χητο πολιορκούμενος. ἔδηου δὲ καὶ Λαίλιος, ἕτερος  
 τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατηγός, τὴν Σεξστίου Λιβύην  
 καὶ Κίρταν περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.  
 230 54. Καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας ἔς τε  
 Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Σιττιανούς,  
 231 οἱ ἀπὸ τοιαύδε συντυχίας οὕτως ὠνομάζοντο. Σίττιος  
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίκην ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑποστὰς ἔφυγε καὶ στρατὸν  
 ἀγείρας ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Λιβύην  
 διέπλευσε καὶ τοῖς Λιβύων βασιλεῦσι πολεμοῦσιν  
 ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. αἰεὶ δὲ οἷς προσθοῖτο  
 232 στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγύμναστο λαμπρῶς. Γαῖω τε Καί-  
 σαρι διώκοντι τοὺς Πομπηιανούς ἐν Λιβύῃ συνεμά-  
 χησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν διώνυμον,  
 ἀνέειλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν  
 Μασανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον  
 233 αὐτῆς. Μασανάσσης δ' ἦν Ἀραβίωνος τοῦδε πατήρ,  
 Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ

the allocation made by the triumvirs on their own author-  
 ity, and that since he had received his command from the  
 senate he would not yield it to anybody else without their  
 instruction. As a result, they went to war with each other. 228  
 Cornificius had a heavily armed and more numerous army,  
 Sextius a lighter and smaller force, with which all the same  
 he managed to traverse and cause the central parts of  
 Cornificius' province to defect, as well as fight off Ven-  
 tidius, one of Cornificius' generals, who attacked him with  
 a larger force and put him under siege. Laelius, another 229  
 of Cornificius' generals, ravaged Sextius' part of Africa,  
 invested Cirta, and laid siege to it.

54. They all sent envoys to seek the military assistance 230  
 of King Arabio, and the so-called Sittians, who got their  
 name from the following circumstances. Sittius refused to 231  
 face a private action taken against him at Rome and went  
 into exile.<sup>46</sup> Collecting an armed force from Italy itself and  
 Iberia, he sailed over to Africa, where he allied himself in  
 turn with various warring African kings. As those to whom  
 he allied himself were always victorious, Sittius got a name  
 for himself and his army had become exceptionally well  
 trained. He fought for Gaius Caesar when he was pursuing 232  
 the Pompeians in Africa, and killed Juba's famous general,  
 Saburra. As a reward for these services he received from  
 Caesar the territory of Massinissa, not all of it, but the best  
 part. Massinissa was the father of this Arabio and ally of 233  
 Juba, and Caesar had given his territory to our Sittius, and

<sup>46</sup> Publius Sittius, an equestrian from the town of Nuceria in  
 Campania, was a friend of Sulla and Cicero. He enjoyed a suc-  
 cessful career as a mercenary general in Africa, until he was as-  
 sassinated in 44.

τῷδε τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ Βόκχῳ, Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλεῖ, δε-  
 δώρητο· καὶ τὸ μέρος ὁ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρά-  
 234 σιν ἐπιδιείλεν. Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξ-  
 ἔφυγε πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Πομπηίου, Γαίου δὲ  
 Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανήλθε, καὶ  
 Λιβύων τινὰς αἰὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπηίῳ πέμπων ἐς  
 Ἰβηρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόκχον  
 235 ἀφήρητο τὴν χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνηγήκει δόλῳ. εὖ-  
 νους δὲ ὢν τοῖς Πομπηιανοῖς διὰ τάδε, κατεγίνωσκεν  
 αἰὲ τῆς μοίρας ὡς ἀτυχεύουσι ἀμειλίκτως καὶ Σέξτιῳ  
 προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσ-  
 ἔθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοί, κατ' εὐνοίαν οἶδε πατρῶαν  
 τοῦ Καίσαρος.

236 55. Θαρρήσας οὖν ὁ Σέξστιος ἐξῆι τῆς πολιορκίας  
 ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου καὶ τοῦ στρα-  
 τοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἶπετο κτείνων τε καὶ  
 ζωγρῶν. καὶ τάδε μαθὼν ὁ Λαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς  
 Κίρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον.  
 237 ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
 ἤδη τὸν Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ἦι καὶ ἀντεστρατο-  
 238 πέδευε μετὰ πλειόνων ὄντι. Λαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφι-  
 κίου μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων πέμψαντος ἐς τινα κατάσκειν,  
 ὁ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα ἔπεμψεν ἵππομαχεῖν τῷ Λαίλιῳ  
 κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦι μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐς τὰ  
 πλάγια τῆς ἵππομαχίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐθορύβει, μέχρι  
 τὸν Λαίλιον οὐχ ἡσσημένον πω δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς  
 ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖη, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ  
 καταλαβεῖν, Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτώμενον αὐτοῦ κτεῖναί

to Bocchus, king of Mauretania. Sittius divided up his sec-  
 tion among the men under his command. At the time, 234  
 Arabio fled to Iberia to join the sons of Pompey, but when  
 Gaius Caesar was assassinated he returned to Africa. By  
 continually sending some men to the younger Pompeius  
 in Iberia, and getting them back properly trained, he had  
 taken his territory back from Bocchus, and using a subter-  
 fuge had had Sittius killed. Although he was well disposed 235  
 toward the Pompeians because of this, he was always  
 critical of their destiny as fate was pitilessly unfavorable to  
 them, and joined Sextius, through whom he won the favor  
 of Octavian. Sittius' partisans also attached themselves to  
 Sextius, their reason being the goodwill they felt for Octa-  
 vian's father.

55. Encouraged by this, Sextius made a sortie from the 236  
 besieged city to give battle, in which Ventidius was killed,  
 his army fled in disorder, and Sextius followed, killing and  
 taking prisoners. When Laelius heard the news, he raised  
 the siege of Cirta and made his way to Cornificius. Roused 237  
 by these events, Sextius began to move against Cornificius  
 himself at Utica and, even though Cornificius had more  
 men, he made camp opposite him. When Cornificius sent 238  
 Laelius with his cavalry on a reconnaissance mission, Sex-  
 tius dispatched Arabio to fight a cavalry engagement in a  
 frontal assault, while Sextius himself with his light troops  
 attacked on the flanks of the cavalry battle. He caused  
 such confusion that eventually Laelius, although not yet  
 beaten, was afraid that his route of withdrawal had been  
 cut off, and occupied a hill in the middle. Arabio stayed

- 239 τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλώσαι. ὄρων δὲ  
ταῦτα ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐξήει τῷ πλείονι στρατῷ, βοηθή-  
σων τῷ Λαίλιῳ· καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξστιος ὄπισθεν  
γενόμενος ἐξήπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφό-  
μενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα κακοπαθῶς.
- 240 56. Ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις ἀνδράσιν  
ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κορ-  
νιφικίου παρέδν λαθῶν. καὶ Ῥώσκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ,  
τοῦ χάρακος ἀλισκομένου, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τιμὴν τὴν  
σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε καὶ ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ  
μάχῃ κάμνων μετεπήδα πρὸς Λαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολωνόν,  
οὐκ εἰδὼς πῶ περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· μεταπηδῶντα δ'  
αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος ἵππῆες ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτει-  
ναν. καὶ γιγνόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Λαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου  
καθορῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων πεσόν-  
των ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν· καὶ ὅσοι τῶν  
προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Κορνιφικίῳ, οἱ μὲν  
242 ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δ' ὄπη δύναιντο ἕκαστος. ὁ  
δὲ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς Σιττιανοὺς ἐδώ-  
ρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῷ Καίσαρι  
καθίστατο, συγγινώσκων ἀπάσαις.
- 243 57. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Σεξστίου  
καὶ Κορνιφικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεῖ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δό-  
ξαντι εἶναι· τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βρούτον, μι-  
κρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλαμβάνοντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν  
244 τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνήρητο, οἱ μὲν σφα-  
γεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθεί-  
σης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ

close to him, killing many and surrounding the hill. When 239  
Cornificius saw this, he came out with the greater part of  
his army in order to assist Laelius, but Sextius managed to  
get behind him too, closed rapidly with him, and stuck to  
his rear, until Cornificius turned to face him and took  
heavy casualties in fighting him off.

56. Meanwhile Arabio stole into Cornificius' camp un- 240  
observed with a group of specialist rock climbers who  
crept up the cliffs. When the palisade was taken, Roscius,  
who was in charge of its defense, offered his throat to one  
of his shield bearers, and was killed. Cornificius, exhausted  
by the fighting, began to hurry across to Laelius on the hill,  
not yet knowing what had happened to his camp, but while  
he was making the transfer, Arabio's cavalry attacked and  
killed him. Looking down on these events from his posi- 241  
tion on the hill, Laelius committed suicide. With their  
leaders dead, the soldiers fled in scattered groups. Of the  
proscribed who were with Cornificius, some sailed across  
to Sicily, others wherever they could. Sextius rewarded 242  
Arabio and the Sittians with a great quantity of booty, but  
he brought the towns over to Octavian's side by pardoning  
them all.

57. This was the end of the war in Africa between 243  
Sextius and Cornificius, which people regarded as insig-  
nificant because it was over so quickly. In relation to Cas-  
sius and Brutus, the following recapitulates by way of re-  
minder a little of what has already been said. When Gaius 244  
Caesar was assassinated his murderers took possession of  
the Capitol, but came down from there when they were  
voted an amnesty. The people, however, were stirred to

- 245 ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἴκῳ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἐζήτει τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἠμύνοντο αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν, εὐθύς δὲ ἐξήεσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνηντο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἤρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἠγείσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, 246 Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βρούτος. οὔτε δὲ ἄρχειν πῶ τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἄστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες ἐξήεσαν ἔτι στρατηγοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἢ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοντο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς 247 τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μεταψηφίζετο, τῆς βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραίνουσης, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὁμῶς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη ὧν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκείνοι στρατὸν καὶ χρήματα ἠγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες.
- 248 58. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβώνιον δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα καὶ Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου πολιορκοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαίνουσα ἢ βουλὴ Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βρούτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς τὰς προτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐπανήγαγον καὶ Βρούτῳ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα προσέθεσαν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονεύουσιν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὃ τι κελεύοι

pity for Caesar at the removal of his body for burial, and began to rush around in pursuit of his murderers. At the 245 time, the latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and all those who had been appointed by Caesar himself as provincial governors immediately left the city. Although Cassius and Brutus were still serving as urban praetors, they too had been chosen by Gaius Caesar to hold governorships at the end of their praetorship, Cassius of Syria, Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not yet 246 assume their provincial commands before the appointed date, nor put up with the fear they felt in the city, they set out to leave while still praetors, and the senate, for the sake of propriety, commissioned them as grain supervisors, so that people would not think they had taken to flight in the meantime. On their departure, the provinces of 247 Syria and Macedonia were transferred by popular vote to the consuls Antony and Dolabella, totally against the will of the senate. Nevertheless, in exchange Cyrene and Crete were given to Cassius' party. They rejected them, however, as being too insignificant, and Brutus and Cassius began to collect an army and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia.

248 58. While they were doing this, Dolabella killed Trebonius in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus in Cisalpine Gaul. The senate in their anger voted Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored Brutus and Cassius to their former commands, adding Illyria to that of Brutus. They also ordered every other Roman provincial or army commander, between the Ionian gulf and Syria, to obey

249 Κάσσιος ἢ Βρούτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Κάσσιος φθάνει  
 Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεῖα τῆς  
 ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δυνάδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ Γαίω  
 Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατευόμενα καὶ γεγυμνασμένα  
 250 προσέλαβεν ἀθρόως· οὗ τὸ μὲν ἐν αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν  
 Συρία καταλελοίπει, τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοού-  
 μενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Και-  
 κίλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καί-  
 251 σαρος συγγενῆς, Σέξστος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιαιτώμενος δὲ  
 ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπήγετο ἀσχημόνως  
 καὶ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ κα-  
 λῶν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ βραδέως ὑπήκουεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν  
 ἐκέλευεν ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ ἀσχήμονος καὶ πλη-  
 γῶν ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν  
 252 ὄψιν ἢ στρατιὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον συνηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθύς  
 ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες  
 οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις  
 γένοιτο, διαγωνιείσθαι μέχρι θανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς  
 253 ταῦτα<sup>15</sup> συνηνάγκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἕτε-  
 ρον, συνεγύμναζον ἄμφω καὶ Στάιον<sup>16</sup> Μούρκον, ὑπὸ  
 Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιπεμφθέντα,  
 254 γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκῳ δ' ἦκεν ἐπίκουρος  
 Μάρκιος<sup>17</sup> Κρίσπος ἐκ Βιθυνίας μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἄλ-  
 λων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιόρκουν ὁμοῦ πάντες ἐξ  
 τέλεσιν ἤδη.

<sup>15</sup> ἐς ταῦτα Gaillard-Goukowsky; ἐς ταῦτα PBJ; ἐνταῦθα L

<sup>16</sup> Σέξστιον codd.; Στάιον edd.

<sup>17</sup> Μινούκιος codd.; Μάρκιος edd.

all orders issued by Cassius and Brutus. At this, Cassius 249  
 anticipated Dolabella's invasion of Syria, assumed the in-  
 signia of his governorship and at one stroke took over an  
 army of twelve legions that had been enlisted and trained  
 by Gaius Caesar long before. One of these Caesar had left 250  
 in Syria, as he was already thinking about attacking the  
 Parthians, and had placed it under the supervision of Cae-  
 cilius Bassus, although a young relation of Caesar himself,  
 Sextus Julius, held the actual command. Julius, however, 251  
 had gone astray, and shamefully led the legion into luxuri-  
 ous ways. On one occasion, when Bassus criticized him for  
 this, he insulted him, and at a later point, when he was  
 slow to obey his summons, he ordered his men to drag  
 Bassus before him by force. A scandalous disturbance  
 arose, Bassus was hit a number of times, and then the  
 troops, unable to tolerate what they were seeing, killed  
 Julius with their javelins. In fear of Caesar, they immedi- 252  
 ately regretted what they had done, and so swore an oath  
 to each other that, unless they were granted pardon and  
 assurances, they would fight to the death; and they forced  
 Bassus to adopt the same position. Having enrolled an- 253  
 other legion, the two trained together and bravely resisted  
 Staius Murcus, whom Caesar had sent against them with  
 three legions. To assist Murcus, Marcius Crispus arrived 254  
 from Bithynia with another three legions, and all six le-  
 gions now began to besiege Bassus together.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Cass. Dio 47.27 also covers these events. Lucius Staius Murcus had served with Caesar in Gaul, and although not involved in the conspiracy to assassinate him, immediately after was one of those to claim credit (App. *BCiv.* 2.119.500). Quintus Marcius Crispus was appointed governor of Bithynia by Caesar in 45.

255 59. Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολιορκίαν σπουδῆ  
καταλαβὼν τὸν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα παρ-  
ελάμβανεν ἐκόντα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ Μούρκου τέλη  
καὶ Μαρκίου,<sup>18</sup> κατὰ τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόντων  
καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπακούο-  
256 ντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἄλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς  
ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέν-  
των ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων  
καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων  
οὐ προπευσμένον, ἄφνω περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασε  
προσθέσθαι οἱ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατόν, δεί-  
257 σαντα τέσσαρσι τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. οὕτω  
μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δώδεκα τελεῶν ἀρίστων  
ἀθρόως ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Παρθυαίων ἵππο-  
τοξόται συνεμάχουν, δόξαν ἔχοντι παρὰ τοῖς Παρθυ-  
αίοις, ἐξ οὗ Κράσσῳ ταμιεύων ἐμφρονέστερος ἔδοξε  
τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

258 60. Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν,  
κτείνων Τρεβώνιον καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιβάλλων  
ἐσφορὰς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ μισθῷ διὰ Λευκίου  
Φίγλου παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων  
καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας· ὡς δὲ οἱ τάδε ἔτοιμα ἦν, ἐπήει τῇ  
Συρίᾳ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελεῶν, διὰ  
259 δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φίγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς Κασ-  
σίου στρατιᾶς ἐς Λαοδίκειαν οἰκείως ἔχουσάν οἱ

<sup>18</sup> Μινουκίου codd.; Μαρκίου edd.

59. Cassius therefore quickly intervened in this siege. 255  
He immediately took command of the army of Bassus,  
with his consent, and then of the legions of Murcus and  
Marcus, who handed them over to him both out of friend-  
ship and because according to the decree of the senate  
they were subordinate to him in all matters. It was just at 256  
this time that Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by  
Dolabella, was bringing back four legions composed of  
men who had been dispersed after the defeats of Pompey  
and Crassus, or who had been left with Cleopatra by Cae-  
sar.<sup>48</sup> Cassius intercepted him in Palestine unexpectedly,  
while he was not yet informed about what had been hap-  
pening, and forced him to join Cassius and hand over his  
army, as he was afraid to fight with four legions against  
eight. In this unexpected manner Cassius won control of, 257  
in total, twelve of the best legions. Even some Parthian  
mounted archers also allied themselves with him, as he  
had a reputation among the Parthians, since the time  
when he was Crassus' quaestor, for being more prudent  
than Crassus himself.

60. Dolabella was operating in Ionia, where he killed 258  
Trebonius, levied tribute on the towns, and, using Lucius  
Figulus, assembled a mercenary fleet from Rhodes and  
Lycia and Pamphylia and Cilicia. When everything was  
ready he invaded Syria, commanding two legions himself  
by land, while Figulus proceeded by sea. On learning of 259  
Cassius' army he made his way to Laodicea, which was

<sup>48</sup> Aulus Allienus had been a legate of Cicero's brother, Quintus Cicero, in Asia in 60, then praetor in 49. He was proconsul in Sicily (48-46) and then served under Trebonius, and after the latter's death, under Dolabella.

- παρήλθεν, ἐπί τε χερρονήσου συνωκισμένην καὶ τὰ  
 ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἔχουσαν  
 ὄρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσειν τε ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ  
 θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βούλοιτο, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι.  
 260 ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ  
 Δολοβέλλας διαφύγοι, τὸν τε ἴσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον  
 ὄντα, λίθους καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην ἐξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προ-  
 αστείων καὶ τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέπεμ-  
 πεν ἔς τε Φοινίκην καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Ῥόδον.  
 261 61. Ὑπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν Σι-  
 δωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, καὶ κατέδυσαν μὲν  
 ἑκατέρου νῆες ἱκαναί, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἶλεν  
 262 Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἔς τοὺς  
 ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Αἰγύπτου  
 βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐς Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεο-  
 πάτρᾳ στρατηγοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀράδιοι καὶ  
 Σεραπίων, οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθῶν, ἔπεμψαν  
 αὐτῷ ναῦς, ὅσας εἶχον· ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ Κασσίῳ μὲν  
 προύφερε λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε  
 Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος  
 263 συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς  
 γνώμης αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη προπεπόμφει δι'  
 Ἀλληνοῦ καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν,  
 264 ἄνεμοι δὲ ἐπέιχον. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Λύκιοι οὔτε Κασσίῳ  
 οὔτε Βρούτῳ συμμαχήσειν ἔφασκον ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ Δολοβέλλᾳ δοῦναι ναῦς προπομπούς, καὶ οὐκ εἶ-  
 δέναι συμμαχοῦσας.  
 265 62. Ἐτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἐκ τῶν

well disposed to him. It had been founded on a peninsula,  
 was fortified on the landward side and had an anchorage  
 on the sea side, from where he thought he would be able  
 to bring in abundant supplies by sea, and sail away in  
 safety whenever he wanted. Cassius realized this, and 260  
 fearing that Dolabella would escape him, collected stones  
 and material of all sorts from farmyards, suburban houses  
 and tombs, and blocked off the isthmus, which was two  
 stades long. He also sent around for ships from Phoenicia,  
 Lycia, and Rhodes.

61. Although ignored by everyone except the Sido- 261  
 nians, he put out to sea to fight Dolabella. A substantial  
 number of ships were sunk on both sides, and Dolabella  
 captured five, including their crews. Then Cassius again 262  
 sent a message to those who had ignored him, and also to  
 Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and to Serapio, her governor  
 in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradians, and Serapio (who  
 did not consult Cleopatra first), sent what ships they had.  
 The queen excused herself to Cassius on the grounds that  
 Egypt was at the time suffering from famine along with  
 plague, but she began to cooperate with Dolabella be-  
 cause of her relationship with the elder Caesar. It was in 263  
 line with this policy that she had previously sent him the  
 four legions through Allienus, and had another fleet ready  
 to assist him, which was being held by adverse winds. The 264  
 Rhodians and the Lycians, on the other hand, said that  
 they would provide military assistance neither to Cassius  
 nor Brutus in a civil war, and that when they gave Dola-  
 bella escort vessels they did not know that they would be  
 involved in fighting.

62. So, having again made preparations with the means 265

παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δις τῷ Δολοβέλλα· καὶ τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ  
 ἐξῆς ναυμαχία ἤσασατο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ Κάσ-  
 σιος αἰρομένου τοῦ χώματος ἔκοπτεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τεῖχος  
 266 ἤδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν. τὸν τε νυκτοφύλακα αὐτοῦ Μάρσον  
 οὐ δυνηθεὶς διαφθεῖραι· διέφθειρε τοὺς ἡμεροφυλα-  
 κοῦντας αὐτῷ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μάρ-  
 σου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθειςῶν αὐτῷ πυλί-  
 267 δων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν  
 Δολοβέλλας προύτεινε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ σωματο-  
 φύλακι αὐτοῦ καὶ τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Κασσίω  
 σῶστρον ἴδιον· ὁ δὲ τεμὼν ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν,  
 268 διεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ Μάρσος ἑαυτὸν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν  
 μὲν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατιὰν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου,  
 Λαοδικέων δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐσύλα καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκόλαζε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφοραῖς βαρυν-  
 τάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήνεγκεν ἐς  
 ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

269 63. Μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὄρμα, πυν-  
 θανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ διαπλευσεῖ-  
 σθαι πρὸς τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν  
 δὲ κωλύσαι τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τίσασθαι τῆς γνώμης  
 τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνθυμι-  
 ζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ  
 καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολλὸν ἔχουσαν, ἄρτι τῶν Ἀλ-  
 270 λιηνοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὄρ-  
 μῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βρούτος ἐκάλει  
 κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὡς ἤδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν

at his disposal, Cassius put out to sea twice against Dola-  
 bella. The first time, they separated after an inconclusive  
 engagement, but in the following battle Dolabella was  
 defeated; Cassius now raised his siege rampart and began  
 to pound Dolabella's wall and weaken it. He tried without 266  
 success to bribe Marsus, the captain of the night watch,  
 but he did bribe the centurions guarding the wall for him  
 during the day, and, when Marsus was taking his rest,  
 entered the town by daylight through a number of small  
 gates that were secretly opened to him in different places.  
 When the town was taken, Dolabella offered his head to 267  
 his bodyguard and told him to cut it off and take it to Cas-  
 sius to guarantee his own safety. The guard did cut it off,  
 but then killed himself; Marsus also took his own life.  
 Cassius made Dolabella's troops swear a new oath of loy- 268  
 alty to himself, plundered the temples and public treasury  
 of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and ground down  
 the rest with the most oppressive taxes, eventually bring-  
 ing extreme distress on the town.

63. After Laodicea, Cassius began to move against 269  
 Egypt, since he had found out that Cleopatra was sailing  
 to join Octavian and Antony with a strong fleet, and in-  
 tended to prevent its sailing, and to punish the queen for  
 her policy. Even before this he had thought that it was a  
 particularly good time to have designs on Egypt itself,  
 because it was devastated by famine and had only a small  
 mercenary army, now that the forces of Allienus had re-  
 cently left. Although in this way he had the impetus, the 270  
 hope, and the opportunity, he was summoned urgently by  
 Brutus because Octavian and Antony were already cross-



- 271 Ἴόνιον περώντων. ἄκων μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος Αἴγυπτον ἐκ  
τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίων ἵπποτοξότας  
ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα  
αὐτῶν ἔστειλλε περὶ μείζονος συμμαχίας, ἣ μετὰ τὸ  
ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγύς  
272 ἔθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς  
δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐν Συρίᾳ μεθ' ἐνὸς  
τέλους ἀπέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ ἵππείας προύπεμψεν ἐς Καπ-  
παδοκίαν, οἱ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ὡς  
ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίῳ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκεί-  
νου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπαν-  
ήγαγον.
- 273 64. Ταρσέων δ' ἐς στάσιν διηρημένων οἱ μὲν τὸν  
Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τὸν  
Δολοβέλλαν ἐπελθόντα· ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως  
σχήματι ταῦτα ἔπρασον. καὶ παραλλὰξ αὐτῶν προ-  
τιμώντων ἑκάτερον, ὡς εὐμεταβόλῳ πόλει χαλεπῶς  
ἐχρῶντο ἑκάτεροι· Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν  
καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια  
274 τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντές τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν  
ἐπειγόντων ἀπαιτούμενοι σὺν ὕβρει, τά τε κοινὰ ἀπ-  
εδίδοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα εἶ-  
275 χον ἐς πομπὰς ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδ' ἐνὸς<sup>19</sup> δὲ  
μέρους οὐδ' ὡς ἀννομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ  
ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένοι τε καὶ παῖδες,  
ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικῆς τε καὶ γέροντες ἔλεεινοί, βραχυτάτου

<sup>19</sup> οὐδενὸς codd.; οὐδ' ἐνὸς Gaillard-Goukowsky

ing the Ionian gulf. Cassius reluctantly abandoned his 271  
hopes for Egypt, rewarded and sent back his mounted  
Parthian archers, along with an embassy to their king ask-  
ing for more substantial military assistance. This force ar-  
rived after the decisive battle,<sup>49</sup> overran Syria and many of  
the neighboring peoples as far as Ionia, and then returned  
home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and 272  
sent his cavalry ahead into Cappadocia, where they im-  
mediately killed Ariobarzanes on a charge of plotting  
against Cassius, and brought back to Cassius large quanti-  
ties of his money and other assets.

64. At Tarsus, civil disorder had divided the people. 273  
One group had awarded a crown to Cassius, who was the  
first to arrive, and the other had done the same for Dola-  
bella, who came later. Both groups had claimed to be act-  
ing on behalf of the town. As they had given preference to  
each in turn, both Cassius and Dolabella treated it harshly  
as being a town of changeable loyalties. After his victory  
over Dolabella, Cassius levied a contribution on it of one  
thousand five hundred talents. The people lacked the 274  
means to pay, and when the soldiers pressed them with  
violent demands, they sold all their public property and,  
after that, turned into coins all the sacred objects used in  
religious processions, and the temple offerings. Even so, 275  
since this was not sufficient to raise even a part of the sum,  
the magistrates began to sell free persons into slavery, first  
girls and boys, afterward women and pitiable old men,

<sup>49</sup> The battle of Philippi in 42.

πάμπαν ὄνιοι, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. καὶ διεχρῶντο οἱ πλέονες ἑαυτοῦς, ἕως ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας ἐπανιῶν ὄκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφορῶν ἀπέλυσε.

276 65. Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λαοδίκεια τοιάδε ἐπεπόνθησαν, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος συμβολήσαντες ἀλλήλοιον, Βρούτῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλίσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἔργον ἐς Μακεδονίαν· τέλη τε γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυθέναι τὸν Ἰόνιον ὀκτώ· Κασσίῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἔτι περιορᾶν ὡς τριφθισομένων ἐν σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, Ῥοδίου δὲ καὶ Λυκίους ἐξελεῖν, εὐνοὺς τε ὄντας ἐκείνοις καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νότου σφίσι γίνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν ὧδε, ἐχώρου Βρούτος μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίου, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὡς δὲ κρατίστοις τὰ ναυτικὰ ἀνδράσι συνεισόμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν Μύνδῳ.

279 66. Ῥοδίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἐδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὁ δὲ λεὼς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων πρὸς οὐχ ὁμοίους ἄνδρας ἐμνημόνευον. ναῦς τε καθ-  
280 εἶλκον τὰς ἀρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ

<sup>50</sup> Specified below (66.282) as the Macedonian king, Deme-

who sold for a very low price, and finally the young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on them in their plight and released them from the rest of their indemnity.

65. Such were the sufferings of Laodicea and Tarsus. 276  
As for Brutus and Cassius, they held a meeting at which Brutus was of the opinion that they should unite their forces and make for Macedonia and the more important confrontation there. For their enemies, he argued, already had an army of some forty legions, of which eight had crossed the Ionian gulf. Cassius, on the other hand, 277  
thought they should continue to ignore the enemy, who would, he believed, because of their huge numbers, bring their own downfall through lack of supplies. His policy was to destroy Rhodes and Lycia, who were well disposed to Octavian and Antony, and had fleets: he wanted to make sure that they were not in their rear when it came to the decisive battle. It was this latter course they decided to 278  
adopt, and Brutus set out against Lycia, and Cassius against Rhodes, where he had been brought up and given a Greek education. As he was about to engage in battle with extremely powerful naval forces, he refitted his own ships, manned them fully and conducted training exercises at Myndus.

66. The more respectable Rhodians were alarmed at 279  
the prospect of a conflict with Rome, but the ordinary people were overconfident, because they remembered former battles against very different opponents.<sup>50</sup> And so 280

trius Poliorcetes, who besieged Rhodes unsuccessfully in 305/4, and Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus, who failed to capture the city in 88.

- τάδε πράσσοντες ἔπεμπόν τινας ἐς Μύνδον ὅμως, οἱ τὸν Κάσσιον ἠξίου μῆτε Ῥόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης ἀεὶ τοὺς καταφρονήσαντας, μῆτε συνθηκῶν, αἱ Ῥοδίοις εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους· εἰ δέ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο, ἐθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθέσθαι, καὶ κελουούσης ἔφασαν συμμαχήσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαύδε 281 μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντιλόγων ἔφη κρινεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπενηνοχέειν Ῥοδίουσιν Κασσίῳ, Δολοβέλλα συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλοισιν συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίῳ δὲ δεομένῳ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἀλωμένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει τυράννους, οἱ δώσουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς δίκας, δώσουσι δὲ καὶ Ῥοδιοὶ τὰ ἐκείνων προτιμῶντες, ἣν μὴ θᾶσσον ἀνέχωνται τῶν 282 κελουομένων. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτοὺς ἠμείψατο, καὶ οἱ εὖ φρονούντες Ῥοδίων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐδημαγώγουν Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσειε τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.
- 283 67. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἶλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέα, ἔπεμπον δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγένητο

- they launched their best ships, thirty-three in number. But while doing this, they also sent some representatives to Myndus, to urge Cassius not to underestimate Rhodes, a city that had always protected itself against those who underrated her, and not to disregard the existing treaty between the Rhodians and the Romans, which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If there was a complaint about rendering military assistance, they wanted to hear it from the Roman senate, and if the senate so ordered, they would provide the assistance. This, then, was 281 the case the Rhodians made. Cassius on his part said that war, not words, would decide the other matters, but that the treaty required them not to bear arms against each other, and the Rhodians had borne arms against Cassius, when they fought alongside Dolabella; the treaty also required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for help, they prevaricated by referring to the Roman senate, whose members were at the moment wandering aimlessly in exile because of the tyrants in Rome. Those tyrants would be punished, as would the Rhodians too for preferring to side with them, unless they very quickly obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cas- 282 sius gave them. The right-thinking Rhodians were even more alarmed, but the crowd were led on by the populist speeches of Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a larger fleet, as had Demetrius before Mithridates.
67. As a result of this, they elected Alexander as their 283 *prytanis*, which at Rhodes is the magistracy conferring supreme power, and Mnaseas as their fleet commander. Nevertheless, they still sent an envoy to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his Greek teacher at

τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἤδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λι-  
 παρέστερον· καὶ ἐδείτο, τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος, ὡς  
 284 γνωρίμου. “Μὴ πόλιν ἀναστήσης Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλ-  
 λην ἀνὴρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερος ἀνὴρ· μηδὲ αἰ-  
 σχύνῃς ἀξίωμα Δώριον, οὐχ ἠσσημένον, ἐξ οὗ γεγό-  
 ναμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλάθῃ καλῆς ἱστορίας ἧς ἔμαθες ἐν  
 285 Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μὲν, ὅσα Ῥόδιοι κατὰ  
 πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς μάλι-  
 στα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθρι-  
 δάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ σὺ  
 286 φῆς τάδε κάμνειν· ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέ, ὅσα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ’  
 ἑτέρων καὶ κατ’ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχήσα-  
 μεν, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι στήλαι παρ’  
 ὑμῖν. τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἕνεκα καὶ ἀξιώσεως  
 ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἀδουλώτου καὶ συμμαχίας  
 καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθω·  
 287 68. “Πρὸς σὲ δέ, ὦ Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδῶς τις ἔστιν  
 ἐξαίρετος ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφήν τέ-  
 σου καὶ παιδείυσιν καὶ διατριβῆν<sup>20</sup> καὶ ἐστίαν, ἣν  
 ὤκησας, καὶ τοῦμόν διδασκαλείον αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμέ, ἐλπί-  
 σαντα μὲν ἐς ἕτερα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν  
 δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μὴδ’ αὐτῇ  
 σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζεται πεπαιδευμένῳ τε ὑφ’ αὐτῆς  
 καὶ τεθραμμένῳ μηδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης  
 288 ἥσσᾶσθαι. συμβουλεύω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει,

<sup>20</sup> ἰατρικὴν codd.; διατριβὴν edd.

Rhodes, in order to present a more urbane petition to  
 Cassius. And he made his plea, taking him by the right  
 hand in a familiar manner. “You are a man who loves Greek 284  
 culture—do not destroy a Greek city; you are a lover of  
 freedom—do not destroy Rhodes. Do not shame the rep-  
 utation of us Dorians, undefeated as we are since our be-  
 ginning. Do not forget the glorious history you learned  
 both at Rhodes and at Rome. At Rhodes, you learned of 285  
 the great achievements of the Rhodians against cities and  
 kings, and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates,  
 who were thought to be invincible, and how they were  
 acting on behalf of freedom, that very freedom for which  
 you too say you are enduring these labors. And at Rome, 286  
 you learned of the substantial military assistance we ren-  
 dered you against, among others, Antiochus the Great,  
 deeds you have recorded at home on inscribed columns in  
 our honor. That is surely enough, men of Rome, about our  
 descent and reputation, about our hitherto unenslaved  
 fate, and about our policy of military alliance with you.  
 68. “As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence 287  
 to this city and to the upbringing and education and life  
 and home you had in it, as well as to my school itself and  
 to me. I had hoped that one day I would be able to pride  
 myself on these matters for a different purpose, but I now  
 deploy them in the service of my country, to prevent it  
 from being forced to go to war with you, who were edu-  
 cated and nourished by it, and to prevent one of two things  
 inevitably happening: either the complete destruction of  
 the Rhodians or the defeat of Cassius. As well as appealing 288  
 to you, I have advice for you, when undertaking such great

τοιῶνδέ σε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀπτόμενον  
 ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς ἔργου.  
 289 θεοὺς δ' ὠμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἔναγχος διὰ Γαίου Καί-  
 σαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις  
 ἐσπένδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐτίθεσθε, αἱ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις  
 290 ἰσχύουσιν, οὐ παρὰ φίλοις καὶ τροφεύσιν; φείδου δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξης τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους· ὡς οὐ-  
 δέν ἐστι συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ὃ τοὺς  
 ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀπίστους ἐς ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλοις  
 καὶ πολεμίοις.”

291 69. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μεθίετο τῆς χειρός,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυνεν αὐτῇ, ὡς ἐρυθριᾶσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 σχήματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς,  
 ὑφελόντα δὲ ὁμῶς εἰπεῖν· “Εἰ μὲν οὐ συνεβούλευσας  
 Ῥοδίους μὴ ἀδικεῖν με, σύ με ἡδίκηεις· εἰ δὲ διδάσκων  
 292 οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμυνῶ σοι. ἡδικούμην δὲ δὴ που σαφῶς  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν καὶ παρ-  
 ορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδευσάντων καὶ θρεψάντων, τὸ  
 δὲ ἐξῆς προτιμώντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὃν οὐκ ἐπαί-  
 δευσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνιαρότερον, ἐμοῦ μὲν  
 καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὄσων ὁρᾶτε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀρί-  
 στων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα  
 ἐλευθερούντων, ὧ Ῥόδιοι φιλελεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ  
 αὐτὴν καταδουλοῦντος ἐτέροις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εὖνως  
 ἔχοντες ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν.  
 293 ἔστι δὲ ἐμφύλια μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυναστείας ὠρε-  
 γόμεθα, πόλεμος δὲ σαφῆς τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἐστι δη-

tasks on behalf of the Roman state, always to make the  
 gods your guide in every action. You Romans swore by the 289  
 gods when you recently concluded a treaty with us through  
 Gaius Caesar, and in addition to the oaths you poured liba-  
 tions and offered your right hand: are assurances, valid  
 even among enemies, not to count among friends and tu-  
 tors? As well as regarding the gods, think of your reputa- 290  
 tion among men: for there is nothing more sure than the  
 violation of a treaty to identify those who commit such an  
 offense as totally untrustworthy in the eyes of friends and  
 enemies.”

69. Having finished his speech, the old man did not 291  
 let go of Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cas-  
 sius was embarrassed at the spectacle and felt a little  
 ashamed, but he withdrew his hand all the same, and  
 spoke. “If you did not advise the Rhodians to do me no  
 wrong, then it was you who did me wrong. But if you  
 explained the situation to them, and failed to persuade  
 them, I will defend you. It is certainly very clear that I 292  
 have been wronged, in the first place because when I  
 asked for military assistance I was ignored by the very  
 people who educated and brought me up. And second,  
 they preferred Dolabella to me—and they did not edu-  
 cate or bring him up. Even more annoying, freedom-  
 loving men of Rhodes, is the fact that Brutus and I and  
 all the noblest senators you see are in exile from a tyranny  
 and trying to free their country, while Dolabella is en-  
 slaving it to others, to whom you are also well disposed,  
 although you pretend to be avoiding involvement in our  
 civil war. This would indeed be a civil war, if we too 293  
 were aiming at supreme power, but in the present case it

- 294 μοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοήθη-  
τον καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας  
φιλίαν τε Ῥωμαίοις προφέροντες οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε ἀκρίτους  
ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφομένους, ἀλλ' ὑπο-  
κρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ταῦτα πασχού-  
σης καὶ οὐδὲ ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῇ πω δυναμένης. ἢ δ' ὑμῖν  
ἤδη προαπεκρίνατο, ἐν οἷς ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν  
ἔω πάντας ἀμύνειν ἐμοί τε καὶ Βρούτῳ.
- 295 70. "Σὺ δέ, εἰ μὲν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τι συν-  
επράξατε, ὧν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μισθοὺς ἀντικεκόμισθέ  
που, καταλογίζη, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ  
σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένοις οὐ συμμαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνη-  
οὺς εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπήρχεν,  
ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄρχειν ἐθελοντὰς ὑπερμαχήσαι τῆς Ῥω-  
μαίων δημοκρατίας, Δωριέας ὄντας. οἱ δ' ἀντὶ τοιού-  
των ἔργων καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε,  
γενομένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γάιον Καίσαρα,  
τῆσδε τῆς μοναρχίας ἡγεμόνα· λέγουσι δ' ὅμως αἱ  
συνθήκαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἀλ-  
λήλοις ἀμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα κινδυ-  
νεύουσι Ῥωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὁ τὰς συν-  
θήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καλῶν,  
Ῥωμαῖὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ὡς φησι τὸ  
ψηφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν ᾧ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν  
298 ἔταξε τοὺς τοῦ Ἰονίου πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βρούτος

is clearly a war between democracy and autocracy.<sup>51</sup> And 294  
you appeal to me on behalf of your own autonomy, but you  
leave a democracy helpless. You cite friendship for the  
Romans, but you have no pity for those on the list of pro-  
scribed who are sentenced to death without trial and con-  
fiscation of their property. You pretend that you want to  
hear from the senate, which is the victim of this situation,  
and no longer able to defend itself, but the senate has al-  
ready answered you before, when it decreed that all the  
people in the east should protect Brutus and myself.

70. "You list all the times you have rendered us some 295  
service when we were adding to our possessions, for which  
you certainly received benefactions and rewards, but you  
fail to mention that you offer no military assistance when  
our freedom and safety are wrongly threatened. Even if  
we had had no relations with each other before, it would  
be fitting for you, as Dorians, now at least to begin to fight  
of your own free will on behalf of Roman democracy. But 296  
instead of acting or thinking like this, you cite a treaty to  
us, a treaty moreover struck between you and Gaius Cae-  
sar, the leader of this autocracy. Nonetheless the treaty  
states that in times of need the Romans and Rhodians are  
to protect each other. Well then, in this moment of ex- 297  
treme danger, protect the Romans! It is Cassius who  
quotes this treaty to you and calls on you to fight alongside  
him—Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, as  
stated in the decree of the senate, in which everyone east  
of the Ionian gulf is ordered to obey us. It is the same 298

<sup>51</sup> It should be remembered that for Appian the word "de-  
mocracy" covers more or less any form of government that is not  
monarchy.

ὑμῖν προτείνει ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπήιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμμένος, τὰς δ' ἰκετείας ἐπὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἶδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βρούτον, οἱ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον. ἔστι δὲ δὴ πού τὸ συγκείμενον, Ῥωμαίοις Ῥοδίουσιν βοηθεῖν, κὰν καθ' ἓνα χρήζωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὔτε στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς οὔτε Ῥωμαίους ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἢ ξένους ἢ κατακρίτους, ὡς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἡγείσθε, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὧ Ῥόδιοι, τὰ συγκείμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένοι καὶ ἀλλότριοι τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἣν μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακούητε."

300 71. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρωνευσάμενος τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέλυνεν, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Μνασέας, οἱ Ῥοδίων ἡγούμενοι, ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶ ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Μύνδον ὡς προκαταπλήξου-  
 301 ἐς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εὐτυχῆσαι. εἰρεσία δὲ ἐς ἐπί-  
 302 Κασσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ θαυμάσαντες ἀντανή-  
 γοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐκατέρωθεν ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυ-  
 νάμεως· Ῥόδιοι μὲν γὰρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεόν τε  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ὀξέως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδοις  
 ἐχρῶντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμ-  
 πλακεῖεν, ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ρύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὥσπερ ἐν

decrees that Brutus presents for your attention, and Pompeius too, who was appointed by the senate to the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who are taking refuge, some with myself and Brutus, and others with Pompeius. The treaty 299 does, of course, provide for the Rhodians to assist the Romans even in cases where the application is made by a single individual. But if you do not consider us as generals or Romans, but as exiles or strangers or condemned men, as those who have proscribed us claim, then, men of Rhodes, it is not with us that you have a treaty, but with Romans. And, as we are strangers and foreigners in relation to the treaty, we will make war on you, unless you obey us in everything."

71. Having delivered this ironical speech, Cassius sent Archelaus away. Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to strike fear into him with their surprise attack. Their hopes were probably somewhat illusory, because they thought that it was also by launching a naval attack on Mithridates at Myndus, that they had successfully brought that war to an end. Having 301 put on a demonstration by proceeding under oar, the first day they bivouacked at Cnidus. The next day they made their appearance to the forces of Cassius from the seaward side. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, 302 and the battle on both sides was a matter of strength and power. For the Rhodians with their light ships sailed swiftly through the enemy line, turned around, and returned to the attack, while the Romans had heavier ships, and when they came to close quarters, would use their greater momentum to press hard on the enemy, like in a

- 303 πεζομαχία. τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πο-  
 λεμίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν Ῥόδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι καὶ  
 διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῖς μόνον  
 ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἢ μὲν ἐμπειρία δι-  
 ἐφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυκλευμένοις, αἱ δὲ  
 ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς βαρυτέρας τὰς Ῥω-  
 304 μαίων ναῦς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγίγνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦσαν ἐς  
 κουφοτέρας εὔτονοι, μέχρι Ῥόδιοι μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς  
 ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ δύο ἀνερράγησάν τε καὶ  
 κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς  
 τὴν Ῥόδον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαι μὲν ἐπανήλθον ἐς  
 Μύνδον, ἐπεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείονες  
 βλαβεῖσαι.
- 305 72. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύνδῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ  
 Ῥοδίων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνομένην ὁ  
 Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὄρους καθέωρα· ὡς δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ  
 σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Λώρυμα, Ῥοδίων τι φρούριον  
 ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον διεβίβαζεν  
 306 ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ὑπὸ Φαννίῳ τε καὶ Λέντλῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ  
 ἐπέπλει ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ  
 φοβερώτατον καὶ περιστήσας τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸ πεζὸν  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἠσύχαζεν ὡς ἐνδωσόντων τι τῶν  
 307 πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὐθις εὐθαρσῶς,  
 δύο δὲ καὶ τότε ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν.  
 καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη πάντα τε ὄπλων

<sup>52</sup> It is not clear who this Fannius is (perhaps the praetor of 54), but presumably it is the same man who appears below at

battle on land. But when Cassius with his superior number 303  
 of ships surrounded the enemy fleet, the Rhodians could  
 no longer sail round and through his line. Since they could  
 only attack from the front and then back off, their experi-  
 ence was neutralized by the narrow space where they had  
 been confined. Head-on ramming and broadside move-  
 ments against the heavier Roman ships were ineffective,  
 while those of the Romans against lighter vessels had force  
 in them. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with 304  
 their crews, two were broken up and sank, and the rest  
 made their escape to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All  
 of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were  
 repaired, most of them also having suffered damage.

72. Such was the result of the naval engagement be- 305  
 tween the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius  
 watched it unfold from a mountain. When he had repaired  
 his ships he sailed across to Loryma, a Rhodian fort on the  
 mainland opposite the island, and transported his infantry  
 to Rhodes in merchantmen under the command of Fan-  
 nius and Lentulus.<sup>52</sup> He himself launched an attack with 306  
 his eighty ships equipped in a manner designed to pro-  
 duce the maximum terror, surrounded Rhodes with his  
 land and naval forces combined, and then made no further  
 moves, expecting that the enemy would weaken some-  
 what. In fact, they sailed out again confidently, but on this 307  
 occasion too they lost another two ships, and were shut in.  
 Then they hurried up onto the walls, manned them fully

84.354, and at 5.139.579, where he abandons Sextus Pompeius  
 and joins Marc Antony. Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther,  
 quaestor in 44, served under Trebonius in Asia, and after the lat-  
 ter's death joined Brutus and Cassius.



ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φάν-  
 νιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τοῖς  
 πρὸς θαλάσση τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐς  
 τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα· ἐλπίζων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον  
 ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγμένους, οἳ τότε ἀνίσταντο.  
 308 Ῥόδος μὲν δὴ δύο πείραις καμουῦσα ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάσσης ἐπολιορκεῖτο· καὶ οὐδέν, ὡς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεῖ  
 καὶ ἀδοκῆτῳ, παρεσκευάστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν.  
 ὅθεν ἦν εὐδηλον ἀλώσεσθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἢ  
 χερσὶν ἢ λιμῶ· καὶ τάδε Ῥοδίων οἱ συνετώτεροι καθ-  
 εώρων, καὶ Φάννιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Λέντλος διελέγοντο.  
 309 73. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ἄφνω Κάσσιος ἦν ἐν  
 μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μετ' ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ, βίας μὲν οὐ-  
 δεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἔργου. εἵκαζον δὲ οἱ  
 πολλοί, καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, τοὺς χαρίεντας αὐτῷ τῶν  
 πολιτῶν ὑπανοῖξαι πυλίδας ἐλέῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προ-  
 310 μηθείᾳ τροφῶν. ὧδε μὲν ἐαλώκει Ῥόδος, καὶ Κάσσιος  
 ἐν αὐτῇ προκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι  
 παρεστήσατο ὡς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῖν τε κελεύ-  
 σασ τὸν στρατὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάνατον ἐπικηρύξας, εἴ  
 τις ἀρπάσειεν ἢ βιάσαιτό τι, αὐτὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκά-  
 λει Ῥοδίων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀχθέντας ἐκό-  
 λαζε θανάτῳ· ἑτέροις δέ, ἀμφὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν,  
 311 οὐχ εὐρεθείσι φυγῆν ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν  
 ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις,  
 πάντα συλῆσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν  
 τοὺς κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητῆν· καὶ ἐπεκήρυξε  
 τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασι θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασι

with armed soldiers, and simultaneously fought off both  
 Fannius, who was harassing them from the landward side,  
 and Cassius, who led his fleet, which was well prepared for  
 assaulting walls, against the walls facing the sea. For hav-  
 ing expected this sort of situation, he was bringing up  
 collapsible towers, which were now erected. So Rhodes, 308  
 afflicted by twin attacks, was besieged by both land and  
 sea. And, as happens in a sudden and unexpected emer-  
 gency, nothing had been done by them to prepare for a  
 siege. For this reason, it was clear that the city would be  
 captured very quickly, either by force or by famine. The  
 more intelligent of the Rhodians saw this, and Fannius and  
 Lentulus entered talks with them.

73. While these were in progress, Cassius suddenly 309  
 appeared in the middle of the city with an elite force,  
 without any sign of violence or use of ladders. Most people  
 assumed, and it seems to be what happened, that those  
 citizens who favored him opened the postern gates out of  
 compassion for the city and consideration of supplies.  
 Such was the way Rhodes was captured. Cassius took his 310  
 seat on a tribunal in the city and planted a spear beside it  
 to indicate that the city had been taken by force of arms.  
 Having given strict orders for the troops to remain calm,  
 and proclaimed the death penalty for anyone who resorted  
 to looting or violence, he himself summoned by name  
 about fifty Rhodian men, and when they were brought in,  
 punished them with death; another twenty-five or so who 311  
 could not be found, he condemned to exile. All the money,  
 gold, or silver that was in the temples or public treasuries  
 he seized, and ordered the private citizens to bring out  
 their personal wealth on a fixed day. He announced that  
 he would execute any who hid it, and set a reward of ten

- 312 δεκάτην, δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυψαν, οὐκ ἐς τέλος ἐλπίζοντες ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν· διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν καὶ <κολαζομένων><sup>21</sup> τῶν μηνυομένων ἔδεισάν τε καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλέονα τῶν προτέρων.
- 313 74. Αἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥοδίων συμφοραὶ τοιαίδε ἦσαν, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐᾶρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὑπελέλειπτο· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἠδόμενος τῇ ταχυεργίᾳ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπέταττεν ὁμως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα
- 314 συμφέρειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπράσσουντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεοπάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον· τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων αἰρουμένη καὶ τέως διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ἤρείτο
- 315 διὰ τὸν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβον. ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετὰ τε ὀπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπε ναυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταίναρον, <. . .> περισυράμενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λείαν, ὅσῃν ἔφθασε.
- 316 75. Τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Βρούτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαμβάνοντι ἄνωθεν, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου στρατιάν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, ὅσῃν Ἀπουλήιος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἕξα-

<sup>21</sup> κολαζομένων add. Schweig.

percent for informers, and for slaves their freedom as well. To start with, many did conceal their wealth, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when the rewards were paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having obtained another deadline, some dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it out of tombs, in much larger amounts than before.

74. Such were the disasters suffered by the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with how quickly the city had been captured and the large quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute. But while they began to do this diligently, news is brought to him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large and very heavily equipped fleet to join Octavian and Antony. For she had favored their side before because of the first Caesar, but she was now an even keener supporter because of her fear of Cassius. He now sent Murcus, with one of his best legions of troops and some archers, on sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnese, to lie in wait at Taenarum, <and this he did?> collecting as much booty as time allowed from the Peloponnese.<sup>53</sup>

75. What happened to Brutus in Lycia, to summarize a little of what has been said before as a reminder of his affairs too, was as follows. When he had received from Appuleius all the troops he had under his command, to-

<sup>53</sup> It is not clear how long the lacuna in this sentence is.

317 κισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρήλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. ψηφισαμένης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, Οὐατινίου τοῦ πρότερον ἄρχοντος Ἰλλυριῶν παραδόντος, ἐν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαίῳ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἰππέων πλῆθος καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἤσκει τρόπον. ἀγείροντι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θράκιος τοιάδε γίγνεται. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνή τινος τῶν βασιλίσκων, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδί ἔτι ὄντι μειρακίῳ, ἤκεν αὐτὸν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θησαυροὺς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα Κυζικηνοῖς ἀνατρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι σχολάσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὗρε παράδοξον χρυσίου τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔκοπτε καὶ νόμισμα ἐποίει.

321 76. Ὡς δὲ ἦλθέ τε ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἔδοξε Λυκίους καὶ Ροδίους προεξαίρειν, ἐτράπετο Λυκίων ἐπὶ Ξαν-

<sup>54</sup> Appian refers back to *BCiv.* 3.63.259.

gether with sixteen thousand talents in money that had been collected from the revenues of Asia, he arrived in Boeotia.<sup>54</sup> As the senate decreed that he could use this money for his present needs, and that he was to be governor of Macedonia, and Illyria in addition, he takes over the three legions of the army in Illyria, which Vatinius, the previous governor, delivered to him, and he captured another Macedonian legion from Gaius, the brother of Marc Antony.<sup>55</sup> He recruited four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Caesar. He also had a large force of cavalry, along with light-armed troops, and archers, and the Macedonians, whom he rated highly, he trained in the Roman manner. While he was still assembling an army and collecting money, he has the following good luck in Thrace. Polemocratia, wife of one of the minor princes, because her husband had been killed by his enemies and she was afraid for her son, who was still a boy, arrived with her son and entrusted him to Brutus, but also handed her husband's treasuries to him. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to look after, until he had the time to restore him to his kingdom, and found in the treasuries a prodigious quantity of gold and silver. This he struck and converted into coinage.

76. When Cassius arrived, and they decided to begin by reducing Lycia and Rhodes, the first of the Lycians

<sup>55</sup> Publius Vatinius had been tribune in 59 and later served with Caesar in Gaul. He was consul (briefly) in 47 and governed Illyria from 45 to 43. In 42 he celebrated a triumph for a victory in Illyria. Gaius Antonius (praetor 44) was later captured by Brutus and was executed in 42.

θίους πρώτους. οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προάστεια σφῶν καθείλον,  
 ἵνα μὴ ἐς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρούτος μῆδ' ἐς ὕλην  
 ἔχη χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύσαντες ἀπ-  
 εμάχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου, τὸ μὲν βάθος οὔσης πε-  
 ντήκοντα ποδῶν βαθυτέρας, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κατὰ λόγον  
 τοῦ βάθους, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστῶτες ἠκόντιζόν τε  
 καὶ ἐτόξευον ὥσπερ ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν ἔχοντες ἀπέρα-  
 322 τον. ὁ δὲ Βρούτος αὐτὴν ἔχου βιαζόμενος καὶ σκεπα-  
 στήρια τῶν ἐργαζομένων προυτίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν  
 ἐς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὕλην μακρόθεν,  
 ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ μετέφερον,  
 323 οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔρ-  
 γον ἐλπισθὲν ἢ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι κωλύοντων τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἢ πολλοῖς μῆσι μόλις ἔσεσθαι, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξ-  
 εἴργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι κατακλεισθέντες ἐπολιορ-  
 κούντο.  
 324 77. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρούτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανημάτων  
 εἰς τὰ τεῖχῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδῶν ἐπήγευ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας  
 καὶ πάντα ἐνήλλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀκμῆσιν αἰεὶ  
 κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρωμένοι πάντες,  
 325 ὅμως ὑπέμενον, ἕως σφίσις αἱ ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὡς  
 δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ κατεσύρησαν καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερρώγε-  
 σαν, ὑποτοπήσας τὸ ἐσόμενον ὁ Βρούτος ἐκέλευσε  
 τὰς ἐφέδρους τῶν πυλῶν τάξεις ἀποστῆναι καὶ οἱ  
 Ξάνθιοι νομίσαντες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι νυ-  
 κτὸς ἐξέδραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα.  
 326 ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπι-  
 δραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὐθις ἐς τὰς πύλας καὶ τῶν

against whom Brutus turned his attention was the town of  
 Xanthus. The Xanthians destroyed their suburbs to pre-  
 vent Brutus using them as quarters for his troops or as a  
 supply of wood, and dug a ditch around the town from  
 which they defended themselves. The ditch was more  
 than fifty feet deep and as wide as it was deep, so that while  
 standing along it they threw their missiles and shot their  
 arrows as if they had an uncrossable river separating them  
 from the enemy. Brutus set about filling it in while under 322  
 attack, placing cover in front of his men as they worked,  
 and dividing his forces into day and night teams. He  
 brought up material from far away, running and cheering  
 with his men as if in a competition, and sparing no enthu-  
 siasm or effort. The result was that the task which, because 323  
 of the enemy's efforts to stop it, would, it was expected,  
 either not be completed at all or only with difficulty after  
 several months, he finished in a few days, and the Xanthi-  
 ans were cut off and besieged.

77. Brutus led his men against them, some on siege 324  
 engines against the walls, others on foot against the gates,  
 and he continually rested his troops in relays. Although the  
 defenders were exhausted and always fighting against  
 fresh opponents, and were all wounded, nevertheless they  
 held out as long as their parapets remained. But when 325  
 these were knocked down and the towers shattered, Bru-  
 tus suspected what would happen, and ordered the ranks  
 positioned at the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, think-  
 ing that this was a careless failure to keep guard, made a  
 sortie by night against the siege engines with torches. But 326  
 at an agreed signal, the Romans quickly attacked, and the  
 Xanthians again fled to the gates, which the guards closed

φυλάκων αὐτὰς προαποκλεισάντων ὑπὸ δέους, μὴ συνεσπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, φθόρος ἦν Ξανθίων πολὺς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀποκεκλεισμένων.

- 327 78. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐξέδραμον αὐθις οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀναχωρούσης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἅπαντα ἀθρώως. πεπετασμένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἑτέροις δὲ εἰσωθιζομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπέπεσον αἰφνίδιον αἱ πύλαι, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξανθίων εἴτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγέντων, ὥστε τῶν ἐσβιασαμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἔνδον ἀποληφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ἀνασπάσαι, χωρὶς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ξανθίων, βιασάμενοί ποτε μόλις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὔσαν διέδραμον· κἀνταῦθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξενόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τόξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, διέδραμον. οἱ δ' ἔξω τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ δεδιότες, Βρούτου περιθέοντος αὐτούς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πείραν, οὔτε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας, οὔτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπεπρησμένων εὐποροῦντες. ἀλλ'
- 328 οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδίαζον κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τέχεσι προστιθέντες ὡς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδήρια ὄξέα καλωδίους περιτιθέντες ἐσφενδόνων

before they could get in, afraid that the enemy would rush in with them. There took place at the gates a large-scale slaughter of the Xanthians who had been shut out.

78. A little later the remaining Xanthians made another 327 sortie around midday, the Roman line again withdrawing, and they set fire to all the siege engines together. But the gates were left open for them because of the previous disaster, and some two thousand Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing their way in at the en- 328 trance, the gates suddenly fell on them—either one of the Xanthians did this intentionally, or the ropes snapped of their own accord—with the result that some of the Romans who had forced their way in were killed and the others were cut off inside, as they were no longer able to raise the gates which were now without their lifting mechanism. Bombarded in the narrow streets by missiles 329 thrown from above by the Xanthians, with difficulty they just about managed to force their way through to the forum, which was nearby. Here, although they got the better of those who engaged with them at close quarters, they came under heavy fire from archers, and not having bows or javelins themselves, they hurried through to the shrine of Sarpedon in order to avoid being surrounded. The Ro- 330 mans outside the walls were both annoyed and anxious for those inside, and with Brutus rushing from one to another, they tried every expedient, but were unable to break the gates, which were covered with iron, and they lacked ladders or towers, because these had been burned. 331 Some improvised ladders, however, some placed yardarms against the walls and attacked as if they were using ladders, and others attached sharp iron hooks to ropes and

[τὰ σιδήρια]<sup>22</sup> ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καί, ὅτε καταπαγείη  
τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνίμων.

- 332 79. Οἰνοανδεῖς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξαν-  
θίους ἔχθραν τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρη-  
μῶν ἐπετροβάτου ἄνω καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥω-  
333 μαῖοι ἐμιμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον,  
εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδας ἀνέωξαν,  
ἢ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς  
εὐτολμοτάτους αἰωρουμένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα  
ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἔκο-  
πτον, οὐ περιβεβλημένας ἔτι τῷ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός,  
ἀντικοπτόντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἔξωθεν ἑτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ  
334 καὶ συνεργούντων. Ξανθίων δὲ σὺν μεγάλῃ πάνυ βοῇ  
τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὖσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιθεόν-  
των, δέισαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔν-  
δοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς ἔκοπτον, ὑπὸ μανιώδους  
ὀρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι,  
δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβο-  
λον εἶη τοῖς ἐντὸς οὖσιν.
- 335 80. Ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας  
συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλτατα σφῶν κατέκαινον, ἐκόντα  
τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γιγνομένης ὁ  
Βρούτος νομίσας ἀρπαγὴν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνείργε  
336 διὰ κηρύκων. ὡς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ γιγνόμενον, ᾤκτειρεν ἀν-  
δρῶν φρόνημα φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπονδὰς περιέπεμ-  
πεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα

<sup>22</sup> τὰ σιδήρια del. Mend.

threw them onto the walls above, and whenever one of  
them caught fast, they pulled themselves up.

79. The neighboring Oenoandans, who were assisting 332  
Brutus because of their hostility toward Xanthus, now be-  
gan to climb their way up the cliffs, and when the Romans  
saw them they copied them with considerable difficulty.  
Many fell off, but some got over the wall and opened a 333  
small gate, which had been fenced with a dense array of  
stakes, and let in the most daring of the attackers, who  
swung themselves over the stockade. With the increase in  
their numbers, they now began to batter the gates, which  
were not faced in iron on the inside, at the same time as  
others on the outside helped them by battering the gates  
from the opposite direction for the same purpose. While 334  
the Xanthians were attacking the Romans at the shrine of  
Sarpedon with an enormous clamor, the Romans at the  
gates, in anxiety for their comrades, continued to batter  
the gates both from inside and outside, and tried to force  
their way through with frantic zeal. Just after the sun god  
had gone down, they broke through and rushed in en  
masse, with a shout intended as a signal to those inside the  
town.

80. When the city was taken, the Xanthians ran to their 335  
homes and killed those dearest to them, who willingly ac-  
cepted their deaths. A wailing cry began, and thinking that  
plundering was taking place, Brutus ordered heralds to  
restrain the army. On learning what was really happening, 336  
he took pity on the freedom-loving spirit of the people and  
sent envoys to offer a truce. But the Xanthians threw mis-  
siles at those bringing the offer, and, after killing all their

πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρὰς προνενησμένας ἐν ταῖς  
 οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπι-  
 337 κατέσφαξαν. Βρούτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα  
 ἐδύνατο, μόνους θεράποντας εἶλε Ξανθίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν γυναῖα ὀλίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἐς  
 338 ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας. Ξάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον  
 ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο ἐλευθερίας οὐνεκα. καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ  
 στρατηγούντος, ὦδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθει-  
 ραν, καὶ τάφος Ξανθίοις ἢ πόλις ἀποκλεισθεῖσα<sup>23</sup> ὑπὸ  
 Ἀρπάγου τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φι-  
 λίππου φασὶν ὅμοια παθεῖν, οὐχ ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τοσῆσδε γῆς ἀρχὴν ὑπακοῦσαι.  
 339 81. Βρούτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατήει,  
 πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων, καὶ περιστήσας αὐ-  
 τοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακοῦειν ἢ τὰς  
 Ξανθίων συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι· προσήγοντό τε  
 αὐτοῖς οἱ Ξάνθιοι ὀδυρόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα καὶ παραι-  
 340 νοῦντες ἀμείνονα βουλευσασθαι. Ξανθίοις δὲ οὐδὲν  
 ἀποκριναμένων πῶ τῶν Παταρέων, ἐδίδου τὸ λοιπὸν  
 αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ἅμα δὲ  
 ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐβόων ὑπ-  
 ακοῦειν, ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεώγνουν.  
 341 ὁ δ' ἐσελθὼν ἔκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἐξήλασε, χρυσὸν  
 δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον ἢ πόλις εἶχε, συνενεγκῶν

<sup>23</sup> ἀμεληθεῖσα codd.; ἀποκλεισθεῖσα Mend.; ἀμερθεῖσα  
 Gaillard-Goukowsky

own families, placed the bodies on funeral pyres, which  
 had previously been piled up in their houses, set fire to  
 them, and took their own lives over them. Brutus saved as 337  
 many of the sanctuaries as he could, but he captured only  
 slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free  
 women and not even one hundred and fifty men. This was 338  
 the third time the Xanthians perished by their own hand  
 in the defense of freedom. For in the time of Harpagus  
 the Mede, one of Cyrus the Great's generals, they killed  
 themselves in this way, rather than be enslaved: shut off<sup>56</sup>  
 by Harpagus, the town became for the Xanthians their  
 tomb. In the time of Alexander, son of Philip, it is said that  
 they suffered the same fate when they could not bear to  
 obey even Alexander with his enormous empire.

81. From Xanthus Brutus went down to Patara, a town 339  
 which functions as seaport for the Xanthians. He sur-  
 rounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to  
 obey him in everything, or else face the disasters suffered  
 by Xanthus. And the Xanthians were brought forward to  
 them, lamenting their own misfortunes and advising them  
 to adopt wiser counsels. When the inhabitants of Patara 340  
 still had not answered the Xanthians, Brutus gave them  
 the rest of the day to consider the matter, and withdrew.  
 The next morning he advanced, and the Patarans shouted  
 from the walls that they would comply with all his wishes,  
 and opened their gates. When he entered the town, he did 341  
 not execute or banish anyone, but having collected all the  
 gold and silver held publicly by the town, he ordered all

<sup>56</sup> The text is corrupt at this point, and it is not clear what the  
 verb is. The story is recounted in Herodotus (1.173-76).

342 ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ζη-  
 μίαις καὶ μηνύμασιν, οἷοις καὶ Κάσσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν  
 Ῥόδῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσέφερόν, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην  
 ἐμήνυσε χρυσίον κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ  
 χρυσίον ἔδειξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ μὲν δε-  
 σπότης ἐσιώπα, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισώζουσα τὸν  
 υἱὸν εἶπετο, βοῶσα αὐτῇ τὸ χρυσίον κρύψαι. ὁ δὲ  
 οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερωτώμενος, τὴν μὲν ἤλεγχε ψευδο-  
 343 μένην, τὸν δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος τὸν μὲν νεα-  
 νίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ  
 πάθους καὶ μεθῆκεν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαθείς ἀπιέναι τὸ  
 χρυσίον φερομένους, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην ὡς πέρα τοῦ  
 προστάγματος ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς δεσπότηαις ἐκρέ-  
 μασε.  
 344 82. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς  
 Ἀνδριάκῃ Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ τὴν τε ἄλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ  
 λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνήει. Μυρέων δέ, ἃ προσέτασσε,  
 δεχομένων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπ-  
 345 ἀνήει. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπρέσβευε,  
 συμμαχήσειν τε ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ ἐσοίσειν, ὅσα δύ-  
 ναιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσφοράς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων  
 τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπεδίδου τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ  
 Λυκίων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐκέλευε περιπλεῖν ἐς  
 Ἄβυδον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἦγε καὶ Κάσσιον  
 ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἀνέμενεν, ὡς ἐς Σηστὸν ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦν-  
 346 τες. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεο-  
 πάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀμφὶ τῇ  
 Λιβύῃ βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ νανάγια εἶδε μέχρι τῆς Λα-

individuals to bring him their private wealth, under threat  
 of the same sort of penalties and rewards for informers  
 as Cassius proclaimed at Rhodes. The citizens handed in 342  
 their money, but one slave informed on his master for hid-  
 ding his gold, and showed it to the centurion sent to get it.  
 When all involved were led away under arrest, the master  
 remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order  
 to save her son, shouted out that she was the one who had  
 hidden the gold. Without being asked, the slave accused  
 her of lying, and said that the son had hidden it. Brutus 343  
 approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with  
 his mother's suffering. He allowed them both to leave un-  
 harmed and take the gold with them, but he crucified  
 the slave for going beyond the proclamation by plotting  
 against his masters.

82. At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent 344  
 against Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the  
 chain across the harbor and went up to Myra. The inhab-  
 itants agreed to carry out his orders, and having collected  
 money in the same way as at Patara he returned to Brutus.  
 The Lycian League also sent a mission to Brutus promis- 345  
 ing to give him military assistance and to contribute what  
 resources they could. He imposed financial contributions  
 on them, restored the free Xanthians to their town and  
 ordered the Lycian fleet together with his other ships to  
 sail around to Abydus, where he himself was bringing his  
 land forces to wait for Cassius' arrival from Ionia, so that  
 they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, 346  
 who was lying in wait for Cleopatra in the Peloponnese,  
 learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm off  
 Africa—he saw the wreckage carried on the current as far



κωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἀρρωστία μόλις αὐτὴν  
 ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐπανιοῦσαν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπραξίας εἶη  
 μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου καὶ  
 ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσον ὀρμισάμενος ἐκώ-  
 λυε τὴν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιὰν ἢ ἀγορὰν  
 347 ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος  
 ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακραῖς, ὅσαις εἶχεν, ὀλίγαις ἀπ-  
 εμάχετο δὲ καὶ πύργοις, οὓς ἐπήγευεν ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, ὅτε  
 τὸν στρατὸν ὀλκάσιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεῦμα  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολὺ φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβά-  
 νοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μούρκου. κακοπαθῶν δὲ ἐκάλει Καί-  
 σαρα, Πομπηίῳ Σέξστῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς  
 Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

348 83. Ὡδε δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπηίου. νεώτερος ὢν  
 ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπηίου παίδων ὑπερώφθη μὲν τὰ  
 πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς οὐδὲν  
 μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασόμενος, καὶ  
 ἠλάτο περὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ληστεύων σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ  
 349 λαυθάνων, ὅτι εἶη Πομπηίος. πλεόνων δὲ ἐς τὸ λη-  
 στεύειν αὐτῷ συνιόντων χεῖρ τε ἦν ἤδη καρτερὰ καὶ  
 ἐξεφαίνετο Πομπηίος ὢν. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγονότες ἠλῶντο, ὡς ἐς  
 οἰκείον ἠγεμόνα συνέτρεχον, καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐκ Λιβύης  
 ἀφίκετ' αὐτῷ, ἀφηρημένος τὰ πατρῶα, ὡς μοι προ-  
 350 εῖρηται. ὧδε δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἦν  
 ἤδη ληστηρίου δυνατώτερα καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου

as Laconia—and knew that she was returning demoralized  
 and with difficulty to her own country, he sailed for  
 Brundisium so that he would not remain inactive with  
 such a large fleet. He anchored off the island lying oppo-  
 site the harbor, and prevented the rest of the enemy's army  
 and supplies from getting over to Macedonia. Antony 347  
 fought him off with the few warships he had, and also with  
 towers mounted on barges, whenever he sent out detach-  
 ments of his army in merchantmen, waiting for a strong  
 breeze off the land, so that they would not be captured by  
 Murcus. But finding himself in difficulty, he appealed to  
 Octavian, who was conducting a naval campaign around  
 Sicily against Sextus Pompeius, for possession of Sicily  
 itself.

83. With regard to Pompeius the situation was as fol- 348  
 lows. Although the younger son of Pompey the Great, he  
 was at first ignored by Gaius Caesar in Iberia on the  
 grounds that he was unlikely to accomplish anything of  
 importance, because of his youth and inexperience. He  
 roamed the seas with a few men committing acts of piracy,  
 but kept hidden the fact that he was a Pompeius. When 349  
 more joined him to engage in piracy, his band now became  
 powerful, and he revealed that he was a Pompeius. Im-  
 mediately, all those outcasts who had served under his  
 father or his brother made their way to him as their natu-  
 ral leader, and Arabio arrived to join him from Africa,  
 where he had lost his ancestral kingdom, as I have de-  
 scribed above.<sup>57</sup> In this way he acquired a very large 350  
 group, and with his exploits now carrying more force than  
 a band of brigands, the name of Pompeius spread to the

<sup>57</sup> Above, 54.230.

ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εὐρυτάτην ἐθνῶν οὖσαν, περιθέοντός τε καὶ μεθιπταμένου καὶ ἐς χείρας οὐχ ὑπομένουτος ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι. ὧν ὁ Γάιος πυνθανόμενος ἔπεμπε σὺν στρατῶ πλέονι Καρρίναν ἐκπολεμήσοντα Πομπήμιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, κουφότερος ὢν, ἐπεφαίνετο ἄφνω καὶ ἀφιπτάμενος ἠνώχλει καὶ πόλεις ἤδη τινὰς ἤρει βραχυτέρας τε καὶ μείζους.

352 84. Καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἔπεμψε τῷ Καρρίνῳ διάδοχον Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν Πομπηίῳ. ὃν τινα πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὃ τε Γάιος Καίσαρ 353 ἀνηρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλή κατεκάλει Πομπήμιον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Μασσαλία γενόμενος περιεσκόπει ἔτι τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. αἰρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄρχειν, καθὰ ἦρχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ὡς ἀνήλθεν, ὅσαι δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβὼν ἐξέπλευσε 354 σὺν αἷς εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνικὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι προγραφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἴρτιός τε καὶ Φάννιος ἔπεισαν ἐκστήναι Πομπηίῳ Βιθυνικὸν Σικελίας.

355 85. Ὡδε μὲν ὁ Πομπήμιος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ναῦς ἔχων καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ στρατὸν ἤδη πολύν, ὅσον τε πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ὅσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἦγον ἢ

whole of Iberia, the most extensive of the provinces. By hurrying around and flying from one place to another, however, he avoided engaging with the governors of the province sent by Gaius Caesar. When Caesar learned of this, he sent Carrinas with a large army to fight him.<sup>58</sup> But Pompeius had a more mobile force than Carrinas, and by suddenly making an appearance and then moving elsewhere, he harassed him and began to capture some towns, large and small.

84. Caesar then sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carrinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. They conducted this war with indecisive results until Gaius Caesar was assassinated and the senate recalled Pompeius. Having arrived in Massilia, he continued to keep a watch on events in Rome. Appointed to the command of the sea, as his father had been too, he still did not return to Rome, but taking all the ships in the harbors, along with the ones he brought from Iberia, he set sail. On the establishment of the triumvirate, he sailed to Sicily, and blockaded Bithynicus, the governor, as he would not yield the island to him.<sup>59</sup> Eventually, Hirtius and Fannius, both sentenced to death on the proscription lists and in exile from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to abandon Sicily to Pompeius.

85. This was how Pompeius took control of Sicily. He thus had ships, an island lying off the coast of Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, made up of the troops he had before and those brought by the exiles from Rome,

<sup>58</sup> Gaius Carrinas was one of the suffect consuls in 43.

<sup>59</sup> Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus was praetor probably in 45, then governed Sicily until he was executed by Sextus Pompeius in 42.

αἱ πόλεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐς ἐπινίκια  
 356 τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελμένοι. ταῖς γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις  
 αἶδε μάλιστα τὴν νίκην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο  
 καί, ὅσα δύναιντο, κρύφα ἀντέπρασσον· ἀποδιδρά-  
 σκοντές τε τῶν πατρίδων ὡς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυ-  
 νάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς Πομπήιον, ἀγχοτάτω τε ὄντα  
 357 καὶ περιφίλητον ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε. παρήσαν δ' αὐτῷ  
 καὶ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἔμπειροι  
 θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ ἡγεμόσι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ  
 358 χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπήρτο. καὶ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ  
 ἐπήκοος ὢν ἔπεμπε Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν στόλου,  
 Πομπήιον ὡς εὐχερὲς ἔργον ἐξελεῖν παραπλέοντα· καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς αὐτῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ συμ-  
 359 βολήσων περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουιδιηνῷ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος  
 ἀπαντᾶ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμα-  
 χίας ἀμφὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ  
 Πομπηίου νῆες, κουφότεραί τε οὔσαι καὶ ναυτικω-  
 τέρων ἀνδρῶν, ταχυτήτι καὶ ἐμπειρία προὔχον, αἱ δὲ  
 360 Ῥωμαίων ἄτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν. ὡς δ'  
 ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίγνετο καὶ δι-  
 εσπᾶτο ἢ θάλασσα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ, οἱ μὲν  
 ἦσσαν ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ  
 τὸν Σαλουιδιηνόν, οὔτε ἐστῶτες βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀηθείας

<sup>60</sup> Quintus Salvidienus Rufus Salvius was one of Octavian's close allies in 44 and made governor of Gaul by him in 40. Although not even a member of the senate (according to Cass. Dio

both free men and slaves, or those sent to him by the Ital-  
 ian towns that had been promised to the soldiers as the 356  
 rewards of victory. Of course, in their heart of hearts, these  
 towns in particular prayed that the triumvirs would not  
 win, and they did everything they could to oppose them  
 secretly. Those with influence fled from their hometowns  
 as no longer being their hometowns, and took refuge with  
 Pompeius, who was very close at hand and greatly admired  
 by everyone at that time. There also were present with 357  
 him seafaring men from Africa and Iberia, experienced in  
 marine matters, with the result that Pompeius had great  
 confidence in his commanders and his ships and his land  
 forces and his finances. Listening to news of these events, 358  
 Octavian sent Salvidienus in command of a naval force to  
 sail along the coast and destroy Pompeius, assuming that  
 it would be an easy task.<sup>60</sup> He himself made his way across  
 Italy with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium.  
 Pompeius met Salvidienus with a large fleet, and a naval 359  
 engagement took place between them at the entrance of  
 the straits near the promontory of Scyllaeum. The ships of  
 Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, had  
 the advantage of speed and skill, while those of the Ro-  
 mans were heavier and bigger, and found themselves in  
 difficulty for that reason. When the usual swell built up in 360  
 the straits and the sea was churned up in different direc-  
 tions by the current, the crews of Pompeius suffered less,  
 as they were used to the heavy sea. Salvidienus' men, on  
 the other hand, were unsteady on their feet, as they were

48.33), he was designated consul for 39, but Octavian had him killed for plotting with Antony.

οὔτε τὰς κώπας ἔτι ἀναφέρειν δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πη-  
 δάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθῆ, συνεταράσσοντο, ὥστε κλίνου-  
 τος ἐς δείλην ἐσπέραν ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σα-  
 λουιδιηνὸς ἀνεκάλει. ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος.  
 361 νῆες δὲ ἑκατέρων ἴσαι διεφθάρατο, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς  
 λελωβημένας τε καὶ πεπονημένας ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς  
 ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑποχώρησας ἐς λιμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορ-  
 θμοῦ Βαλαρόν.  
 362 86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν Ῥηγίνοις μὲν καὶ Ἴπ-  
 πωνεῦσι μεγάλας πίστεισ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ἀναλύσειν  
 αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων (ἔδεδίει γὰρ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 πορθμοῦ μάλιστα), καλοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου  
 κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον,  
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων Σικελίαν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Σι-  
 363 κελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιόντος  
 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε  
 καὶ Καίσαρος, μικρὸν ἀναχώρησας τοῦ Βρεντεσίου,  
 τὰς ὀλκάδας ἐφύλασσε ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς  
 364 Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου διαφερούσας. αἱ δὲ  
 προεπέμποντο μὲν ὑπὸ τριήρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ  
 κατὰ θεὸν οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἀδεῶς, οὐδὲν  
 365 τῶν προπομπῶν δεηθεῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος  
 ὁμῶς ἐφήδρευεν ἐπανιούσαισ κεναῖσ. αἱ δὲ καὶ τότε,  
 καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἄγουσαι, διέπλεον ἰστίοις  
 στρογγύλοις, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καί-

not used to it, and being unable to lift their oars any more,  
 or steer reliably with their rudders, they were thrown into  
 confusion. The result was that with the sun god going  
 down toward late evening, Salvidienus was the first to give  
 the signal for retreat. Pompeius also withdrew. Both sides 361  
 lost an equal number of ships, and Salvidienus retired to  
 the port of Balarus, at the entrance to the straits, where  
 he repaired his remaining ships, damaged and in bad  
 shape as they were.

86. On his arrival, Octavian gave his solemn assurances 362  
 in person to the people of Rhegium and Hipponium that  
 he would take them off the list of victory prizes (for he was  
 particularly apprehensive about their location right on the  
 straits), but when Antony appealed to him as a matter of  
 urgency, he sailed over to him at Brundisium, keeping  
 Sicily on the left;<sup>61</sup> and for the time being he postponed  
 the matter of Pompeius and Sicily. At the approach of 363  
 Octavian, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundi-  
 sium to avoid finding himself between Antony and Octa-  
 vian, and kept watch in the channel for the transport ships  
 carrying the army across from Brundisium to Macedonia.  
 These were escorted by triremes, but, with the help of a 364  
 god, a strong wind sprang up in their favor, and they flew  
 across the sea in no danger and having no need of their  
 escorts. Murcus was annoyed, but lay in wait for the ships 365  
 when they returned empty. Yet on that occasion too they  
 made the crossing under full sail, and again when carrying  
 other troops, until the whole army, and with it both Octa-

<sup>61</sup> This looks like a mistake: unless he sailed the long way  
 around the western end of Sicily, the island cannot have been on  
 his left.

366 *σάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπὸ  
του δαιμόνων βεβλάφθαι νομίζων, ὑπέμενεν ὅμως τὰς  
ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλεύσας παρασκευὰς ἢ  
τροφὰς ἢ τὸν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον στρατὸν βλάπτων,  
367 ὅσα δύναιτο. καὶ αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ὑπὸ  
τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον, ὡς χρησι-  
μώτατον δὴ, μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους  
ἐτέρου καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐπέμφθη· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς  
ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τροφὰς δαψιλεῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἐδόκει  
τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διακλείσειν.*

368 87. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυσὶ τε μακραῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκο-  
ντα καὶ ὑπηρετικαῖς πλέοσι καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ δια-  
πλέοντες ἠνώχλουν, Δεκίδιος<sup>24</sup> δὲ καὶ Νωρβανός οὓς  
ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτῶ τελεῶν ἐς Μακεδο-  
νίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ  
Θράκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους στα-  
δίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ  
Κορπίλων<sup>25</sup> καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα  
ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ἣ μόνη διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν  
Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν γνῶριμον ὁδόν. καὶ τοῦτο

<sup>24</sup> Κεδίκιος codd.; Δεκίδιος edd. hic et deinceps

<sup>25</sup> Τορπιδῶν codd.; Κορπίλων edd. hic et deinceps

<sup>62</sup> Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul 32) was the son of Caesar's enemy Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was killed at the battle of Pharsalus in 48. Gnaeus first opposed the triumvirs, but he then went over to Antony, and just before the battle of Actium, joined Octavian.

vian and Antony, had crossed the sea. Murcus believed 366  
that he had been obstructed by some divine force, but  
held his position nevertheless, in order to inflict what dam-  
age he could on the equipment, supplies, or further levies  
being shipped over to the enemy from Italy. Domitius 367  
Ahenobarbus was sent to him by Cassius to help in the  
same task, since it was obviously of vital service, together  
with fifty additional ships, another legion, and a contin-  
gent of archers;<sup>62</sup> for as Octavian's forces had no plentiful  
source of supplies from elsewhere, it seemed sensible to  
cut off the route from Italy.

87. And so Murcus and Domitius, with their one hun- 368  
dred and thirty warships, an even larger number of sup-  
port vessels, and a big army, sailed across the sea to harass  
the enemy. As for Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octa-  
vian and Antony had sent with eight legions to Macedonia  
beforehand, they advanced one thousand five hundred  
stades from Macedonia toward the mountainous part of  
Thrace and, moving beyond the town of Philippi, they  
eventually seized the passes of the Corpilans and the Sa-  
paeans in the kingdom of Rhascupolis.<sup>63</sup> This is the only  
route known to be possible for traveling from Asia to Eu-  
rope, and seizing it was also the first obstacle put in the

<sup>63</sup> Lucius Decidius Saxa served under Julius Caesar from 49 and after Caesar's death was loyal to Antony. He fought at the battle of Philippi and was made governor of Syria, but he was captured and killed by the Parthians in 40 (see App. *Syr.* 51.259). Gaius Norbanus Flaccus (consul 38) was proconsul in Spain from 36 to 32.

369 τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου περά-  
 σασι, πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Ῥασκούπολις δὲ καὶ  
 Ῥάσκος ἦσθην ἀδελφῶ Θρακίῳ βασιλίσκῳ, μιᾶς ἄρ-  
 χοντε χώρας, οἱ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας  
 διεφέροντο. καὶ Ῥάσκος μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 370 συνεμάχει, Ῥασκούπολις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον,  
 τρισχιλίους ἰππέας ἔχων ἐκάτερος. πυνθανομένοις δὲ  
 τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον περὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Ῥασκού-  
 πολις ἔφη τὴν μὲν δι' Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας ἐπίτομόν  
 τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ λεωφόρον οὔσαν ἐπὶ τὰ Σαπαίων  
 στενὰ ἄγειν, κατεχόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμή-  
 χανα ἐς δίοδον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ περίοδον τριπλασίονά τε  
 καὶ χαλεπήν.

371 88. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἐς κώλυ-  
 σιν μὲν ὁδῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾶν, τροφῶν δὲ ἀπορία ἐς  
 Θράκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐβάδιζον <τὴν>  
 ἐπὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας ὁδὸν ἀπὸ<sup>26</sup> Λυσιμαχείας τε  
 καὶ Καρδίας, αἱ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρακίου χερρονήσου  
 διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν  
 372 ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν  
 ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὀπλιτῶν ἐννεα-  
 καίδεκα τέλη, Βρούτου μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἐννέα,  
 ἐντελὲς οὐδέν, ἄλλα τε δύο<sup>27</sup> που τέλη μάλιστα ἀνα-

<sup>26</sup> <τὴν> ἐπὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Schweig.; ὅθεν  
 ἐπὶ codd.; lacunam post Μαρωνείας indic. Gaillard-Goukowsky

<sup>27</sup> ἄλλα τε δύο Ihne; ἄλλ' ἐς δύο codd.; ἄλλ' ἐς <τὰ> δύο  
 που μέρη Gaillard-Goukowsky

way of Cassius and his men since they had crossed from 369  
 Sestus to Abydus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers  
 of the royal family of Thrace, two men ruling one country,  
 who had different opinions at the time about the correct  
 alliance to make. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony  
 and Rhascupolis for Cassius, and each of them had three  
 thousand cavalry. When Cassius inquired about the roads, 370  
 Rhascupolis told them that while the one through Aenus  
 and Maronea was the main road normally used, and it was  
 short, it led to the Sapaeian pass, which was occupied by  
 the enemy and impossible to get through; the way around,  
 however, was three times as long and a difficult route.

88. Brutus and Cassius, supposing that the enemy had 371  
 crossed into Thrace from Macedonia not to block the  
 roads and confront them, but because they were short of  
 supplies, took the Aenus and Maronea road from Lysima-  
 chea and Cardia,<sup>64</sup> which close off the isthmus of the Thra-  
 cian Chersonesus like gates. Another day's journey brought  
 them to the gulf of Melas. A review of their army found a 372  
 total of nineteen legions, eight of Brutus, nine of Cassius,  
 none of them at full strength, with another two legions,  
 more or less, being filled,<sup>65</sup> so that there were about eighty

<sup>64</sup> The text is corrupt at this point. I have adopted Schweig-  
 häuser's emendation to make sure that, starting presumably from  
 Sestus, Brutus and Cassius make their way up the Thracian Cher-  
 sonesse to Lysimachea and Cardia and then westward to Aenus  
 and Maronea.

<sup>65</sup> The text is again corrupt, with various solutions suggested.

373 πληρούμενα, ὡς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς ὀκτώ. ἰππέες δὲ ἦσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν Κελτοὶ καὶ Λυσι-  
 τανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θρᾶκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ Παρ-  
 θηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι, Κασσίῳ δὲ Ἰβηρές τε  
 καὶ Κελτοὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ ἵπποτοξόται Ἄραβές τε καὶ  
 Μῆδοι καὶ Παρθναῖοι τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ  
 εἶποντο βασιλέες καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν  
 Ἀσίᾳ, πεζὸν τε ἄγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἰππέας ὑπὲρ  
 πεντακισχιλίου.

374 89. Τοσῆδε μὲν στρατιὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσῆδε ἐχώρου  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλαχόθι  
 χρειῶν. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀν-  
 επλήρου τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων τισὶν ὀφειλομέ-  
 νας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν περιουσίας χρημάτων  
 πεφροντικότες, οἰκειούμενοι δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτοῦς,  
 Γαῖῳ μάλιστα Καίσαρι τοὺς πλέονας ἐστρατευμέ-  
 νους, μή τις ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ νέου Καί-  
 375 σαρος νεωτερίσειεν ἐλθόντος. καὶ αὐθις ἔδοξε τούτου  
 χάριν καὶ δημηγορήσαι. βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα,  
 καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς  
 αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὃ τε ἴδιος καὶ  
 συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἤδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἐκάτεροι, ἰσχυροτάτη  
 σφίσι φανείσῃ· καὶ θάρσος ἦν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτίκα καὶ  
 376 ἐλπίς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατηγοῦσιν. αὐτὰ τε πρῶτα  
 πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πίστιν  
 συνῆγε· τίκτουσι γὰρ εὐνοίαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ

thousand infantry in all. For cavalry, Brutus had four thou- 373  
 sand Gauls and Lusitanians, and two thousand Thracians  
 and Illyrian Partheni and Thessalians. Cassius had two  
 thousand Iberians and Gauls, and four thousand mounted  
 archers, Arabs and Medes and Parthians. Following as  
 allies were kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia,  
 who brought another large infantry force and more than  
 five thousand cavalry.

89. Such was the size of the army reviewed by Cassius 374  
 and his staff at the gulf of Melas, and it was with this large  
 army that they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder  
 of their forces for needs elsewhere. After purifying the  
 army in the customary manner, they completed the pay-  
 ment of the promised donatives still owing to some of the  
 men. They had taken care to have plenty of money avail-  
 able in order to keep them loyal with gifts, especially  
 those, the majority, who had served under Gaius Caesar,  
 and prevent them mutinying at the sight or same name of  
 the young Caesar when he arrived. And once again, it was 375  
 decided, for the same purpose, to address the soldiers  
 publicly. So a large platform was erected, which the com-  
 manders mounted along with just the senators, while their  
 army, their own troops and the allies, stood around below  
 it, both groups immediately taking delight in their respec-  
 tive numbers, which appeared extremely powerful. And  
 both the generals were also immediately filled with confi-  
 dence and resolute hope at commanding so many men.  
 This more than anything led the troops to believe in their 376  
 generals, for shared hopes generate a positive attitude. As  
 was to be expected in such a large crowd, a din arose,

ὡς ἐν τοσούτοις ὄντος οἱ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ σιωπὴν ἐποίουν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος (προὔχε γὰρ ἡλικία) προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

377 90. “Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὃ συστρατιῶται, κοινὸς ὢν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει· συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα ἔδομεν, ὃ μεγίστη πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπισχνούμεθα.  
378 αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὑμῶν τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὀράτε  
379 τοσοῦσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἀνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὅσον ἴστε, σίτου τε καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμαχῶν κατὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἢ τε παρασκευῆ καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινὰ ὄντα συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν  
380 διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο ἀνδρες ἐχθροί, ἴστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ἡμῖν ἐτόιμως, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἢ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὖσαν ἡμῖν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

381 91. “Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατευόμενοί τε αὐτῷ μεθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγούντες ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελοῦμεν ὄντες, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι’ ἐχθραν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιβεβουλευθαι.  
382 τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπίμεμπτος ἦν, οὐχ ἡμῖν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ κὰν τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὧν οὐδεὶς

which the heralds and trumpeters set about silencing. When at last there was quiet, Cassius, for he was the elder of the two, moved forward a little from his place into the middle and spoke as follows:

90. “My fellow soldiers, it is the shared nature of our struggle that leads us in the first place to believe in each other. Second is the fact that we have given you everything we promised, which is also the most important guarantee of what we are promising for the future. Our hopes rest in the excellence, both of you, the enlisted men, and of us, the senators whose number and quality you see standing on this platform. You also know how extensively we have prepared an abundance of grain and arms and money and ships and allies both from the provinces and from kings. Is there any need of words, then, to exhort you to demonstrate enthusiasm and solidarity of purpose, when our preparations and common task unite us? As to the slanders that two men, personal enemies, bring against us, you know exactly what they are, and it is for that reason that you are ready to take up arms with us. Yet it still seems sensible, even now, to examine their accusation, which very clearly demonstrates that our reason for going to war is most honorable and just.

91. “By serving with Caesar in his wars, like you, and exercising command, we raised him to a high position and continued to be his close associates, so that it cannot be thought that we plotted against him out of personal hatred. It was his conduct in time of peace that was objectionable, not to us his associates, who continued to receive preferential treatment even then, but to the laws and con-



νόμος οὔτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἔτι  
 ἦν· ἅπερ ἅπαντα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἤρμοσαν, ὅτε τοὺς  
 βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ  
 383 ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑτέρων. ᾧ τινι ὄρκῳ  
 βοηθοῦντες οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἔκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς  
 ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐς πολὺ  
 περιδεῖν ἓνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ χρήσι-  
 μος, τά τε κοινὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειρο-  
 τονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔθνων  
 ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον  
 ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτο-  
 κράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς γιγνόμενον ἐς ἅπαντα.

384 92. “Ὡν ἴσως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἤσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ  
 μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἐωρᾶτε. νῦν  
 δὲ ῥαδίως τε ἂν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους  
 385 καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις  
 ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα ὡς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ  
 κύριος τότε ἐν τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιλαμβάνετε  
 αὐτοί, προβουλευούσης μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφα-  
 λείητε, κρίνοντες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφίζόμενοι κατὰ φυ-  
 λὰς ἢ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπάτους τε καὶ δη-  
 386 μάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειροτονίαις καὶ  
 τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες ἢ τιμῶντες, ὅτε κο-  
 387 λάσεως ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίως ἄρξαιμεν ὑμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις  
 ἦδε τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ᾧ πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν  
 ἄκραν ὑπερήγαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τε  
 τιμημένοι χάριν εἶχον ὑμῖν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας

stitution of the state, in which not a single law, whether  
 aristocratic or popular, remained in force. Our ancestors  
 regulated all this, when after expelling the kings they  
 swore an oath, supported by curses, never to tolerate other  
 kings in the future. We, the descendants of the men who  
 383 swore the oath, defended it and sought to divert the curses  
 from ourselves by refusing to endure for long the sight of  
 one man, even if he was a friend who served our interests,  
 vesting in himself and taking from the people control of  
 the public finances, the military, the election of magis-  
 trates, and from the senate the right to appoint provincial  
 governors; we refused to see him becoming in all matters  
 the law in place of the laws, sovereign in place of the  
 people, and sole ruler in place of the senate.

92. “Perhaps you did not fully understand this, but saw  
 384 only his excellence in war. Now, however, you can easily  
 grasp it by observing simply the role that concerns you.  
 For in times of war you, the people, obey your command-  
 385 ers in all respects since we hold authority, whereas in  
 peacetime it is you who resume this authority over us. The  
 senate deliberates first, in order to prevent you from mak-  
 ing a mistake, but it is you who decide for yourselves,  
 voting in tribes or centuries to appoint consuls, tribunes,  
 and praetors. In addition to the elections, you act as jurors  
 386 in the most important cases, punishing and rewarding us  
 whenever we govern you in a manner that deserves pun-  
 ishment or reward. This reciprocal exchange, fellow citi-  
 387 zens, has raised the empire to the summit of good fortune  
 and conferred honors upon those worthy of them, and the  
 men so honored have shown their gratitude to you. It was

ὑπατον ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ <περὶ τῶν><sup>28</sup>  
 περὶ Λιβύην ἐμαρτυρήσατε· καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιείσθε  
 ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισομένους ἡμῖν  
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰ δέοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν τὰ πολλά,  
 ὅσα ἴστε;

388 93. “Ἄλλ’ οὐκ, ἀφ’ οὗ Καῖσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν, οὐκ  
 ἀρχὴν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὑπατον, οὐ δήμαρχον  
 ἐχειροτονήσατε ἔτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε οὐδενί, οὐκ  
 ἀμοιβὴν εἶχετε δοῦναι μαρτυροῦντες. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ  
 εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἰς ὑμῖν χάριν ὄφειλεν, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ  
 389 ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνῶν, οὐ δίκης. ὁ δὲ οἴκτιστον  
 ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι  
 τοῖς δημάρχους ὑμῶν ὑβριζομένοις, ἦν τινα αἰδίων  
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ  
 ἄσυλον ἀπεφήνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀσύλους εἶδετε τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἐς ὑβριν  
 ἀφαιρουμένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος,  
 ὅτι ἔδοξαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χαλεπήναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα  
 390 αὐτὸν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεύσαι. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπα-  
 χθῶς ἤνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δι’ ὑμᾶς· ὑμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ  
 τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμέμψα-  
 σθαι δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδ’ ἐς κρίσιν  
 ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἰσχὺν στρατοπέδων, ἃ καὶ αὐτά, τέως  
 ὄντα τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἴδια, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν  
 τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ  
 σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

<sup>28</sup> περὶ τῶν add. Gaillard-Goukowsky

by virtue of this power that you made Scipio consul when  
 you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and elected the  
 tribunes of your choice every year, to oppose us in your  
 interest if necessary.<sup>66</sup> But what is the point of listing the  
 many things that you already know?

93. “But from the time when Caesar took over power, 388  
 you no longer elected a single magistrate, neither praetor,  
 consul, nor tribune. You did not bestow your approval on  
 anyone, and even if you did, you had nothing to give them  
 in return. To put it briefly, nobody owed you any thanks,  
 whether for a magistracy or a governorship, for approving  
 accounts or securing a judgment. Most deplorable of all, 389  
 you were not even able to protect your own tribunes when  
 they were abused, when this was an office you established  
 to be permanently yours and declared sacrosanct and in-  
 violable. On the contrary, you saw these inviolable men  
 being brutally dispossessed of their inviolable office and  
 sacred dress without trial, on the basis of a mere decree,  
 because they were thought to have been angry on your  
 behalf at those who wanted to address Caesar as king. The 390  
 senate took this particularly badly, because of you: for the  
 office of tribune belongs to you, not to the senate. But they  
 were not able to reprimand Caesar openly or bring him to  
 trial, because of the strength of the armies, which he had  
 also appropriated for himself, although they had been  
 controlled by the state up to that point. So they devised  
 the only way still remaining to protect themselves against  
 the tyranny, by conspiring against his life.

<sup>66</sup> Scipio Aemilianus was elected consul in 147, although tech-  
 nically too young, to take command of the war against Carthage.

391 94. "Ἐδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρί-  
 στων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὀλίγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἢ  
 βουλὴ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε  
 392 καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικὰ ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι ἐπισχόν-  
 τος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀντωνίου καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ  
 οὐδ' ἡμῶν ἀξιούντων διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ δι'  
 αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τοῦδε μὲν ἀπέσχοντο,  
 οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐφνυβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνης  
 τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἀπάντων  
 ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φόνου μὴ εἶναι  
 393 δίκας. καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ' ἡμῖν  
 δημοκοπήσαντος, ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐθνῶν τῶν με-  
 γίστων καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν  
 ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότε-  
 ρον ὡς ἐναγεῖς κολάζοντες ἢ ὡς ἀνδροφόνους πορ-  
 φύρα τε ἱερᾶ καὶ ράβδοις καὶ πελέκεσι περικοσμοῦν-  
 394 τες; ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπηίου τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς  
 ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπηίου Μά-  
 γνου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισαμέ-  
 νου παῖς καὶ ὅτι μικρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἠνώχλει λαν-  
 θάνων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, κατεκάλεσέ τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ  
 τὸ τίμημα αὐτῷ τῶν πατρῶων ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔκριναν  
 ἀποδοῦναι χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφη-  
 ναν, ἵνα κακείνος ἀρχὴν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὢν.  
 395 τί δὴ πλέον ἔργον ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἢ σύμβολον ἐπιζη-  
 τεῖτε τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπραχθαι, πλὴν  
 ἢ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὁμολογήσαι; ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πρά-

94. "While the decision had to be made by the nobles, 391  
 the deed itself had to be carried out by a few individuals.  
 But when it was done, the senate immediately made clear  
 that it was a shared decision by openly voting rewards for  
 the killing of a tyrant. Since Antony held them back, how- 392  
 ever, on the pretext that it would lead to disorder, and  
 since not even we resolved to rescue Rome for rewards  
 rather than for the fatherland itself, the senators refrained  
 from taking the decision. Because they did not want to  
 insult Caesar, but only to get rid of the tyranny, they voted  
 a general amnesty, and, to make the situation even clearer,  
 they decreed that there should be no persecutions for  
 murder. Soon after, Antony having turned the mob against 393  
 us with his populist agitation, the senate gave us charge of  
 the largest provinces and appointed us to military com-  
 mands, declaring us to have authority over the whole re-  
 gion from the Ionian gulf to Syria. In doing this, were they  
 punishing us for being accursed, or were they decorating  
 us with sacred purple, rods, and axes for being murderers?  
 Using the same logic, they recalled from exile the younger 394  
 Pompeius (who had no role in these events), solely be-  
 cause he was the son of Pompey the Great who had been  
 the first to fight for the democracy, and because while in  
 hiding in Iberia he was causing a certain amount of trouble  
 to the tyranny. They also decided to repay him from pub-  
 lic funds the value of his paternal inheritance, and ap-  
 pointed him supreme naval commander, so that he too,  
 being a democrat, might hold some office. What more do 395  
 you seek from the senate by way of gesture or sign to show  
 that everything has been done in accordance with their  
 decisions, apart only from actually admitting it to you in  
 words? But even this they will do and will say, and in say-

ξουσι καὶ ἐροῦσι καὶ λέγοντες ἅμα ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται  
μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς, ὅταν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνων-  
ται.

396 95. "Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχουσιν, ἴστε. προγράφονται  
χωρὶς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς δημεύεται, καὶ κτεί-  
νονται χωρὶς καταδίκης ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν  
ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν,  
ἐκ μυχῶν ἀνασπώμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχῆ, τῶν  
397 νόμων τὸν ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἐόντων. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν,  
ἐς ἣν οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ ὄπλα μόνα καὶ  
ἔμβολα νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἄρτι καὶ στρατηγῶν  
καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ἱππέων κεφαλαὶ  
πρόκεινται καὶ γέρα τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν ὠρι-  
398 σμένα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπανάστασις τίς ἐστὶ πάντων, ὅσα  
τέως ἦν ὑπουλα, καὶ ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια καὶ μύση  
ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ υἱῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ  
οἰκετῶν. ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις  
399 ἐπιτέτριπται. καὶ τῶνδε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶν  
οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ  
400 θείους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους προγράψαντες. λέγεται ποτε  
πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων ἡ πόλις ἀλῶναι καὶ  
οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμνον οἱ Κελτοὶ κεφαλὰς οὐδὲ ἐνύβριζον  
ἀνηρημένοις οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἔτι λαθεῖν ἢ φυγεῖν  
401 ἐφθόνουν. οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πω πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὦν δορὶ ἐλά-  
βομεν, τοιαῦτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἐτέρους ἐπυθόμεθα  
διαθεῖναι, οἷα νῦν οὐκ ἰδιῶτις πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονίς  
ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ  
402 κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο Ταρ-

ing it will reward you with generous gifts—that is, when  
they have the power to speak out and repay you.

95. "For you are aware of their present situation. They 396  
are proscribed without trial, and their property confis-  
cated; without having been convicted, they are put to  
death in houses, in alleys, in sanctuaries, by soldiers, by  
slaves, by personal enemies; they are dragged out of hiding  
places and pursued everywhere, even though the laws al-  
low anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the Forum, 397  
where we never used to bring the head of even a single  
enemy, but only their weapons and ship rams, there are  
now displayed the heads of men who have recently been  
consuls and praetors and tribunes and aediles and mem-  
bers of the equestrian order—and rewards have been  
fixed for such horrors. This is an outbreak of everything 398  
that has for some time been festering under the surface—  
the summary arrest of men, and all kinds of infamy per-  
petrated against wives and sons, freedmen and slaves.  
Such is the degree of moral decay too now affecting the  
city. Wicked men have as their leaders in these matters the 399  
triumvirs, the very people who put on the proscription  
lists their own brothers and uncles and guardians ahead of  
everyone else. It is said that Rome was once captured by 400  
the most savage of barbarians, but the Gauls did not cut  
anyone's head off, they did not abuse the dead, they did  
not begrudge those with whom they were still at war the  
opportunity to hide or flee. And we ourselves have never 401  
yet treated any of the towns we captured in war like this,  
nor have we heard of others inflicting such wrongs as now  
being suffered, not by some ordinary town, but by the  
leading city of the empire, at the hands of men chosen to  
govern it and restore its public affairs. Did Tarquin ever 402

κύνιος; ὃν διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν, ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην, βασιλέα τε ὄντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι διὰ ἓν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

403 96. "Καὶ τάδε, ὦ πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναγείς λέγουσι, καί φασι μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας, ὅτε ἀνηρέϊτο. ὦν καὶ οἶδε εἰσὶν οἱ πλέονες, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος ἢ γνώμην δημοκρατικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήϊος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρρω μὲν ὦν περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρῶμεν· ὅτι δέ ἐστι δημοκρατικοῦ πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς κατεκλήθη τε καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐς ἐσφορὰς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ μέχρι δέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα κεκελευσμένος ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίαις, ᾧ τέλη καινὰ καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπιγράφουσι;

404 405 406 καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδ' ὡς ἀνεπλήρωσαν τοῖς στρατευομένοις σφίσι τὰς δωρεάς. ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς ἀσεβῆς οὐδὲν εἴργασται, καὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα δεδώκαμεν καὶ ἕτερα ἔτοιμα ἔχομεν ἐς ἀμοιβὰς μείζονας. οὕτως ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς δίκαια πράσσουσι, συνεπιλαμβάνει.

407 97. "Ἐπὶ δέ γε τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὀρᾶν ἔχετε, ἐς τοὺς ὑμῶν πολίτας ἀποβλέποντες, οὓς εἶδετε μὲν στρατηγοῦντας ὑμῶν πολλάκις καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπαινουμένους, ὁρᾶτε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς

do anything like this, Tarquin, whom the Romans expelled, even though he was king, for violating one woman in an act of passion, and then undertook, because of this one act, never more to be ruled by kings?

96. "While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, fellow citizens, they call us accursed and say that they are avenging Caesar. But they proscribe people who were not even in Rome when he was killed. Most of those are the men you see here, proscribed because of their wealth or family or their views of a democratic disposition. This was the rationale why Pompeius was proscribed along with us, although he was far away in Iberia when we carried out the deed: the fact that he was both recalled by the senate to be made supreme commander and proscribed by the triumvirs, has the same cause, namely that he was the son of a democratic father. What part in the conspiracy against Caesar was played by those women who have been listed to pay war taxes? What part was played by those ordinary people who were ordered to submit an estimation of their property up to a value of one hundred thousand drachmas, under threat of informers and fines, and on whom new taxes and payments have been imposed? And in spite of these exactions the triumvirs still have not fully paid the donatives promised to their troops. We, on the other hand, who have committed no impiety, have given what we promised, and have other funds ready to pay still larger rewards. So it is that the divinity favors us because our actions are just.

403 404 405 406 407

97. "In addition to the divine favor that is ours, you can also see that of men, when you look at your fellow citizens. You have often seen them in command of your armies or holding the consulship and winning your approval, and

408 εὐαγεῖς καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς καταπεφενγότας καὶ τὰ  
 ἡμέτερα ἡρημένους καὶ συνευχομένους ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ  
 λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερα ἡμεῖς  
 γέρα τοῖς περισώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύξαμεν ὢν ἐκείνοι  
 τοῖς ἀναιρούσιν· οὐδὲ ὀρώσιν ἡμᾶς Γάιον μὲν, ὅτι  
 ἡξίου μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀνηρηκότας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου  
 περιποιουμένους ἀρχὴν ὑπερορᾶν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ  
 409 ἐς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δήμῳ προτιθέντας  
 τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς γνώμης αἰρουμένων πολεμεῖν ἐκατέρων, ἀλλὰ  
 τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἣν ἐν ταῖς  
 προγραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἤδη, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἢ  
 μόνον ἵνα τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθῆις ἰδιωτεύοιμεν  
 ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οἶδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸ  
 τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνουσι. μεγίστη δὲ ἐλπίς  
 ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

410 98. “Μηδέ τῳ, εἰ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο στρατιώτης, ἐπὶ  
 νοῦν ἔτι ἴτω· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου γε ἡμεν οὐδὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ  
 τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ' οἱ διδόμενοι μισθοὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ  
 Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἔστε  
 Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων·  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν συστρατιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατη-  
 411 γοί. καὶ εἰ τόδε καὶ οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν,  
 ἐνῆν ἀκινδύνως ἅπασιν τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς  
 στρατοὺς πάντα ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κακείνην ἐλέ-  
 σθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα· καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκα-  
 412 λούμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδ' ἂν δέξαιτο ἔτι διὰ  
 τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔδρασαν, ἴωμεν, ὧ συ-

you now see that they have taken refuge with us, and have  
 joined our side and are sharing our prayers and actions for  
 the future, because they believe we are undefiled demo-  
 crats. For the rewards we proclaimed for preserving the 408  
 lives of these men are far more just than those proclaimed  
 by the triumvirs for killing them. Nor do they see in us the  
 sort of people who, when they had killed Gaius Caesar  
 because he decided to exercise sole power, were intending  
 to overlook those laying claim to his rule, but they see  
 people who are not appropriating the state for ourselves,  
 but are placing it publicly at the disposal of the people  
 according to our ancestral ways. Since, then, the two sides 409  
 have different reasons for choosing to go to war—our en-  
 emies for the sake of personal domination and tyranny,  
 which they have already shown with their proscriptions,  
 we for nothing more than to free our country and live as  
 private citizens under the laws—it is only reasonable that  
 these men, and before them the gods, make their decision  
 to support our side. In war the greatest hope lies in the  
 justice of one's cause.

98. “Let it give no one any concern that he was one of 410  
 Caesar's soldiers. For we were not his soldiers even then,  
 but our country's. The pay and donatives were not given  
 by Caesar, but by the state, just as you are not now the  
 army of Cassius or Brutus, but of Rome, and we, Roman  
 generals, are your fellow soldiers. If our enemies held the 411  
 same opinion as us, we could all lay down our arms without  
 danger, give back all the armies to the state, and let it  
 choose what would be in its interests. We challenge them  
 to accept this. But since they do not accept it—and indeed 412  
 they could not do so, given the proscriptions and every-

στρατιῶται, μετά τε πίστεως ὑγιούς καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας.”

- 413 99. Ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων “Ἴωμεν” καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἤσθεις ὁ Κάσσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὐθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὐθις ἔλεγε· “Θεοὶ μὲν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπότηται, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὧ συστρατιῶται, καὶ προθυμίας ἀμείβονται· τὰ δ’ ἐς ἀνθρωπίνην [στρατηγῶν]<sup>29</sup> πρόνοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλέονα καὶ ἀμείνονά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάθετε
- 414 οὕτως. τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἴσα αὐτοῖς ἀντεπάγομεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρεῶν ἄλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλιπόντες· ἵππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ πολὺ προύχομεν καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ ἔθνεσι τοῖς μέχρι Μήδων
- 415 καὶ Παρθυαίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ μετώπου μόνον εἰσὶ πολέμοι, ἡμεῖς δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ νότου Πομπηίου τε ὁμογνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔχομεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μοῦρκος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὑπηρεσία δαψιλῇ καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξόταις αἰεὶ διαπλέοντες ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλά, καθαρηνούσης πο-
- 416 λεμίων ἡμῖν τῆς ὀπισθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης. χρήματά γε μὴν, ἃ τινες καλοῦσι νεῦρα πολέμου, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ’ ἀπέδωκάν πω τὰ ὑπεσχημένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπήντησε τὰ τῶν προγραφῶν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ὠνουμένου χωρία ἐπίφθονα· οὐδ’ ἐτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυμένης στάσεσι καὶ ἐσφο-

<sup>29</sup> στρατηγῶν del. Nauck et Mend.

thing else they have done—let us go forward, fellow soldiers, with wholesome confidence and undisguised enthusiasm, to fight solely for the freedom of the senate and people of Rome.”

99. They all shouted out, “Let us march!” and urged 413 Cassius to lead them forward immediately. He was delighted with their spirit, and once again proclaiming silence, resumed his address: “My fellow soldiers, may all those gods who govern just wars reward your good faith and enthusiasm. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that human foresight can provide, let me tell you. We are leading against our enemy the same number 414 of legions as they have, although we have also left behind many others in many locations to meet our needs. In cavalry and ships we are greatly superior to them, just as we are in allied kings and nations as far away as the Medes and Parthians. And while we only have enemies in front of 415 us, we also have Pompeius on our side in Sicily to their rear, and in the Ionian gulf Murcus and Ahenobarbus are patrolling the whole time and causing considerable trouble with their large fleet, numerous crews, two legions of soldiers, and archers. Behind us, on the other hand, land and sea are clear of the enemy. As regards money, which 416 some call the sinews of war, they don’t have any.<sup>67</sup> They have not yet paid what they promised their army, and the proceeds of the proscriptions have not met their expectation, because no good men are buying properties that will bring them hatred. Nor can they get resources elsewhere,

<sup>67</sup> Cicero (*Phil.* 5.5) calls an infinite supply of money the sinews of war (*nervos belli pecuniam infinitam*).

417 *ραῖς καὶ προγραφαῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς  
φροντίδος καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐστὶ δαψιλῆ, ὡς αὐτίκα  
ὑμῖν ἄλλα χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἔθνῶν προσοδεύεται συμφερόμενα.*

418 100. *“Τροφαὶ δέ, ὃ δυσπορώτατόν ἐστι στρατοῖς  
μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης Μακε-  
δονίας, ἔθνος ὀρείου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας βρα-  
χείας· καὶ τάδε χρῆ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι κακο-  
παθοῦσιν. εἰ δ’ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπάγουιντο ἢ Λευκανίας ἢ  
Ἰαπυγίας, διακλείουσιν πάντα Πομπηίος τε καὶ*

419 *Μούρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται  
καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως διὰ θαλάττης ἐκ τε νή-  
σων καὶ ἡπείρων ἀπασῶν, ὅσαι ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐπὶ πο-  
ταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ τάδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν  
ὄντος ὀπισθεν ἐχθροῦ· ὥστ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύ-  
νειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πο-*

420 *λεμίους λιμῶ. τοσάδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἐστίν, ὧ  
συστρατιῶται, παρ’ ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἔτοιμα· τὰ  
δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ λόγον ἀπαντήσκει παρά τε ὑμῶν*

421 *καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δ’ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις  
ἀποδόντες ἅπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ τὴν πίστιν  
ὑμῶν ἀμειψάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμειψόμεθα καὶ τὸ*

422 *μείζον ἔργον ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. καὶ νῦν  
δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν, ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἤδη,  
συνόδου τῆσδε καὶ λόγων τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν  
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βήματος στρατιώτῃ μὲν χιλίας  
καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἰταλικὰς, λοχαγῶ δὲ  
πενταπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον.”*

since Italy is exhausted by civil strife, exactions, and pro-  
scriptions. Thanks to ample foresight, we, in contrast, have 417  
plenty for the present, so that we can give you more right  
now, while over and above this other large sums are accru-  
ing from what is being collected in the provinces to our  
rear.

100. “As for provisions, the most difficult thing to sup- 418  
ply for large armies, our enemies can’t get any except from  
Macedonia, which is a mountainous province, and Thes-  
saly, which is a small area; and they have to carry them  
overland with great difficulty. And Pompeius, Murcus, and  
Domitius will intercept everything they might try to bring  
from Africa, or Lucania, or Iapygia. We, on the other hand, 419  
have provisions, transported daily by sea without great  
effort from all the islands and countries between Thrace  
and the river Euphrates, and without interference, since  
we have no enemy in our rear. The result is that it will be  
up to us whether we precipitate the decisive engagement,  
or wear down the enemy by hunger at our leisure. Such is 420  
the extent and nature, fellow soldiers, of the preparations  
made for you by human planning. With your help and that  
of the gods, may the future we face match those prepara-  
tions. We have paid you everything we promised for your 421  
former efforts, and have rewarded your loyalty with gener-  
ous gifts; we will repay you too for the greater encounter  
in a manner worthy of it, and in accordance with the deci-  
sion of the gods. And now, to promote the enthusiasm with 422  
which you are already advancing to the battle, and to mark  
this assembly and these words, we will make an additional  
gift from this platform of one thousand five hundred Italic  
drachmas to each soldier, five times that sum to each  
centurion, and a proportional amount to each military  
tribune.”



423 101. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρατὸν  
 ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεαῖς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ  
 δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπήγουν ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτόν τε καὶ  
 Βρούτον καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπισχνούντο.  
 424 οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα διηρίθμουν καὶ ἕτερα  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις πολλὰς τοῖς ἀρίστοις.  
 τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρη προαπέλουν, ἐς  
 425 Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ  
 αἰετοὶ καταπτάντες ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο αἰετοὺς ἀπ'  
 ἀργύρου πεποιημένους, ἐκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ἢ, ὡς ἑτέ-  
 ροις δοκεῖ, περιέσκεπον· καὶ παρέμενον δημοσίας τε  
 τροφῆς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἠξιοῦντο, μέχρι πρὸ μιᾶς  
 τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπτησαν. δύο δ' ἡμέραις τὸν  
 Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Αἴνον ἀφίκοντο  
 καὶ ἐπὶ Αἴνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέχρι Σερ-  
 ρείου ὄρους παράλια.  
 426 102. Τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος,  
 αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλλιον δὲ Κίμ-  
 βρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους ὀπλιτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ  
 427 τοξοτῶν τινων τὴν ἀκτὴν περιπλεῖν ἔπεμπον, ἣ πάλαι  
 μὲν ἦν ἐρημοτάτη, καίπερ εὐγεῶς οὔσα, τῶν Θρακῶν  
 οὔτε θαλάσση χρωμένων οὔτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόν-  
 428 των ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων· Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν  
 ἑτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων καταλαβόντων καὶ θαλάσση  
 χρωμένων, ἦνθει ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χα-  
 ρόντων σφίσι καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὠραίων  
 ἄμειψιν, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τοὺς τε ἄλλους

101. After finishing his speech and preparing the army 423  
 by actions and words and gifts, Cassius dismissed the  
 meeting. The soldiers, however, stayed where they were,  
 promising on their own part to do their duty, and heaping  
 praise on Cassius and Brutus, who immediately distrib- 424  
 uted the money to them, using a variety of excuses to add  
 bonuses for the best men. They continuously sent the men  
 on ahead to Doriscus as they were being paid, unit by unit,  
 and followed soon after themselves. Two eagles now 425  
 landed on two of the silver eagles which surmounted the  
 standards, pecking at them, or, as others think, shielding  
 them with their wings, and there they remained, the gen-  
 erals considering them worthy of being fed from public  
 supplies, until the day before the battle, when they flew  
 away. The army marched for two days around the gulf of  
 Melas and came to Aenus, and after Aenus to Doriscus  
 and the rest of that coast as far as Mount Serrium.

102. As Mount Serrium projected into the sea, Cassius 426  
 and Brutus withdrew inland, but they sent Tillius Cimber  
 with the fleet, one legion, and some archers to sail around  
 the promontory.<sup>68</sup> Although fertile, it was in the past com- 427  
 pletely deserted, because the Thracians were not a mari-  
 time people, and did not come down to the coast for fear  
 of attack from the sea. So the Chalcideans and other 428  
 Greeks took possession of it, and as they were a maritime  
 people, it flourished in its commerce and agriculture, and  
 even the Thracians were delighted because of the oppor-  
 tunity to trade their seasonal produce. In the end, Philip,

<sup>68</sup> Lucius Tillius Cimber had been the one to initiate the murder of Caesar, by asking for his brother's pardon: see App. *BCiv.* 2.117.491.

καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκό-  
 429 πεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὀραῖσθαι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ἀκτὴν  
 αὐθις ἔρημον οὖσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παραπλέων, ὡς οἱ  
 πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον εἶρητο, στρατοπέδοις ἐπι-  
 τήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ  
 430 κατὰ μέρη πρόσπλουν, ἵν' οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ὡς  
 ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλίποιεν. καὶ ἐγένετο  
 μὲν ὡς προσεδόκησαν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν  
 νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη  
 καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον<sup>30</sup> ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν  
 ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορπίλων  
 στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βρούτον διώδενον.  
 431 103. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς καὶ  
 ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων κατεῖχον ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ πάλιν  
 ἦν ἄπορα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον, ἀθυμία τε ἐνέπιπτε,  
 μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἧς ὑπερεωράκεσαν περιόδου νῦν ἄρχε-  
 σθαι καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ ἠνυσμένα, ὁψὲ καὶ τοῦ χρό-  
 432 νου καὶ τῆς ὥρας γεγονότων. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν  
 ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη περίοδον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν  
 Σαπαίων ὄρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἄβατον μὲν ἀνθρώποις  
 ἐς τὸ νῦν ὑπὸ τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὕλης πυ-  
 κνῆς· ἦν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὁδοποι-  
 εῖν στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθήσεσθαι μὲν  
 διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν οὐδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ  
 Ἄρπησσὸν ποταμὸν ἤξειν, ἐκπίπτοντα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον,

<sup>30</sup> Κεδίκιον LPB; Κικίλιον J; Δεκίδιον edd.

the son of Amyntas, transplanted the Chalcideans and  
 other Greeks with the result that no trace of them remains  
 to be seen any more, except the sites of their temples.<sup>69</sup>  
 So, as ordered by Brutus, Tillius sailed along this promon- 429  
 tory, now once again deserted, surveying places suitable  
 for camps and marking out the sea approaches for squad-  
 rons of ships, with the purpose of making Norbanus aban-  
 don the pass, in the belief that there was no point in con-  
 tinuing to guard it. And it turned out as they anticipated. 430  
 For, on the appearance of the ships, Norbanus became  
 alarmed for his position at the Sapaean pass and called on  
 Decidius to hurry from the Corpilian pass to help him.<sup>70</sup>  
 He did so, and Brutus immediately marched through the  
 now abandoned Corpilian pass.

103. Once the trick had been revealed, Norbanus and 431  
 Decidius held the Sapaean pass tenaciously, and Brutus'  
 men were again facing an impasse. They became de-  
 pressed at the prospect of now having to set out on that  
 detour they had dismissed and retrace the route they had  
 completed, when they were pressed for time and it was  
 late in the season. Such was their situation when Rhascu- 432  
 polis told them that there was a way round, a journey of  
 three days, along Mount Sapaean itself: up to that time it  
 had not been used by people because of the cliffs, the lack  
 of water, and the thick forest. But if they were willing to  
 carry water and cut a narrow but sufficient path through,  
 the canopy would prevent them from being seen even by  
 birds. They would reach the river Harpessus, which flows

<sup>69</sup> Philip, son of Amyntas, was Philip II of Macedonia, father  
 of Alexander the Great. <sup>70</sup> The account picks up from  
 events described above in App. BCiv. 4.87.368-70.

ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἔτι μιᾶς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίους περιλαβόντας, ὡς ἀπειλῆφθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς  
 433 καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν ἔξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἐδόκει τὰ λεγόμε-  
 να τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀπορίας οὐνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλι-  
 στα τοῦ περιλήψεσθαι τοσόνδε στρατὸν πολεμίων.  
 434 104. Προπέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ πα-  
 ραδόντες, ὁδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος. οἱ δ'  
 ἐπιμόχθως μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἔπραττον αὐτὸ μετὰ ὀρμῆς  
 καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτοῖς προπεμ-  
 φθέντες ἐπανήλθον, ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀπόπτου  
 435 λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ τε κόπου καὶ  
 δίψους, ἐπιλιπόντος ἤδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἐπ-  
 ῆγοντο, ἀνέφερον, ὅτι τριήμερόν σφισι τὸ ἄνδρον  
 ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πανικῶ περι ἐνέδρας ἐγί-  
 γνοντο, οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντες μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθείσι τὸν  
 ποταμὸν ἰδεῖν, ἠγούμενοι δὲ ἕτεραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ  
 ἀθύμουν καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ῥασκούπολιν, ὅτε ἴδοιεν  
 περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ ἔβαλ-  
 436 λον. Βύβλου δὲ αὐτοὺς ἰκετεύοντος ἐκπονῆσαι τὰ  
 λοιπὰ μετ' εὐφημίας, ὃ ποταμὸς περι ἐσπέραν ἑωρᾶτο  
 τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ βοῆς, ὡς εἰκός, ἰλαρᾶς<sup>31</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ  
 χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἢ βοή, μεταλαμβάνοντων αὐτὴν τῶν  
 κατόπιν ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιήει. Βρούτος δὲ  
 καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἵεντο ἀντίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ

<sup>31</sup> ἰλαρᾶς LPBJ; λαμπρᾶς L

into the Hermus, on the fourth day, and would need one  
 further day to reach Philippi, thus surrounding the enemy  
 and cutting them off completely, so that they would not  
 even have a route to withdraw. Brutus and Cassius decided 433  
 to adopt this advice because they did not know what else  
 to do, and particularly because they hoped to surround  
 such a large enemy army.

104. So they send a detachment in advance under the 434  
 command of Lucius Bibulus, to clear the route with Rhas-  
 cupolis. They found it a very laborious task, but set about  
 getting it done with spirit and enthusiasm, all the more so  
 when some who had been sent ahead came back and said  
 that they had seen the river in the distance. On the fourth 435  
 day, when they were exhausted by the labor and thirst, and  
 the water that they were carrying with them was already  
 running somewhat short, they remembered being told  
 that the waterless part of the route lasted three days, and  
 began to panic in fear that they had been tricked. They did  
 not disbelieve those sent ahead who said they had seen the  
 river, but thought that they themselves were being led in  
 a different direction. So they were losing heart and shout-  
 ing, and when they saw Rhascupolis rushing around en-  
 couraging them, they insulted him and threw things at  
 him. But while Bibulus was begging them to finish off 436  
 what remained to be done without using inauspicious lan-  
 guage, toward evening the river was seen by those at the  
 front. As was to be expected, their joy gave rise to a happy  
 cheer, which was taken up by those behind in succession  
 until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius were  
 informed, they immediately rushed forward, leading the

437 τῆς τετμημένης τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντες. οὐ μὴν  
 ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον  
 αὐτούς· ὁ γάρ τοι Ῥάσκος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ῥασκου-  
 πόλιδος, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονοήσας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ  
 γιγνόμενον ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὁδὸν ἄνυδρον ἐλθόν-  
 τος στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε, ἣν οὐδὲ θηρίον ᾤετο ὀδεύσειν  
 διὰ τοιαύδε ὕλης, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νορ-  
 βανόν· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐπ' Ἀμ-  
 φιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θραῖκες ἄμφω διὰ στόματος ἦσαν ἐν  
 τοῖς στρατοῖς, ὁ μὲν ἀγνοουμένην ἀγαγών, ὁ δ' οὐκ  
 ἀγνοήσας.

438 105. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐκ παραλόγου τόλμης  
 ἐς Φιλίππους παρήλθον, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Τίλλιος  
 439 ἐπικατήχθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς συνελήλυθει. οἱ δὲ  
 Φίλιπποι πόλις ἐστίν, ἣ Δάτος ὠνομάζετο πάλαι καὶ  
 Κρηνίδες ἔτι πρὸ Δάτου· κρήναι γάρ εἰσι περὶ τῷ  
 λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλάι. Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς εὐφυνὲς ἐπὶ  
 Θράκης χωρίον ὠχύρωσέ τε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Φιλίπ-  
 440 πους προσεῖπεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφου περικρή-  
 μνου, τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ  
 εὖρος. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτω δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥα-  
 σκούπολις ἤγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ  
 μεσημβρίᾳ ἔλος ἐστὶ καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν ἑὼ τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων, ἐκ

<sup>71</sup> The scene owes its origins, directly or indirectly, to Xenophon's famous description of the Greek expeditionary force when

rest of the army along the route that had been cut out.<sup>71</sup>  
 In the end, however, they did not escape the attention of 437  
 the enemy or surround them. For Rhascus, the brother of  
 Rhascupolis, grew suspicious because of the cheering and  
 investigated it. On seeing what was happening, he was  
 amazed at such a large army making its way through water-  
 less terrain, which he did not believe even a wild animal  
 could get through because of such dense forestation, and  
 he immediately had the news conveyed to Norbanus; his  
 troops retreated during the night from the Sapaean pass  
 to Amphipolis. Both the Thracians were the talk of their  
 armies, Rhascupolis because he had led his through an  
 unknown route, Rhascus because he had not failed to no-  
 tice this.

105. And so by an extraordinary act of daring Brutus' 438  
 force reached Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked to  
 join them, and the whole army had assembled. Philippi is 439  
 a town that was formerly called Datus, and before that  
 Crenides, because there are many springs of running wa-  
 ter around the hill.<sup>72</sup> Philip fortified it because he consid-  
 ered it a well positioned stronghold against the Thracians,  
 and named it Philippi after himself. The town is situated 440  
 on the crest of a hill with cliffs all around and its size is  
 exactly that of the area of the hilltop. To the north there  
 are thick woods through which Rhascupolis led Brutus'  
 men. To the south is a marsh and then the sea. To the east  
 lie the Sapaean and Corpilian passes, and westward is a

it first caught sight of the Black Sea ("The sea! The sea!") after its march out of present-day central Iraq in 401: see Xen. An. 4.7.

<sup>72</sup> Κρήνη (*krene*) or κρηνίς (*krenis*) is the Greek word for a spring.

δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδίον μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβή-  
 σκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων που καὶ  
 441 πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὐφορον πάνυ καὶ καλόν, ἔνθα  
 καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρη φασὶν ἀνθιζομένη γενέσθαι,  
 καὶ ποταμὸς ἔστι Ζυγάκτης, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ θεοῦ περῶντος  
 τὸ ἄρμα τὸν ζυγὸν ἄξαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέ-  
 442 σθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατωφερὲς δ' ἔστι τὸ πεδίον, ὡς ἐπι-  
 δέξιον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνωθεν ὀρμῶσιν ἐκ τῶν Φιλίπ-  
 πων, ἀναντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως βιαζομένοις.  
 443 106. Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἕτερος λόφος οὐ μα-  
 κράν, ὃν Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ χρυσεία  
 ἔστι τὰ Ἄσυλα καλούμενα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δέκα στα-  
 δίους προελθόντι δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόφοι, Φιλίππων  
 μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίου ἀφεστῶτες,  
 ἀλλήλων δὲ ὅσον ὀκτώ, ἐν οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν,  
 444 Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, Βρούτος δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχω-  
 ρούντων οὐκέτι προήεσαν. Ἀντώνιον τε γὰρ ἐπυνηθά-  
 νοντο πλησιάζειν, Καίσαρος ὑπολειμμένου διὰ νό-  
 σον ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι  
 445 καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι. τὰ γὰρ ἑκα-  
 τέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἔλη καὶ λίμναι μέχρι τοῦ  
 Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀνόδευτα  
 τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν  
 ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ  
 αὐτὰ διετείχισαν ἀπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας

very fertile and beautiful plain extending some three hun-  
 dred and fifty stades to the towns of Murcinus and Dra-  
 biscus and the river Strymon. It is here, so the story goes, 441  
 that the Maiden suffered her fate while she was picking  
 flowers; here too is the river Zygactes in which they say  
 that while the god was crossing it the yoke of his chariot  
 broke, thus giving the river its name.<sup>73</sup> The plain slopes 442  
 down to the sea, an easy journey for those going downhill  
 from Philippi, but an uphill struggle for those leaving from  
 Amphipolis.

106. At any rate, there is another hill not far away 443  
 known as the Hill of Dionysus where there are goldmines  
 called the Asyla. Ten stades further on, there are another  
 two hills, eighteen stades away from Philippi itself and  
 eight from each other. Cassius and Brutus made camp on  
 these hills, Cassius on the southern and Brutus on the 444  
 northern of the two. They made no further advance, even  
 though Norbanus' force was in retreat, because they heard  
 that Antony was approaching—he had left Octavian be-  
 hind at Epidamnus due to illness—and the plain was ad-  
 mirably situated for fighting and the hilltops for camping.  
 For in relation to their flanks, on one side were marshes 445  
 and lakes all the way to the Strymon, on the other the  
 passes and impenetrable, trackless terrain. The eight  
 stades between the hills acted like a gate to form the main  
 crossing from Europe to Asia, and they built a defensive  
 wall across this space from one palisade to the other, but

<sup>73</sup> The Maiden is Demeter's daughter, Persephone, carried off  
 to the underworld by her uncle, Hades, while she was picking  
 flowers. "Zygactes" is made up of the Greek words for "yoke" and  
 "break."

ἐν μέσῳ κατέλιπον, ὡς ἐν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα.  
 446 ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ποταμός, ὃν Γάγγαν τινές, οἱ δὲ  
 Γαγγίτην λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὀπισθεν, ἐν ἧ καὶ τὰ  
 ταμιεῖα καὶ ἐνορμίσματα ἔμελλον ἔξειν. Θάσον μὲν  
 δὴ ταμιεῖον, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν σταδίων οὔσαν, ἐτίθεντο,  
 ἐνόρμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἑβδο-  
 μήκοντα σταδίων.

447 107. Οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατόπεδα  
 ὠχύρουν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὤδευε μὲν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ μετ'  
 ἐπίξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν  
 τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὡς δὲ αὐτὴν εὔρεν ὠχυρω-  
 μένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ἦσθη καὶ τὴν  
 παρασκευὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέλιπε μεθ' ἐνὸς τέλους, οὗ  
 Πινάριος ἠγείτο, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλα θρασέως πολὺ προ-  
 ελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὀκτῶ  
 448 μόνους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν  
 κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσις τε καὶ πλε-  
 ονεξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ,  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἔλους· καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ  
 φρεάτων ὧν αὐτίκα ὠρωρύχισαν· τὴν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ  
 μὲν ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγοντο ἐκ Θάσου, οἱ δὲ  
 449 ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως. ἐδό-  
 κει γὰρ μὴν ἔξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὤδε πράξαι, κολω-  
 νοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἑτέρου, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πεδίον οἷα  
 κοιλότερον ἐκλιμνάζοντος ἐνίοτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ· παρ' ὃ  
 καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας

left a gate in the middle, so that the two camps were ac-  
 tually one. Alongside the encampment was a river, which 446  
 some call the Ganga, others the Gangites, and behind it  
 was the sea, where they intended to locate their storage  
 depots and anchorages. So they made Thasos, which was  
 one hundred stades away, their depot, and Neapolis, sev-  
 enty stades off, the anchorage for their warships.

107. Contented with their position, they continued 447  
 to consolidate their camps. Antony, meanwhile, made a  
 forced march with his army, as he wanted to occupy Am-  
 phipolis before the enemy as his base for the battle. He  
 was delighted to find it already fortified for him by Nor-  
 banus' men, and leaving his ordnance there with one le-  
 gion under the command of Pinarius, he himself advanced  
 very daringly a great distance, and camped in the plain,  
 only eight stades away from the enemy.<sup>74</sup> The relative ad- 448  
 vantage or disadvantage of the camps immediately be-  
 came clear. For one army was encamped on a rise, the  
 other in the plain; one got their wood from the mountains,  
 the other from the marsh; one provided themselves with  
 water from a river, the other from newly dug wells; one  
 brought their supplies from Thasos a few stades away, the  
 other from Amphipolis, a distance of three hundred and  
 fifty stades. It appears, however, that Antony acted out of 449  
 necessity, as there was no other high ground and the rest  
 of the plain was sometimes flooded by the river, as it was  
 more low-lying; for the same reason, he discovered that  
 the springs feeding the newly dug wells provided sweet

<sup>74</sup> Lucius Pinarius Scarpus, along with Quintus Pedius, was one of Octavian's co-heirs in Julius Caesar's will: see App. BCiv. 3.22.82.

450 τε καὶ δαψιλοῦς ὕδατος εὔρισκε. τό γε μὴν τόλμημα,  
εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπλησσε τοὺς πολε-  
μίους, ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρο-  
νήσει παραστρατοπεδεύσαντος. φρούριά τε ἤγειρε  
πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὠχύρου τάφροις καὶ  
451 τείχεσι καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὠχύρου δὲ καὶ οἱ πο-  
λέμιοι, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὀρμὴν  
τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδη οὔσαν ὀρῶν διετείχιζεν, ὃ ἔτι  
μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔλειπεν ἐς τὸ ἔλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατόπέδου,  
διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι ἀτείχιστον  
εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βρούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα,  
Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔλει τὰ  
δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διείληπτο τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι καὶ  
τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

452 108. Οὕτω μὲν ὠχυροῦντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ἐν  
τοσοῦτῳ μόνοις ἵππεῦσι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπει-  
453 ρῶντο ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα, ὅσα ἐπ-  
ενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀφίκτο, οὐπὼ μὲν ἐρρωμένος ἐς  
μάχην, φορεῖω δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κο-  
μιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσαν  
ἐς μάχην, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἀντεξέτασσαν μὲν  
ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατήεσαν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκε-  
σαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζον-  
454 τες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἑκα-  
τέροις ἐννεακαίδεκα ὀπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν  
Βρούτον ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν  
Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπλεόναζον.<sup>32</sup> ἵππῆες δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑκα-  
τέρων Θρακίοις ἦσαν Καίσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ

and abundant water. At any rate, Antony's daring, even if 450  
it arose out of a lack of options, shocked the enemy, given  
that he so contemptuously pitched camp beside them im-  
mediately after arriving. He raised numerous redoubts  
and quickly strengthened his whole position with ditches  
and walls and palisades. The enemy also continued to  
strengthen any weak points they had left. Noticing the 451  
frantic nature of Antony's momentum, Cassius built a de-  
fensive wall across the only remaining stretch of land,  
from the camp to the marsh, which had been overlooked  
because it was so short. The result was that nothing was  
left undefended except the cliffs on Brutus' flank, and on  
Cassius', the marsh, and beyond it the sea. Everything in  
the middle had been cut off by a ditch and palisade and  
wall and gates.

108. In this way both sides fortified their position, while 452  
at the same time they made trial of each other, although  
only with their cavalry and missile exchanges. When they 453  
had completed all their plans, and Octavian had arrived—  
he was not yet strong enough for battle, and was carried  
to the lines in a litter—Octavian's forces immediately de-  
ployed for battle, and Brutus arrayed his army in response  
on the higher ground, but did not come down: for they had  
decided not to precipitate the battle, in the hope that their  
supply problems would wear the enemy down. With re- 454  
gards to infantry, each side had nineteen legions, those of  
Brutus being under strength, those of Octavian actually  
over strength. As to cavalry, including the Thracians on  
both sides, Octavian and Antony had thirteen thousand,

<sup>32</sup> ἐπλεόναζον ἑκατέρωθεν codd.; ἑκατέρωθεν del. Bekker

455 μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίου δισ-  
 μύριοι. ὥστε πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσει καὶ ἀρετῇ  
 στρατηγῶν καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ παρασκευῇ λαμπροτάτην  
 ἐκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθῆναι, ἀπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς  
 ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθελόντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν  
 Βρούτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρέχειν τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ  
 ἐγγίονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ  
 456 πολεμίους οὐδὲν ὄν δασιλὲς οὐδὲ οἰκείον· οὔτε γάρ τι  
 δι' ἐμπόρων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λαβεῖν εἶχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ  
 τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Λι-  
 βύης διὰ Πομπήιον οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Μούρκον  
 καὶ Δομίτιον. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον ἀρκέσειν  
 Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία, μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε  
 χορηγοῦσαι.

457 109. Ὡν οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐνθυμούμενοι  
 μάλιστα διέτριβον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδιὼς ἔγνω  
 βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐπενόησεν, εἰ  
 δύναίτο βάσιμον τὸ ἔλος ἐργάσασθαι λαθῶν, ἵνα  
 κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔτι ἀγνοούντων γενόμενος τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζο-  
 458 μένην. ἐκτάσσων οὖν αὐθις ἐκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ  
 σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα, ἵνα ὅλος ἐκτετάχθαι νο-  
 μίζοιτο, μέρει τινὶ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔκοπτεν ἐν τῷ  
 ἔλει δίοδον στενὴν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χῶμα  
 ἐπιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἐκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χῶμα  
 διαπίπτει, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεσταύρου καὶ ἐγεφύρου μετὰ  
 σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης. ἀφήρητο δὲ τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἔργου

Brutus and Cassius twenty thousand. The result was that 455  
 in terms of the number of men, of daring and courageous  
 generals, of weapons and of equipment, both battle lines  
 provided a brilliant sight. And yet there was no action for  
 many days, as Brutus did not want to join battle, but to use  
 the supply situation to wear the enemy down first: with  
 Asia as their supply base, they themselves could bring ev-  
 erything by sea from a relatively short distance away, while  
 the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from  
 their own territory. For it was not possible for them to use 456  
 merchants to get anything from Egypt, since the country  
 was exhausted by famine, or from Spain or Africa because  
 of Pompeius, or from Italy because of Murcus and Domi-  
 tius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only coun-  
 tries then supplying them, would not be sufficient for very  
 long.

109. With this situation particularly in mind, Brutus 457  
 tried to delay, while Antony, fearful for the same reason,  
 decided to force his opponents into battle. He formed a  
 plan to see if he could in secret make the marsh passable,  
 in order to get behind the enemy without their knowledge,  
 and deprive them of their supply route from Thasos. So 458  
 while drawing up his forces for battle again, on each occa-  
 sion he included all the military standards, to create the  
 belief that his entire army had been marshaled. With one  
 unit, however, he worked day and night to carve a narrow  
 path in the marsh, cutting down reeds, building a cause-  
 way on top with rocks on either side to prevent the bank  
 subsiding, driving piles into the deep parts and bridging  
 them, and all the while keeping the deepest silence. The  
 reeds, which were still growing around the roadway, pre-



459 τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκῶς ἔτι δόναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διόδῳ.  
 δέκα δ' ἡμέρας ἐργασάμενος ὧδε ἐσέπεμψε λόχους  
 460 ὀρθίους νυκτὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῶν ἐντὸς κατ-  
 ἔλαβε καὶ ἐχαράκωσε φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ  
 Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιάν τε  
 καὶ κλοπὴν, ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια  
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον, διετείχιζε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ ἔλος  
 ἅπαν, ἀρχόμενος<sup>33</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέχρι τῆς  
 θαλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τὸν  
 χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασιν ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ  
 Ἀντωνίου γεγενημένην διόδον ἀπολαμβάνων, ἵνα  
 μήτε ἐκδραμεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδον ἔτι δυνηθεῖεν μήτε  
 ἐκείνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν.  
 461 110. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν περὶ μεσημβρίαν,  
 ὡς εἶχεν, αὐτίκα σὺν ὀρμῇ τε καὶ ὀργῇ τὸν στρατὸν  
 τὸν ἴδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἤγεεν ἐπιστρέφων  
 εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου, μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔλους  
 καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρια φέρων καὶ κλίμακας,  
 ὡς ἐξελῶν αὐτὸ καὶ παροδεύσων ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου  
 462 στρατόπεδον. γιγνομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν  
 τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ  
 μεταίχμιον τῶν στρατιῶν ἐκατέρων, περιήλγησαν οἱ  
 τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει, ὧδε μάλα θρα-  
 σέως αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεόντων, καὶ  
 ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρό τινος ἐκ τῶν  
 ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἔκτεινον οἷα πλαγίους  
 463 ἀθρόως οὓς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἅπαξ ἔργου  
 καὶ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ τεταγμένῳ μάλιστα κατὰ

459 vented the enemy from seeing the work. After laboring for  
 ten days in this way he suddenly sent in a column of troops  
 by night, who seized the strong positions in the interior,  
 and fortified several posts at the same time. Cassius was 460  
 amazed at the ingenuity and secrecy of the work, but de-  
 vised a counterscheme to cut Antony off from his outposts  
 by also traversing the whole marsh with a wall built at right  
 angles across it. Starting at his camp and going all the way  
 to the sea, cutting and bridging the marsh in the same way  
 as Antony, he erected his palisade on firm foundations and  
 intercepted the pathway made by Antony, to render it  
 impossible for those on the other side to escape to him, or  
 for him to come to their assistance.

461 110. When Antony saw this about midday, without de-  
 lay he immediately turned his own army, which was drawn  
 up in the other direction, and led it with urgency and an-  
 ger against Cassius' cross-wall between his camp and the  
 marsh. He carried iron tools and ladders intending to de-  
 462 stroy it and make his way through to Cassius' camp. His  
 charge was a daring one, uphill and exposing his flank, and  
 right in the middle between the two armies. Brutus' sol-  
 diers were very annoyed at the insolence with which the  
 enemy were so audaciously running past them, ready un-  
 der arms as they were, and on their own initiative charged  
 them before any order was issued by their officers. They  
 killed en masse those they could overtake, as you would  
 expect with a flanking attack. Now that they had once 463  
 started the battle, they also charged Octavian's troops,

<sup>33</sup> ἀρχόμενον LBJ; ἀρχόμενος P

σφᾶς ἐπέδραμον καὶ τρέψαντες ἐδίωκον, μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξείλον, ὃ κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι, Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν.

464 111. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὁρῶν τὴν μάχην συνερρωγύϊαν ἤσθη μὲν ὡς ἀναγκάσας (πάνυ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδεδίει), ἀναστρέφειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐκ ἔκρινεν, μὴ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσων ταραξίειν, ὡς ἀρξάμενος δ' εἶχεν ὀρμῆς, ἐχείτο δρόμῳ καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, μέχρι βιαζόμενος ἐνέκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου, τὴν τάξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούσῃ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς ἄλογον καταπεπληγμένη. 465 ῥήξας δ' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐπὶ τὸ διατείχισμα ὄρμα, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὸν τε χάρακα ἀνασπῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωννὺς καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἐπιπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὑπομένων, ἕως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσήλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἔνδον, ἕτεροι δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίαις ἐσήλθον, 466 οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανέβαινον. καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἐγίγνετο ὀξέως, ὥστε τοῖς τὸ ἔλος ἐργαζομένοις ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ὑπήντων ἐλόντες ἤδη τὸ διατείχισμα. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὀρμῇ βιαίῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος κατώσαντες ἐπανήεσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἤδη τὸ στρατό-

who had been drawn up right opposite them, routed them, and pursued them all the way to the camp which Antony and Octavian shared, and captured it. Octavian himself was not there, because of a dream, but was taking precautions that day, as he himself wrote in his memoirs.<sup>75</sup>

111. When Antony saw that battle had been joined he 464 was delighted that he had forced it, for he had been very anxious about his supplies. He decided not to wheel round back into the plain, for fear that an about-turn would throw his battle line into disorder, but maintaining his original direction of attack, he continued to charge uphill under heavy missile fire until he forced his way to an encounter with Cassius' battle line, which was holding its assigned position in astonishment at the unaccountable 465 turn of events. Daringly breaking this line, he rushed against the wall that ran between the marsh and the camp, pulled down the palisade, filled in the ditch, undermined the structure, and killed the men at the gates, standing firm against the missiles thrown down from the wall. Eventually Antony himself rushed inside through the gates, while others made their way in through breaches in the wall, some even climbing up over the bodies of the fallen. All this happened so quickly that they had already 466 captured the wall when they confronted the men working in the marsh who were coming to give assistance. These too they put to flight with a powerful charge, and after driving them into the marsh, now turned back against Cas-

<sup>75</sup> Plutarch (*Ant.* 22.2) also refers to this dream recorded in Augustus' memoirs. These memoirs were presumably the autobiography (*De vita sua*) in thirteen books mentioned by Suetonius (*Aug.* 85.1).

πεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνοι σὺν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ὅσοι τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερήλθον, τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους ἐκατέρων ἐκτὸς ἀλλήλοις μαχομένου.

467 112. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἐρυμνὸν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐφύλασσαν· ὅθεν αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατὸς ἠσσᾶτο καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἰδὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο  
468 ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελὲς ἐκατέροις καὶ ὅμοιον· Βρούτος τε γὰρ τὸ λαῖον τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤρῃκει, Ἀντωνίος τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν ἀμηχάνῳ τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φόνος τε ἦν ἐκατέρων ποικίλος· ὑπὸ δὲ  
469 μεγέθους πεδίου τε καὶ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἠγνόουν, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐπύθοντο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήεσαν, ἀχθοφόροις ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις· καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ἠσθάνοντο οὐδὲ καθεώρων, ἐπεὶ ρύψαντές γε, ὅσα ἔφερον, οἱ ἕτεροι μέγα ἂν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἀσυντάκτως  
470 ὦδε ἀχθοφορούντων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κασσίον ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους σὺν τοῖς παρασπίζουσι θεράπουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διπλασίονα.

472 113. Κάσσιος δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῶν διατειχισμάτων ἐξέωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφεώρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν κονιορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὁρῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ προσ-

sus' actual camp. Antony had with him only those men who had scaled the wall, the rest of both forces fighting each other on the other side of the wall.

112. As the camp was thought to be in a strong position, 467 only a very few men were guarding it, which is why Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' army on the outside were already being beaten, and when they saw that the camp had been captured, they scattered in disorder. And so the 468 battle came to a similar conclusion on both sides. For Brutus had routed the enemy left wing and captured their camp, while Antony had with his irresistible daring defeated Cassius and sacked his camp. The slaughter on both 469 sides varied, but because of the size of the plain and the clouds of dust they did not know what had happened to each other until they were told and recalled the survivors. Those who returned looked more like porters than sol- 470 diers, and even then did not recognize or see each other clearly, or else they would have thrown aside all they were carrying and fought fiercely one against the other, weighed down and in disorder as they were. Estimates of the num- 471 ber killed were, on Cassius' side about eight thousand, including slave batmen, and double that on Octavian's.

113. When Cassius was driven out of his fortifications 472 and could no longer even get into his camp, he hurried to the hill of Philippi and tried to survey what was happening. Because of the dust he could not get an accurate picture of the situation, or see everything, only that his camp had been captured, and he ordered his aide-de-camp, Pinda-

- 473 πεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθεῖραι. διαμέλλοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ Πιν-  
 δάρου προσέθει τις ἀγγελῶν<sup>34</sup> Βρούτου ἐπὶ θάτερα  
 νικᾶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ  
 τούτῳ μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο. "Νικῶης, λέγε αὐτῷ,  
 παντελῆ νίκη," ἐς δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐπιστραφεῖς, "Τί  
 βραδύνεις;" ἔφη, "Τί τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης με οὐκ ἀπαλ-  
 λάσσεις;" Πίνδαρος μὲν δὴ τὸν δεσπότην, ὑπέχοντα  
 τὴν σφαγὴν, διεχρήσατο. καὶ τισιν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν  
 474 δοκεῖ Κάσσιον. ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν οἴονται, προσιόντων  
 ἐς εὐαγγέλιον ἰππέων Βρούτου, νομίσαντα εἶναι πο-  
 λεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον. τὸν δὲ  
 τῶν ἰππέων ὡς Κασσίου φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν  
 ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἀλαλαξάντων μέγα, τὸν Κάσ-  
 σιον ἡγούμενον ἐς ἐχθροὺς ἐμπεσεῖν Τιτίνιον τοῦτο  
 φάναι. "Περιεμένομεν φίλον ἀρπαζόμενον ἰδεῖν," καὶ  
 ἔς τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρήσαι μετὰ τοῦ Πινδάρου καὶ  
 τὸν Πίνδαρον οὐκέτι φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσί τινες  
 475 οὐπὼ κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι. Κασσίῳ μὲν δὴ  
 τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ Κασσίου γενέθλιον  
 ἡμέραν, ὧδε τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι συμπεσοῦσης, καὶ  
 Τιτίνιος ὡς βραδύνας ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε.  
 476 114. Βρούτος δὲ Κασσίου τὸν νέκυν περικλαίων,  
 ἀνεκάλει τελευταῖον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὐ τινος ἔτι  
 τοιοῦδε ἐς ἀρετὴν ἔσομένου, ταχυεργίας τε αὐτῷ καὶ  
 προπετείας ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμακάριζεν ὁμοῦ φροντίδων  
 καὶ ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένον, αἱ Βρούτον ἐς ποῖον ἄρα

<sup>34</sup> ἀγγέλλων codd.; τις ἀγγελῶν Gaillard-Goukowsky

rus, to set upon and kill him. Pindarus was still hesitating 473  
 when someone ran up to announce that Brutus had been  
 victorious on the other wing, and was sacking the enemy's  
 camp. Cassius' answer to the man was merely this, "Say to  
 him, 'May your victory be complete.'" Turning to Pinda-  
 rus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why won't you  
 deliver me from my shame?" And when Cassius offered  
 his throat, Pindarus did away with his master. This is how  
 some people think Cassius died. Others believe that when 474  
 some of Brutus' cavalymen came up to deliver his good  
 news, Cassius thought they were the enemy, and sent Ti-  
 tinius to get accurate information. The cavalymen gath-  
 ered around Titinius knowing he was a companion of Cas-  
 sius, and also shouted out with pleasure, but Cassius  
 thought that Titinius had fallen into the hands of the en-  
 emy and said, "So we were waiting just to see our compan-  
 ion being taken prisoner." He then retired to a tent with  
 Pindarus, who was never seen again. For this reason some  
 people think that he killed Cassius before he got the order  
 to do so. The death of Cassius actually occurred on his 475  
 birthday—that is when the battle happened to take  
 place—and Titinius also took his own life because he had  
 been too late.

114. Brutus wept over the corpse of Cassius and called 476  
 him the last of the Romans, because there would never  
 again be anyone to match his excellence. He reproached  
 him for haste and impulsiveness, but at the same time  
 declared him happy to be freed from the cares and anxiety  
 that would accompany Brutus to who knew what end.

477 τέλος ὀδηγοῦσι. παραδοὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς φίλοις,  
 ἔνθα λαθραίως θάψειαν, ἵνα μὴ καταδακρύσειε τὸν  
 στρατὸν ὀρῶντα, αὐτὸς ἄσιτός τε καὶ ἀτημέλητος ἀνὰ  
 τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τὸ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον καθ-  
 478 ἵστατο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στρατὸν  
 παρατασσόντων ἐς μάχην, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἡλασσῶ-  
 σθαι, συνεῖς τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος, "Ὀπλισώμεθα," ἔφη,  
 "Καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνθυποκριθῶμεν ἐλάσσονα παθεῖν."  
 ὡς δὲ παρέταξεν, οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Βρούτος  
 ἐπιτωθᾶσας ἔφη τοῖς φίλοις· "Οἱ μὲν δὴ προκαλούμε-  
 νοι ἡμᾶς ὡς κεκμηκότας οὐδὲ ἀπεπέειρασαν."  
 479 115. Ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν μάχην ἐν Φιλίπποις συν-  
 ἔβαινε εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ τοιούνδε πάθος ἄλλο  
 ἐγίγνετο μέγα. Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ἤγε  
 ὀπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν,  
 τὸ Ἄρειον, ὃ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς ἀλκῆς ὠνόμαζον. ἤγε δὲ καὶ  
 στρατηγίδα σπείραν, ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἰππέων  
 τε ἴλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἕτερον πλήθος ἐπιλεγμένον  
 480 καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὀλίγαι. Μοῦρκος δ'  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μα-  
 κραῖς ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ ὀλκάδες ἰστίῳ μὲν αἱ  
 πρῶται διέφυγον ὀλίγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλάσαντος  
 ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθερᾷ κατὰ τὸ  
 πέλαγος ἠλῶντο, ὑπὸ του θεῶν ἐκδεδομένοι τοῖς πο-  
 481 λεμίοις. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς ἐκάστη καὶ ἀνερρή-  
 γνου· οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαί σφας τριήρεις ἐπικου-  
 482 ρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα κυκλούμεναι. ἔργα

He handed over the body to his companions for secret 477  
 burial, to avoid moving the army to tears at the sight, while  
 he himself spent the whole night without food and with-  
 out care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius'  
 camp. In the morning the enemy drew up their army for 478  
 battle, to give the impression that they had not been de-  
 feated. Brutus understood their intention and said, "Let  
 us arm too and offer the counterpretense that we have  
 suffered less." But when he deployed his forces, the en-  
 emy withdrew, and Brutus said to his friends mockingly,  
 "To be sure, they challenged us when they thought we  
 were exhausted, but they did not even make trial of us."

115. On the same day that the battle at Philippi took 479  
 place, another disaster as great as this one occurred in the  
 Ionian gulf. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions  
 of infantry on transport ships to Octavian, one of which  
 was the famous legion of Mars, a name bestowed on it in  
 honor of its bravery.<sup>76</sup> He was also bringing a praetorian  
 cohort of about two thousand men, four squadrons of cav-  
 alry, and another body of select troops. A small number of  
 triremes escorted them. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met 480  
 them with one hundred and thirty warships. A few of the  
 transports in front got away under sail, but the wind sud-  
 denly failed, and the rest drifted on the sea in a dead calm,  
 delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies,  
 who without fear rammed each ship and shattered it; nor 481  
 could the triremes escorting them help, since they were  
 surrounded by reason of their small number. The men 482

<sup>76</sup> Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus (tribune 59, praetor 56, consul 53) had commanded Caesar's center at the battle of Pharsalus in 48 (App. *BCiv.* 2.76). He was consul for a second time in 40.

δ' ἦν τῶν κινδυνευοντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὅτε μὲν  
 τὰ πλοῖα συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλω σπουδῇ καὶ κοντοῖς  
 ἀρμοζόντων ἐς ἄλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπλεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν  
 483 οἱ πολέμιοι. ὅτε δὲ τούτου κρατήσειαν, ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε τοξεύματα πυρός, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συν-  
 δέσμους ἀνέλυον ὀξέως καὶ ἀπέφευγον ἀλλήλων διὰ  
 τὸ πῦρ αὐθίς τε ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐς περί-  
 πλουν καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἔτοιμοι.  
 484 116. Ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα  
 αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄρειοι, ὅτι κρείττους ὄντες ἀλκὴν δι' ἀπρα-  
 ξίας ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρός ἐαυτοὺς  
 ἀνήρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἐναλλό-  
 485 μενοι τὰ μὲν ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον. νῆές τε ἡμίφλε-  
 κτοι μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεον, ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς  
 μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης δα-  
 πανωμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰστών ἢ σανίδων ἐχόμενοι ἐς  
 486 πέτρας ἢ ἀκτὰς ἐξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν,  
 οἱ καὶ περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς  
 πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν ἢ  
 ἰστίων ἢ κάλων διαμασώμενοι, μέχρι σφᾶς ὁ κλύδων  
 ἐξήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ' ἦν, ὃ καὶ τοῖς πο-  
 λεμίοις ἐαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἠσώμε-  
 487 νον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἑπτακαίδεκα. καὶ  
 τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ Μοῦρκον ἐς ἐαυτοὺς μεθώρ-  
 κουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυ-  
 τοῦ νεὼς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἡμέρα πέμπτη,  
 488 δόξας ἀπολωλέναι. τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἡμέρας τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπ-

who were exposed to this danger carried out many and  
 varied actions. One moment they hastily brought their  
 ships together with ropes and attached them to each other  
 with spars so that the enemy would not be able to sail  
 through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this, 483  
 Murcus fired burning arrows at them, and they quickly  
 undid the bindings and moved away from each other on  
 account of the fire, and again became vulnerable to en-  
 circlement and ramming by the triremes.

116. The men, and particularly those of the legion of 484  
 Mars, were indignant that they were being destroyed  
 through inaction when they were superior with regard to  
 military prowess, and some killed themselves before the  
 fire reached them, while others leaped onto the enemy  
 triremes to kill and be killed. Half-burned vessels drifted 485  
 around for a long time, with men on board being con-  
 sumed—some by fire, others by hunger and thirst. Others  
 again, clinging to masts or planks, were washed up on  
 deserted rocks or coasts. Among them there were also 486  
 some who were saved unexpectedly. A few even lasted five  
 days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the  
 tide carried them to the land. A substantial number, over-  
 come by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy.  
 They handed over seventeen of their triremes. Murcus 487  
 swore the men in to his own army, but their general, Calvi-  
 nus, who was believed to have died, returned to Brundi-  
 sium on his own ship five days later. Such was the catas- 488  
 trophe, whether you should call it a shipwreck or a naval  
 battle, that took place in the Ionian gulf on the same day

εγίγνετο, εἴτε νανάγιον εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι  
 χρή· καὶ ἐξέπλησσε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων ὕστε-  
 ρον ἐπιγνωσθέν.

489 117. Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συν-  
 αγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὦ συστρατιῶται,  
 παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μὴ κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε  
 490 τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἤρξατε προθύμως,  
 εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος,  
 ὃ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὄν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρας, δι-  
 εφθείρατε ἅπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι  
 τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ εἴλετε  
 πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὡς προύχειν τάδε παρὰ  
 491 πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δ’  
 ἂν ὄλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴ-  
 λεσθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλείους  
 ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πο-  
 492 λεμίων ὤρμων. καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπα-  
 σαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων ὄντων τὸ ἕτερον,  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα ἔχομεν, ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὴν  
 493 ἐπίκτησιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ ἕτερα  
 προύχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων  
 μαυθάνειν, περί τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεως  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ’ ὀλίγον ἤδη  
 494 σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνος  
 ἢ Λιβύης ἢ Ἰβηρίας ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομ-  
 πῆιον καὶ Μοῦρκον καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον, ναυσὶν ἐξ-  
 ἤκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλα-

as the battle near Philippi. The coincidence of the two  
 battles caused amazement when it became known later.

117. Brutus summoned his army to an assembly and 489  
 addressed it as follows: “My fellow soldiers, there was no  
 part of yesterday’s engagement in which you were not su-  
 perior to the enemy. You began the fighting enthusiastically 490  
 although without orders, and their fourth legion,  
 which has such a wide reputation among them and to  
 whom that wing had been entrusted, you completely de-  
 stroyed along with all its supporting troops right up to  
 their camp; and the camp itself you first took and then  
 sacked. These gains far outweigh the damage we suffered  
 on our left wing. But when it was in your power to com- 491  
 plete the whole task, you chose to plunder rather than kill  
 the defeated: for most of you bypassed the enemy and  
 made a rush for their property. Meanwhile they in their 492  
 turn seized one of our two camps, but we hold everything  
 of theirs, so on this count too they have suffered twice the  
 damage we have. Such are the advantages we won in the 493  
 battle. As for all the other ways in which we have the bet-  
 ter of them, you can learn from our prisoners about their  
 shortage of food, the high price of it, the difficulty of trans-  
 porting it, and what are now clearly their all but exhausted  
 stocks. They can get nothing from Sicily or Sardinia or 494  
 Africa or Iberia, because of Pompeius and Murcus and  
 Ahenobarbus, who are shutting off their access to the sea  
 with two hundred and sixty ships. They have already ex-

γος· Μακεδονίαν τε ἐξαναλώκασιν ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μόνης ἄρτι Θεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἐς πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει;

495 118. “Ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπειγομένους εἰς μάχην  
 μάλιστα ἴδητε, τότε ἠγείσθε διωκομένους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ  
 τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἰρεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δ’ ἀντιμηχα-  
 νησώμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἡμῶν προπολεμῆν, ἵν’  
 ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχοιμεν, ὅτε χρή.  
 496 μηδ’ ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρόν, μηδὲ  
 βραδυτῆτά τις ἠγείσθω τὴν ἀπειρίαν,<sup>35</sup> ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω  
 θάλασσαν ἀφορῶν, ἢ τοσαύτας ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ  
 τροφὰς ἐπιπέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυ-  
 χεῖν, ἣν ὑπομένητε καὶ μὴ ἀδοξῆτε, εἰ προσπαιζονται  
 τε ἡμῖν καὶ προκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμείνονες ὄντες, ὡς  
 διέδειξε τὸ ἐχθρὸν ἔργον, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον δέος ἰώμενοι.  
 τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἣς νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ κρατεῖν, ἀθρόαν  
 497 ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια  
 ἐντελῆ μὲν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσι, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσι τοῖς  
 ἔργοις διαλύσομαι· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χι-  
 λίας ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς  
 498 ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν καὶ  
 αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεὰν κατὰ τέλη· δοκεῖ δέ τισι  
 καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν  
 αὐτοῖς δώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

499 119. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἰδότες οὐ μα-  
 χούμενον ἐκόντα τὸν Βρούτον, τοὺς ἰδίους συνῆγον,

hausted Macedonia and recently Thessaly is their only source of supply. And how much longer will it be enough for them?

118. “So when you see them particularly eager for 495  
 battle, that is when you should bear in mind that they are  
 being pursued by famine and prefer death in battle. For  
 our part, let us devise a counterstrategy for hunger to fight  
 against them on our behalf, so that when we have to fight  
 we find them weaker and worn out. And we should not be 496  
 carried away by our passions before the timing is right. Let  
 no one look back at the sea behind us and regard moving  
 slowly as a sign of inexperience. The sea brings us signifi-  
 cant reinforcements and supplies, and gives us the chance  
 to win victory without danger, if you wait patiently and  
 disregard the enemy when they jeer and challenge us to  
 fight: as the engagement yesterday demonstrated, they are  
 no better than us, but merely trying to counteract a differ-  
 ent fear. When I ask for it, give full vent to that zeal which  
 I now require you to suppress. The rewards of total victory 497  
 I myself will pay you in full, when the gods grant it. And  
 now for your bravery yesterday, I grant each soldier an  
 extra one thousand drachmas and a proportionate amount  
 to your officers.” Such was his speech, and he immediately 498  
 distributed the donative legion by legion. Some people  
 think that he also promised to give them Lacedaemon and  
 Thessalonica to plunder.

119. Octavian and Antony knew that Brutus would not 499  
 willingly fight a battle, and assembled their men. Antony

<sup>35</sup> ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα codd.; ἢ ταχυτῆτα del. Musgrave; ἀπειρίαν nos.



καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεξε· “Τὸ ἐχθρὸν ἔργον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῖς  
 μὲν λόγοις οἶδα ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμοι μερίζονται, ὡς  
 διώξαντές τινες ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαν-  
 τες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἅπαν ὑμέτερον· ὑπισχνούμαι  
 500 γὰρ ὑμῖν οὔτε αὔριον οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἐκόντας  
 αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἤξειν. ὁ σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστὶ τῆς  
 ἐχθρῆς ἡσσης καὶ φόβου, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνι-  
 κοῖς ἀφιστῶνται τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ ἐλάττονες· οὐ γὰρ ἐς  
 501 τοῦτό γε στρατὸν ἠγειρον τοσόνδε, ἵνα τῶν Θρακῶν  
 ἐρημίαν οἰκῶσι διατειχίσαντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν διετείχι-  
 σαν μὲν ἔτι προσιόντων ὑμῶν διὰ δέος, ἐλθόντων δὲ  
 ἐνοικοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἐχθρῆς ἡσσαν· ἐφ’ ἧ καὶ τῶν στρα-  
 τηγῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερός τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερος πάντα  
 502 ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ μέγιστη  
 συμφορῶν ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις. ὅταν οὖν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς  
 προκαλουμένων μὴ δέχωνται μηδὲ καταβαίνωσιν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ὄρων, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν πιστεύωσι τοῖς κρη-  
 μνοῖς, τότε μοι θαρροῦντες ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι,  
 συναναγκάσατε αὐτοὺς αὐθις, ὥσπερ ἐχθρῆς ἠναγκά-  
 σατε, αἰσχροὺς ἡγούμενοι δεδιότων ἐλασσοῦσθαι καὶ  
 503 ὀκνούντων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τειχῶν ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀσθε-  
 νέστεροι γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἦλθομέν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν  
 πεδίῳ βιώσοντες, οὐδ’ ἐστὶ βραδύνουσιν οὐδὲν αὐταρ-  
 κες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους  
 ὀξεῖς, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μήκιστον εἶναι.  
 504 120. “Τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα  
 ἐπιμηχανησόμεθα ἡμεῖς, οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐχθρῆς  
 ὀρμῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενόμενοι· τὴν δ’ ἀρετὴν

then addressed them as follows: “Soldiers, I know that in  
 their speeches our enemies too claim a share of yesterday’s  
 engagement because they drove some of us before them  
 and plundered our camp, but in practice they will show  
 that it was entirely yours. For I promise you that neither  
 tomorrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing  
 500 to come out and fight. This reluctance is the clearest proof  
 of their defeat yesterday and of their fear: it is like when  
 the losers in athletic contests withdraw from the competi-  
 tion. For they did not collect such a large army just to wall  
 off and inhabit the wilds of Thrace. It was, rather, through  
 501 fear that they fortified Thrace with a wall while you were  
 still approaching; and now that you have arrived they are  
 staying behind it because of yesterday’s defeat. On top of  
 the defeat, in complete despair the older and more experi-  
 enced of their generals also took his own life, an act that  
 is in itself the most telling sign of their misfortunes. So  
 502 when they decline our challenge and refuse to come down  
 from the high ground, but put their trust in cliffs rather  
 than their own hands, then, men of Rome, have confi-  
 dence in me and join me in forcing them to fight, just as  
 you forced them to fight yesterday: you should consider it  
 a disgrace to be beaten by a scared enemy, to hold back  
 from confronting waverers, or to let real men like you be  
 weaker than walls. We too did not come here to live our  
 503 lives on a plain, and those who delay have no control over  
 their fate. Sensible people should have short wars and  
 peace for as long as possible.

120. “As you did not find fault with us for yesterday’s  
 504 plan of attack, we will be the ones to devise the opportuni-  
 ties and battles to achieve this. As for you, repay your

505 ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτήσθε, ἀποδίδοτε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μηδὲ  
 ἄχθεσθε τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἀρπαγῆς μηδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐν οἷς ἔχομέν ἐστι τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν  
 ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὃ καὶ τὰ ἐχθρῆς ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι ὄντα  
 παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σῶα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ'  
 ἐκείνοις κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει. καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα  
 506 αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ  
 ἐχθρῆς ἀντειλήφασκεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἴσως  
 ἱκανώτερα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιά-  
 σαντο καὶ ἤρπασαν, ἐπήγοντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὡς ἐκ πατρί-  
 δος ἰόντες τὰ μὲν δαψιλέστερα οἴκοι ὑπελίπεσθε, τὰ  
 δ' ἀναγκαῖα μόνα ἐπήγεσθε. εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαψιλὲς ἦν,  
 ἡμέτερον ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἷ πάντα ἐσμὲν ὑπὲρ  
 507 τῆς ὑμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς  
 τοιαύτης δ' ὁμῶς ζημίας ὑμῖν ἔνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν νικη-  
 τήρια, δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ πεντακισχιλίας,  
 λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλιάρχη δὲ τὸ διπλά-  
 σιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ.”

508 121. Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἐξέτασσε  
 καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὃ μὲν  
 Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυνθύμει καὶ ἐξέτασσε αἰεὶ, ὃ δὲ Βρούτος  
 τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγμένον, μὴ ἀναγκα-  
 σθείη μάχεσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν  
 509 ἀναγκαίων διελάμβανε. λόφος δὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ  
 Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσχερῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν  
 καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυ-  
 ναμένων· ὃ δὲ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ὁμῶς ἐφρούρει, μὴ καὶ  
 510 παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολμήσειέ τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ

generals with courage, when you are asked for it. And 505  
 don't worry even for a moment about what was seized  
 from you yesterday. For wealth lies not in what we possess,  
 but in victory and power, which will not only restore to us  
 as victors what was taken yesterday, and remains safe with  
 the enemy, but will also yield the enemy's possessions in  
 addition. And if we are eager to get these things, let us be  
 eager for battle. Even yesterday we took enough from 506  
 them to balance our losses, perhaps more than enough.  
 For they brought with them all that they had violently  
 plundered from Asia, while you, coming from your native  
 land, left the greater part of what you own at home, and  
 brought with you only what was strictly necessary. If there  
 was any extra, it was the property of us your generals, and  
 we are keen to give it all to you as a reward for your victory.  
 However, as compensation for such loss as you suffered 507  
 we will give you an additional reward for victory: five thou-  
 sand drachmas for each soldier, five times as much for  
 each centurion, and twice this amount to each tribune.”

121. Such was his speech. Next day, he again arrayed 508  
 his men for battle, but even then the enemy did not come  
 down from their position. Antony was disheartened, but  
 continued to form up for battle every day, while Brutus  
 kept one part of his army in battle formation in case he  
 was forced to fight, and with the other set about cutting  
 the roads by which the enemy's supplies were transported.  
 There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which was 509  
 difficult for the enemy to occupy, because it was close  
 enough to be in range of arrow attack. Nevertheless, Cas-  
 sius had a guard post on it, in case anyone attacked, even  
 unexpectedly. It had, however, been abandoned by Bru- 510

Βρούτου κατέλαβον οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς  
 τέτρασι τέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ διφθέ-  
 511 ρας ἐς προβολὴν τοῖς τοξεύμασιν. ὡς δὲ κατέσχον,  
 ἄλλα τέλη δέκα μετεστρατοπέδευον ὑπὲρ πέντε στα-  
 δίους ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλους  
 τέσσαρας δύο, ὡς τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ προελευσόμενοι  
 μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ ἢ παρ' αὐτὴν ἄρα τὴν θάλασ-  
 σαν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν ἢ ὅν τινα τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπενόουν,  
 βιασόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποκλείοντες τῶν πο-  
 λεμίων. καὶ ὁ Βρούτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηχανάτο, ἄλλα τε  
 καὶ φρούρια ἀντικαθιστὰς τοῖς ἐκείνων στρατοπέδοις.  
 512 122. Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἤπειγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα,  
 καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἤδη σαφής, ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ δέος ἐκά-  
 στης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας  
 αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκούντα ἐκομίζετο, οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπίς  
 ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων πανταχῆ τῶν πολεμίων.  
 513 τῆς τε ἔναγχος περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελ-  
 μένης ἐς ἐκατέρους ἤδη, μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτὰ τε  
 καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα ὡς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλώδει  
 σταθμεύοντες. ὦν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἐς  
 Ἀχαιᾶν ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐντυγχάνοντα πάντα  
 514 καὶ πέμπειν σφίσι κατὰ σπουδὴν. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ  
 κινδύνου τοσοῦδε προσιόντος οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἐπι-  
 τεχνήσεων οὔτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπὸν ἐκτάσσειν, παρὰ  
 τὸ τεῖχισμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τὸν  
 Βρούτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισκώπτοντες ἅμα καὶ  
 λοιδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ πολιορκίας τρόπῳ

tus, and Octavian seized it at night with four legions who  
 had brought up many screens of wickerwork and skin as a  
 defense against arrows. When they had secured the posi- 511  
 tion, they moved the camp of ten other legions more than  
 five stades closer to the sea, and of two more legions an-  
 other four stades further. Their intention was to advance  
 as far as the sea in this manner, and by forcing their way  
 along the sea itself, or through the marshes or by some  
 other way, to cut off the enemy's supplies. Brutus devised  
 various countermeasures, among them the placing of  
 guard posts opposite their camps.

122. Battle was becoming an urgent matter for Octa- 512  
 vian, as hunger was now evident and with respect to its  
 extent fear grew every day. For they were no longer get-  
 ting sufficient supplies from Thessaly, and there was no  
 hope from the sea, which was under the control of the  
 enemy in all areas. News of the recent disaster in the Io- 513  
 nian gulf now reached both armies, causing Octavian's  
 forces even more anxiety about the situation and the com-  
 ing winter, stationed as they were in a marshy plain. With  
 these considerations in mind, they sent a legion of troops  
 off to Achaea to collect all the food they could find and  
 send it to them with speed. Refusing to accept the ap- 514  
 proach of such great danger and the other schemes being  
 devised against them, and to deploying for battle in the  
 plain, they climbed up to the enemy's fortifications, and  
 shouted their challenge to Brutus to fight, mocking and  
 insulting him, determined to join battle with him even

μᾶλλον ἢ μανιώδει φορᾶ μὴ βουλομένῳ συμπλέεσθαι.

515 123. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἔγνωστο τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ  
μᾶλλον ἔτι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ περὶ  
τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων  
ὀρώντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν· καὶ ἠρέϊτο πολι-  
ορκίας καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς  
χείρας ἰέναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπειγομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, καὶ  
ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν μόναις  
516 ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ  
ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐδυσφόρου γυ-  
ναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατα-  
517 κекλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν,  
ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες  
δὲ καὶ θᾶσσον ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ προ-  
518 θύμου στρατοῦ. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βρούτον  
ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοιον  
Κασσίῳ, αὐστηρῶ καὶ ἀρχικῶ περὶ πάντα γεγενη-  
μένῳ· ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὑπήκουον, οὐ  
παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς αἰτίας μανθάνοντες  
οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ μάθοιεν, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν  
519 ἄλλ' ἢ συστρατηγεῖν ἠξίου διὰ πραῦτητα. τέλος δὲ  
τοῦ στρατοῦ φανερώτερον ἤδη κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ  
συστάσεις διαπυνθανομένον· “Τί κατέγνωκεν ἡμῶν ὁ  
στρατηγός; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ  
διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολεμίους κατακανόν-  
τες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐλόντες;” Βρούτος ἐκὼν  
ἡμέλει. καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνῆγε, μὴ ἀπρεπέστε-

though he did not want to, not by siege but rather by ferocious assault.

123. But Brutus decided to stick to his original plan, 515  
even more so when he learned of the famine and the suc-  
cess in the Ionian gulf, and observed the enemy's des-  
peration at their lack of supplies. He preferred to endure  
a siege, or anything else rather than join battle with men  
driven by hunger, men whose hopes rested solely on fight-  
ing because they despaired of all other means. His sol- 516  
diers, however, in their folly were not of the same opinion,  
but were annoyed at being shut in, doing nothing and  
afraid, like women. Their officers, although they approved 517  
of Brutus' logic, were also dissatisfied, because they be-  
lieved that they would defeat the enemy more quickly with  
an enthusiastic army. The reason for this situation was the 518  
fact that Brutus himself was reasonable and friendly to  
everyone, unlike Cassius, who had been severe and au-  
thoritative in all matters—which is why men obeyed him  
when ordered, did not countermand his orders as general,  
and did not ask the reasons for them or criticize them  
when they were told. But in the case of Brutus, because  
he was so obliging, they required nothing less than to  
share the command with him. Eventually, in their platoons 519  
and companies the men began to ask more and more  
openly, “Why has the general convicted us? What have we  
just done wrong in defeating, pursuing and killing the en-  
emy facing us, and in capturing their camp?” Brutus de-  
liberately paid no attention to them, and did not call them  
to assembly, for fear that he would be forced rather inap-

ρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀλογίστως ἐκβιασθείη, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οἷς ἔστιν αἰεὶ, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐχερέσιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἑτέρους δεσπότης, ἐλπίς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μεταβολή.

520 124. Ἐνοχλούντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ κελευόντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου, ἦν δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανιέναι πάλιν ἐς τὰ τείχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βρούτος τοῖσδε μάλιστα ἡγεμόσιν οὔσι καὶ περιαλήσας, ὅτι τὸν αὐτόν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ στρατῷ κουφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ ὀξείαν τύχην προτιθέντι νίκης ἀκινδύνου, εἶξεν ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρῳ, τοσόνδε ἐπιμεμψάμενος αὐτοῖς. "Ἐοίκαμεν ὡς Πομπήσιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγούντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενοι." καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε μόνον ἐξειπεῖν, ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἔδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς οἶα τοῦ πάλαι Καίσαρος γεγονῶς ἀγανακτήσειέ τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο· ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς τε καὶ Κάσσιος ὑφορώμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρόφασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

522 125. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἐξῆγεν ἄκων καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμηε πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ προύχειν τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἰ δεήσειεν, εὐχερῆς εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους

appropriately into irrational action by the rank and file, and especially by the mercenaries, whose hope of safety is always to go over to the other side, like unscrupulous slaves going over to different masters.

124. His officers also badgered him, telling him to 520 make use of the enthusiasm of the soldiers right now, and they would quickly achieve a brilliant result; but if something went wrong in the battle, they could return again to the walls, and use the same palisade as protection. Brutus was annoyed with them, particularly because they were his officers, and he was offended that although they were exposed to the same danger as him, they were thoughtlessly going along with the troops, who placed an uncertain and swift fate ahead of victory without danger. But, to the ruin of himself and them, he gave in, reproaching them with these words, "It seems I am going to wage war like Pompey the Great, no longer in command, but under the com- 521 mand of others."<sup>77</sup> I think that this is all Brutus said because he wanted to conceal his greatest fear, that those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Caesar would become disaffected and desert. Both he and Cassius had suspected this from the beginning, and for that reason had, with regard to all operations, given no excuse for resentment toward themselves.

125. So it was then that Brutus too, but against his will, 522 led out his army and formed them into ranks in front of the wall, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they had an easy line of retreat, if it was needed, and the missiles thrown at the enemy would hit their tar-

<sup>77</sup> Pompey had also allowed himself to be talked into battle against his better judgment, as Appian (*BCiv.* 2.69.286) records.

- 523 ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξια. ἦν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσις τε πάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀναγκαίου, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέους λιμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς δικαίας, βιασαμένους τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν ὦν ὑπέσχοντο ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις ὦν ἐθρασύνοντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνους μᾶλλον ἢ ἀξιεπαύνοισι εὐβουλίας. ἅ καὶ ὁ Βρούτος αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ἵππου περιθέων, σοβαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ προενέφαινε καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ὑπεμίμησεν, ὅσων ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου. “Ἔμεις ἠθελήσατε μάχεσθαι, ὑμεῖς με ἐτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε· μὴ δὲ ψεύσησθε τῆς ἐλπίδος μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε αὐτούς. ἔχετε καὶ λόφον σύμμαχον καὶ τὰ κατὰ νότου πάντα ἴδια. οἱ πολέμοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ μεταξὺ γάρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν τε καὶ λιμοῦ.”
- 524 126. Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγων διετρόχαζε, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τάξεις ἐπήλπιζον καὶ μετὰ βοῆς παρέπεμπον εὐφήμον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰδίους περιθέοντες τὴν τε δεξιὰν ὤρεγον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιτο, καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἔτι οἶδε ἐπέσπερχον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς εὐκαιρον ἐς εὐτολμίαν προφέρειν. “Εὐρομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πολεμίους· ἔχομεν οὓς ἐζητοῦμεν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν. μὴ δὴ τις ὑμῶν τὴν ἰδίαν πρόκλησιν καταισχύνη μηδὲ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐλάττων γένηται· μηδὲ λιμόν, ὄλεθρον ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἐπώδυνον, ἔληται μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίων τείχη καὶ σώματα, ἅ καὶ τόλμαις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀπο-
- 525
- 526

get. In both armies all the men encouraged each other, and there was great spirit for the battle and a daring beyond the necessary measure. On one side was the fear of famine, on the other justifiable embarrassment, having forced the hand of their commanding officer who was still in favor of delaying, at the prospect of failing to meet their promises, proving weaker than their boasts, and exposing themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good counsel. Riding around on his horse, a haughty expression on his face, Brutus made these things clear to them and reminded them in a few words, such as the situation allowed: “It is you who wanted to fight, you who forced me to do so, when I had another plan for victory. So do not prove my hopes or your own false. You have a hill as your ally, and to your rear everything belongs to you. The enemy, on the other hand, are in a difficult position, for they are in the middle between you and starvation.”

126. With these words he rode among his men at a trot, and the soldiers in the ranks gave him hope and their cheers of good omen accompanied him on his way. As for Octavian and Antony, they assiduously did the rounds of their own men, offering their right hand to those they encountered, and urging them on even more insistently than Brutus, making no attempt to hide famine as an opportune incitement to bravery. “Men, we have found the enemy. We were trying to get them outside their wall, and we now have them. Let none of you shame your own challenge or show yourselves not up to meeting the threat. And let none of you prefer hunger, which is destructive, unmanageable, and painful, to the walls and bodies of the enemy, which give way before daring, iron, and desper-

527 νοία. ἔχει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπείξεως ὧδε τὰ παρόντα, ὡς μηδὲν  
 ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σήμερον  
 528 περὶ ἀπάντων διακριθῆναι μέχρι νίκης ἐντελοῦς ἢ εὐ-  
 γενοῦς θανάτου. νικῶσι δ' ἔστι λαβεῖν διὰ μιᾶς  
 ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα καὶ  
 ναῦς καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια παρ' ἡμῶν.  
 529 ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα, ἣν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοῖς  
 μνημονεύωμεν τῶν ἐπειγόντων, εἶτα παραρρήξαντες  
 εὐθὺς ἀποκλείωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς κρη-  
 μνοὺς ἢ τὰ πεδία περιωθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος  
 αὐθις ἀναφύοιτο μηδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀργίαν πάλιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ  
 διαδιδράσκοιεν, οἳ δι' ἀσθένειαν, μόνοι δὴ πολεμίων,  
 οὐκ ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ  
 μὴ μάχεσθαι."  
 530 127. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρώτρυνον,  
 ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιτο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν αἰδῶς ἀξίους  
 τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκφυ-  
 γεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθεῖσαν ἐκ παραλόγου διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἴο-  
 νίῳ γενόμενα. ἠροῦντό τε ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ  
 531 δέοι, τί παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμηχάνου κακοῦ δα-  
 πανώμενοι. ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγγὺς  
 αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἐκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἠϋξέτο  
 μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεπίμπλαντο τόλμης ἀκαταπλήκτου· οὐ-  
 δέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὅτι ἦσαν πολῖται οὐδὲ  
 ἐπεμέμνηντο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ φύσεως καὶ γένους ἐχθροῖς  
 ἐπηπείλουν. οὕτως ἢ παραυτίκα ὀργῇ τὸν λογισμὸν  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμαντεύοντο δὲ

tion. For us, the situation is so pressing that nothing can 527  
 be put off till tomorrow: everything must be decided to- 528  
 day, including total victory or noble death. If you win, a  
 single day and a single battle will enable you to get provi-  
 sions and money and ships and camps and the rewards of  
 victory from us. These things will come about if, first of 529  
 all, we keep in mind when attacking them the pressures  
 we face; and then, when we break their battle line, if we  
 immediately cut them off from their gates and push them  
 toward the cliffs or the plain, and thus prevent the fighting  
 flaring up again and the enemy taking refuge again in do-  
 ing nothing—an enemy, who through weakness, are surely  
 the only ones to place their hopes not in battle, but in  
 avoiding battle."

127. In this way Octavian and Antony urged on the men 530  
 they encountered. A sense of honor inspired all of them  
 to appear worthy of their commanders and to escape their  
 predicament, which had unexpectedly been made much  
 worse by what had happened in the Ionian gulf. They  
 chose to die, if necessary, in action and in hope, rather  
 than be worn down by an evil against which they could do  
 nothing. Such was their state of mind, and with each man 531  
 communicating these thoughts to his neighbor, morale on  
 both sides prospered substantially and they were filled  
 with undaunted daring. In the present circumstances it  
 did not even occur to them that they were fellow citizens,  
 but they threatened each other as if they were natural  
 born enemies: to such an extent did their present anger  
 extinguish their nature and ability to think logically. They

ὁμαλῶς ἑκάτεροι τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ  
 πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα κρινεῖν. καὶ ἐκρίθη.  
 532 128. Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρα-  
 σκευὴν ἐς ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς  
 τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν καὶ  
 ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βρούτου  
 βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὀξεῖα ἠγέρθη καὶ τὰ ση-  
 μεία ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε  
 533 καὶ ἀπηγής. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ λίθων ἢ ἀκον-  
 τισμάτων ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε πολέμου νόμῳ, ἐπεὶ  
 οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο,  
 ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε  
 καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως,  
 οἱ μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ  
 534 νίκης καὶ παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένου. φό-  
 νος δὲ ἦν καὶ στόνος πολὺς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα  
 αὐτοῖς ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν  
 535 ἐπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες  
 καὶ ὀρώμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὀρμαῖς ἀνέφερον καὶ  
 παρεκάλουν πονοῦντας ἔτι προσπονῆσαι καὶ τοὺς  
 κεκμηκότας ἐνήλλασσον, ὥστε ὁ θυμὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ  
 536 τοῦ μετώπου καινὸς ἦν. τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος,  
 εἴτε διὰ δέος τοῦ λιμοῦ, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εὐτυ-  
 χίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπίμεμπτοί γε ἦσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτειοι),  
 τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὥσπερ τι μηχανή-  
 537 νημα τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δ' ἀνεωθοῦντο  
 μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω βάδην ἔτι καὶ μετὰ φρο-  
 νήματος· ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἤδη παρελέλυτο,

both similarly predicted that this day and this battle would  
 decide the entire fate of Rome. And it was decided.

128. These preparations had already used up the day 532  
 as far as the ninth hour, when two eagles attacked each  
 other and fought in the space between the battle lines.  
 This took place in the deepest silence, but when the eagle  
 on Brutus' side of the field fled, a sharp cry arose from the  
 enemy, the standards on both sides were raised, and the  
 onslaught was both intense and ferocious. Indeed, they 533  
 had little need of arrows, stones, or javelins in the usual  
 manner of war, since they employed none of the other arts  
 and tactics of battle, but engaged the enemy with swords  
 drawn, delivering and receiving blows and trying to push  
 each other out of the line. One side fought for deliverance  
 rather than victory, the other for victory and to appease a  
 general who had been forced into battle. There was wide- 534  
 spread slaughter and groaning as the dead bodies were  
 carried away and others took their place from the reserves.  
 The generals rushed around and were to be seen ev- 535  
 erywhere, buoying up the men in their attacks, urging  
 those struggling to redouble their efforts and replacing the  
 exhausted, so that there was constantly fresh resolve at the  
 front. Eventually, Octavian's men, whether out of fear of 536  
 hunger or because of his own good fortune (for the troops  
 of Brutus were certainly not to blame), began to move the  
 enemy phalanx as if they were pushing back a siege engine  
 of the heaviest type. Their opponents were forced back 537  
 step by step, still gradually and with purpose. But when  
 their ranks had been broken, they began to retreat more



538 ὀξύτερον ὑπεχώρουν καί, τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι  
 δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχωρούντων, μισγόμενοι  
 πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀκόσμως ἐθλίβοντο ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἕως  
 539 ἔφευγον ἤδη σαφῶς. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μάλι-  
 στα τοῦ παρηγγελμένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι  
 τὰς πύλας προελάμβανον σφόδρα ἐπικινδύνως (ἄνω-  
 θέν τε γὰρ ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου), μέχρι  
 πολλοὺς ἐσδραμεῖν ἐκώλυσαν, οἱ διέφυγον ἐπὶ τε τὴν  
 θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ζυ-  
 γάκτου.  
 539 129. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον οἱ  
 στρατηγοὶ διηροῦντο, Καίσαρ μὲν αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἐκ-  
 πίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυλάσσειν  
 τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα ἦν καὶ πᾶσιν  
 ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι συνεστῶσι καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις αὐτῶν, ὁρμῇ τε ὑπερηφάνῳ  
 540 πάντα ἐβιάζετο ὁμοῦ. καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δείσας,  
 μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόντες αὐθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν,  
 τοὺς ἰππέας ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ ἐκβολὰς  
 541 τῆς μάχης, αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας· οἱ <μὲν><sup>36</sup>  
 διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὄρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ  
 Θρακίῳ Ῥάσκῳ, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ὁδῶν συναπεσταλμένῳ,  
 καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς  
 ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκνηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρούρουν.  
 542 οἱ δὲ Βρούτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχέτως  
 ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Λουκίλιος ἰδὼν ὑπέστη καὶ ὡς  
 Βρούτος ὢν ἡξίου πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος

quickly, and with the second and third lines of reserves  
 joining in the retreat, they all mixed with each other cha-  
 otically and were crushed by their own men and by the  
 enemy who attacked relentlessly until they now clearly  
 broke into flight. At that moment particularly, Octavian's 538  
 men held firmly to their orders and took immediate pos-  
 session of the gates while facing extreme danger (for they  
 were under fire both from above and from the front), thus  
 preventing many from getting in. These escaped to the sea  
 or to the mountains across the river Zygactes.

129. After the rout the generals divided up what remained 539  
 to be done. Octavian was to guard the camp itself  
 and capture any who sallied out. Antony was everywhere  
 and threw himself at everything—at those who were flee-  
 ing, those who were still resisting, the enemy's other  
 camps—crushing all alike with splendid vehemence.  
 Fearing that the officers would elude him and again col- 540  
 lect another army, he sent out the cavalry on the roads and  
 exits from the battlefield, to capture those trying to es-  
 cape. These divided their work, some hurrying up to high 541  
 ground with Rhascus the Thracian, who was sent with  
 them because of his knowledge of the routes. They sur-  
 rounded the palisades and hilltops, hunting down those  
 who escaped from them and guarding the ones inside.  
 Others went after Brutus himself. Seeing them rushing on 542  
 inexorably, Lucilius stood his ground and, pretending to  
 be Brutus, asked to be taken to Antony instead of Octa-

<sup>36</sup> μὲν add. Gaillard-Goukowsky

543 ἀναχθῆναι ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα εἶναι Βρούτος ἐνομί-  
σθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ  
αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπήντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει,  
τὴν τύχην ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρος καὶ ἀρετὴν  
544 ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅπως Βρούτον ὑποδέξαιτο. πλησιά-  
σαντι δ' ὁ Λουκίλιος ἐντυχὼν μάλα θρασέως εἶπε  
“Βρούτος μὲν οὐχ ἑάλωκεν, οὐδὲ ἀλώσεται ποτε πρὸς  
κακίας ἀρετῆ· ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε ἀπατήσας ᾧδέ σοι πάρ-  
545 ρειμι.” καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰππέας ἰδὼν αἰδουμένους  
παρηγόρει καί, “Οὐ μείονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν,” εἶπεν,  
“Ἀλλὰ ἀμείνονα ἧς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, ὅσῳ κρείτ-  
των ἐχθροῦ φίλος.” καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε μὲν τι-  
τῶν φίλων ἔδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸς ἔχων  
ἐχρήτο ὡς πιστῷ.  
546 130. Ὁ δὲ Βρούτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν  
ἱκανῷ πλήθει, ὡς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποστρέ-  
ψων ἢ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
547 περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέρευεν ἔνοπλος  
μετὰ πάντων. καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀνα-  
βλέποντα εἰπεῖν·

Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὄς αἴτιος κακῶν,

ἐνσημαινόμενον ἄρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν  
Ἀντώνιον φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις κινδύνοις  
μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασσίω  
καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπηρέτης γένοιτο Ὀκταοίου.

vian. It was this in particular that gave rise to the belief  
that he was Brutus, trying to avoid his implacable enemy.  
When Antony heard that he was being brought in, he went 543  
to meet him, stopping to consider how he would receive  
Brutus, in consideration of the man's fate, his reputation,  
and his courage. As he was approaching, Lucilius con- 544  
fronted him very daringly and said, “Brutus has not been  
captured, and virtue will never be made prisoner by vice.  
I deceived these men and so here I am in your presence.”  
Antony saw that the cavalrymen were embarrassed, and 545  
consoled them by saying, “The game you have caught for  
me is not worse, but better than you think, as much better  
as a friend is than an enemy.” For the moment he gave  
Lucilius to one of his associates to look after, but later kept  
him as one of his personal circle, and treated him as a man  
to be trusted.

130. Brutus takes refuge up in the mountains with a 546  
considerable force, intending to return to his camp by  
night, or to move down to the sea. But since he had been  
entirely surrounded by guard posts, he spent the night  
under arms with all his men. And they say that, looking up 547  
to the stars, he said:

Do not forget, Zeus, the man responsible for these  
woes,<sup>78</sup>

referring, of course, to Antony. It is said that Antony him-  
self also quoted this verse on a later occasion in the midst  
of his own dangers, regretting that he became the servant  
of Octavian, when he could have aligned himself with Cas-

<sup>78</sup> Euripides, *Med.* 332. Plutarch also records the quotation in  
*Brut.* 51.1.

- 548 τότε γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔνοπλος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακ-  
κτηρίων ἀντιδιενυκτέρευε τῷ Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περι-  
θέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ λαφύρων συμφορη-  
θέντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μέσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς  
ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσον, Νωρβανῷ φυλάσσειν  
παραδοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
- 549 131. Βρούτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὄρων τὰς ἐφε-  
δρείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη τέσ-  
σαρα τέλη συναναβάντα οἱ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ'  
αὐτοὺς ἐφυλάξατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν, αἰ-  
δουμένους τε τὸ ἀμάρτημα καὶ μετανοοῦντας, ἔπεμπεν  
ἀποπειράσοντας αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐθελήσουσιν ὥσασθαι διὰ  
τῶν ἐφεδρειῶν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἴδια, ἔτι φυλασσό-  
550 μενα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπολελειμμένων. οἱ δὲ ἀβου-  
λότατα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ὀρμήσαντες, εὐψυχότατοι δὲ  
τὸ μέχρι πλείστου γενόμενοι, τότε, βλάπτοντος ἤδη  
τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ στρατηγῷ σφῶν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀναξίως  
βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ· αὐτοὶ γάρ, τῆς τύχης πολ-  
λάκις πεπειραμένοι, οὐκ ἀνατρέψειν τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν  
551 διαλλαγῶν ἐλπίδα. καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἐς τοὺς φίλους εἶ-  
πὼν· "Οὐδὲν οὖν ἔτι εἰμὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος, ὧδε  
καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων," ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν Ἡπει-  
ρώτην, ὄντα φίλον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ  
552 σώματι. τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλευέσθαι παραινοῦντος  
ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων, "Οὐκ ἀπορή-  
σεις," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βρούτε, φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκετῶν ἐς  
τὰ ὕστατα προστάγματα, εἰ ἤδη κέκριται." καὶ εἰπὼν

sus and Brutus. On this occasion, however, Antony also 548  
spent the night under arms in his outposts bivouacked  
opposite Brutus, having protected himself with an en-  
trenchment made of dead bodies and spoils mixed to-  
gether. Octavian was busy until midnight and then retired  
because of his illness, leaving Norbanus to keep guard  
over the camp.

131. On the following day Brutus could see that the 549  
enemy pickets were still in position. He had four under-  
strength legions that had come up into the high ground  
with him, but took care not to approach the men himself,  
and sent their officers instead, who were ashamed at their  
failure, and repentant. They were to test the men and see  
if they were willing to force their way through the blockad-  
ing pickets and regain their own position, which was still  
being held by the men of their own army who had been  
left behind. These officers, although they had rushed into 550  
battle most unadvisedly, had displayed the greatest cour-  
age for a very long time. At this point, however, with the  
divinity now deluding them, they shamefully replied to  
their own commanding officer that he should look after his  
own interests. For their part, having tempted fate on many  
occasions, they would not ruin whatever hope still re-  
mained of reaching an accommodation. Then Brutus said 551  
to his entourage, "I can no longer be of service to my  
country, if such is the outlook of even these men," and  
calling Strato of Epirus, who was one of his close associ-  
ates, ordered him to take a sword to his person. But when 552  
Strato urged him to think again, Brutus summoned one of  
his slaves, and Strato said, "Brutus, you will not lack a  
friend, rather than slaves, to carry out your last commands,  
if your decision has already been made." And with these

ἐνήρεισε ταῖς λαγόσι τοῦ Βρούτου τὸ ξίφος οὔτε ἀπο-  
στραφέντος οὔτε ἐνδόντος.

553 132. Ὡδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος καὶ Βροῦτο ἐθνησκέτην,  
ἄνδρε Ῥωμαίων εὐγενεστάτω τε καὶ περιφανεστάτω  
καὶ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀδηρίτω, χωρὶς ἄγους ἑνός, ὃ γε καὶ  
Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὅντε τῆς Μάγνου Πομπηίου μοίρας, ἐκ  
μὲν ἐχθροῖν καὶ πολεμίον ἐποιήσατο φίλων, ἐκ δὲ  
554 φίλοιν ἤγειν ὡς υἱώ. καὶ ἡ βουλή περιποθήτω τε εἶχεν  
αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτυχήσαντε ἐλεεινῶ δυοῖν τε τούτοις ἕνεκα  
πᾶσιν ἀμνηστίαν ἐτίθετο καὶ φυγόντων αὐτοῖν ἔπεμ-  
ψεν <ἐς><sup>37</sup> ἡγεμονίας, ἵνα μὴ φυγάδες εἶεν, οὐκ ἀμε-  
λοῦσα μὲν Γαίου Καίσαρος οὐδὲ ἐφηδομένη τοῖς  
γεγονόσιν, ὅπου καὶ ζῶντα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τύχης  
ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαπτε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκύρου  
τὰ ἔργα ἀθάνατα εἶναι ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐς  
πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐποίει τῶν Καίσαρος, οὐδὲν  
ἡγουμένη κρείσσον εὐρήσειν ὧν ἐκείνος ἐνόησεν.  
555 ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τῷδε τῷ ἄνδρῳ σπουδὴ καὶ δέος τὸ ὑπὲρ  
αὐτοῖν προήγαγεν αὐτὴν ἐς ὑπεροψίαν διαβολῆς·  
556 οὕτως ἅπασιν ἐγενέσθην τιμίω. ἐγενέσθην δὲ καὶ τῶν  
φυγόντων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τιμιωτέρω Πομπηίου, πλησιάζ-  
οντος καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλλακτον ἔχοντος αἰτίαν, πορρω-  
τέρω τε ὄντε αὐτῶ καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτω.

557 133. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ ὄλου

<sup>37</sup> ἐς add. Gaillard-Goukowsky

words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who  
neither turned away nor flinched.

132. Such was the death of Cassius and Brutus, two of 553  
the most noble and distinguished Romans, and of incom-  
parable virtue, with the exception of a single crime. Al-  
though they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great,  
Gaius Caesar turned them from personal and public en-  
emies into friends, and from being friends he treated them  
as sons. The senate always held them in high esteem and 554  
felt sorry for them in their misfortune. It was for the sake  
of these two men that they issued an amnesty to everyone,  
and when they fled, the senate appointed them to provin-  
cial commands, so that they would not be exiles. It was not  
out of disdain for Gaius Caesar that they did this, or be-  
cause they were pleased at what had happened, for when  
he was alive they admired his bravery, and when he died  
they gave him a public funeral, ratified his acts perma-  
nently, and for a long time awarded magistracies and gov-  
ernorships in accordance with his written instructions, in  
the belief that they would devise no better policy than  
what he had planned. But the senate's enthusiasm and 555  
concern for these two men led it into contempt for slan-  
derous accusations, such was the honor in which the two  
were held by everyone.<sup>79</sup> They were more highly regarded 556  
by the nobles in exile than Pompeius, even though he was  
nearer to Rome and did not face an accusation that al-  
lowed for no reconciliation, while they were further away  
and impossible to reconcile.

133. When it became necessary to fight, in less than 557

<sup>79</sup> The accusation being that the senate had been complicit in  
the assassination of Caesar.

558 ἐτοῖν στρατιάν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιτῶν  
 τέλη καὶ ἰππέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ ναῦς μα-  
 κρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν  
 ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἄπειρα καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ  
 παρὰ ἀκόντων, πολέμους τε ἐπολέμησαν ἔθνεσι καὶ  
 πόλεσι καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατώρ-  
 559 θουν. ἐθνῶν τε ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐ-  
 φράτου καὶ ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς  
 ἔπεισαν καὶ βεβαιοτάτοις ἐχρήσαντο. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ  
 καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις, καὶ Παρθυαίοις καίπερ  
 οὖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μείζον ἔρ-  
 γον οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον ἢ  
 560 ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθίσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δὲ δὴ  
 μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὁ στρατὸς ὁ  
 πλείων ὅδε Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ δαιμονίως  
 αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς ἐκείνον μετέπει-  
 σαν οἱ σφαγεῖς οἶδε τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ  
 Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἔσποντο αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ  
 τῷ Καίσαρος συναγωνιστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ· οὐ γάρ  
 τις αὐτῶν Βρούτον ἢ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἠσσωμένους  
 561 ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ πρὸ  
 πείρας ἀπολιπόντες· ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς τῶν  
 πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σφῶν  
 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς  
 μὲν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεὶ. σφῶν τε αὐτῶν, ὅτε μηδὲν  
 ἐδόκουν ἔτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ πατρίδι, ἄμφω κατ-  
 561 εφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πόνοις ὁ  
 μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτί, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνι-

two full years Brutus and Cassius recruited an army of  
 more than twenty legions of infantry, about twenty thou-  
 sand cavalry, over two hundred warships, other impressive  
 equipment, and enormous sums of money collected from  
 both willing and unwilling contributors. They fought and  
 won wars with nations and cities and many of their politi- 558  
 cal opponents. They became masters of the provinces  
 from Macedonia to the Euphrates, and all those they  
 fought against they persuaded to join them as allies, and  
 found them to be most reliable. They also had the services  
 of kings and princes, even, for less important matters, of  
 the Parthians, who were enemies. For the main battle,  
 however, they did not wait for them to come, out of fear  
 that they would allow a barbarous and rival nation to get  
 used to fighting against Rome. Most unexpected of all was 559  
 the fact that the greater part of this army had served under  
 Gaius Caesar and were extraordinarily enthusiastic and  
 well disposed toward him, and yet Brutus and Cassius, the  
 murderers of Caesar, got the men to change their alle-  
 giance so that they followed the two of them against Cae-  
 sar's son more loyally than they had followed Antony, who  
 had been Caesar's colleague in arms and in office; for not  
 one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even after their  
 defeat, although some of them had abandoned Antony at  
 Brundisium before the war began. The reason they gave 560  
 for their efforts, and it was the same for Pompeius at the  
 present time, was the defense not of their own interests,  
 but of democracy—a handsome word, but not one that  
 ever brought profit. Both men, when they thought they  
 could no longer be of service to their country, were equally  
 disdainful of their own lives. In the midst of their cares 561  
 and labors, Cassius, like gladiators facing their opponent,

στην οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφε-  
ώρα· ὁ δὲ Βρούτος, ὅπη γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν  
καὶ φιλήκοος, ἄτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.

562 134. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὔσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντιθετέον<sup>38</sup>  
ἐς ἅπαντα ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἐς Καίσαρα. ὃ γε οὐδὲ  
ἀπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐς φίλον  
ἐγίνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργέτην ἐκ πολέμου  
περισώσαντα ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτοκράτορα ἀθεμί-  
στως καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἱερέα καὶ ἱερὰν  
ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δυνάστην μὲν οἶον οὐχ ἕτε-  
ρον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τῇ τε πατρίδι  
563 καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον. ἅ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς  
ἄρα ἐνεμέσθησε καὶ προεσήμησε πολλάκις. Κασσίῳ τε  
γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ ῥαβδούχος ἀνεστραμ-  
μένον τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε· καὶ Νίκη, χρύσειον  
ἀνάθημα Κασσίου, κατέπεσεν, ὄρνεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ  
τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγγὴν οὐδεμίαν  
ἠφίει, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐπεκάθηστο συνεχεῖς ἔσμοι.  
564 Βρούτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζοντά φασι παρὰ τὸν  
πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερῆ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλόγως  
τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἀναβοῆσαι·

ἀλλὰ με μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός.

565 μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν  
τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραιομένου τοῦ  
φωτὸς ὅψιν ἰδεῖν ἐφεστῶσαν οἱ παράλογον καὶ πυθέ-

<sup>38</sup> ἀντιθετέον Gaillard-Goukowsky; ἀντίθετον codd.

was single-minded in his focus on the war alone; while Brutus, no matter where he was, liked to observe and listen, being a man who had practiced philosophy with some distinction.

134. Even for men such as these, there had to be set 562  
against everything the crime committed against Caesar. And to be sure, it was no simple or minor crime. For it was committed irrationally against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had brought them safely out of war, and impiously against an Imperator; it was committed in the senate, against a priest wearing sacred dress, against a prince like no other, who had far surpassed everyone in his service to his country and empire. For these reasons 563  
the gods were justifiably angry at them, and gave frequent warnings of this. When Cassius was performing a purification of the army, his lictor put the garland on his head upside down; a gold statue of Victory dedicated by Cassius fell over; a large number of birds swooped down over his camp without uttering a sound, and swarms of bees continually colonized it too. While Brutus was celebrating his 564  
birthday at Samos, they say that during the drinking party, although not a man given to such behavior, for no reason he shouted out this verse:

But deadly fate and Leto's son have killed me.<sup>80</sup>

When he was about to cross from Asia to Europe with his 565  
army, and was lying awake at night with the lamp burning low, he saw a supernatural apparition standing by him, and

<sup>80</sup> These are the last words of Patroclus at Hom. *Il.* 16.849. How Apollo (Leto's son) was responsible for Brutus' death is not clear.

σθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅς τις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἴη, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν· “Ὁ σός, ὦ Βρούτε, δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις.” καὶ <αὐθις><sup>39</sup>

566 ὀφθῆναί φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης. ἐξιόντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίοψ ὑπήντησε καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαῦλον ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ’ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἄρα καὶ τάδε, Κάσσιον μὲν ἐν ἀμφηρίστῳ νίκη πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογνῶναι, Βρούτον δὲ εὐβούλου βραδυτήτος ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσι διωκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δασιλῶς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἀγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τόδε παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων,

567 καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγῶνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἄμφω δ’ αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθένται καθάπερ ἐγένοντο τοῦ Καίσαρος. Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

568 135. Καὶ Βρούτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέβαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστη φοινικίδι εὐθύς καὶ καύσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι Βρούτον, πρέσβεις ἐς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπον καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν διηρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν

569 ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. παρέδοσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ ὄντα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδόθη τοῖς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στρατοῖς διαρπάσαι. τῶν δ’ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ

570 μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον

when he boldly asked what man or god he was, the phantom answered, “I am your evil spirit, Brutus. I will appear to you at Philippi too.” And they say that it did appear to him before the last battle. On another occasion, when the 566 army were leaving camp, an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and the soldiers immediately cut him down as an evil omen. There was also surely some divine influence in the fact that when victory was still in the balance, Cassius for no reason gave up completely; and that Brutus was forced to abandon his policy of sensible inactivity and join battle with men dogged by hunger, while he himself had an abundance of supplies and controlled the sea; and that he suffered this at the hands of his own men rather than the enemy. And again, while they often took part in 567 combat they were never wounded in the fighting, and yet both men took their own lives, just as they had taken Caesar’s. Such, then, was the price paid by Cassius and Brutus.

135. On finding Brutus’ body, Antony immediately 568 wrapped it in the finest purple, had it cremated and sent the remains to his mother Servilia. When the soldiers on Brutus’ side learned of his death, they sent representatives to Octavian and Antony, were pardoned and distributed among their forces: there were about fourteen thousand of them. The men in the forts, a large number, also 569 surrendered on the same terms. The forts themselves and the camp were given to the soldiers of Octavian and Antony to plunder. Of the distinguished men on Brutus’ side some 570 died in the battles, others killed themselves as their gener-

<sup>39</sup> αὐθις add. Gaillard-Goukowsky

571 ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐμαχέ-  
σαντο μέχρι θανάτου ὧν ἦν Λεύκιός τε Κάσσιος, ὁ  
ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος,  
ἐμπίπτων ὅδε τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἶθ' ὑποχω-  
572 ρούντων ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἵνα ἢ γνώριμος ἢ εὐ-  
βλητος ἢ ἀμφοτέρω εἴη. Λαβεῶν δέ, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ γνώρι-  
μος, ὁ πατήρ Λαβεῶνος τοῦ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἔτι  
νῦν περιωνύμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος  
αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυζάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θερά-  
πουσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς  
παισὶ, περὶ ὧν ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέρειν  
ἔδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις· τοῦ δὲ πιστοτάτου τῆς δεξιᾶς λα-  
βόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας αὐτόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥω-  
μαίοις ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπιστρεφόμενῳ ξίφος ἔδωκε καὶ  
τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε. καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος  
ἐγένετο.

573 136. Ῥάσκος δὲ ὁ Θραῶξ ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων  
πολλούς, καὶ γέρας ἤτησέ τε καὶ ἔλαβε σώζεσθαι τὸν  
ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ῥασκούπολιν· ᾧ καὶ διεδείχθη, ὅτι  
οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις οἶδε οἱ Θραῶκες διεφέροντο,  
ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε καὶ ἀμφηρίστων  
περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν συμφερομένων τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς  
τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ νικῶν περισώζοι τὸν ἡσώ-  
574 μενον. Πορκία δ', ἡ Βρούτου μὲν γυνή, Κάτωνος δὲ  
ἀδελφὴ τοῦ νεωτέρου, ἐπεῖτε ἀμφοῖν ὧδε ἀποθανόν-  
των ἐπύθετο, φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάνυ

als had done, others again fought on intentionally to the 571  
death. Among them were Lucius Cassius, nephew of Cas-  
sius himself, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged  
the enemy many times; then, when they gave way, he took  
off his helmet to make himself recognizable, or an easy 572  
target, or both. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, fa-  
ther of the Labeo who is still celebrated for his knowledge  
of the laws, dug a trench in his tent big enough for his  
body, gave orders to his assistants concerning things re-  
maining to be done, issued instructions to his wife and  
children about his last wishes, and gave the letter to his  
servants to deliver.<sup>81</sup> Then, taking his most faithful slave  
by the right hand and spinning him in a circle, as is the  
Roman custom for freeing a slave, as soon as he turned  
round he gave him a sword and presented his throat. And  
so his tent became his tomb.

136. Rhascus the Thracian brought many troops down 573  
from the mountains, for which he asked and received as  
his reward the preservation of his brother Rhascupolis'  
life. This showed clearly that even right from the start  
these Thracians were not at odds with each other, but with  
two mighty and evenly matched armies fighting it out in  
their country, and they divided up the risk posed by the  
uncertainty of fate, so that the victor might save the van-  
quished. Porcia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the youn- 574  
ger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the  
manner described, although very carefully watched by her

<sup>81</sup> Pacuvius Antistius Labeo was one of the conspirators  
against Caesar. His son, Marcus Antistius Labeo, became one of  
the most celebrated Roman jurists, renowned for his independ-  
ent spirit (Tac. Ann. 3.75).



575 ἐγκρατῶς, ἐσχάρας πυρὸς ἐνεχθείσης ἀρπάσασα τῶν  
 ἀνθρώκων κατέπιεν. ὅσοι δ' ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐς  
 Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ  
 ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ τῶν ὁμοτί-  
 μων Μεσσάλα τε Κορουίνῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὃ τι  
 576 βουλευσοῖντο περὶ σφῶν, ποιεῖν περὶ ἀπάντων. οἱ δὲ  
 συνθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύ-  
 σαντι ἐς τὴν Θάσον παρέδοσαν, ὅσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ  
 χρήματά τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ τροφαὶ δαψιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλη  
 παρασκευὴ πολλή.  
 577 137. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ  
 τόλμης ἐπισφαλούς καὶ δυοῖν πεζομαχίαιν τηλι-  
 κούτον ἔργον ἤνυστο, οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐγένετο πρὸ  
 ἐκείνου. οὔτε γὰρ στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐς  
 χεῖρας πρότερον ἦλθε Ῥωμαίων ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ  
 συντάξει πολιτικῆ στρατευσαμένων, ἀλλὰ ἀριστίν-  
 δην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ' ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκ  
 578 πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπὶ τε σφᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλό-  
 φυλα ἢ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσ-  
 σης μιᾶς ὄντες καὶ τέχνης πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκή-  
 σεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας, δυσκαταγώνιστοι παρ'  
 αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις. οὐδὲ ὀρμῆ καὶ τόλμη τοσῆδέ  
 τινες ἐχρήσαντο ἐν πολέμῳ, πολῖταί τε ὄντες ἀλ-  
 λήλων καὶ οἰκέοι καὶ συστρατιῶται γενόμενοι. τεκ-  
 μήριον δέ, ὅτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ἐπανισουμένης  
 ἐκατέρας μάχης, οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς  
 νικῶσιν εἶναι.

household, grabbed some hot coals off a brazier being brought in, and swallowed them. Of the other nobles who 575  
 escaped to Thasos, some took ship from there, others en-  
 trusted themselves along with the rest of the army to Mes-  
 salla Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to  
 treat everyone in whatever way they decided to treat  
 themselves. They came to an arrangement with Antony, 576  
 and when he sailed across to Thasos they handed over to  
 him all the money there, and arms, abundant supplies, and  
 a great quantity of other equipment.

137. In this way, by means of a daring policy that was 577  
 fraught with danger and of two land battles, Octavian and  
 Antony brought to an end this great conflict, the like of  
 which had never occurred before. For in the past no  
 armies of such size and quality composed of Romans on  
 both sides had fought each other; the men were not en-  
 listed through the citizen levy, but specially picked for  
 their courage; and, no longer inexperienced, but having  
 undergone long training, they were turned against each  
 other, not against foreign or barbarian nations. Because 578  
 they spoke the same language, used the same military  
 tactics, and had similar training and discipline, for these  
 reasons they were very difficult opponents for each other.  
 No one had employed such vehemence and daring in war,  
 and these were fellow citizens, relatives, and companions  
 in arms. The proof of this is that, taking both battles into  
 the account, the number of the dead appeared to be no  
 less, even among the victors.

579 138. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος τὸν  
 τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας  
 καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ καὶ δέος  
 ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῆ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ  
 580 καὶ νίκην εὐκλεῆ μεταβαλόντες. ἀπήντησέ γε μὴν  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ συνιόντες ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπεμαντεύσαντο  
 Ῥωμαίοις· ἐκρίθη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκείνο  
 τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα καὶ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν  
 ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέησεν ὁμοίων,  
 χωρὶς γε τῆς μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος  
 581 στάσεως, ὑστάτης Ῥωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δ' ἐν  
 μέσῳ μετὰ Βρούτου ὑπὸ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν δια-  
 φυγόντων Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου φίλων, λείψανα  
 τοσῆσδε παρασκευῆς μεγάλα ἐχόντων, οὔτε ταῖς τόλ-  
 μαις ὅμοια ἔτι ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ  
 πόλεων ἢ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁρμαῖς· οὐ γάρ  
 τις αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτι οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα  
 αὕτη, ὡς ἐς Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βρούτον, ἀπῆντα.

138. The army of Antony and Octavian proved the 579  
 words of their commanders right, in that on a single day  
 and by means of a single battle they had exchanged the  
 extreme danger of starvation and fear of destruction for a  
 generous abundance of supplies, their safety assured, and  
 a brilliant victory. And, as a matter of fact, what they pre- 580  
 dicted for Rome when they joined battle also turned out  
 to be the case: for it was in particular this battle that de-  
 cided their constitution, which has still not returned to  
 democracy. Nor was there any further need of similar  
 struggles against each other, except for the civil conflict  
 between Antony and Octavian not long after, which was  
 the last that Rome experienced.<sup>82</sup> The events that hap- 581  
 pened between the death of Brutus and that conflict, un-  
 der Sextus Pompeius and the associates of Cassius and  
 Brutus who escaped and brought with them the substan-  
 tial remnants of that huge force, produced no more similar  
 deeds of daring, nor similar devotion of men or cities or  
 armies toward their leaders. For neither the senate nor  
 any of the nobility supported them any longer, as they had  
 Cassius and Brutus, nor did they enjoy the same reputa-  
 tion.

<sup>82</sup> A strange statement in view of the extensive civil wars of AD 68 to 69, the "year of the four emperors."