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(Monographs)**

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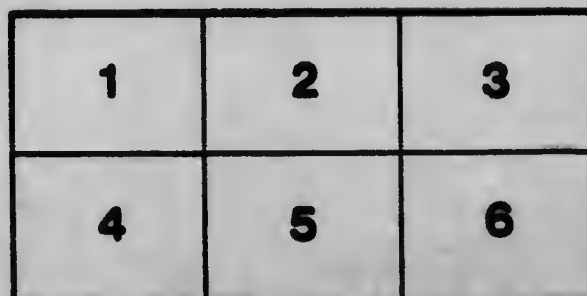
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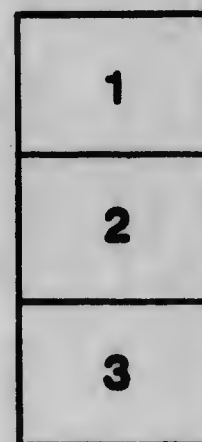
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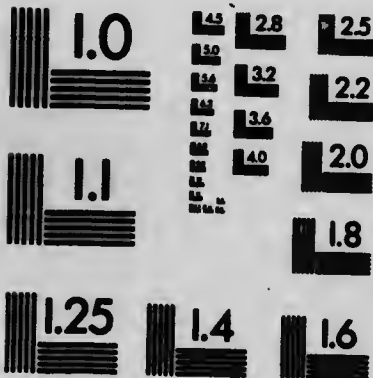
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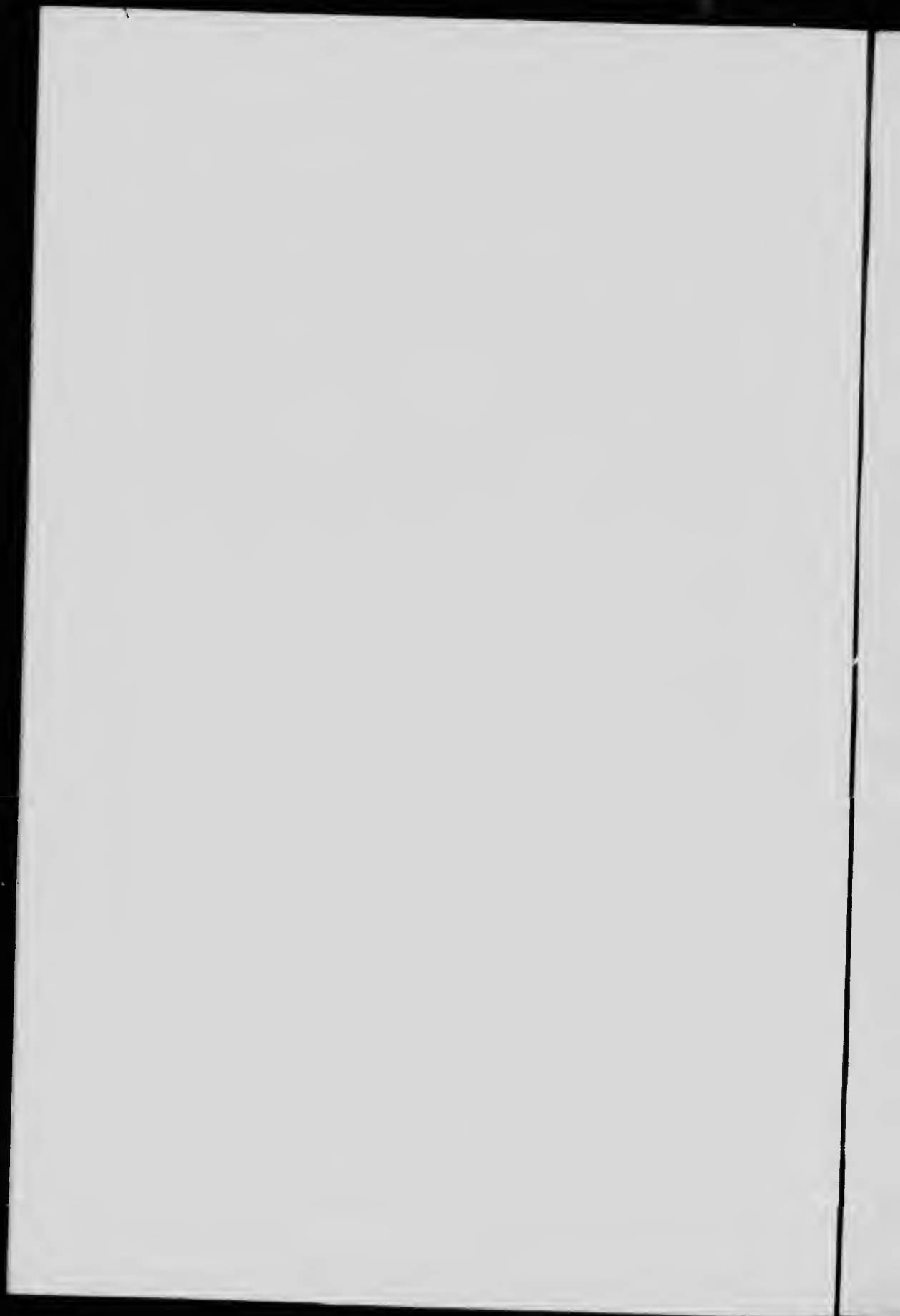


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A COMMENTARY  
ON THE  
FIFTY-THIRD BOOK  
OF  
DIO CASSIUS' ROMAN HISTORY  
BY  
H. T. F. DUCKWORTH  
M.A., OXON. ET TORONTON,  
PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO

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## ΔΙΩΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΝΓ

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἔκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦρξε, a. u. 726  
καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν βάδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντί οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς τε ταῖς ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὖθις <sup>2</sup> ταῦτα ἐποίησεν οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν γάρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα· ἀμέλει τὴν τε ἀδελφίδην αὐτῷ συνῆκισε, καὶ σκηνὴν, ὅποτε συστρατεύοντο, ὁμοίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρέιχε, τό τε σύνθημα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐδίδото. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε παρόντι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἴθιστο <sup>3</sup> ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατίᾳ ἐνενόμιστο. τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων, ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ <sup>4</sup> τὴν πανηγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένην ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν διὰ τε τῶν παίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν <sup>5</sup> διὰ πέντε αἰεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρη που ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα, λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τοὺς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρας καλουμένους· τότε δὲ καὶ ἀγὼν γυμνικὸς σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὀπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα <sup>6</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλiske, <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐδέσσειν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν σφῶν δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων αἰρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὸν σῖτον τετραπλάσιον ἔνειμε, βουλευταῖς τὲ τισι χρήματα ἔχαρίσατο· οὕτω γάρ δὴ πολλοὶ <sup>3</sup> σφῶν πένητες ἐγεγόνεσαν ὥστε μὴδ' ἀγορανομῆσαί τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καθάπερ εἴθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προσταχῆναι. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦτοις τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξεν· ὁ καὶ <sup>3</sup> αὖθις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένης, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων



- <sup>4</sup> ἴκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο ἔσω τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινων γεγενημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνους, εἶγε τινὲς περιῆσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς <sup>5</sup> ἀνεκτέσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομήσεώς σφων ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτοὺς. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ πάνυ κατὰ τε τὰς στάσεις κὰν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχίᾳ, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα αὐτὰ δι' ἐνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν <sup>6</sup> ἔκτῃ αὐτοῦ ὑπατείᾳ προθείς. εὐδοκίμων τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἑτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου μᾶλλον τιμηθεῖη, καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαιώσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς <sup>7</sup> βεβιάσθαι. κὰκ τούτου τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν <sup>a. u.</sup> παρασκευάσας ἔς τε τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσῆλθεν ἑβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ <sup>727</sup> ἀνέγνω τοιάδε.
- <sup>3</sup> "ἅπιστα μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, προηρῆσθαι, ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκούντων οὐκ ἂν ἐβελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἑτέρου λέγοντος πιστεύειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλιστα' ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἐτοιμότερον ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν λεγο- <sup>2</sup> μένοις. καὶ προσέτι καὶ γινώσκω τοῦθ' ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσιν τινὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι... οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελλομένην δὲ μὴ παραχρῆμα ποιήσῃν ἐμελλον, σφόδρ' ἂν ἀπώκνησα αὐτὸ ἐκφῆναι, μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν <sup>3</sup> τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω· νῦν δ' ὅπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνυ θαρσύνοντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνῃν ψευδολογίας ὀφλήσῃν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία <sup>4</sup> νικήσῃν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάρεστί μοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε· τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν πᾶν ἦτοι δικαιοθὲν πέπαιται ἢ <sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐλεθρὲν σεσωφρόνισται, καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ψκείωται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὠχύρωται, <sup>2</sup> ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γοῦν βοηθήσον ἡμῖν ἔτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι. γὰρ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διάκεισθε <sup>3</sup> πρὸς με ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἂν προστατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐβελήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδ' ἐρεῖ τι· ὅς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἕνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἔπραξα· ἀλλ' ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς <sup>4</sup> νόμους, τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν προσεκτεσάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθῃτε τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν <sup>5</sup> πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἠθέλησα. ὠφελον

μὲν γὰρ μὴδ' ἐπιστῆναί ποτε οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὡς ἐλον  
μὴ δεδεῆσθαι μου πρὸς τοιοῦτό τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ  
ὁμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇδε τῇ  
ἡλικίᾳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐς  
τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὥστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἔτι τότε ὄντος,  
καὶ χρεῖαν σχεῖν καὶ πείραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὐ τὰ πράγματα τῆς  
παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρηζε, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν  
ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα· καὶ οὐκ  
ἔστιν ὃ, τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψέ με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρῆσαι,  
οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δέησεις, οἳ τὸ  
πληθὺς τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνου τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ'  
ἐπιδῶκα ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιεστηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα  
καὶ ἔπαθον ἄπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ  
τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιῆσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε.  
ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιούσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν  
ὁμόνοιαν ἀστασιαστοῖν δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδεδῶκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν  
ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη  
τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὥσπερ εἰώθετε.

καὶ μῆτε θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶ, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειάν β  
μου καὶ πρῶτητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὁρῶντες, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι  
ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐθ' ὑπέρογκον οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καίπερ  
πολλὰ πολλάκις ψηφισαμένων ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην· μὴτ' αὖ μωρίαν μου  
καταγνώτε, ὅτι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν  
τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βούλομαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τε τὸ δίκαιόν  
τις ἐξετάσῃ, δικαιοτάτον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς διέπειν, ἂν  
τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφορώτατον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μῆτε πράγ-  
ματα ἔχειν μῆτε φθονεῖσθαι μῆτε ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ μετ'  
ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύεσθαι· ἂν τε καὶ τὸ  
εὐκλεές, οὐπερ ἔνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις  
αἰροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοξότατόν μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς  
ἀφέσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλεέστατον ἐκ τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὄγκου ἔθε-  
λοντὶ ἰδιωτεύσαι; ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον  
καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι, ἔμοιγε πιστευσάτω.  
πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξει ἔχων ὅσα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
πατρός μου εὐηργέτησθε, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς  
ἄλλους καὶ φιλοῖητε καὶ τιμῆτε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον  
εἴποιμι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον σεμνυναίμην, ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν  
μῆτε ἐκεῖνος καίτοι διδόντων ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων  
ἀφίημι. τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ παρεξέτασεν αὐτῷ; τὴν Γαλατίας  
ἄλῳσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἢ τὴν Μυσίας χεῖρωσιν ἢ τὴν  
Αἰγύπτου καταστροφῇ; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην, τὸν Ἰούβαν, τὸν  
Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείαν, τὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου διά-  
βασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ταῦτά ἐστιν ὅσα καὶ ὅλα οὐδὲ  
σύμπαντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πεποιθήκασιν·

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ παρόντι ἔργῳ παραβαλεῖν ἐστὶν ἄξιον, οὐθ' ἔτι τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ποικιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολεμήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιλανθρώπως, τοῦ μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς κρατήσαντες, τὸ δ' ὑπεῖξαν ὡς καὶ φίλιον πᾶν περισώσαντες, ὥστ' εἶπερ  
<sup>3</sup> ποτὲ καὶ αὖθις πεπρωμένον ἡμῶν εἴη τὴν πόλιν νοσήσαι, τοῦτον αὐτὴν τὸν τρόπον εὐξασθαι τινα στασιάσαι· τὸ γάρ τοι τοσοῦτόν τε ἰσχύσαντας ἡμᾶς καὶ οὕτω καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἀκμάσαντας ὥστε καὶ ἐκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν αὐταρχῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε ἐκφρονῆσαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διδομένην αὐτὴν  
<sup>4</sup> ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπῶν ἐστὶ. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν, οὐδὲ γάρ ἂν εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ ὀτιοῦν πλεονεκτήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμελλον, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῇτε ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἔς τε τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργετημάτων καὶ ἔς τὰ οἰκεία σεμνολογημάτων ἡμῖν ὄντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀγαλλόμεθα ὅτι, ὦν ἕτεροι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τινες ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταῦθ' ἡμεῖς οὐδ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι  
<sup>8</sup> προσιέμεθα. τίς μὲν γάρ ἂν μεγαλοψυχότερός μου, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν μετῆλλαχότα αὖθις εἶπω, τίς δὲ δαιμονιώτερος εὐρεθεῖ; ὅστις, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, στρατιώτας τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιοῦτους, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλοῦντάς με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλὴν ὀλίγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἡπείροις καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἔθνη κεκτημένος, καὶ μὴτ' ἄλλοφύλου τινὸς ἔτι προσπολεμούντός μοι μὴτ' οἰκείου στασιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρηνούντων καὶ ὁμονούντων καὶ εὐθενούντων καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐβελοντηδὸν πειθαρχούντων, ἔπειθ' ἐκούσιος, αὐτεπάγγελτος, καὶ ἀρχῆς τηλικαύτης ἀφίσταμαι καὶ οὐσίας  
<sup>5</sup> τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι. ὥστ' εἶπερ ὁ Ὀράτιος, ὁ Μούκιος, ὁ Κούρτιος, ὁ Ῥήγουλος, οἱ Δέκιος καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι δόξαι ἠθέλησαν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσαιμι τοῦτο πράξαι ἐξ οὗ κάκεινους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
<sup>6</sup> ἅμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλεία ζῶν ὑπερβαλῶ; μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσῃ τις ὑμῶν τοὺς μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ἐφείσθαι νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶν ἰὸ ἀνδράδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μὴδ' ὑποπτεύσῃ ὅτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ πονηροῖς τισιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ καὶ ὀχλοκρατίᾳ τινί, ἐξ ἧς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότερα αἰεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδοῦναι  
<sup>7</sup> βούλομαι. ὑμῖν γάρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γάρ οὐδέποτε ἂν ἐποίησα, οὐδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαι με ἔδει· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ. αἰτός τε γάρ καὶ πεπὼνημαι καὶ τεταλαιπώρημαι, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ οὔτε τῷ σώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μῖσος, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας ἐγγίγνεται τισι, τὰς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς προσο-  
<sup>7</sup> ρῶμαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἢ μοναρχῆσαι

ἐπικινδύνως αἰροῦμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς ἂν πολὺ βέλτιον ἄτε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἅμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἓνα τινὰ ἀνηρτημένα διοικοῖτο.

δι' οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὁμοίως καὶ θ' συνεπαίνεσαι καὶ συμπροθυμηθῆναι μοι, λογισαμένους πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πεπολέμηκα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολίτευμαι, κἂν τούτῳ πᾶσάν μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χάριν ἀποδόντας, ἐν τῷ συγχωρησαί μοι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἤδη ποτὲ καταβῶναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπιταχθῆναι δύναμαι. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζήσειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς<sup>2</sup> μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ κακὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶ· τοσοῦτόν που τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. ἂν δέ τι καὶ πάθω,<sup>3</sup> οἷα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τέ ἐστι πᾶσί τινα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν ὀθνεῖσι τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενον καὶ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντα, ἀρέσαι, καὶ πάνυ ἐτοιμῶς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρμένου μοι χρόνου τελευτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύσας ἢ καὶ ἀθάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι αἰροῦμαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐκλείαν καὶ<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶσιν ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχῆσαι· ὃ δὲ δὴ τολμήσας ἀποκτεῖναι με πάντως που καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν κολασθήσεται. ἅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς<sup>5</sup> μου γέγονεν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἰσόθεος ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν αἰδίων ἔτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτὸν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. ἀθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δυνηθείμεν γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς τελευτῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κτώμεθα. ἅψ' οὐπερ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἤδη ἔχων τὸ δὲ ἔξιν ἐλπίζων, ἀποδίδωμι<sup>6</sup> ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπεικῶν, ἵνα μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμεταχείριστον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσητε, μήτ' αὐ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ὥς καὶ ῥαδίως διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσητε.

καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ὑμῖν ἐν<sup>10</sup> κεφαλαίοις ὅσα χρή πράττειν ὑποθέσθαι. τίνα δὲ ταῦτα ἐστὶ; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττετε, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μεταβάλλετε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ μένοντα, κἂν χεῖρω ἢ, συμφορώτερα τῶν αἰεὶ καινοτομουμένων, κἂν βελτίω εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν. ἔπειτα δέ, ὅσα προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν οὗτοι ποιεῖν καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μηδ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε, ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ τιμῶν τυγχάνητε. τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς καὶ<sup>3</sup> τὰς πολεμικὰς τοῖς αἰεὶ ἀρίστοις τε καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτοις ἐπιτρέπετε, μήτε φθονοῦντές τισι, μήθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα πλεονεκτῆσαι τι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν φιλοτιμούμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιοῦτους τιμᾶτε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πῶς πολι-<sup>4</sup>τευμένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὥς ἀλλοτριῶν ἀπέχεσθε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' ὑμῖν

- <sup>5</sup> ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ προσηκόντων μηδαμῶς ἐφίεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μὴθ' ὕβριζετε μὴτ' ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μὴτ' ἀδικεῖτε μὴτε ζῶβεισθε. τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεὶ ἔχετε, μὴ μέντοι μὴτε κατ' ἀλλήλων μὴτε κατὰ τῶν εἰρηνούντων αὐτοῖς χρήσθε. τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἀρκοῦντως, ὥστε μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δι' ἀπορίαν ἐπιθυμῆσαι, συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ὥστε μηδὲν κακὸν διὰ θρασύτητα δρᾶσαι.
- <sup>7</sup> ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπεξιόντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥαδίως ἂν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρή πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε. ἐν οὖν ἐτι τοῦτο εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἂν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύσησθε, αὐτοὶ τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἐμοὶ χαριεῖσθε, ὅστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβὼν τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα, ἂν δ' ἀδυνατήσητε <sup>8</sup> καὶ ὅτι οὖν αὐτῶν πράξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοῆσαι ποιήσετε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν ἐς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς κινδύνους μεγάλους αἰθῆς ἐμβαλεῖτε."
- <sup>11</sup> τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον τι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτάς κατελάβανεν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἤδεσαν καὶ τούτου καὶ συνεσπούδαζον αὐτῷ. τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευνον τὰ λεγόμενα, οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευόν σφισι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον <sup>2</sup> ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἤχθοντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ μετανοίᾳ. τό τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἤδη τινὲς ὡς καὶ στασιῶδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας ἠρέσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν ὁμοίοις <sup>3</sup> ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύναντο, οὐθ' οἱ βουλόμενοι τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὐθ' οἱ ἕτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας. οὐτ' ἀπιστήσαντες διαβαλεῖν τε αὐτόν καὶ ἐλέγχει ἐτόλμων, <sup>4</sup> οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ὅθεν περ καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτόν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, <sup>6</sup> μοναρχεῖσθαι τε δεόμενοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρι οὐ κατηνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτόν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ παραντίκα γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτόν διπλάσιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο, ὅπως ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔχη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.
- <sup>12</sup> τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς δημοτικός τις εἶναι δόξει, τὴν μὲν φροντίδα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ <sup>2</sup> ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεομένων ὑπέδειξατο, οὔτε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς τῶν ἔθνων ἀρξείν, οὐθ' ὅσων ἂν ἀρξῇ, διὰ παντὸς τοῦτο ποιήσῃν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀπόλεμα ἀπέδωκε τῇ

βουλῇ, τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα ὥς καὶ σφαλερά καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ ἤτοι πολεμίους τινὰς προσοίκους ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγῳ μὲν ὅπως ἡ μὲν γερουσία ἀδεῶς τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς καρπῶται, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχη, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ ἄμαχοι ὦσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ὅπλα ἔχη καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφῃ. καὶ ἐνομίσθη διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Ἀφρική καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία ἢ τε Ἀσία καὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἡπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τὸ τε Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτη τε μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς περὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἱ Πόντου, Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Βαιτική τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος ἢ τε λοιπῆ Ἰβηρία, ἢ τε περὶ Ταρράκωνα καὶ ἡ Λυσιτανία, καὶ Γαλάται πάντες, οἱ τε Ναρβωνῆσιοι καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνῆσιοι Ἀκυιτανοὶ τε καὶ Κελτικοί, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἄποικοι σφῶν· Κελτῶν γάρ τινες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ Κελτικὴν κατασχόντες Γερμανίαν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν ἀντὶ τὴν μετὰ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγὰς, τὴν δὲ κάτω τὴν μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ οὔσαν. ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ ἡ Συρία ἡ κοίλη καλουμένη ἢ τε Φοινίκη καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε ἐγένοντο· ὕστερον γάρ τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δελματίαν ἀντέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἔθνων μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, ὥς που καὶ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει· ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὅτι νῦν χωρὶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντριά τὰ ἔθνη ἅμα ἤρχετο τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὕστερον αὐτῶν προσεκτήθη, τὰ δέ, εἰ καὶ τότε ἤδη ἐκεχειρωτο, ἀλλ' οὐτι γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤρχετο, ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτόνομα ἀφεῖτο ἢ καὶ βασιλείαις τισὶν ἐπετέτραπτο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσα μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφίκετο, τῷ αἰεὶ κρατοῦντι προσετέθη.

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη οὕτω διηρέθη, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς ὁ Καίσαρ πόρρω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη· τοσοῦτ' τε γὰρ χρόνῳ καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προσεναγιεύσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι, ἂν καὶ θάπτον ἡμερωθῇ θάπτον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει. κάκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτάς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἔθνων, πλὴν Ἀίγυπτίων, ἀρχειν κατέδειξεν, ἐκείνοις γὰρ δὴ καὶ μόνοις τὸν ὀνομασμένον ἱππέα, δι' ἃπερ εἶπον, προσέταξεν· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πολυπαιδίας ἢ γάμου προνομία προσείη, καὶ ἕκ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερουσίας συλλόγου πέμπεσθαι μήτε ξίφος παραζωννόμενος μήτε στρατιωτικῇ ἐσθῇτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἢ δοκούντων γὰρ ἐστρατηγῇ κέναι μόνον ὄντας, βαβδούχοις τὲ σφας ἑκατέρους ὁσοισπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ



ἄσται νενόμισται χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα  
 ἅμα τῷ ξῆω τοῦ πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ διὰ παντός  
 5 μέχρις ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσιν ἔχειν ἐκέλευσε. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τε  
 ἑαυτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζε-  
 σθαι, κὰν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκόντων ὦσι, διέταξε. τῶν γὰρ δὴ δύο τούτων  
 ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀνθισάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ τοῖς αἰρετοῖς ὥς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου  
 προσήκον ἔδωκεν, ἀντιστρατήγους σφᾶς προσειπών, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν  
 6 ὑπάτων τοῖς ἑτέροις ὥς καὶ εἰρηνικωτέροις, ἀνθυπάτους αὐτοὺς ἐπι-  
 καλέσας. αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ  
 τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐτήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ξῆω πάντας ὥς καὶ ἀντ'  
 ἐκείνων ἀρχοντας προσηγόρευσε. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τῶν ἀντι-  
 στρατῆγων τοὺς αἰρετοὺς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον,  
 ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἑαυτῷ δόξῃ, ἀρχειν ἐποίησε, τήν τε στρατιωτικὴν σκευὴν  
 7 φοροῦντας καὶ ξίφος, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιώτας δικαίῳσαι ἔξεστιν,  
 ἔχοντας. ἄλλῃ γὰρ οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἀνθυπάτῳ οὔτε ἀντιστρατήγῳ οὔτε  
 ἐπιτρόπῳ ξιφηφορεῖν δέδοται, ᾧ μὴ καὶ στρατιώτην τινὰ ἀποκτείνειν  
 ἐξεῖναι νενόμισται· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς  
 8 ἱππεῦσιν, οἷς τοῦθ' ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐκεῖνο συγκεχώρηται. ταῦτα μὲν  
 οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ῥαβδούχοις δὲ δὴ ξῆ πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι  
 χρῶνται· καὶ ὅσοι γε οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκόντων εἰσὶ, καὶ ὀνομάζονται  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου. τὰ τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας κοσμήματα,  
 ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἐκότεροι  
 ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατίθενται.  
 14 οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκ τε τῶν ἐστρατηγηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 ὑπατευκόντων ἀρχοντες ἀμφοτέρωσιν πέμπεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ  
 αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι τέ τινα καὶ ὁπότε ἤθελεν ἐστελλε, καὶ  
 πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ ὑπατεῦντες ἡγεμονίας ἔθνων ἔσχον, ὃ  
 2 καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται· τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τε  
 ὑπατευκόσι τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι  
 τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένειμε, κινῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε  
 3 μηδὲνα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρξαι κληροῦσθαι. καὶ  
 χρόνῳ μὲν τινα πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἔθνων ἦσαν,  
 ἐλάγχανον αὐτά· ὕστερον δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἤρχον,  
 τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς  
 4 τρόπον τινὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἰσαρίθμους τε γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι,  
 καὶ οὗς ἂν ἐβελήσῃ, κληροῦσθαι κελεύει. αἰρετοὺς τε τινες καὶ ἐκεῖσε  
 ἐπεμψαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἔστιν οἷς ἀρξαι ἐπέτρεψαν·  
 5 καὶ τινες καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀντὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔθνη τινὰ προσέταξαν.  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε περὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς γε καὶ θανατοῦν  
 τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἐνομίσθη. πέμπονται γὰρ καὶ  
 οἷς οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῦτο, ἐς μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς λεγόμενα  
 ἔθνη οἱ τε ταμιεύοντες, οὗς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, καὶ οἱ παρεδρεύοντες  
 τοῖς τὸ κύρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχουσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς, οὐ

πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλέσαιμι, ἐπεὶ<sup>6</sup> οἱ γε ἄλλοι πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τούτους ἐλληνίζοντες ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἀρκούντως ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται,<sup>7</sup> τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἕκαστος αἰρεῖται, ἕνα μὲν οἱ ἐστρατηγηκότες ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὓς ἂν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ. ἐκαινοτομήθη μὲν γάρ τι καὶ κατὰ τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεται· πέμπον-<sup>15</sup> ται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἕτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ πολιτικά στρατόπεδα πλείω ἐνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ἄρξοντες σφῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεταμειυκότων ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινα ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων αἰρούμενοι.

τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευόντων ταῦτα ἔχεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἱππέων<sup>2</sup> τοὺς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς βουλευσοντας καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, ὧν περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου προεῖρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικά τείχῃ μόνᾳ τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικά ἀποστέλλει, ὥσπερ τότε πρὸς τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρό-<sup>3</sup> πους, οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προσ-τεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας ὀνομάζομεν, ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ τε ἐαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει, πλήν καθ' ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ ἀνθύπατοι παρ' ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἐσπράσσουσιν. ἐντολὰς τὲ τινὰς καὶ<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε ἀντιστρατήγοις δίδωσιν, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐξίωσι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μισθοφορὰν καὶ ἐκεί-<sup>5</sup> νοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβούντες τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα παρεῖχον· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι τακτόν τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πᾶσι σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἡ χρεῖα ἀπῆτει, ἐτάχθη· καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρόποις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσγίγνεται. ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγους σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, μήτ' ἀργύ-<sup>6</sup> ριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἦτοι ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο ἢ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειεν· ὅταν τέ τψ ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἐκ τε τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχερονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανιέναι.

ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὥς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη· τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καὶ<sup>16</sup> πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεύων, λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρχήσειν ἔμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελθούσης ἄλλα<sup>3</sup> ἔτη πέντε, εἴτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἕτερα αὐθις δέκα



- πεντάκις αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ὥστε τῇ τῶν δεκετηρίδων διαδοχῇ διὰ βίου αὐτὸν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τὸν βίον ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὁμῶς διὰ τῶν δέκα ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐώρτασαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐθις τότε ἀναγεύμενοι· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέχθη, ἔλαβε. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρύινον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ τοὺς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας σώζοντι ἐψηφίσθη.
- <sup>3</sup> καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασιλεια παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐδοξέ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς δρους ἔλαβε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι πού ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύη, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπικλησιν ἢ καταγωγὴ αὐτοῦ ἴσχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς
- <sup>7</sup> βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐπέθετο. βουλευθέντων γὰρ σφῶν ἰδίως πως αὐτὸν προσειπεῖν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὸ τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐσθγουμενων καὶ αἰρουμένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ἰσχυρῶς Ῥωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὑποπτεύεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποιήσατο, ἀλλ' Αὐγουστος ὡς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμώτατα καὶ τὰ ἱερῶτατα αὐγουστα προσαγορεύεται. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλληνίζοντες πως ὥσπερ τινα σεπτὸν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι, προσείπον.
- <sup>17</sup> οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερουσίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη. μοναρχία γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα
- <sup>2</sup> τὸ κύριός ποτε ἔσχον, ἀληθέστατα ἂν νομίζοιτο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οἶγω δὴ τι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμίσησαν ὥστε μήτε δικτάτωρας μήτε βασιλέας μήτ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτότροπον τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σφῶν ὀνομάζειν· τοῦ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τέλους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακείμενου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ βασιλεύονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν καθίστανται, διὰγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἂν ὁ ἀεὶ κρατῶν ἐθελήσῃ. καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῦτ' ἔχειν δοκῶσι, πᾶν δὲ ὅσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μέγα παρ' ἐκούσιν σφισιν ἴσχυσεν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορείας
- <sup>4</sup> προσεποιήσαντο. ὑπατοὶ τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίγνονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοι ἀεὶ, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὦσιν, ὀνομάζονται· τὴν τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν διὰ παντὸς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντες τινες ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς αὐτοτελοῦς σφῶν ἐξουσίας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ τε δικτάτορος ἐπικλήσεως ἔχουσιν.
- <sup>5</sup> αὐτὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνας οὐ τίθενται ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας

ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔργον αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσηγορίᾳ  
 βεβαιοῦνται. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖσ-  
 θαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζειν πολέμους τε ἀναιρεῖσθαι καὶ εἰρήνην  
 σπένδεσθαι, τοῦ τε ξενικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ<sup>6</sup>  
 ὁμοίως ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς  
 βουλευτὰς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐταρχήσασί ποτε ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, λαμβάνουσιν· ἐκ δὲ<sup>7</sup>  
 δὴ τοῦ τιμητεῖν τοὺς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἐξετάζουσι, καὶ  
 ἀπογραφὰς ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταλέγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππὰδα  
 καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπαλείφουσιν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ.  
 ἐκ τε τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἱερῶσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς<sup>8</sup>  
 ἄλλοις τὰς πλείους σφῶν διδόναι, ἀρχιέρεων τέ τινα αὐτῶν, καὶ δύο  
 καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα ἄρχωσιν, εἶναι, πάντων αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν  
 ἱερῶν κυριεύουσιν. ἡ τε ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχικὴ καλουμένη, ἣν οἱ πάντῃ<sup>9</sup>  
 ποτὲ ἀνθήσαντες ἔσχον, δίδωσιν σφίσι τὰ τε γιγνόμενα ὑφ' ἐτέρου  
 τινός, ἂν μὴ συνεπαινῶσι, παύειν, καὶ μὴ καθυβριζεσθαι, καὶ ἄρα τι  
 καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξωσι,  
 καὶ ἄκριτον τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸ ὥς καὶ ἐναγῇ ἀπολλύναι. δημαρ-<sup>10</sup>  
 χεῖν μὲν γάρ, ἅτε καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελοῦντες, οὐχ  
 ὅσιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι· τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων πᾶσαν,  
 ὅσηπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ  
 ἐξαριθμῆσις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ<sup>11</sup>  
 τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς  
 δημοκρατίας, ὥς που καὶ ἕκαστα ἐνομίσθη, οὕτω τε καὶ διὰ τούτων  
 τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνευ δόσεως τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν·  
 ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἑτερόν τι, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα ἀντι-<sup>12</sup>  
 κρυσ ἐδόθη, προσεκτῆσαντο, ὑφ' οὐπερ καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν καὶ  
 τὰλλα αὐτοῖς πράττειν ἐξῆν. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὥς αὐτὰ  
 τὰ Λατῖνα ῥήματα λέγει, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγ-  
 καίας νομίσεως εἰσι καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. καὶ<sup>3</sup>  
 οὕτως ἐκ τούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὀνομάτων πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας  
 ἰσχὺν περιβέβληνται ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ  
 τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ τε τοῦ  
 Αὐγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθῃσι,  
 δηλοῖ δ' ἄλλως τὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχὴν, τὸ δὲ τὴν τοῦ  
 ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἡ γε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμία τὰχα μὲν<sup>4</sup>  
 καὶ ἐξουσίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς, ἣν ποτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔσχον,  
 κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο  
 ἀλλ' ἐς τε τιμὴν καὶ ἐς παραίνεσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὥς  
 καὶ παῖδας ἀγαπῶεν καὶ ἐκεῖνοί σφας ὥς καὶ πατέρας αἰδῶνται.

τοσαῦταί τε καὶ τοιαῦται αἱ προσηγορίαι εἰσὶν αἷς οἱ τοῦ κράτος<sup>5</sup>  
 ἔχοντες κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἥδη πατριον νομίζουσι. καὶ  
 νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἅμα αὐτοῖς ὥς τὸ πολὺ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δί-  
 δονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους ὥς ἕκασται ἐψηφίζοντο. τὴν

- <sup>5</sup> γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἔλαβον μὲν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς διὰ βίου· οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἐτι τοῦτο γίγνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὔτε αἰροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτήν, οὔτε τὴν πρόσκλησιν αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς κτῶνται.
- 19 ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρὸς τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη· καὶ γὰρ πού καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς <sup>2</sup> πρόσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντα λεχθῆναι δύναται. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ ἔς τὸν δῆμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρρω πού συμβαίη, ἐσεφέρετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες τε αὐτὰ ἐμάνθανον καὶ πολλοὶ συνέγραφον, καὶ τοῦτου καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβῳ τινά καὶ χάριτι φιλῶν τε καὶ ἔχθρῳ τισὶν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γούν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψασιν τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι <sup>3</sup> τοῖς δημοσίοις, τρόπον τινά εὐρίσκετο. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δὲ πού τινα καὶ δημοσιευθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξέλεγκτά γε ὄντα ἀπιστεῖται. καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κρατούντων <sup>4</sup> τῶν τε παραδυναστευόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεῖται. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γιγνόμενα θρυλεῖται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάνυ συμβαίνοντα ἀγνοεῖται, πάντα δὲ ὥς εἰπεῖν ἄλλως πῶς ἢ ὥς πράττεται διαθροεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος τὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλήθος δυσχερεστάτην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν παρέχειται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συχνά καὶ παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ αὐτῆς πολλὰ, πρὸς τε τὸ πολέμιον αἰεὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὥς εἰπεῖν γίγνεται τι, περὶ ὧν τὸ μὲν σαφές οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως ἔξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γιγνώσκει, πλείστοι <sup>5</sup> δ' ὅσοι οὐδ' ἀκούουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὁθεν περ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἐξῆς, ὅσα γε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται εἰπεῖν, ὥς πού καὶ δεδήλωται φράσω, εἴτ' ὀντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρως πῶς ἔχει. προσέσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, ἐς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, ἐν οἷς ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἠδυνήθην ἐκ πολλῶν ὧν ἀνεγνων ἢ καὶ ἤκουσα ἢ καὶ εἶδον τεκμήρασθαι.
- 20 Αὐγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖον οὐ σμικρόν εὐθὺς τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγίσας πᾶσα· τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν ὥστε πλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντιες ὅτι τε ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοι καὶ ὅτι <sup>2</sup> πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑποχειρίαν ἔξοι προέγνωνσαν. χαριζομένων δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα, Σέξτος τις Πακουσίος, ὥς δ' ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, Ἀπούδιος, πάντας ἐξενίκησεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἑαυτὸν τέ οἱ τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐμποδῶν οἱ <sup>3</sup> ἐγένετο, πρὸς τε τὸ πλήθος τὸ προσεστός ἐξεπήδησεν, ἐδημάρχε γάρ, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς, κατὰ τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς περινοστήσας, καθιερώσαι σφας τῷ

Αὐγούστῳ κατηνάγκασεν· ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ νῦν προστρεπόμενοι τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι σοι καθωσιώμεθα.

καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θῦσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντας ἐποίει, ἐν τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμον ἔφη τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐξ ἴσου τῷ υἱεὶ καταλείψειν, οὐχ ὅτι τι εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· 21 Αὐγουστος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα προθυμότερον, ὥς καὶ ἐθελοντὶ δὴ παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἐπράττε, καὶ ἐνομοθέτει πολλά. οὐδὲν δὲ δέομαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, χωρὶς ἥ 2 δσα τῇ συγγραφῇ πρόσφορά ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς 2 ἔπειταπραχθεῖσι ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου γένωμαι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεσφέρων ἃ μὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ πάντες αὐτὰ μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογνωμονῶν ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἃ καὶ 3 ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προεξετίθει, ὅπως, ἂν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ τινα, προμαθὼν ἐπανορθώσῃ· προετρέπετό τε γάρ πάνθ' ὀντινοῦν συμβουλεύειν οἱ, εἴ τίς τι ἀμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσῃ, καὶ παρρησίαν σφίσι πολλὴν ἔνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετέγραφε. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον τοὺς τε ὑπάτους 4 ἢ τὸν ὑπατον, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατεύοι, κάκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἕνα παρ' ἑκάστων, ἕκ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς κλήρω λαχόντας, συμβούλους ἐς ἐξάμηνον παρελαμβάναν, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι κοινοῦσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ νομοθετούμενα νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέφερε μὲν γάρ τινα καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν 5 γερούσιαν, βέλτιον μέντοι νομίζων εἶναι τὸ μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἰσυχίαν τὰ τε πλεῖω καὶ τὰ μείζω προσκοπεῖσθαι, τοῦτό τε ἐποίει καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔκρινε μὲν γάρ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ βου- 6 λῇ πᾶσα ὥς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τισὶ καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν, ὃ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ συνελέγετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετο τι ὃ μὴ καὶ 7 ἐκείνον ἥρεσκε. τοὺς γοῦν ἄρξοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τε ὁμίλῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μὴτ' ἀνεπιτήδειοι μὴτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἢ καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀπὸ δεικνύωνται.

τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν διέκτισε, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' 22 ἕκαστον ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐφ' ὧν ἐγένετο, μνημονεύεσθαι. ἐν μὲν γάρ τῳ προειρημένῳ ἔτει τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους δυσπορεύτους ὑπ' ἀμελείας ὁρῶν οὕσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι προσέταξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας αὐτός, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκστρατεύσειν δι' αὐτῆς ἡμελ- 2 λεν, ἐπεμελήθη. καὶ ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ 2 εἰκόνες αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἀψίδων ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίδος γεφύρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἐποιήθησαν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ὕστερον, εἴτ' οὖν πρὸς τοῦ δημοσίου, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἠδέως ἀνήλπισκεν, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τις εἰπεῖν ἐθέλει, ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι δια- 3 ρίναί τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυροῦς, πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς

δήμων τινῶν γεγονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἰκοθεν  
 4 πάνθ' ὅσα γε καὶ ἔλεγε δαπανᾶν δοκεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτ' εἰ ποτε  
 ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ αἰὲ κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὐτ' εἰ ποτε αὐ-  
 τὸς ἔδωκε, γνώμην ἔχω συγγράψαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἐκάτερον  
 αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τί ἂν τις ἐς δανείσματα ἢ καὶ δωρεὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 καταλέγοι, ὅποτε καὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὁ αὐτοκρά-  
 τωρ ἐπικούριον αἰὲ χρῶνται;

5 τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὡς  
 καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν  
 ἐνταῦθα ἐνδιέτριψεν· ἐκεῖνοι τε γὰρ ἐπικηρουκίεσθαι οἱ ἐδόκουν,  
 καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκατάστατα ἔτι, ἅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ  
 τῇ ἀλώσει σφῶν ἐπιγενομένων, ἦν. καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς  
 ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. ἀντεῦθεν ἔς  
 23 τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην. μετὰ δὲ δὴ  
 a.u. τοῦτο αὐτός τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Στατιλλίῳ ὑπάτευσε, καὶ  
 728 ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὰ Σέπτα ὠνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν. ὁδὸν μὲν γὰρ  
 2 οὐδεμίαν ἐπισκευάσειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ στοαῖς  
 πέριξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συνφυκοδομη-  
 μένα καὶ πλαξὶ λιθίναις καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια  
 3 αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου προσαγορεύσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως φθό-  
 νον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὥφλισκανε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
 4 ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐτιμᾶτο· αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὰ  
 φιλανθρωπώτατα καὶ τὰ εὐκλέεστατα τὰ τε συμφορώτατα καὶ συμ-  
 βουλεύων οἱ καὶ συμπράττων οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἀντε-  
 ποιεῖτο, ταῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς οὐτε ἐς πλεονεξίαν οὐτε ἐς ἀπό-  
 λαυσιν ἰδίαν ἐχρήτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῷ δημοσίῳ  
 5 συμφέρον· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς.  
 πολλά μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀταῖα ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλά δὲ  
 καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὄλῃ ὡς  
 εἰπεῖν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυρα-  
 6 μίδας ἐσέγραψε. κατηγορήθη τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Λάργου,  
 ἐταίρου τὸ οἱ καὶ συμβιωτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἡτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου,  
 ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαιτᾶσθαι. γενομένου δὲ  
 7 τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς  
 ἐπήνεγκαν, καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἅπασα ἀλῶναι τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστη-  
 ρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας στερηθῆντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ  
 δοθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτοῦς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλγῆσας  
 24 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον  
 καὶ ἐκ τούτου διηλέγχθη ὅτι ἐκείνόν τε, ὃν τέως ἐκολάκευον, οὕτω  
 τότε διέθικαν ὥστε καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸν ἄργον ἀπέκλιναν, ἐπειδὴ περ αὖξιν ἤρχετο, μέλλοντες πού καὶ  
 2 κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτὰ, ἂν γέ τι τοιοῦτόν οἱ συμβῇ, ψηφιεῖσθαι. ὁ  
 μέντοι Προκουλήσιος οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ὥστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ  
 αὐτῷ τὴν τε ῥίνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικ-

νύμενος τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὅτι μὴδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι τινα παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια εἴη. ἄλλος τὲ τις προσῆλθε τε αὐτῷ, καί περ ἄγνως ὢν, <sup>3</sup> μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνωρίζοι ἑαυτόν· ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξηρνήσατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἀρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξόν τῷ κακῷ καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἦδει πρότερον συκοφαντήσαι. οὕτω δ' οὖν οἱ <sup>4</sup> πολλοὶ τὰ ἔργα τινῶν, κὰν πονηρὰ ᾖ, μᾶλλον ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὰ παθήματα φυλάσσουνται, ὥστε καὶ τότε Μάρκος Ἐγνάτιος Ῥοῦφος ἀγορανομήσας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς πράξας καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐμπρησθείσαις ἐπικουρίαν μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ <sup>5</sup> δούλων καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθεὶς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν <sup>6</sup> τούτων καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἀθραυστον καὶ ὀλόκληρον τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν <sup>8</sup> τούτῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος ὀργὴν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν ἐκδιδάξειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔμελλε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις παραχρῆμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε ὅπως μὴδὲν ἐμπίμπρηται, κὰν ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, κατασβεννύναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε.

κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ δ' τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων <sup>25</sup> ἐς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἐνεγράφη, καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη· τὸν τε Αὐγουστον ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ <sup>2</sup> ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογῆσαι, στρατευσεῖοντα κατέσχον οἱ τε Σαλασσοὶ ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἀστυρες πολεμωθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐκείνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, οὗτοι δὲ <sup>3</sup> ἐκότεροι τοῦ τε Πυρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸ καστερώτατον καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸ οὖσαν. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος, ἥδη <sup>3</sup> δὲ ἔνατον μετὰ Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευεν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλασσοὺς <sup>729</sup> Τερέντιον Οὐάρωνα ἐπεμψε. καὶ ὃς πολλαχῇ ἄμα, ὅπως μὴ συστραφέντες δυσχειρωτότεροι γένωνται, ἐμβαλὼν ῥᾶστά τε αὐτοὺς, ἅτε <sup>4</sup> καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, ἐνίκησε, καὶ συμβῆναι καταν- <sup>4</sup> αγκάσας ἀργυρίον τὲ τι ῥητόν, ὥς καὶ μὴδὲν δεινὸν ἄλλο δράσων, ἦτησε, κάκ τούτου πανταχῇ πρὸς τὴν ἔσπραξιν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ στρατιώ- <sup>5</sup> τας διαπέψας, συνέλαβέ τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐφ' ᾧ <sup>5</sup> μηδεὶς σφῶν ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθεῖη. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρίστη <sup>5</sup> τῆς γῆς τῶν τε δορυφόρων τισὶν ἐδόθη, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Αὐγουσταν πραιτωριανῶν ὠνομασμένην ἔσχεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος πρὸς τε <sup>6</sup> τοὺς Ἀστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους ἄμα ἐπολέμησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ <sup>6</sup> μήτε προσεχώρουν οἱ, ἅτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἐπαιρόμενοι, μήτε ἐς <sup>6</sup> χεῖρας διὰ τε τὸ τῷ πλήθει ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντίζεσθαι τὸ <sup>6</sup> πλεῖστον εἶναι ἦσαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ, εἰ που <sup>6</sup> κινηθεῖη, τὰ τε ὑπερδέξια αἰεὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις <sup>6</sup> τοῖς τε ὑλώδεσιν ἐνεδρεῖοντες παρεῖχον, ἐν ἀπόρῳ παντάπασιν ἐγέν-



- <sup>7</sup> ετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τε τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρράναια ἀπεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἡρρώσκει· Γάιος δὲ Ἀντίστιος προσεπολέμησέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συχνὰ κατειργάσατο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ Αὐγούστου στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὁμόσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησαν καὶ ἐνικήθησαν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνός τε τινα ἔλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταῦτα Καρίσιος τὴν τε Λαγκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀσύρων πόλισμα ἐκλειφθὲν εἶλε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο.
- 26 παυσάμενου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὐγουστός τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ τὴν Αὐγούσταν ἡμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔτ' ἔχουσι θεὰς τινὰς διὰ τε τοῦ Μαρκελλοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὥς καὶ ἀγορανομούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς στρατοῖς ἐποίησε. καὶ τῷ μ ν Ἰούβᾳ τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ περ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἔδωκε· τοῦ δ' Ἀμύντου τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαῖον ἄρχοντα ἔσχε, τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντᾳ προσνεμηθέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπέδότη. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Μάρκος Οὐνίκιος Κελτῶν τινὰς μετελθὼν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖους ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐσελθόντας συλλαβόντες ἔφθειραν, τὸ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ αυτοκράτορος τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἐψηφίσθη μὲν πού καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε γενομένοις· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀψίς τε ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι τροπαιοφόρος οἱ ἠκροδομήθη, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη τοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσθῇτι τῇ νικητηρίᾳ αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι.
- Αὐγουστός μὲν ταῦτα τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔπραξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ 27 Ἰανοῦ τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθὲν δι' αὐτοὺς ἐκλείσεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὠνομασμένην καὶ ἐξψοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατήριον τὸ Λακωνικὸν κατεσκεύασε· Λακωνικὸν γάρ τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδὴ περ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦσθαι τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα ἔδोकον, ἐπεκάλεσε. τὸ τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεος καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς δὴ τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν. ἡβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσαι, τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπὶ κλησὶν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε. καὶ ἐγίγνετο γάρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον φιλοτιμίας,

ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἠτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐτίμησε. τοὺς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς τε<sup>5</sup> θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφίδου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυνηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ποιῆσαι δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπὼν ἐώρτασε<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκία ἢ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὄρει, ἢ πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γενομένη ὕστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλα δοθεῖσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλα ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν σύνοικον ἐποιήσατο. οὗτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἀπεικό<sup>6</sup>τως ἐγαυροῦτο, καὶ τις Γάιος Θοράνιος αἰτίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχεν, ὅτι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐξελεύθερόν τινος ὄντα, ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαθίστατο. Πούπλιός τε Σερούλιος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἄρκτους τε τριακοσίας καὶ λιβυκὰ ἔτερα θηρία ἴσα ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου δέκατον ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ἤρξε, 28 καὶ ἐν τε τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὄρκους ἢ βουλὴ βεβαιούσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ<sup>a.u.</sup> ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἤδη τῇ πόλει ἡγγέλθη, ὑπὸ γὰρ 730 τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐχρόνισε, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, τό τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον<sup>2</sup> ἐκτεθῆναι πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἐκείνη συνδόξῃ, πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπήλλαξαν, ἴν', ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελὲς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὅσα βούλοιτο ποιοῖη καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀβουλοίη μὴ πράττοι. ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημούντι ἔτ'<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τε τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλεύειν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἥπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης<sup>4</sup> ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη· καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτοι<sup>4</sup> μὲν ταμίας ἐκείνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν. τῶν τε ταμιευσόντων ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιλιπόντων ἐκληρώθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἄνω ἐτῶν ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεταμιευκότες.

ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ 29 Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἀστυρες, ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς καταλιπὼν, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ἁτιοῦν ἐκφῆναί οἱ, σίτον τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βούλεσθαι ἔφασαν, κακὸν τούτου στρατιώτας συχνούς ὡς καὶ κομιούντας αὐτὰ<sup>2</sup> λαβόντες ἔς τε χωρία αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδεα σφισιν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατέφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἥσθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν θρωδείσης καὶ τειχῶν τινων καυθέντων, τό τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς αἰετῶν ἀλικομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχέως ἐχειρώθησαν.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἄλλη τις στρατεία καινὴ ἀρχὴν τε<sup>1</sup> ἄμα καὶ τέλος ἔσχεν· ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἧς Σαβῶς ἐβασίλευεν, Αἴλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχων ἐπε-



- <sup>4</sup> στράτευσε· καὶ ἐς μὲν ὄψιν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν γε πρώτην ἦλθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρει· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐρημία καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τὰ τε ὕδατα φύσιν τινὰ ἀτοκον ἔχοντα πᾶν αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὥστε <sup>5</sup> τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ φθαρῆναι. τὸ δὲ νόσημα οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὁμοιον ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκήψαν ἐξήραινεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτίκα ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ περιγιγνομένων ἐς τε τὰ σκέλη κατῆει, πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε ἐλυμαίνετο, ἰαμὰ τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν χωρὶς ἢ εἰ τις ἔλαιον ὀνυ μεμιγμένον καὶ ἔπιε καὶ ἡλείψατο. ὅπερ που πᾶν ὀλίγοις σφῶν ὑπῆρξε <sup>6</sup> ποιῆσαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάσασαιτο. κἂν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σφίσι προσεπέθεντο. τέως μὲν γὰρ ἤττους, ὅπote γε καὶ προσμίξειαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τινὰ καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλον· τότε δὲ <sup>7</sup> συμμάχῳ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τὰ τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον· μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἀδούλων καλουμένων, <sup>8</sup> χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐχώρησαν.
- 30 ὁ δ' Αὐγουστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσωνος ἀρξας <sup>a.u.</sup> ἡρρώστησεν αἰθῖς, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν· πάντα <sup>731</sup> γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων διέθετο καὶ τὰς τε ἀρχὰς τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν <sup>2</sup> οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε, καίτοι τὸν Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθῆσθαι ἐς τοῦτο προσδοκῶντων, διαλεχθεὶς δὲ τινὰ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίον <sup>3</sup> ἐσγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίπῃ τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἔτι μηδὲ τῶν πᾶν ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Ἀντωνίος τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσωσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς <sup>4</sup> πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις, ἀπελείθερος γὰρ ἦν, χρήσθαι τὴν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνουσι, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὖσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ <sup>5</sup> τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς πεπρωμένης ἔργα προσποιούμενον παρὰ πόδας ἀλῶναι, ὁ μὲν Αὐγουστος οὕτως ἐσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάρκελλος νοσήσας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μούσα <sup>6</sup> τρόπον θεραπευόμενος ἀπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγουστος δημοσίᾳ τε ἔθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ὥσπερ εἴδιστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὃ ψκοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε μνήμῃ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ <sup>7</sup> Καίσαρος, Μάρκελλου δὲ ὠνομασμένου ἐτίμησε. καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσὴν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν δίφρον τε ἀρχικὸν ἐς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.
- 31 ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐσήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀναλέξασθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἀνθρώ-

ποις ὅτι οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλελοιπώς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνέγνω· οὐδείς γὰρ ἐπέτρεψεν. ἑθαύμαζον μέντοι καὶ πάντες αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ ὡς γαμβρόν καὶ ὡς ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ ἄλλας τε αὐτῷ τιμὰς διδούς καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας ἐπετέλει συνδιαθεῖς λαμπρῶς, ὥστε τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θέρει παραπετάσμασι κατὰ κορυφὴν διαλαβεῖν καὶ ὀρχηστὴν τινα ἱππεὰ γυναικὰ τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ὅμως τὴν μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετί- μησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μεираκίου γνώμῃ ἐθάρσει, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν. εὐ τε γὰρ ἠπίστατο προσφιλεῖς σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι. βαῖσας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβὴ τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ οὐσι συμβῇ, ἔστειλε. καὶ ὅς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάδων ἐκέισε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.

ταῦτα τε οὕτως ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγούς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλείονων δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο. ἐμελλόν δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσκειν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὅσα ἔτη γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἕκαστα, ἀπέειπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθῶν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ἐξ οὐπερ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δι' ἔτους ἤρξαν, ἐπισχεῖν τε τοῦτο αὐθις, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστοι ὑπατεύουσιν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεως αὐτὸ ἐποίησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῇ. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Σήστιον ἀνείλετο, αἰεὶ τε τῷ Βρούτῳ συσπουδάσαντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύσαντα, καὶ ἔτι καὶ τότε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἐπαίνους ποιούμενον· τό τε γὰρ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρός οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησε· καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ γερουσία δῆμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐνός τινος ὅτου ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καθ' ἐκάστην βουλὴν κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ, ἔδωκε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἐσαεὶ καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὥστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ ἔσω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μήτ' αὐθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἰσχύειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκείνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορες ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρήσαντο· τό γὰρ τοι δνομα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων οὐθ' ὁ Αὔγουστος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδείς αὐτοκράτωρ ἔσχε.

καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦθ' οὕτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολακείας ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλη-  
θείας τιμηθεῖς λαβεῖν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέροις σφίσι προσε-  
φέρετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης αὐτός, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Φραάτου

πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς ἀντενεκάλουν ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς ἐσήγαγε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτραπείς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διάγνωσιν τὸν μὲν Τιριδάτην τῷ Φραάτῃ οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτῷ, ὃν πρότερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἀλόντα κομίσασθαι.

κάν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμον τέ τινα τῶν καταδεεστέρων ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρνιος, καίτοι προηγορανομηκῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, διεδέξατο, ὅπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μνημονεύεται γενόμενον. κἀν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς δυο καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπολιάρχησαν, καὶ εἰς γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐς μεिरάκιόν πω τελῶν ὅμως ἤρξεν.

αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν ἡ Λιουία τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῶν υἱέων αὐτῆς προετετίμητο· ἐς ἀμφίβολον δ' οὖν ἡ ὑποψία αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔπειτα, οὕτω νοσῶδων γενομένων ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπολέσθαι, κατέστη. καὶ φιλεῖ γάρ πως αἰεὶ τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, ὃ τε Τιβερις αὐξηθεὶς τὴν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.

## COMMENTARY

c. I, § 1. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο. "These things" are the events recorded in Bk. 52, viz. the consultation held by Octavian with Agrippa and Maecenas upon the question whether the ancient form and administration of the Roman State should be restored or not, the conclusion at which Octavian arrived being that the counsel of Maecenas, who commended monarchy, was to be preferred (cc. 1-41); the assumption of the "praenomen Imperatoris" (c. 41); the census and revision of the membership of the Senate (c. 42); the election of new members to the patrician order (ibid.); the despatch of new settlers to Carthage (c. 43); the condemnation and death of Antiochus of Commagene (ibid.); Octavian's purchase of Capreae from the citizens of Neapolis (ibid.). The contents of Bk. 52 are assigned to the year of Rome 725 = 29 B.C.

τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, viz. U.C. 726 = 28 B.C. C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus vi. M. Vipsanius Agrippa ii. cos.

τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ράβδων, the fasces. In order to avoid, as far as possible, occasions of conflict, it had been the practice, from the beginning of the consulate, that the real exercise of its powers should be assumed by the consuls in alternate months. The consul in actual exercise of the chief magistracy of the commonwealth was distinguished as the one "penes quem" or "cuius fasces erant". At first the other consul, "cuius fasces non erant", was attended only by an *accensus*. At a later time, however, both consuls alike were attended by lictors carrying fasces (twelve for each), but while the fasces preceded the consul "cuius erant", they followed his colleague. This latter practice was regarded as ancient in the times when Suetonius lived. "*Antiquum retulit morem*" says Suetonius, with reference to the first consulship of Julius Caesar (59 B.C.) "ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur" (*Iulius*, c. 20). See Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, vol. I, arts. *Consul*, *Fasces*.

ταῖς ἐτέραις, sc. ράβδους.

τὸν ὅρκον, the oath taken by the consul at the expiration of his term of office, calling the gods to witness that he had done nothing against the well-being of the Republic.

§ 2. εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, i.e. whether he treated any other colleague in the consulship with so much deference, and so much respect for ancient usage.

τὴν ἀδελφιδήν, Marcella (minor), daughter of C. Marcellus and Octavia, sister of Octavian.

σύνθημα = signum (e.g., Iul. Capit. *Antoninus Pius*, 12. 6).

§ 3. τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε. Compare Monumentum Ancyranum, c. VIII (Mommson): In consulatu sexto census populi conlega M. Agrippa egi. Lustrum post annum alterum et quadragesimum feci. Quo lustrum civium Romanorum censa sunt capita quadragiens centum millia et sexaginta tria millia. In 52. 42 Dio speaks of Octavian and Agrippa as having assumed the censorial office in U.C. 725 = 29 B.C., the year of the former's fifth consulship. That they exercised *censoria potestas* in taking the census is shown by an inscription quoted in Shuckburgh's notes on Sueton. *Aug.* 27: *Imp. Caesare. VI. M. Agrippa. II. cos. idem. censoria. potest. lustrum. fecerunt.* Augustus held a census again in U.C. 746 = 8 B.C. and U.C. 767 = A.D. 14. Mon. Ancyr. l. c.: Iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos. . . . Tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci, Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos. See note on ch. 17 § 3 πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν. The *lustratio* performed in U.C. 726 was the first after an interval of over forty years, the last preceding one having been held U.C. 685 = 69 B.C. by the censors Gellius and Lentulus (Mommson on Mon. Ancyr. l. c.). The statement made by Suetonius in his life of Augustus (c. 27) is partly right and partly wrong. "Recepit morum legumque regimen perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, census tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus". Augustus never accepted a "perpetuum regimen" of laws and manners; this therefore was not the source of the *ius* by which he took the census. On the other hand he *did* take the census thrice, the first and third time with a colleague, the second time alone. See ch. 17 § 7.

πρόκριτος τῆς γεροντίας = Princeps Senatus. Compare Mon. Ancyr. c. VII: πρῶτον ἀξιώματος τόπον ἔσχον τῆς συνκλήτου ἀχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἐγγραφον, ἐπὶ ἑτη τεσσαράκοντα. (The forty years are reckoned from U.C. 727.)

τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον κ.τ.λ. Mon. Ancyr. c. XIX: templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus; Sueton. *Aug.* 29: Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant. Addidit porticum cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco jam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. This

temple, dedicated a.d. viii Kal. Nov. A.U.C. DCCXXVI, was one of Octavian's thank-offerings for the "crowning mercy" of Actium, which he regarded as granted in answer to his prayers by Apollo, to whom Actium was sacred. See Maclean on Horace, *Carm.* I. 31, and *Carm. Saec.* 33 and 61. Virgil (*Aen.* VIII. 704-5) makes Vulcan portray, on the shield of Aeneas, "Apollo of Actium" fighting for Octavian and Italy against Antony and the East.

§ 4. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν. This had been voted U.C. 724, in honour of the victory at Actium. συχνὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκη ὁ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο . . . . καὶ πανήγυριν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἀγεσθαι . . . ἔγνωσαν, Dio 51. 19.

τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν κ.τ.λ. the "carrousel" called *Troia*, portrayed by Virgil in *Aen.* v. 545-603. At the dedication of the temple of Divus Iulius (U.C. 725) ἀγῶνές τε παντοδαποὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν τροίαν εὐπατρίδαι παῖδες ἱππεύσαν, ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι ἐπὶ τε κελήτων καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων τῶν τε τεθρίππων ἀντηγωνίσαντο, Κίϋντος δὲ τις Οὐτίελλιος βουλευτὴς ἐμονομάχησε—Dio 51. 22. Compare Sueton. *Aug.* 43: In circo aurigas cursoresque et confectores ferarum, et nonnunquam ex nobilissima iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime, maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere.

§ 5. διὰ πεντε ἀεὶ ἐτῶν κ.τ.λ. διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν, καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα = quinto quoque anno, ternis annis solidis intermissis (Mommsen on Mon. Ancyr. c. IX.)—i.e. these phrases mean *not* "once every five years" but "once every four years." Mon. Ancyr. c. IX: εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἱερέων καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα ἐψηφίσαντο ἢ σύνκλητος. ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι, τότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέων, τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. The words ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέων, are an erroneous rendering of "sacerdotum quattuor collegia" (Momms.), the numeral being taken as belonging to "sacerdotum", not to "collegia". It should be noted that Augustus himself, in the Mon. Ancyr., does not (expressly, at least) connect the *vota* (εὐχαί) of the Senate with the *Bellum Actiacum*, whereas Dio, 51. 19 (quoted above), asserts that the Senate voted quinquennial games in honour of the victory. In U.C. 738 = 16 B.C., the administration of the festival had come round by rota to the Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis, of which sacred college Agrippa had by that time become a member. Augustus was absent from Rome, having been called away by the somewhat critical situation in Gaul, "κάν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, ἐν γάρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἡ διοικήσεις αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἱέρωτο, διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλῶσαντος."

—D.C. 54. 19. Note that here Dio calls the festival τὴν πεντετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς [τοῦ Αὐγούστου], the quinquennial commemoration of Augustus' sovereignty, making no reference to Actium. Suetonius, *Aug.* 44, makes mention of *ludi pontificales*, which must mean some one or other in the series of these quinquennial celebrations which was administered and provided for by the Pontifices. The *ludi* cf. U.C. 726 were given at the charges of Octavian and Agrippa, possibly of Agrippa only. The next celebration was administered by the Pontifices (U.C. 730), the third by the Augures (U.C. 734), the fourth by the Quindecimviri (U.C. 738: Dio, 54. 19, cited above), the fifth by the Septemviri Epulones (U.C. 742). Dio says that the periodical celebration was kept up μέχρι πον: the Mon. Ancyr. says that πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι. If these *ludi* and *spectacula*, originating in vows of the Senate "pro salute Caesaris", and associated with the memory of the Bellum Actiacum, were kept up regularly, there would have been a celebration in U.C. 766 = A.D. 13. But μέχρι πον rather excludes this supposition, and πλειστάκις does not enforce it. Mommsen holds that these games were not called *Ludi Actiaci*. Entertainments were instituted under that title at Nicopolis in Epirus (Dio 51. 1: ἀγῶνα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὴν ἱπποδρομίαν τε πεντετηρικὸν . . . κατέδειξεν) and elsewhere in the provinces, but not in Rome. He explains the connection which Dio makes between the games "pro salute Caesaris" and the battle of Actium by reference to numismatic types. Coins struck by C. Antistius Vetus in U.C. 738 (one of the years in which these games were celebrated) are extant. On one of them there is the figure of a priest at an altar with the legend PRO. VALETUDINE. CAESARIS. S.P.Q.R. On another, the figure of Apollo, with APOLLINI ACTIO.

§ 6. νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος. Sueton. *Aug.* 81: Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam expertus est . . . Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur; nam subnatalem suum—(Sept. 23)—plerumque languebat, et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravedine.

2, § 1. ἐς τε τὰς θεωρίας κ.τ.λ. Mon. Ancyr. append. among the objects of Augustus' liberalities mentions θέας καὶ μονομάχους καὶ ἀθλητὰς καὶ ναυμαχίαν καὶ θηριομαχίαν. Ibid. c. xxii: Ter munus gladiatorum dedi meo nomine et quinquens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine . . . bis athletarum undique accitorum spectaculum populo praebeui meo nomine et tertium nepotis mei nomine. Ludos feci meo nomine quater, aliorum autem magistratuum vicem ter et viciens . . . Consul xiii ludos Martiales primus feci. . . Venationes bestiarum Africanarum meo nomine aut filiorum meorum c



nepotum in Circo aut in Foro aut in amphitheatris populo dedi sexiens et viciens. . . .

τῷ δημοσίῳ sc. θησαυρῷ, i.e. the Aerarium in the temple of Saturn.

ἐδανείσατο κ.τ.λ. Mon. Ancy. c. xvii: Quater pecunia mea iuvi aerarium, ita ut sestertium milliens et quingentiens ad eos qui praeerant aerario detulerim.

πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν σφῶν κ.τ.λ. From the institution of the Consular Republic, down to the dictatorship of Caesar, the *quaestores urbani* had been the chief officials of the Treasury. In U.C. 709=45 B.C. Caesar transferred their duties to two aediles, as no quaestors had been elected for that year. See Dio 43. 48. Whether aediles continued to take the place of quaestors at the Treasury all the time from U.C. 709 to 726 is not quite certain. With Dio's statements here compare Tacitus *Ann.* xiii. 29: Augustus senatui permisit deligere praefectos: deinde, ambitu suffragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur ex numero praetorum, qui praeessent. Neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad parum idoneos. Tunc Claudius quaestores rursum imposuit, iisque, ne metu offensionum segnius consularent, extra ordinem honores promisit. Sed deerat robor aetatis eum primum magistratum capessentibus. Igitur Nero praetura perfunctos et experientia probatos delegit'. This arrangement remained in force down to the time of Diocletian. See Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, § 445.

τῷ πλήθει τὸν σίτον τετραπλάσιον ἔνειμε. Sueton. *Aug.* 41: Frumentum quoque in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim admensus est.

βουλευταῖς τὲ τισι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο. Mon. Ancy. append.: δαπάναι εἰς θέας κ.τ.λ., δωρεαὶ τε ἀποικίαις κ.τ.λ., ἡ κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις καὶ συνκλητικοῖς, ὧν τὰς τειμήσεις προσεξεκλήρωσεν, ἀπειρον πλήθος. Sueton. *Aug.* 41: Senatorum census ampliavit ac pro octingentorum milium summa duodecies sestertio taxavit, supplevitque non habentibus. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 37: Marcus Hortalus (grandson of the orator Hortensius), inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate decies sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia exstingeretur.

§ 2. μὴδ' ἀγορανομῆσαι τινα κ.τ.λ. Under the Republic, the aedileship (ἀγορανόμος = aedilis) had come to be accounted of and used as an opportunity for purchasing popular favour, in order to make sure of election to the praetorship. There was, therefore, no less of "onus" in it than of "honos". Thus Caesar, when aedile, had made an especially conspicuous bid for the voices of the people by the number of gladiators he sent into one of his festal displays—



see Sueton. *Caesar* 10. The expensive character of this office still survived under the Augustan Restoration, until Augustus in U.C. 732 τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν—Dio 54. 2 (compare Tac. *Ann.* 1. 15 and 77).

τὰ δικάσθηρια κ.τ.λ. Under the Republic, the aediles had acted as prosecutors, summoning persons charged with usury before the Comitia Tributa; they had also been charged with the preservation of order and quiet in public places, and the enforcement of regulations governing the movement of traffic and the cleaning of the streets. The institution of *quaestiones perpetuae*, however, had diminished their importance as public prosecutors. See Abbott, *op. cit.* § 237.

§ 3. τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ = praetori urbano.

τῷ ξενικῷ = "ad praetorem, cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictionis evenisset" (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 15).

τὰς ἐγγύας. In 51. 17, Dio says that Octavian paid all creditors in full out of the spoils of Egypt: τοῖς προδανείσαισι τι πάντα ἀπηλλάγη.

τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια. Sueton. *Aug.* 32: Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit.

§ 4. τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια κ.τ.λ. A college of priests of Isis was established in Rome in the time of Sulla, but this did not mean that the cultus was recognized as allowable by the State. Measures of repression were taken by the Government in U.C. 696, 701, 704, and 706, the shrines of Isis being demolished, but in 711 the Triumvirate built a temple for the goddess. Octavian, who is now by way of rescinding the acts of the Triumvirate (§ 5, Tac. *Ann.* III. 28.) prohibits the celebration of the Egyptian rites within the pomerium. In U.C. 733, Rome being agitated by faction-fighting, Agrippa was commissioned by Augustus to restore order. καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰδοῦντα ἔτι εὐρὼν κατεστήσατο, τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπεσιόντα αὐθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπέστειλεν, ἀπειπὼν μηδὲνα μηδ' ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὁγδόου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν—Dio 54. 6. But the goddess and her priests returned once more, and in A.D. 19 "actum de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis" (Tac. *Ann.* II. 85). In spite of all this repression, Isis and Serapis succeeded at last in permanently establishing themselves in Rome, finding patrons in the Flavian dynasty. See Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, pp. 11-12, and Sueton. *Aug.* 93: Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverendissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit . . . in peragrandia Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit. Republican precedents Octavian found to be hostile to the religion of Isis and Serapis, and as he was bent on restoration of the Republic, he gave no countenance to the Egyptian gods and their worshippers.

τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο. Mon. Ancyr. xx: Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex decreto senatus refeci; Sueton. *Aug.* 30: aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit; . . . Ibid. 29: sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel reffectis et excultis urbem adornarent. This restoration of temples was another department of the general restoration of the Republic. Similar care for old temples was shown by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* II. 49).

§ 5. κατέλυσαν. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* III. 28: Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iussit abolevit. This again was part of the republican Restoration. It is uncertain whether the powers of the Triumvirate, originally granted for five years, terminating Dec. 31, U.C. 716, were formally renewed for another quinquennium.

§ 6. ὅπως . . . βεβιάσθαι, ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur imperitare. (Sueton. *Tiberius*, 24).

§ 7. ἔβδομον ὑπατεύων. U.C. 727 = B.C. 27. The pronouncement which follows was delivered on the Ides of January. Ovid *Fasti* I. 589; see note on c. 4 § 3 below (ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν κ.τ.λ.).

c. 3. § 1. φθονῶν. Cf. Thucyd. II. 35.

c. 4. § 1. τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν . . . σεσωφρόνισται. Mon. Ancyr. c. II: Qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exilium expuli, iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie; c. III: Bella terra et mari civilia e. ternaue toto in orbe terrarum suscepi, victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci. Velleius Paterculus II. 86: Victoria [sc. Actiaca] fuit clementissima, nec quisquam interemptus est: paucissimi [eiecti?] et hi qui deprecari quidem pro se non sustinerent. Dio, 51.2, says that Octavian τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν συμπραξάντων τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολλοὺς μὲν χρήμασιν ἐξήμιωσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τινων καὶ ἐφέλσατο.

καὶ τὸ συναράμενον μοι . . . ὠχύρωται Dio 51. 17, after the capture of Alexandria and the Treasury of the Lagidae: τοῖς συμμετασχούσι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πάμπολλα ἐδόθη, τό τε σύμπαν ἢ τε ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπλουτίσθη, καὶ τὰ ἱέρα αὐτῶν ἐκοσμήθη. Tac. *Ann.* I. 2: ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, etc.; 3: M. Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militiae et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit.

§ 2. ὥστε μὴτε ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 2: cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus ex-

tollerentur, ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia, quam vetera et periculosa, mallent; 1: cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa.

*ἐνολα.* Mon. Ancy. c. III: Millia civium Romanorum adacta sacramento fuerunt circiter quingenta. Ex quibus deduxi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipendiis emeritis millia aliquantum plura quam trecenta et iis omnibus agros a me emptos aut pecuniam pro praediis a me dedi; c. xv: In coloniis militum meorum consul quintum ex manibiis viritim millia nummum singula dedi. Acceperunt id triumphale congiarium in colonis hominum circiter centum et viginti millia. Out of the contents of the Royal Treasury in Alexandria, πάντες μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἐποφειλόμενά σφισιν ἔκομισαντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι πενήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, ὥστε μὴ διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν, προσεπέλαβον.—Dio 51. 17. See also Mon. Ancy. c. xxv: Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem poposcit. Iuraverunt in eadem verba provinciae Galliae Hispaniae Africa Sicilia Sardinia. Qui sub signis meis tum militaverint, fuerunt senatores plures quam dcc.

*χρήματα.* Octavian had entire control over the revenues of Egypt, the wealthiest region of the Roman world. He had already given proof of his wealth in the assistance rendered to the Aerarium in U.C. 726 (see ch. 2) and in the larger sum of 400 sesterces a man bestowed on the Plebs Romana in U.C. 725 (Mon. Ancy. xv: nomine meo hs quadringenos ex bellorum manibiis consul quintum dedi).

*σύμμαχοι*, such as Amyntas of Galatia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, the "primores" of the Gallic cantons, and the provincials generally, who held Octavian in very high esteem, much higher than they accorded to the Senate; "suspecto senatus populique imperio, ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum".

*καὶ τὸ μέγιστον κ.τ.λ.* Naturally, as the long-drawn-out misery of discord had under his auspices come to an end. "cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit." His *προστασία* meant peace.

§ 3. οὐδ' ἐπεὶ τις κ.τ.λ. But it was said: see Tac. *Ann.* I. 10, and below, c. II § 5.

*ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν . . . ἔθνη.* Mon. Ancy. xxxiv: In consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia extinxeram; per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in Senatus Populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. This transference occupied Octavian in the year 726 (his sixth consulate—B.C. 28) as well as in the year 727. "Reddidisse Augustum rem publicam non uno actu, sed continuo biennio a. 726-727 praeter ipsum etiam Dio significat: reddendi enim erant populo exercitus provinciae magistratus reditusque. Pertinet ad rem publicam

redditam, quod de consulatu a. 726 Dio adnotavit (53. 1.), Caesarem secundum consuetudinem antiquam alternis mensibus fasces tradidisse collegae Agrippae et abeuntem magistratum eiuravisse. Vel maxime pertinet eorum quae per bella civilia contra ius legesque erant constituta abolitio edicta, qua hisce terminus constitutus est a. 726 (Tac. *Ann.* III. 28, Dio 53. 2). Sed longe gravissimum maximumque erat negotium provinciarum omnium cum suis exercitibus Senatui restituendarum" (Mommsen, on Mon. Ancy. I. c.). In Bk. 52 Dio represents Octavian as discussing the restoration of the Republic in conference with Agrippa and Maecenas, in the year of his fifth consulate = U.C. 725, B.C. 29. Of the *restitutio provinciarum* we have evidence for Asia in a *cistophorus* of B.C. 28, bearing on the obverse the head of Caesar, crowned with laurel, and the legend CAESARE. DIVI. F. COS. VI. LIBERTATIS. P.R. VINDEXT, and for the provinces generally Ovid *Fast.* I. 589: Redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro. The poet gives us to understand that the *restitutio* was completed on the Ides (13th.) of January, U.C. 727.

ἔθνη. See below, note on τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα in § 5.

§ 4. ὅσα αὐτὸς προσεκτήσαμην, Dalmatia and Egypt. With regard to the latter, Augustus asserts on the Mon. Ancy. that he added it to the Empire of the Roman People ("Aegyptum imperio Populi Romani adieci"), though as a matter of fact he kept it apart and very much under his own control (Tac. *Ann.* II. 59, Dio 51. 17). Perhaps the statement on the Mon. Ancy. is to be understood as conveying Augustus' *intention*.

καταμάθητε. Ev. Matth. vi. 28: καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ.

ἀλλ' ὅντως ἠθέλησα. Octavian professes to have had in view two things only: (1) vengeance upon the murderers of Julius (2) extrication of the Republic from its evil plight. With regard to (1) compare Mon. Ancy. c. II: Qui parentem meum interfecerunt eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie; Vell. Pat. II. 69: At lege Pedia, quam consul Peditus collega Caesaris tulerat (U.C. 711), omnibus, qui Caesarem patrem interfecerant, aqua ignique damnatis interdictum rat; Suet. *Aug.* 10: Bella civilia quinque gessit . . . omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, etc.; Tac. *Ann.* I. 9-10: At apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi, pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum. . . . Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. . . . Dicebatur contra; pietatem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sump a, ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos

per largitionem veteranos etc. . . . Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimiciis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere; Suet. *Aug.* 29: Aedem Martis (i.e. the temple of Mars Ultor) bello Philippensi, pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat. With regard to (2) compare Mon. Ancyrr. title: Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio Populi Romani subiecit . . . exemplar subiectum; c. 1: Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi (Augustus borrowed phrases for this statement from Cicero, *Phil.* III. ii. 3 and 5); c. III: Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi, victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci; c. XXV: Mare pacavi a praedonibus; c. XXVII: Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili recipiavi. The incorporation of new families in the patrician order (c. VIII: Patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum iussu Populi et Senatus—U.C. 725), and the *lectio Senatus* and *lustratio* in U.C. 726 (ibid., this lustratio being the first that had been held for over forty years) aimed at the restoration and revival of the Republic. On the evil plight of the Roman State in the period U.C. 704-724, see Tac. *Ann.* III. 28: continua per viginti annos discordia; non mos, non ius; Horace *Carm.* III. vi., I. ii., Virgil *Georg.* I. 462-510. Dio represents Octavian as having deliberately, and for years, purposed that which the poets hoped and prayed might be wrought by him.

c. 5. § 1. ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. This must be an appeal to the tradition of a Golden Age, in which "neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suo pte ingenio peterentur etc."—see Tac. *Ann.* III. 26. Horace and Virgil hoped—and were not alone in hoping—for the return of the Golden Age under Octavian's auspices. See the passages quoted in the last note, and *Ecl.* iv. 6: Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna, and *Aen.* I. 291-296.

§ 2. εἰμαρμένη τις. The grandeur of Rome and the Caesars is represented by Virgil as irrevocably fore-ordained (*Aen.* I. 257-8, 262 f., VI. 759 f.). The sufferings of Rome, however, were indissociable from her grandeur (*Aen.* VI. 828-836).

καίπερ νέου τότε ὄντος. Octavian was only in his nineteenth year when he presented himself before the Senate and People as the heir of Julius. See Mon. Ancyrr. I. (quoted above in the note on ἀλλ' ὄντως ἡθέλησα).

προθύμως . . . ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν . . . ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν. I Cor. xv. 10: περισσότερον πάντων ἐκοπίασα.

§ 3. οὐ φίλων δεήσεις. On hearing of Julius' death, Octavian

"urbe repetita hereditatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente"—Sueton. *Aug.* 8.

ἀφειδῶς. Sueton. *Aug.* 81: Graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est . . . quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur. . . . Quare quassato corpore neque frigora neque aestus facile tolerabat. He was sick at the time of the battle of Philippi, and when his camp was stormed, had a narrow escape from death (Ibid. 91.)

§ 4. αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. II. Cor. xii. 15: ἥδιστα δαπανήσω καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε = salvi et sani evenitis.

ἡ τύχη. In § 2 Octavian ascribes all that has happened to εἰμαρμένη. The two things may be regarded as one. *Εἰμαρμένη* is the world-movement in its aspect and character of unchangeableness ("manent *immola* tuorum fata tibi"). *Τύχη* is that world-movement in its character of incalculableness ("fatorum arcana"). What will come, will come. But of what sort it will be, or how it will come, who can tell?

ἐλευθερίαν. The *Lex Titia* (a. d. v. Kal. Dec. u.c. 711) had conferred upon the "Tresviri rei publicae constituendae" authority to repeal, modify, or grant dispensations from, the existing laws; it had provided that their edicts should have the binding force of laws; had authorized them to appoint consuls and other magistrates; had exempted them from 'intercessio'; had given them full power over the treasury, the public domain, customs, taxation, peace and war, the armies and the government of the provinces. This law was to be in force only to the end of u.c. 716. It is not certain that it was re-enacted; on the other hand, it is certain that there was no formal abdication by the Tresviri at the end of 716 or the beginning of 717, no declaration that the old polity had been restored. One of the characteristic notes of that polity had been the primacy of the consuls. The consulate was associated in tradition with liberty; "libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit" (Tac. *Ann.* i. 1). But the consulate continued to be overshadowed by the triumvirate after the expiry of the five years provided for by the *Lex Titia*. The triumvirate continued to control the affairs of the Republic as though no term had been fixed for their tenure of office and power. Octavian indeed might be said to have already "laid aside the title of triumvir" when he undertook the defence of Italy against Antony and Cleopatra in u.c. 723, for he was one of the consuls of that year, and the conduct of such an enterprise as the *Bellum Acticum* by a consul was quite in agreement with old republican practice. But in u.c. 723 the East, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, was controlled by



one who had become alienated from the Republic, and even when those provinces had been brought back again under the *imperium* of the Senate and People of Rome by the victories of Octavian, there was still needed a formal declaration that the epoch of provisional government was over, and that the ancient polity had been reinstated.

*δημοκρατίαν* = *rem publicam*, "munia Senatus, magistratuum, legum" (Tac. *Ann.* I. 2). Mon. Ancy. xxxiv: *rem publicam ex mea potestate in Senatus Populique Romani arbitrium transtuli*. In 52. I Dio divides the history of Rome, down to U.C. 725, into three epochs, (1) ἡ βασιλεία, (2) ἡ δημοκρατία, (3) αἱ δυναστεῖαι. The use of *δημοκρατία* to describe the Roman polity in the period 245-695 U.C. (= B.C. 509-59, after which *δυναστεία* continued till the end of the civil wars) seems to be somewhat inaccurate. It may be justified, however, on the ground that the magistrate *cum imperio* exercised, as representative of the community, its supreme authority in dealings with the individual (Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, §§ 149, 154). Again, the provinces were "sub imperio Populi Romani". Thus in the Mon. Ancy. title, we find "Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio Populi Romani subiecit"; in c. xxx, Παννονίων ἔθνη . . . ἡγεμονία δῆμου Ῥωμαίων ὑπέταξα = Pannoniorum nationes . . . imperio Populi Romani subieci.

τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, the provinces and the dependent states (such as Galatia, Cappadocia, Judaea, Mauretania). The term *ἔθνη* is used as a rendering (though not a very accurate one) of "provinciae" by Greek writers: compare c. 12 below. Its proper equivalent in Latin is "nationes", which in the mouth of a Roman was frequently a word of contempt, very much as "Goyyim" in that of an Israelite. Provincial boundaries were not coincident with those which we call ethnographical. In the province of Asia, for example, there was more than one "natio" or "ἔθνος" (Phrygians, Carians, Mysians, Greeks). Again there were Greeks and Jews in every province between the Adriatic and the Euphrates. The provinces, however, comprised the homes of "nationes", *ἔθνη*.

c. 6. § 1. ἐπιείκειαν = clemency. Comp. Mon. Ancy. c. III and Vell. Paterc. II. 86, quoted above in the note on c. 4 § 1 τὸ τε γὰρ στασιάσαν . . . σεσωφρόνισται. Suetonius (*Aug.* 27) says that when the Triumvirate was formed, Octavian "restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit" and (*ibid.* 13) that after the fighting at Philippi "capite Bruti Romam misso, ut statuæ Caesari subiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque captivum non sine verborum contumelia saeviit." On the other hand, he says (*ibid.* 51.) that "Clementiae

civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt", but this assertion must be understood with reference to occasions of later date than the first two years of the Triumvirate. In his treatment of Lepidus, whom he found attempting to seduce his army in Sicily, B.C. 36 (Suet. *Aug.* 16, Dio 49. 12), Octavian certainly showed some clemency. Dio (47. 7) represents Antony and Lepidus as more active in the December massacres of U.C. 711 than Octavian: ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μάλιστα . . . ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, κατὰ τὴν τῆς δυναστείας κοινωνίαν, γίνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς γε οὐδὲν τι συχνοὺς ἀποκτείνειν ἐδεήθη. τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐκ ὤμος ἦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡθεσιν ἐνετέθραπτο. . . . . σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι ἀφ' οὗ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συναρχίας ἀπηλλάγη, καὶ τὸ κράτος μόνος ἔσχευ, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐπραξε. καὶ τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον πολλοὺς οὐκ ἐφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσωσε πλείστους. But the same author relates (51. 2) that after the victory at Actium Octavian τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων πολλοὺς μὲν χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τινων καὶ ἐφείσατο. Again, there is the story of Maecenas' warning message, "Surge, carnifex" (Dio 55. 7), in connection with which Dio remarks that Augustus ἔχαιρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἔθιμου, ταῦτα τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησίᾳ διωρθεύτο. His clemency appears not to have been so natural and spontaneous as Caesar's, in honour of which a sanctuary was voted by the Senate (Dio 44. 6 ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἐγνωσαν).

πρώτη. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV. c. 11: βούλεται ὁ πρῶτος ἀτάραχος εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἀγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους . . . , οὐ γὰρ τιμωρητικὸς ὁ πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συγγνωμονικός. It can hardly be maintained that Octavian was never overpowered by a desire for vengeance. He was *πικρός* rather than *πρῶτος*, cf. Arist. I. c.: οἱ δὲ *πικροὶ* δυσδιάλυτοι, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀργίζονται· κατέχουσι γὰρ τὸν θυμὸν. For the association of *ἐπιείκεια* and *πρώτης* compare II Cor. x. 1 and Titus iii. 2. In Acts xxiv. 4 *ἐπιείκεια* is attributed by flattering insinuation to a procurator of Judaea as characteristic of his government. I Peter ii. 18 exhibits ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς in antithesis to *σκολιοί*.

ἀπραγμοσύνην.. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VI. 9. 1142 a 1-2: καὶ δοκεῖ ὁ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰδὼς καὶ διατρίβων φρόνιμος εἶναι, οἱ δὲ πολιτικοὶ πολυπράγμονες· διὸ Εὐριπίδης

πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοίην, ᾧ παρὴν ἀπραγμόνως  
ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἡριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ  
ἴσον μετασχεῖν;

Octavian disclaims any imputation of overbearing self-assertiveness, of a disposition to interfere with or make trouble for (πράγματα παρέχειν) his fellow-citizens, of indulging a "cupido dominandi".



οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐθ' ὑπέρογκον οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς. Comp. Mon. Ancy. c. VI: ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ δεδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην. The powers which he had exercised as triumvir might justly be accounted of as ἐξουσία ὑπέρογκος, but they could hardly be said to have been voted by the Senate. After the victory over Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus (U.C. 718), honours of no ordinary kind were voted him, but some of them he declined. Οἱ ἐν τῷ ἅσκει says Dio (49-15) ἐκάλινους τε αὐτῷ δημοθυμαδόν, καὶ εἰκόνας, καὶ προεδρίαν, ἀψίδα τε τροπαιοφόρον, καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου ἐσελάσαι, τὸ τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίῳ αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι. καὶ τὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἐνενηκῆκει ἱερομηνία ἀιδίῳ οὖσῃ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ παίδων ἐστιᾶσθαι, ἔδωκαν . . . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο . . . τῶν ψηφισθέντων τινὰ παρήκατο . . . καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου ἱερωσύνην δεδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἔλαβεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξὴν ζῶντά τινα ἀφελέσθαι· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ αὐτῷ προσεψηφίσαντο . . . . . τότε δὲ οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν . . . . . καὶ τὸ μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτόν τι δράσαντα ἐνέχεσθαι, οἷσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἐτέτακτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων συγκαθέζεσθαι σφίσιν ἔλαβε. Precedents, however, could be found for these in the honours conferred at various times between 705 and 710 U.C. upon Julius Caesar. After the victory at Actium, yet more, and more honourable decrees; among which we find orders for adding to the festal calendar the anniversaries of the arrival of the news of the victory over Antony's fleet, of Octavian's birthday, and of the capture of Alexandria. Furthermore, "that Caesar should hold the *tribunicia potestas* for life (τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν) and exercise of the *ius auxilii* for the benefit of all appellants, not only within the pomerium, but also for a distance of four stadia beyond it, a range of jurisdiction allowed to none of the tribunes." He also obtained authority to try cases on appeal, and to give a casting-vote when those of the jury (*iudices*) were equally balanced. Pontiffs and Vestals were instructed to make particular mention of his name in the State prayers, along with the names of the Senate and the People, and libations were to be poured to his Genius at all banquets, public and private. He was also authorized to add as many members to the pontifical college as he wished. All these honours, πλὴν βραχέων, he accepted. Dio does not say what the few exceptions were—or rather, he mentions only one, that the Vestals, the Senate, and all the People should come to meet Octavian at the gates of the city on his return. But indeed Octavian's whole *cursus honorum* was extraordinary. "Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam novi generis perpetuosque recepit" says Suetonius (*Aug.* 26); "consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno invasit", and he had been elected

consul eleven times before he attained the age appointed by the old *lex annalis*—viz. forty-three. The *tribunicia potestas* held to life set him above all the tribunes of the plebs, and indeed above all the magistrates of the Republic. "Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret, ac tamen adpellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret" (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 56). Granting that Tacitus had in view the *tribunicia potestas* as it became when the principate had been in existence a good many years, still this life-tenure of power of general control was from the first something unknown to old republican tradition. Octavian's assertion, then, that he had accepted no honour that was excessive or eclipsed other magistracies was a bold challenge to his hearers' capacity for forgetting facts and events.

*οἰκουμένης*. Polybius VIII. 4: τὸ πάντα τὰ γνωριζόμενα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ μιαν ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἀγαγεῖν (sc. the ἀρχή of the Roman People). Mon. Ancy. c. xxxiv: per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium; title: orbem terrarum imperio Populi Romani subiecit. In Acts xi. 28, xvii. 6, xix. 27 and Ev. Luc. ii. 1, ἡ οἰκ. = "the Empire".

§ 3. *ἰδιωτεῖσθαι*, "to retire into privacy", inchoative aorist; compare Ep. Rom. xiii. 11: ἡ δτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν = "than when we became believers"; also *αὐταρχῆσαι* = *αὐτοκράτωρ γενέσθαι* c. 11 § 4, and *δέκατον ἦρξε* "he entered upon his tenth consulship" c. 28, § 1.

§ 4. *ἐβەرγερῆσθε*. Octavian is addressing the Senate, reminding that august order of benefits conferred by himself and by Julius. Suetonius, *Iulius* c. 75, enlarges on the clemency displayed by Julius in the civil war, clemency which especially affected members of the Senate: "Tempore extremo etiam quibus nondum ignoverat cunctis in Italiam redire permisit magistratusque et imperia capere." But on the whole it can hardly be said that Julius was a real benefactor to the Senate. Its power and influence suffered diminution, while its numbers obtained considerable increase under his government (Sueton. *Iulius* c. 41). For most of the time from the death of Julius to the end of the civil wars Octavian must be regarded as the person chiefly responsible for the character and composition of the Senate. When Octavian held a "lectio Senatus" in connection with the census in u.c. 726 it numbered over a thousand members—"numerus affluens deformi et incondita turba" (Sueton. *Aug.* 35.)—a considerable proportion of them being quite unworthy of their station. Octavian made at least a commencement of restoring the prestige of the order by ejecting some two hundred of these discreditable senators on that occasion. He also made grants to senators whose "census" or estate fell below the minimum required as one of the qualifications for a seat in the Curia. Both Julius and

Octavian recruited the ranks of the *patricii*. The "adlecti" would, of course, be members of the Senate. In both cases the reason, we must suppose, was the same, viz. havoc made in the ranks of the patricians by civil strife. Dio expressly asserts this in connection with Octavian's "adlectio patriciorum" held in U.C. 726: τό τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσεν, τῆς βουλῆς δὴθεν ἐπιτρέψασης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἐπεὶδὴ τό τε πλείστον σφῶν ἀπολώλει, οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὥς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἀναλίσκεται, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τῶν πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι ἀεὶ εἶναι νομίζονται (52.42). But for no small part of this shedding of patrician blood Octavian is reported to have been guilty by his obstinate ferocity in the proscriptions of U.C. 711 (see above, note on ἐπιείκεια).

τὴν μοναρχίαν . . . . διδόντων ὑμῶν. The Senate and People conferred upon Julius a life-tenure of both the consulate and the dictatorship. Now "perpetua dictatura" was only another name for "regium imperium". The Senate could say that they had not offered to Julius either the title of "rex" or the diadem. When Antony offered a diadem to Julius at the Lupercalia of U.C. 710, there was "gemitus toto foro" and loud applause when Julius rejected it. Julius gave orders that the occurrence should be recorded in the Fasti, under the date of the Lupercalia, as follows: "C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonius consul Populi iussu regnum detulit, Caesar uti noluit" (Cicero *Phil.* II. 34, 84-87). But the "gemitus toto foro" and the "plangor Populi" showed that Antony was *not* acting "iussu Populi". But it was "iussu Populi" and "auctoritate Senatus" that Julius was "dictator perpetuus", and the dictator was, in the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5. 73), μόναρχος πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πράγματος αὐτοκράτωρ.

c. 7. § 1. τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν. The subjugation of Pannonia can hardly be said to have been even begun before U.C. 742 = B.C. 12. Tiberius conducted three campaigns beyond the Julian Alps in the years U.C. 742, 743, 744 (B.C. 12, 11, 10) but "the Roman armies, during these campaigns, hardly ever crossed the Drave, and did not in any case transfer their standing camp to the Danube" (Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I. 23). Pannonia was not completely conquered and annexed until after the Batonian War, A.D. 6-9 (*op. cit.* I. 40-42). Dio is guilty of anachronism here.

τὴν Μυσίας χεῖρωσιν. Moesia (as its name is in Latin), the territory between the Save, the Danube, and the Balkan mountains (modern Serbia and Bulgaria) was brought under Roman authority and control by Marcus Licinius Crassus, governor of Macedonia, in U.C. 725 and 726 (Dio 51. 23-27; Mommsen *op. cit.* I. 13-15).

The Greek form, *Μυσία*, either indicates kinship between the inhabitants of this region and the *Μυσοί* of north-western Asia Minor, or it may be due to identity in pronunciation of *ν* and *οι*.

τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστροφὴν, Dio 51. 1-17; Sueton. *Aug.* 17; Virgil *Aen.* viii. 671-713.

τὸν Φαρνάκην, τὸν Ἰούβαν. See Mommsen, *History of Rome*. Bk. V. ch. x.

τὸν Φραάτην. Octavian had not as yet (U.C. 727) achieved anything, either by diplomacy or force of arms, which could be spoken of as a victory over Phraates. It was not until U.C. 731 that Phraates undertook to restore the standards taken from Crassus and Antony, and this promise was not fulfilled until U.C. 734. Here is another instance of anachronism on Dio's part.

τοὺς Βρεττανούς. In U.C. 699 and 700. Caesar *B. G.* IV. 20-36, V. 1-23.

ρήνου διάβασιν. In U.C. 699 and 701. Caesar *B. G.* IV. 16-19, VI. 9-10.

§ 2 φιλανθρώπως—See note on c. 6, § 1 ἐπιείκειαν.

τὴν πόλιν νοσήσαι. Comp. Herodotus v. 28: [ἡ Μίλητος] νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι.

ἐκφρονῆσαι. Comp. Herodotus III. 80: κῶς δ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρημένον ἢ μοναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξοστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων σπάντα ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοσημάτων στήσειε.

ἐς τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργετημάτων. See ch. 2. Besides the εὐεργετήματα there mentioned, there were largesses to the soldiery and the urbanae populus (Mon. Ancyr. xv: Plebei Romanae viritim HS trecenos numeravi ex testamento patris mei, et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibus consul quintum dedi. . . . In coloniis militum meorum consul quintum ex manibus viritim millia nummum singula dedi), the remission of the *aurum coronarium* to the Italian municipalities (Mon. Ancyr. xxi: auri coronari pondo triginta et quinque millia municipiis et colonis Italiae conferentibus ad triumphos meos quintum consul remisi), the restoration of peace after so many years of civil war (Velleius Paterculus II. 89: Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor . . . pacatus victoriis terrarum orbis), the suppression of piracy and servile insurrections (Mon. Ancyr. xxv: Mare pacavi a praedonibus; xxvii: Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili reciperavi), and the revival of trade following upon the reintegration of the Empire.

προσιέμεθα.. So Dindorf, but surely the true reading is προίεμεθα.

c. 8. § 1. μεγαλοψυχότερος.. Dio represents Octavian's offer to

surrender the armies, provinces, etc., as insincere (ch. 11). It is the part of the high-souled man μέλειν τῆς ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς δόξης, καὶ λέγειν καὶ πρῦντεν φανερώς (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV. 7. 1124. b. 27-29), which is not exactly what Octavian is doing here.

δαιμονιώτερος. Comp. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VI. 7. 1141. b. 7: θαυμαστά καὶ δαιμόνια.

στρατιώτας τοσούτους. Mon. Ancyrr. c. III: deduxi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipendis emeritis millia aliquantum plura quam trecenta et iis omnibus agros a me emptos aut pecuniam pro praediis a me dedi.

πλὴν ὀλίγων. The only exception that could be made was the coastland of Mauretania, and even that was more apparent than real, for "Mauros Iuba rex acceperat donum Populi Romani" (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 5).

§ 2. αὐτεπάγγελτος. Herodotus VII. 29, Demosthenes, *De Corona* 247. 25.

οὐσίας. Herodotus VI. 86: ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, Ev. Luc. XV. 12-13.

§ 3. ὥστ' εἶπερ . . . ὑπερβαλῶ. Φιλοτιμία ψεκτὴ, τῆς τιμῆς ὀρεγομένου ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ καὶ ὥς οὐ δεῖ ἀλαζονέυεται γάρ.

§ 4. νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον. Horace seems to have oscillated between confidence and doubt on this matter. On the one hand, "Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit Nos nequiores" (*Carm.* III. 6. 46-7), "Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara Turpis maritus vixit . . . ?" (Ibid. III. 5. 5 f.); on the other, "Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis" (the direct reference is to Tiberius and Drusus; but they could not have conquered Raetia and Vindelicia without armies, and their armies were Roman), "Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas", "Milite nam tuo Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus . . . deiecit" (Ibid. IV. 4. 29, 5. 22, 14. 9 f.). In A.D. 21 the Gaulish notables, Florus and Sacrovir, encouraged their fellow-conspirators by bidding them bethink themselves "quam inops Italia, quam imbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitibus, nisi quod externum" (Tac. *Ann.* III. 40). The urban and praetorian cohorts were still recruited for the most part in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, and old Roman colonies (*Ann.* IV. 5), but they were not the best-disciplined troops in the army.

πονηροῖς τισι. There is to be no Triumvirate, or Decemvirate, or any such perverse oligarchy.

ὀχλοκρατία. Comp. Hdt. III. 81: καὶ τοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐς δῆμον ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσέειν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνάσχετον· ὁ μὲν γάρ εἴ τι ποιεῖ, γινώσκων ποιεῖ· τῷ δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν ἐν . . . ὥθῃ τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἀνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ ἵκελος . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλίην, τοῦτοισι περιθῶμεν τὸ κράτος

... ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἶκός ἀριστα βουλευμάτων γίνεσθαι. ὀχλοκρατία is the same as the "extreme democracy" in which the caprices of the populace over-ride statute laws (Arist. *Pol.* IV-VI. 4. 25-31).

§ 5. ὑμῖν τοὺς ἀρ. καὶ φρον. = vobis, optimates qui estis.

ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαι. "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well"; "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown". "Better to be dead than to be a king", says Octavian, by way of impressing belief in his sincerity. The particular kind of τυραννίς which Octavian (or Dio) here has in view is that which originates in the desire of the community rather than in the audacity of the usurper. The τύραννος is invited, implored, to assume his power. Compare Jotham's parable (Judges ix. 7 f.), Herodotus III. 82: οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῖσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται, ἐς δ' ἂν προστὰς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύσῃ· ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. θωυμαζόμενος δὲ ἂν ὦν ἐφάνη μοναρχος ἑὼν, and I. 96-98 (the story of Deïokes, king of the Medes). The invitation to "come and be king over us" may be prepared for by "enlightened selfishness", but it is the multitude (or the principal men among them) who invite, implore, and may even offer the alternative "be thou my ruler, or I will slay thee"—which comes to very much the same thing as "ἢ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγὼ σέ."

§ 6. πεπότημαι κ.τ.λ. Octavian was in his thirty-sixth year. But he had done and suffered enough, since he was nineteen, to make an old man of him before his time.

φθόνον, μῖσος. Sophocles *Ajax*. 157: πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἔχονθ' ὁ φθόνος ἔρπει.

§ 7. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς κ.τ.λ. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* I. 11: Proinde in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos.

C. 9. § 1. οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. Comp. Arist. *Pol.* III. 4. 10: ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῖται γε τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ πολίτου δοκίμου ἢ ἀρετὴ εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς.

§ 2. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμαντῶ σίνουδα. Comp. Acts xxiii. 1: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, and I Cor. iv. 4: οὐδὲν ἐμαντῶ σίνουδα.

πιστεύω. Comp. the use of πιστεύω in Herodotus VIII. 110: τοῖσι ἐπίστευσε σιγᾶν, "whom he relied on to keep silence".

§ 3. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρμένον. How can anything take place πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρμένον or τῆς εἰμαρμένης ὥρας, if τὸ εἰμαρμένον is irrevocably fixed? "Sed mihi, haec et talia audienti, in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili, an forte voluntur" (Tac. *Ann.* VI. 22).

§ 4. οὐκ ἐφόνευσα . . . κατασχέιν. Contrast Tac. *Ann.* I. 10.

προσαπέθανον. So Dindorf: *qu. προσαπέθανον?*  
 τοῦ δαιμονίου. Comp. Hdt. v. 87, Demosth. *Phil.* III.  
 124, 26.

§5. *ισόθεος*. Even in his lifetime, Julius Caesar had received divine honours, culminating in the title of Iuppiter Iulius and a temple to his Clemency, with the appointment of Antony as his flamen (Sueton. *Iulius*, c. 76, Dio 43. 14, 21 and 45. 44, 4 and 6.). After his death, the people set up a column of Numidian marble, nearly twenty feet in height, in the Forum, with the inscription PARENTI PATRIAE, which alone was enough to place him on a level with Iuppiter and Mars. "Apud eam longo tempore *sacrificare, vota suscipere*, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit" (Suet. *Iulius* 85). The triumph in U.C. 712 began the erection of a temple (*ἱερῶν*) of Julius in the Forum, on the spot where his corpse had been cremated. The anniversary of his birthday was once again made a public festival, the observance of which was to be enforced by penalties for neglect—a fine of 250,000 denarii for any senator or senator's son; the wrath of Iuppiter and Divus Iulius for any one of lesser degree. The "aedes Divi Iuli" is mentioned by Augustus in the Mon. Ancyr. c. XIX, among the temples built or restored by him. It was dedicated U.C. 725 (Dio 51. 22). In the same year he gave permission to the Roman citizens residing in Asia and Bithynia to erect temples in Ephesus and Nicaea to Rome and Divus Iulius (Dio 51. 20).

*κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο*. Comp. Ev. Matth. xxi. 41: *κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς*. Sueton. *Iulius* 89: Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius supervixit, neque sua morte defunctus est. Damnati omnes alius alio casu perit, pars naufragio, pars proelio: nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione, quo Caesarem violaverant, interemerunt.

*ἀθάνατοι γάρ*. Compare the disbelief in a future life expressed by the elder Caesar (Sallust, *de coniur. Catil.* 51). Octavian had given permission to the provincials (not Roman citizens) of Asia and Bithynia to render him divine honours (Dio 51. 20). His name had been inserted along with those of the gods in the Carmen Saliare and other sacred chants (Dio l. c., Mon. Ancyr. x: *Nomen meum senatus consulto inclusum est in Saliare Carmen*). Libations were poured to him, as to a god, at meals public and private (Hor. *Carm.* iv. 5. 29-36, Dio 51. 19). He had completed and dedicated the temple of Divus Iulius, and instituted the *cultus* of his adoptive father in Asia and Bithynia (See note on c. 9 § 5 *ισόθεος*). Virgil had purposed to build him a temple at Mantua (*Georg.* III. 13 f.). Horace had pleaded with him to delay his return to heaven (*Carm.*



I. I. 45 f.). His only hope of immortality, however, (the essence of divinity) lay in being remembered by the generations that were yet for to come.

—usque ego postera  
Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium  
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex."

§ 6. ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ., "Vobis reddo exercitus provincias vectigalia leges".

τὸ μέγεθος = "moles" in Tac. *Ann.* I. II. Comp. Sueton. *Tiberius*, 24: adhortantis amicos increpans ut ignaros quanta bellua esset imperium.

δυσμεταχείριστον. Suet. *Tiberius*, 25: ut saepe lupum se auribus tenere diceret.

C. IO. § I. τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττετε. Comp. Thucyd. III. 37: πάντων δὲ δεινότατον, εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήξει ὧν ἂν δόξη πέρι, μήδε γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένῃ πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις· ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας, Arist. *Pol.* IV-VI. 4. 30-31: ὅπου γὰρ μὴ νόμοι ἄρχουσιν, οὐκ ἐστὶ πολιτεία. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν.

§ 2. ὅσα προσταττουσιν κ.τ.λ. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* V. 3 (I). 1129. b. 12 sq.: πάντα τὰ νόμιμα ἐστὶ πως δι' αἰα . . . . . προσταττει δ' ὁ νόμος καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρείου ἔργα ποιεῖν, ὅλον μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν . . . . . καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώφρονος, ὅλον μὴ μοιχεύειν μηδὲ ὑβρίζειν, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πρῶου, ὅλον μὴ τύπτειν μηδὲ κακηγορεῖν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς καὶ μοχθηρίας, τὰ μὲν κελεύων τὰ δ' ἀπαγορεύων. . . .

μὴ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. The antithesis of λόγος and ἔργον here is the antithesis set forth by St. Paul as that of γράμμα and πνεῦμα. See Ep. Rom. ii. 29, vii. 6, Ep. II Cor. iii. 6, Ev. Marc. vii. 6-7 (Esa. xxix. 13), Ep. Rom. ii. 21-23 (ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν, μοιχεύεις; ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδῶλα, ἱεροσυλεῖς; κ.τ.λ.) Ps. xlix (Sept.) 16 seq.

μηδ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον κ.τ.λ. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* V. 1. c.: πολλάκις κρατίστη τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ δικαιοσύνη [being ἀρετὴ πρὸς ἕτερον] καὶ τελεία μάλιστα ἀρετὴ, ὅτι τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς χρήσις ἐστίν, τελεία δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον δύναται τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον καθ' αὐτόν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσιν.

τιμωρίας . . . τιμῶν, "that you may come by commendation, not condemnation."

§ 3. εἰρηνικὰς, "civil". The distinction of civil and military offices had existed for long enough under the Republic. Aediles and urban quaestors held ἀρχὰς εἰρηνικὰς, so again did the tribunes of the plebs, if the tribunate may be reckoned as an ἀρχή



and not μᾶλλον ἀντίταξις ἀρχῆς. The censorship again was an ἀρχή εἰρηνική, and the prefectures in the municipia. The consulate and the praetorship comprised military as well as civilian functions; they were ἀρχαὶ διφυεῖς, especially in their provincial forms. Under the principate, one finds the proconsulate made a civilian office (c. 13), while that of the legates governing Caesarean provinces combined civil with military occupations, as also did the procuratorship in certain instances. The prefecture of the praetorium, originally a military office, became a civilian one in the third century A.D. In the reorganization of the Empire begun by Diocletian, the distinction of civilian from military offices was made complete.

τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀρίστοις κ.τ.λ. Arist. *Pol.* III. 7. 3: καλεῖν δ' εἰώθαμεν τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποβλέπουσαν συμφέρον βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων μὲν πλειόνων δ' ἐνὸς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀρχειν, ἢ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀριστον τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτῆς. In Aristotle's ideal polity, the citizen-body is identical with the governing class, and consists exclusively of the men of war, the men of counsel, and the priests (*Pol.* VII-IV. 9.). The Senate, in Rome, consisted of men of war, men of counsel, and priests. There was no such provision, however, in Rome as there was in Aristotle's polity for making sure that these men should be ἀριστοι.

§ 4. τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τιμᾶτε κ.τ.λ.. Comp. Ep. I Thess. v. 12-13, and 14.

πολιτευομένους. Comp. Act. Apost. xxiii. 1; Ep. Philipp. i. 27.

τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινά. Comp. Thucyd. I. 70: ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρώνται, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, II. 43: κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον.

ἀπέχεσθε. Polybius VI. 55: παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις σπάνιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἀπεχόμενον ἄνδρα τῶν δημοσίων, καὶ καθαρεύοντα περὶ ταῦτα παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σπάνιόν ἐστι τὸ λαβεῖν τινὰ πεφωραμένον ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ πράξει. This was written about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Polybius accounts for the honesty of the Romans by their δεισιδαιμονία, the influence of which, he says, permeates all life and affairs, public and private. It was this religion and its salutary restraints and constraints that Octavian endeavoured to revive and restore.

τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' κ.τ.λ. (a) Comp. Ev. Luc. xi. 21, xii. 15.

OR (b) Tac. *Ann.* I. 11: addiderat consilium coercendi inter terminos imperii.

§ 5. τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους κ.τ.λ. Virgil *Aen.* VI. 852-4; Juvenal *Sat.* viii. 87 f:

Expectata diu tandem provincia cum te  
 Rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque  
 Pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum.  
 Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis.

Respice, quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet—

Juvenal's "sociorum" covers *τοὺς ὑπηκόους* as well as *τοὺς συμμάχους* of Dio. The term "socii" no longer denoted any Italian communities, but "allied" communities outside Italy. The terms of alliance were more favourable in some cases than in others. Tacitus uses "socii" in the sense of "provincials" (i.e. people inhabiting a region under direct Roman government); see *Ann.* III. 66, IV. 15.

*ἀδικεῖτε*. A veiled reference, possibly, to the attempts at conquest beyond the Euphrates made by Crassus (B.C. 53) and Antony (B.C. 36-35). The verb *ἀδικεῖν* is here used in the sense of "ultro petere".

*μήτε κατ' ἀλλήλων*. Virgil *Aen.* VI. 833-4.

§ 6. *τοὺς τε στρατιώτας κ.τ.λ.* (a) At the beginning of Tiberius' principate, we find the legionary receiving 10 *asses* a day, out of which various charges, reasonable or the reverse, had to be met. Bounties were given to time-expired men: Augustus says in the *Mon. Ancyr.* (c. XVI) that he expended 4,000,000 sesterces in bounties in the period from the consulate of Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso to that of L. Caninius and Q. Fabricius (U.C. 747-752). The *aerarium militare* was founded in A.D. 6 to provide for the regular payment of these bounties. Property acquired in the course of military service by a "filius familias" could be dealt with by him as his own, not being reckoned "in corpore census omne tenet cuius regimen pater". The mutineers in Pannonia and Germany, A.D. 14, complained of being under-paid, but Tacitus represents this complaint as a mere pretence. See *Mon. Ancyr.* c. XVII (institution of the *aerarium militare*), *Juv. Sat.* XVI. 51-54, *Tac. Ann.* I. 16, 35, 78. (b) One kind of *συνοχή* was the keeping of the rank and file constantly occupied with "munia castrensia": see *Tac. Ann.* I. 16, XIII. 35, 53. Juvenal's sixteenth Satire illustrates *θρασύτης στρατιωτικῆς*, as also does John Baptist's advice to the soldiers (*Ev. Luc.* III. 14.). Comp. Plato *Rep.* II. 375, III. 416.

§ 7. *τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα*. Comp. Vell. Paterc. II. 89: *Nihil deinde optare a diis homines, nihil dii hominibus praestare possunt, nihil voto concipi, nihil felicitate consummari, quod non Augustus post reditum in urbem rei publicae Populoque Romano terrarumque orbi repraesentaverit. Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudiciis auctoritas, Senatui maiestas. . . . Prisca illa et antiqua reipublicae forma revocata rediit cultus agris,*

sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio . . .

c. 11. With the scene of dissimulation described in this chapter compare the contents of Tacitus *Ann.* i. 11-13 and Sueton. *Tiberius* 24. The sum and substance of Tiberius' "deprecatio" is that of Octavian's—"in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa, nolite ad unum omnia deferre: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsequentur". Tacitus' comment on Tiberius' discourse "de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia" might also be applied to the oration ascribed by Dio to Octavian—"plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat." Both Tacitus and Suetonius make it plain that while Tiberius discoursed *ποικίλον τι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν*. Of Octavian, as of Tiberius, it may be said that one reason why he made a show of preparing to retire into private life was "ut vocatus electusque a re publica videretur [imperitare]", and another that he desired to test the mind of the Senate (*Ann.* i. 7: cf. c. 2 § 6 above).

*κατελάμβανεν* = gradually took possession of them, while the reading of the speech was in progress (*ἀναλέγοντοί*).

*ὀλίγοι*, viz. *οἱ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδευοι τῶν βουλευτῶν* (ch. 2. § 7).

§ 2. *περιτέχνησις* = astus.

*πραγματεία* = propositum.

*τὸ τε γὰρ δὴμ.* Cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 2: cum novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. See also III. 28.

§ 3. There were (A) those who believed that Octavian said what he meant and meant what he said. Of these (a) those who wished it to be so, who believed because they wished that he would retire, were afraid to show their pleasure, while (b) those who believed him, but wished that he would not retire and hoped that eventually he would not, could not show pleasure over a proposal which meant the disappointment of their hopes (sc. of advancing by his help). On the other hand (B) there were those who did not believe that Octavian was speaking seriously; these were either unwilling or afraid to express their real opinion and sentiments.

§ 4. *διεβδων*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 11: Ac patres, quibus unus metus, si intelligere viderentur, in questus, lacrimas, vota effundi, etc. *μοναρχεῖσθαι δεδμενοι*. "Quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?" "Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium, quam ut ab uno regatur." "Unum est rei publicae corpus, atque ab uno regendum."

*κατηνάγκασαν δῆθεν*. Tac. *Ann.* i. 13: fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum, flexit paullatim. . . Suet. *Tiberius*, 24: Tandem, quasi coactus, et querens miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem, recepit imperium.

αὐταρχῆσαι = αὐτοκράτωρ γενέσθαι. Comp. note on c. 6 § 3 ἰδιωτεῦσαι.

§ 5. τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτόν, "iis, quos in cohortes praetorias delecturus erat".

διπλάσιον τὸν μισθόν. The difference between the pay of the praetorians and that of the legionaries had become still greater by the beginning of Tiberius' reign, when the former were getting two denarii a day, and the latter ten asses, at sixteen asses to the denarius (Tac. *Ann.* i. 17). Possibly Dio thought that the legionaries were paid a denarius a day.

ὅπως ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουράν ἔχη. Plato *Rep.* viii. 566: τὸ δὲ τυραννικὸν αἷτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον . . . αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φύλακὰς τινὰς τοῦ σώματος. Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 14. 1285 24, viii (v). 10. 1311. a. 8, finds that the bodyguard of a king is composed of his own compatriots, but that of a tyrant is drawn from foreign countries. But Pisistratus' κορυνηφόροι were Athenians (Hdt. i. 59). Octavian became sovereign over the Roman State (αὐταρχῶν) with the consent, and at the urgent instance, of the Senate, the best of the citizens, although—if we are to believe Dio—he was quite resolved in any case to retain the sovereignty he already held *de facto*, which purpose one might call φρόνημα τυραννικόν. His δορυφόροι, the Praetorians, were however not foreigners, but natives of Italy and *cives Romani* (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5).

οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς κ.τ.λ. = "So sincere was his desire to lay down his absolute power." Compare Tac. *Ann.* i. 10. Augustus' detractors represented "cupido dominandi" as the determining motive in his career.

c. 12. § 1. ἡγεμονίαν. Comp. Ev. Luc. iii. 1 and Polyb. viii. 4: τῆς ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίας.

παρὰ τῆς γερονσίας τοῦ τε δήμου. The express mention of the people implies that a law ("lex est, quod Populus Romanus iubet") was passed, sanctioning the agreement made between Octavian and the Senate. The title of such a law would be "Lex de imperio C. Iulii C. F. Caesaris." See Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 407-408, for the text of the Lex de imperio Vespasiani, passed U.C. 822, A.D. 69.

δημοτικός: civilis. Comp. Dio 46-55 (the conference of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian at Bononia): καὶ διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἐννασθείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν. ἵνα δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἀντικρυς ἐφίεσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς φθόνος καὶ τούτου καὶ ἐναντίωσις παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων γένηται, τὰδε διωμολογήσαντο. κοινῇ μὲν τοὺς τρεῖς, πρὸς τε διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπιμελητάς τε τινας καὶ διορθωτάς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς αἰεὶ δῆθεν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἔτη πέντε, αἰρεθῆναι . . . . . ἰδίᾳ δὲ δὴ, ὅπως μὴ καὶ πᾶσαν

τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετερίζεσθαι νομισθῶσι, Καίσαρι μὲν τὴν τε Λιβύην ἑκατέρα καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν· Λεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν· Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν . . . ἀρχεῖν δοθῆναι . . . , and 56: ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω διέλαχον, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε τὰ ἰσχυρότατα λάβωσι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξαν τοῦ μὴ καὶ πάντων ὀριγνᾶσθαι παράσχωσι. For the agreement of U.C. 727 comp. Suet. Aug. 47: Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit: et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. . . . Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta duntaxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit.

§ 2. πολεμίους προσοίκους ἔχοντα. Comp. Mon. Ancyr. c. xxvi: Omnium provinciarum Populi Romani, quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro, fines auxi.

νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα, Egypt, in particular. Tac. Ann. II. 59: Nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgeret Italiam quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris, quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus, insedisset. According to Dio, 51, 17, Octavian made Cornelius Gallus, an *eques*, prefect of Egypt: πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ πολὺ ἀνδρὸν καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ βῆδιν τό τε κοῦφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοπομπίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐνεπιδημεῖν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν, ἂν μὴ ἴναι αὐτὸς ὀνόμαστί συγχωρήσῃ, 52-42: καὶ προσπατεῖ περὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βουλευταῖσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς τινὲς κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ φυλάσσεται. πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἐς τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμῶς ἄλλοσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδημῆσαι ἔξεστιν. (Dio wrote in the days of Alexander Severus, who was Emperor from 222 to 235 C.E.)

§ 3. ἔργῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ. i.e. his real purpose was to put the Senate in a position, with regard to himself, similar to that into which the Ionian allies allowed themselves to decline, with regard to Athens (Thucyd. I. 99).

§ 4. ἐνομίσθη, "the custom was instituted". Cf. c. 14 § 5, c. 17 § 11 and τὸ νομιζόμενον c. 1 § 1. Nearly all the older provinces of the Empire were assigned to the Senate. Sicily and Sardinia and Baetica had been acquired in the third century B.C., Africa, Macedonia and Asia in the second.

Ἀφρικῇ. Horace *Carm.* III. xvi. 31: fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae, *Sat.* II. iii. 87: Frumentum quantum metit Africa.

Νουμιδία. There was still a king and kingdom of Numidia, under the protectorate of Rome. But the greater part of Numidia

had become Romanized, and in u.c. 729 Augustus formed a new realm for the Numidian king, consisting of Mauretania and part of Gaetulia. See c. 75.

*Ἀσία.* Greenidge, *Hist. of Rome*, I. pp. 129-130, 172-187; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, I. pp. 325, 346-350; Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia* 6, 14. Tacitus, *Ann.* III. 60-63, IV. 15, 5; 36, 2-3 55-57; Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, ch. x.

*ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου.* Note that Dio does not use here the name Achaia, by which the Roman province, consisting of Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus was usually denoted (as, e.g., in Act. Ap. xviii. 12, Ep. Cor. II. xi. 10). It was only in u.c. 727 that the province Achaia was formed. From 608 to 727 u.c. there were Greek city-states and cantons allied with Rome, and controlled by the Senate in respect of external relations, while enjoying internal autonomy. The territories of Thebes, Corinth, and Chalcis were "agri vectigales", owned by the *Populus Romanus*. But there was no "province" of Greece, in the sense of a defined area under the administration of a Roman magistrate specially appointed thereto, nor was Greece included in the "province" of Macedonia—See Holm, *History of Greece*, IV, 412-413, 424-431 (Eng. trans.).

*τὸ Δελματικόν.* The Dalmatians were subdued by Octavian after much hard fighting (mostly the reduction of hill-fortresses) in the years u.c. 718-721. See Dio 49. 34-38, Sueton. *Augustus* 20. Dio uses the term *τὸ Δελματικόν* instead of *Δαλματία* because the province included other territory besides Dalmatia, viz. the Pannonian land between the Save and the Drave. Compare *τὸ Ἰλλυρικόν*, Illyricum, denoting a region containing other than Illyrian territory properly so called, and *τὸ Μακεδονικόν*, denoting the province Macedonia, which contained other territory in addition to the country of the *Μακεδόνες*.

*Κρήτη μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς περὶ Κυρήνην.* Crete and "the parts of Libya about Cyrene" (Act. Ap. ii. 10) had been coupled together as one province since u.c. 680.

*Βιθυνία.* Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, had bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman People in u.c. 680. This, together with the western districts of the kingdom of Pontus (*μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἱ Πόντου*) was organized as a province by Pompey, u.c. 692.

*Σαρδῶ.* Along with Sardinia went Corsica. These two islands had formed one province since their annexation in u.c. 517.

*τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας.* They were accounted of as "provinciae propriae Populi Romani", the others being "provinciae Caesaris". Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 427.

§ 5. *Ναρβωνήσιοι, Λουγδουνήσιοι* = Narbonenses, Lugdunenses. Comp. *πρὸς Φιλιππησίους* = ad Philippenses, *Κρήσκης* = Crescens,

Πούδης = Pudens, Κλήμης = Clemens, Ουάλης = Valens. The region of which Narbo Martius (founded u.c. 636) was the capital was known as "the Province" (Provincia—whence the mediaeval and modern name Provence). It was transferred to the Senate in u.c. 732 (see below). Mommsen (*Roman Provinces*, vol. I. pp. 84-85) connects with this transfer (or retrocession) the division of the "New Gaul" (the region conquered and annexed by Julius) into three provinces, each with an independent *legatus pro praetore*, viz. 1. Belgica, 2. Lugdunensis, 3. Aquitania. In u.c. 727 there were four Roman colonies in the Narbonese besides Narbo itself (Baeterrae, Arausio, Arelas, Forum Iulii) but in the rest of Gaul only one, Lugdunum, founded in u.c. 711 by Lepidus and L. Plancus (Dio 46. 50). The Romanizing of "Gallia Comata" was as yet only at its beginning.

§ 6. Κελτῶν τινες, οὗς δὴ Γερμανοὺς κ.τ.λ. Dio makes a sharp distinction between Γαλάται and Κελτοί. Compare 54. 11: Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πεμφθεὶς (u.c. 733) τὰ κατεπεύγοντα διέψκσε, ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη· ἐν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο, and 32: [Drusus] τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν Ῥήνον διαβαίροντας ἀνέκοψε. The "Germanoi" in his view are emigrant "Keltai" and his Kelts are the Teutons of the prevailing ethnology. The inhabitants of Belgic Gaul seem to have had affinities and points of resemblance with the Teutonic nations on the east of the Rhine, and Dio has probably confused Gallia Celtica and Gallia Belgica. In u.c. 7 Agrippa invited the Ubii, who had been allies of the Roman Republic since 700, to cross the Rhine and settle upon its left bank. The Ubii, being hard pressed by the Sugambri and others who hated them for their friendship with Rome, were glad enough to accept the invitation. They received assignments of land extending along the river from its confluence with the Moselle to the vicinity of Neuss. The provinces of Upper and Lower Germany are already in existence in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 73, III. 41, I. 31.) but their distinct formation cannot safely be referred to a date earlier than that of the "Clades Variana" (A.D. 9.)

μετά. Comp. the use of μετά in Iliad A. 423: Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας χθιζὺς ἔβη.

§ 7. ἡ Συρία ἡ κοίλη καλουμένη ἢ τε Φοινίκη καὶ Κιλικία. In Dio's time (2nd-3rd century C.E.) there were separate provinces of Coele-Syria, Syro-Phoenicia, and Cilicia. Coele-Syria and Syro-Phoenicia had been separated by Septimius Severus, A.D. 195. Cilicia had become a separate province earlier in the century. The name Coele-Syria properly denotes the region between Libanus and Anti Libanus. In u.c. 727 the province of Syria included Coele-Syria



and Phoenicia, the territory between the Lebanons and the Euphrates, and Cilicia. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, II. 117-118 and I. 323, 324, 336.

**Κιλικία.** For the connection of Cilicia with Syria in the first century, see Tac. *Ann.* II. 78, 79, 80 and III. 12 (Piso's seizure of Celenderis represented as "armis repetita provincia", the "provincia" being Syria), Ep. Gal. i. 21: τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας. Cicero's province of Cilicia consisted of Cilicia itself, with Cyprus, Pamphylia, and part of Phrygia. Western Cilicia (i.e. Cilicia Aspera, highland Cilicia) was left under the government of native princes (Tac. *Ann.* II. 78, VI. 41, XII. 55), the Roman legate only making his appearance there when serious rebellion broke out. See Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 13 (2nd ed.).

**Κύπρος.** Annexed U.C. 696, ceded by Antony to Cleopatra, U.C. 718.

**ὕστερον, viz. U.C. 732.** Dio 54. 4: τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ὀπλῶν δεομένης, καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο. The ἀνθύπατος of Cyprus is mentioned in Act. Apost. xviii. 12.

**τὴν Δελματίαν**, the Dalmatians being a decidedly warlike race. In U.C. 740 they rose in rebellion, and though cowed for the time being by the appearance of Agrippa on the scene, they broke out again after his death in U.C. 742. Tiberius was then engaged for three years in suppressing the rebellion and conquering the region between the Save and the Drave. Again, in A.D. 6 the Dalmatians rebelled, and were joined by the Pannonians. The suppression of this revolt was only achieved at the cost of three years' hard fighting, Tiberius again being the commander-in-chief of the Roman armies. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, I. pp. 21-24, 38-42. In the reign of Tiberius two legions were stationed in Dalmatia (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 5).

§ 8. καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, e.g. Achaia and Macedonia. See Tac. *Ann.* I. 76: Achaia ac Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, levare in praesens proconsulari imperio, tradique Caesari, placuit. They were "restored to the Senate and People" in A.D. 44. See Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 428.

**τὸ γε ἀρχαῖον.** Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 81: Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. On the other hand, Numidia was separated from Africa and became a "provincia Caesaris" in A.D. 37; see Mommsen, op. cit. II. p. 310. In the second century, Cilicia was separated from Syria, and then Syria itself was divided (v. s.).

§ 9. τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν κ.τ.λ. The following provinces were added by conquest (προσεκτήθη) in the period between the first

constitution of the Principate and the time at which Dio wrote—  
 1. *Alpes Maritimae*, 2. *Alpes Cottiae*, 3. *Alpes Graiae*, 4. *Raetia*,  
 5. *Noricum* (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, I. 15-19), 6. *Pannonia*,  
 7. *Moesia* (op. cit. I. 13-14, 22-24, 38-42), 8. *Britannia* (op. cit.  
 I, ch. v.), 9. *Dacia* (I. 219-225), 10. *Arabia* (II. 152). *Moesia* was  
 divided into Upper and Lower by Domitian (I. 227); the same thing  
 done in *Pannonia* by Trajan (I. c.). Britain was divided into  
 Upper and Lower (or First and Second) by Severus (I. 190). The  
 first seven of these were, it will be noticed, added in the reign of  
 Augustus. The following were client-kingdoms of self-governing  
 states converted from time to time into provinces: 1. *Judaea*  
 (beginning with the reduction of *Judaea* proper "in formam pro-  
 vinciae" A.D. 6), 2. *Galatia* (U.C. 729 = B.C. 25: below, c. 26), 3. *Pam-  
 phylia* (U.C. 729: I. c.), 4. *Cappadocia* (A.D. 17: Tac. *Ann.* II. 42 and  
 56), 5. *Commagene* (A.D. 17: I. c.), 6. *Lycia* (A.D. 43: Sueton. *Claudius*  
 25), 7. *Pontus* (A.D. 64: Mommsen, op. cit. II. 64), 8. *Thrace* (A.D. 46:  
 op. cit. I. 211), 9. *Mauretania Caesariensis*, 10. *Mauretania Tingi-  
 tana* (A.D. 42: Dio, 60. 9: Mommsen, II. 313-314). All provinces  
 added after U.C. 727, whether by conquest or not, became "pro-  
 vinciae Caesaris".

*αὐτόνομα*. Besides the Lycian Confederation (Mommsen,  
*Roman Provinces*, I. p. 333: Tac. *Ann.* XIII., 33-4 with Furneaux'  
 note), there was a large number of free cities in the Hellenic East,  
 such as Lacedaemon, Athens, Rhodes, Byzantium, Cyzicus, Samos,  
 Magnesia ad Sipylum. Their status as "liberae civitates" was of  
 course entirely dependent upon the good pleasure of the Roman  
 Government: e.g. Cyzicus was deprived of its liberties in U.C. 734,  
 for five years, as a punishment for the maltreatment and slaying of  
 Roman citizens in a faction-fight, and once again it was disfran-  
 chised in A.D. 25 (Dio 54. 7 and 23, 57. 24 and Tac. *Ann.* IV. 36,  
 Sueton. *Tiberius* c. 37). Augustus' policy made turbulence a  
 reason for disfranchisement—"urbes quasdam, foederatas sed ad  
 exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit" (Sueton. *Aug.* 25)—  
 and other Emperors followed suit, Tiberius in the case of Cyzicus  
 (Tac. I. c.) and Vespasian in that of the free cities of Achaia and  
 Lycia. Rhodes, Byzantium, and Samos were also disfranchised by  
 Vespasian, and their citizens reduced to the ordinary status of  
 provincials. (Sueton. *Vespasianus* 8).

c. 13. § 1. *μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν*, "regno inhiare". ἐς δέκα ἔτη, i.e.  
 to Dec. 31, U.C. 736 = 18 B.C.

*καταστήσειν αὐτά*, "establish order in them". Comp. *κατάστασις*  
 in Dio 46. 55 (cited above, c. 12 § 1 note on *δημοτικὸς*).

*προσθενανέσταιο*. The reader may supply "non sine risu  
 audientium."

§ 2. ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, "provinces of both classes" (viz. "armed" and "unarmed").

δι' ἀπερ εἶπον. See note on νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα, c. 12 § 2.

ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς: holding their office (of provincial governor) for a year and appointed to it by the drawing of lots (sortitio).

πολυκαίδας ἢ γάμου προνομία—Dio 54. 16 (U.C. 736 = 18 B.C.): [Augustus] τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε καὶ ἐμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ὅθλα ἔθηκεν. See Bk. 56. 1-10 (A.D. 9); the equites having petitioned for repeal of the law περὶ τῶν μῆτε γαμούντων μῆτε τεκνούντων, Augustus assembled them in the Forum, and delivered an oration, praising those who had wives and children and rebuking those who were childless (these latter being the majority). The privileges of those who had children were increased, and those who were childless were allowed a year in which to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. Certain wives obtained exemption from the Lex Voconia, which prohibited women from inheriting property above the value of 100,000 sesterces. καὶ τοῦτου ὁ τε Πάπιος καὶ ὁ Ποππαῖος νόμος ὑπὸ τε Μάρκου Παπίου Μοντίλου καὶ ὑπὸ Κνίντου Ποππαίου Σεκούλου, τῶν τότε ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατευόντων, ἐτέθησαν (Dio seems to understand that two laws were passed, but apparently there was only one, the Lex Papia Poppaea, named after the two *consules suffecti* who promulgated it). καὶ συνέβη γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς μὴ ὅτι παῖδας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γυναῖκας ἔχειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ νόμου κατεφωράθη. Augustus was anxious to preserve what was left of the old Roman stock, and restore it to its pristine numbers, lest its place should be taken by foreign and debased growths. See also Tac. *Ann.* III. 25: in A.D. 20 "relatum de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam senior Augustus, post Iulias rogationes [laws of U.C. 736-737, de adulteriis, de pudicitia, de maritandis ordinibus] incitandis caelibum poenis et augendo aerario sanxerat" and xv. 19; in A.D. 63 a S.C. was passed "ne simulata adoptio in ulla parte muneris publici iuvaret, ac ne usurpandis quidem hereditatibus prodesset". Childless men had been adopting sons for the occasion, in order to qualify as candidates for urban magistracies and provincial governments, manumitting their "sons" when the adoption had served its purpose.

§ 3. τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερονσίας συλλόγου. "Senatores" was a title common to "consulares", "praetorii", tribunes, aediles, and quaestors.

μῆτε ξίφος, i.e. not possessing "ius gladii", so far at any rate as soldiers were concerned. See § 6.

ἀνθύπατοι = "proconsules". Cf Sueton. *Aug.* 47 cited on c. 12 § 1, and Act. Ap. xiii. 7, 12, xviii. 12.

δοκούντων ἐστρατηγήκεναι = στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς ἔχόντων, insignia praetoria habentium. Praetorian insignia were conferred upon Drusus in honour of his victory over the Alpine tribes in the Tridentine region, U.C. 739 (Dio 54. 22).

§ 4. λαβδούχοις = "lictoribus". Act. Ap. xvi. 35.

δοσισπερ, sc. twelve.

ἐπίσημα = "insignia".

ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου = "extra pomerium". This concession could not be understood as the bestowal upon proconsuls of a right to actual exercise of proconsular *imperium* in Italy. At the same time, it served to make a distinction between the soil of Rome and that of Italy, although Italy up to the Rubicon had been Romanized for some sixty years. Rome had not sunk to the position of a *municipium*.

§ 5. αἰρεῖσθαι. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 53, "missu principis", in contradistinction from "sorte", which is appropriate to governors of "Senatorial" or "unarmed" provinces (cf. κληρωτοὺς above, § 2.)

πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ (leg. αὐτοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου τε = "legatos Augusti pro praetoribus".

καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατ. "even if they are *consulares viri*, men who have held the consulship"—just as governors of "provinciae inermes" were (by inverse usage) styled "proconsuls" even when they had not attained to the consulship, but were really "praetorii" (§§ 3-4). Cf. the use of "procos." in Cic. *ad Fam.* v. 1 and 2.

τὰ μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. "Praetor", cognate with "praeire", means "one who goes before", especially one who leads into battle. It was originally the title of the consuls, and may have been one of the regal titles, one of the most important functions of the king in primitive times being to "go before" his people and "fight their battles" (I. Samuel viii. 20). According to Livy III. 55 "praetor" was the title of the chief magistrate of the Roman People as late as U.C. 305 = 449 B.C. Στρατηγός is the regular rendering of "praetor" in the Greek histories of Rome. In point of etymology, ἡγεμὼν would serve as well, but the historians were aware that "praeior" originally meant one who led the army, and was ὄνομα τῷ πολέμῳ προσήκον. The name was appropriated in 366 B.C. to the magistrate then for the first time appointed as a colleague, though not on an equal footing, of the consuls, for "disceptatio et custodia iuris civilis". The patricians had been compelled to recognize the eligibility of plebeians to the chief magistracy. As a set-off against the accession of plebeians to the position of commanders-in-chief of Roman armies, the defeated party instituted a new magistracy,

which was to be "cum imperio", though subordinate to the consuls, to be open to patricians only, and to take over the judicial functions hitherto exercised by the "praetores maximi" or "consules". The holder of this new office was to be entitled "praetor", the office itself "praetura". Thus the victory of the plebeians was in part nullified. The "iuris disceptator" continued to be a patrician. But within the space of a generation the patricians had to fall back from this extemporized second line of defence for their "prae-potentia" (Livy VII. 1, VIII. 15; Cic. *de Legibus* III. 3. 8: iuris disceptator, qui privata iudicet iudicari iubeat, praetor esto. is iuris civilis custos esto. huic potestate pari, quotcumque Senatus creverit Populusve iusserit, tot sunt).

ἐρηνικωτέρος. Cf. ch. 12 § 2. The name "praetor", however warlike its original significance and associations, had become rather a civilian or peaceful title, though in the provinces the praetors or propraetors were military commanders, each one commander-in-chief within the limits of his province. (So too in Italy, upon occasion: e.g. Lucius Opimius, sent to put down the revolt of Fregellae in 125 B.C.; Q. Pompeius Rufus to Capua and Q. Metellus Celer into Picenum in 63 B.C. to raise troops in defence of the Republic against Catiline.) But, in itself, "consul" is more of a civilian title than "praetor". "Consul" means "colleague", and the fact especially connoted by it is the limitation of the power of each consul by that of his equal associatus ("par maiorve potestas plus valet"—Cic. *De Legibus* III. 4. 11). The regular Greek equivalent, ὑπατος, reflects "summum imperium", "summa potestas", "summus magistratus" (cf. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 8. 18; Caes. *B. G.* I. 16). It can hardly be said that in its origin the name "proconsul" was peaceful. See Livy VIII. 23 (Palaepolim obsidente Q. Publilio cos. II, U.C. 428): cum et comitiorum dies instaret et Publilium . . . avocari ab spe capiendae in dies urbis haud e re publica esset, actum cum tribunis est ad Populum ferrent ut, cum Publilius Philo consulatu abisset, pro consule rem gereret quoad debellatum cum Graecis esset, and Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, § 45 (p. 44). But, in the distribution of provinces between the Princeps and the Senate, those which were assigned to the former required the presence of armies ("provinciae armatae"), while those appertaining to the latter had no armies (or none of any size) stationed in them ("provinciae inermes").

§ 6. ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐαυτῷ δόξῃ. Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* I. 80.

δικαιῶσαι, "to punish". Cf. Hdt I. 100: [Delokos] εἰ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅπως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίειν, Thucyd. III. 40 (Cleon loquitur): πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ τὰ τε δίκαια ἐς τοὺς Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε, ἄλλως δέ

γνόντες τοῖς μὲν οὐ χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαίωςσεσθε. Authority to condemn to death, and have the sentence executed, held good (in the provinces) only over Romans in military service. See Abbott, op. cit. §§ 159, 441.

§ 7. ἐπιτρόπῳ = "procuratori". Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judaea under Tiberius, had "ius gladii" over Jews (Ev. Ioann. xviii. 30 xix. 11), but his successor Porcius Festus had to allow Paul, the Roman citizen, to appeal unto Caesar (Act Ap. xxv. 11-12).

§ 8. ὀνομάζονται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. Polybius uses ἐξαπέλεκτος, ἐξαπέλεκτος στρατηγός (or ἡγεμών) and ἐξαπέλεκτος ἀρχὴ for "praetor" and "praetura" (L.S. s.v.). The Republican praetor had six fasces and securae, and so had the Imperial "legatus Augusti, pro praetore" at first, as it appears, though in the third century the number is five, whence the legate was called "quinquefusalis" (see Hardy, *Studies in Roman History* I. 277).

c. 14. § 1. ἀμφοτέρωσε, to both classes of provinces ("armatae" and "inermes").

οὕτω κ.τ.λ. = τοιοῦτος οὖν ἦν ὁ τότε ταχθεὶς (καταστάς) νόμος, καθ' ὃν ἐπέμποντο.

καὶ στρατηγοῦντες κ.τ.λ. Many were sent to provinces before the end of their consulate or praetorship in Rome.

νῦν. Dio's history was not completed earlier than A.D. 235.

§ 2. μηδὲνα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν. Augustus revived the Lex Pompeia de Iure Magistratum, passed u.c. 702. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 36: auctor . . . fuit ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur, and see note on c. 17 § 3 below.

§ 3. πλείους τῶν ἐθνῶν. The "provinces of the Senate and People", mentioned in c. 12 § 4, are eleven in number. In addition to the two consuls, twelve praetors were elected every year.

προστέθησαν κ.τ.λ. This must be distinguished from the transference of provinces from the Caesarian to the Senatorian class (for which see c. 12 §§ 5, 7, 8 and notes). What Dio says here is that the appointment of governors of "provinces of the Senate and People" was put under the Emperor's control, when there were cases of maladministration in those provinces. The Princeps exercised control of these appointments by having the requisite number of senators taken by lot from a list of names approved by him.

§ 4. οὓς ἂν ἐβλήσῃ. Substitution of ἐξ ὧν for οὓς would make the statement clearer.

αἵρετοὺς τε κ.τ.λ. The pronoun *τινὲς* must be understood to represent αὐτοκράτορες. For an instance of straight selection (*αἵρεσις*) by a Princeps, see Tac. *Ann.* III. 32: de Africa decretum, ut Caesar legeret, cui mandanda foret, the Senate declining to make the choice, though called upon by Tiberius to do so.



πλείω ἐνιαυτοῦ. "Continuatio imperii" was frequent enough in the case of legates governing "provinciae Caesaris", especially under Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* I. 80); it was the exception, rather than the rule, with the proconsuls of the "provinciae Senatus Populique Romani".

ἱππεῦσιν. Equestrians were occasionally appointed by the Emperors to the government of Senatorial provinces.

ἐπεμψαν, ἐπέτρεψαν, προσέταξαν. These aorists may be rendered in English by perfects.

§ 5. τοὺς ἀρχομένους, i.e. persons who were not *cives Romani*, but subjects and allies (*socii*).

ἐνομίσθη. Cf. the use of νομίζειν in ch. 12 § 4, ch. 13 § ch. 17 §§ 10-11, ch. 18 § 4, ch. 28 § 3.

οἱ ταμείοντες = "quaestores": cf. ch. 15 § 1, ch. 28. § 4.

οἱ παρεδρέοντες = "comites", or "assessores". τοῖς τὸ κύρος . . . ἔχουσιν, i.e. the regular governors.

ὡς περ εἶπον, = "As I have called them"; referring to οὕτω, and οἱ παρεδρέοντες. Compare the use of εἶπα = ἐκάλεσα in modern Greek, e.g. τοῦ εἶπα χονδροκέφαλο = I called him a blockhead. With the use of the aorist as a perfect, see note on § 4 and ch. 15 § 1.

πρεσβευτάς = "legatos". Apparently, Dio thought that the title "legatus" and its Greek equivalent should be reserved for the governors of the great Caesarian provinces. Under the old Republic, provincial governors had their *legati* (e.g. Caesar in Gaul, Pompey in the wars with the pirates and Mithridates) and Blaesus, proconsul of Africa, had a *legatus* (Scipio) in the war with Tacfarinas (Tac. *Ann.* III. 74). These legates, however, were military commanders, and Dio is speaking here of civilian officials.

§ 7. ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, i.e. out of the class of "praetorii"—members of the Senate who had advanced as far as the praetorship in the "cursus honorum". ὑποδεεστέρων, i.e. senators who had not yet attained to the praetorship.

c. 15. § 1. πολιτικά στρατόπεδα = "legiones civium Romanorum", as distinguished from allied or auxiliary forces.

τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατ. There might, however, be ex-consuls among these governors (see c. 13. § 5) and in fact there always were.

ἤδη δέ, "and by this time", "and now-a-days" (i.e. in Dio's time).

τεταμεινκότων—ἀρξάντων. Note the co-ordination of the perfect and aorist participle. Cf. note on the aorists in c. 14 §§ 4 and 5, ch. 16 § 3.

§ 2. χιλιάρχους = "tribunos militum". Act. Ap. xxi. 31 etc. τοὺς βουλευσοντας. Cf. Maecenas' advice to Augustus in



Bk 52, c. 25: ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἱππέων διὰ πολλῶν διελεθῶν ἐλλόγιμος ὥστε καὶ βουλευσάιν γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἢ ἡλικία ἐμποδίζετω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνίδριον καταλεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κὰν λελοχαγηκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ᾧσι.

ἄνω τοῦ λόγου, Bk. 52, ch. 19-26 (Maecenas' counsel regarding the Senatorial and Equestrian Orders).

τείχη = "walled towns" (oppida). The citadel of Memphis is called τὸ Δευκὸν Τεῖχος by Thucydides (I. 109): cf. Ἀβώνου Τεῖχος, a town in Pontus, Διδυμὸν Τεῖχος (Διδυμότειχος, later Διμότιον) in Thrace, Νέων Τεῖχος in Ionia. πολιτικά τεῖχη = walled towns inhabited by *cives Romani* (i.e. coloniae or municipia, e.g. Philippi, Corinth, Pisidian Antioch). ξενικά τεῖχη = walled towns inhabited by non-Romans (e.g. Iconium).

τότε κ.τ.λ., i.e. under the dictatorship, U.C. 705-710.

§ 3. ἐπιτρόπους = "procuratores".

πλὴν καθ' ὅσον κ.τ.λ., i.e. with the exception of supplies "requisitioned" by the proconsuls for their personal needs and those of their staff. These requisitions, even under the Empire, were not always light: Tac. *Ann.* I. 76.

§ 4. ἐντολάς = "instructions".

ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, i.e. with a definite notion and understanding of the nature and extent of their powers. Comp. Thucyd. I. 13, ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι. The proconsuls of the "provinces of the Senate and People" were really *legati Caesaris* as much as the *propraetors* sent to the Caesarian provinces.

μισθοροράν. Cf. Maecenas' *advice*. Bk. 52, c. 23: λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ μισθὸν πάντες οὗτοι οἱ τὰς ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, πλείω μὲν οἱ μείζους ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεέστεροι, μέσον δὲ οἱ μέσοι. οὐτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οἷον τὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποζηῆν, οὐτ' ἀορίστῳ καὶ ἀσταθμῆτι ἀναλώματι ὥσπερ νῦν χρῆσθαι. This with reference to provincial governors. Also Bk 52, c. 25, with reference to fiscal officers: τὰς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημάτων, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω (= τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τοῦ δημόκου, cum *Populi Romani, tum uociorum et amicorum*), καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰς ἐξω πάσας οἱ ἱππεῖς διαχειρίζεσθαι. καὶ μισθὸν οὗτοι τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους (= *qui eiusdem sunt census, sc. equestris*) διοικούντες τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ δὲ ἐλάττωνα, πρὸς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι οὐχ οἷον τὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοὺς, ἅτε καὶ πενεστέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ τι πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὅτι μήτε δυνατόν μήτε συμφέρον ἐστὶ σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε δυνάμεων (= *exercituum*) καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυρίου γίγνεσθαι.

§ 5. ἐργολαβούντες = "conducentes". Juvenal iii. 38: *conducunt foricas*.

φέροντα = προσήκοντα.

τὸ τοῦ ἐξιώματος ὄνομα, e.g. ducenarii (receiving 200 sesterces) Sueton. *Claudius* 24

§ 6. καταλόγους, "levies of troops", "delectus".

ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου. Cf. Ev. Luc. iii. 13 (John Baptist to the τελῶναι): μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε.

ἀνακομιδή = "reditus" cf. ch. 28 § 3.

c. 16. § 1. πάντων dependent upon αὐταρχήσιν (below).

λόγῳ μὲν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 2: At Romae principio anni [U.C. 785] atroces sententiae dicebantur . . . bona Seiani. ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur: tamquam referret. Augustus had all the control over revenue and expenditure which had been granted to the triumvirate by the Lex Titia; see c. 5 § 4, note on ἐλευθερίαν. In c. 11 § 5 Dio describes the power which Augustus held before January 13, U.C. 727, as μοναρχία.

αὐταρχήσιν ἐμελλε. For the use of μέλλειν, compare Apoc. Ioann. iii. 16: μέλλω σε ἐμεῖσαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου, ii. 10: μέλλει βᾶλλειν ὁ διάβολος ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς φυλακὴν. (In employing the future infinitive of the complementary verb, Dio displays more grammatical correctness.) For Dio's representation of Augustus' conduct, cf. note on ἀλλ' ὅπως ἠθέλησα, c. 4 § 4.

§ 2. τῆς δεκαετίας ἐξελεύσεως = "finito 'decennio'". Refer to c. 13 § 1, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη. The δεκαετία ran out on Dec. 31, U.C. 736 = 18 B.C.

ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, sc. U.C. 737-741 = 17-13 B.C. (incl.). See Bk. 54, c. 12. ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ) προήχθη. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος, ὡς τὰ τε κοινὰ θεράπειας ἀκριβοῦς ἔδειτο, καὶ ἔδειλε μὴ, ὅλα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπιβουλευθῇ . . . . πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ δακτύλιος χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο (ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο), ἔπειτα δε καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἰσοῦ πη ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισιν ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη . . .

εἴτα πέντε. Ibid; ὕστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῷ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας προσέλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αἵτις γενέσθαι. This second quinquennium consisted of the years U.C. 742-746 = 12-8 B.C. See Bk. 54, c. 28: κἀν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῇ τε δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αἵτις ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμῶντος ἐξέπεμψε, μείζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχύσαι ἐπιτρέψας. (This was done U.C. 741 = 13 B.C. In the course of the following year, 12 B.C., Agrippa died.) The fact that Augustus made Agrippa his colleague, almost on a standing of equality, in the exercise of αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμονία

for ten years, should be taken into account in considering his attitude towards the old Republican constitution.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα. Bk. 55, c. 6 (U.C. 746): τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ περ ἀφίεις, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα ἐξεληλίθει, ἁκὼν δὴθεν αὖθις ὑπέστη. (Cf. c. 11 §§ 4-5, above: μέχρι οὐ κατηνάγκασαν δὴθεν αὐτὸν αὐτάρχησαι . . . . οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπέθυμσε.) This third decennium = U.C. 747-756 = B.C. 7-A.D. 3 (incl.).

καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις δέκα, viz. A.D. 4-13 (incl.) = U.C. 757-766. See Bk. 55, c. 11 (in Xiphilinus' epitome): πληρωθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δὴθεν, ὑπέδεξάτο. Dio says τὸ τέταρτον, though this was really the *fifth* time that Augustus ὑπέδεξάτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. But Dio is thinking of *decennia*, and the second and third assumptions of the Principate were for *quinquennia* only.

πεντάκις. This refers to *decennial* periods. The second decennium, however, was voted in two successive quinquennia. There were in all six assumptions of the Principate. For the last, see Bk. 56, c. 28: Δουκίου δὲ δὴ Μουνατίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλίου ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐσγραφέντων, τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκῆτη τὴν πέμπτην ἁκὼν δὴ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔλαβε. Notice that Dio is consistent throughout in representing Augustus' unwillingness to undertake the Principate as a studied affectation.

§ 3. καθάπαξ. See ch. 18 § 4, note on πᾶσαι ἄμα.

ἑώρτασαν = "have kept festival". Cf. τεταμεινκῶτων coordinate with ἄρξαντων in c. 15 § 2.

§ 4. πολλά, sc. ἐπίσημα.

περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας = "de dominatu eiurando". Cf. ch. 3 § 3, ch. 9 § 6; and for μοναρχία ch. 11 § 5, ch. 9 § 4.

ἐθνῶν διανομῆς, ch. 12.

τὰς δάφνας. See Mon. Ancyr. c. xxxiv: In consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in Senatus Populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito meo Senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est.

τῶν βασιλείων. Augustus would hardly have called his house τὰ βασιλεια, i.e. "regia", or allowed others so to call it. It is Dio the provincial, rather than Dio the Senator, who gives this name to the residence of the Princes. Yet the titles βασιλεὺς and βασιλεια, given by provincials to the Princes and his residence, bore witness to the fact that Rome and her Empire had passed under the control of a monarch — ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη (ch. 17

§ 1). Cf. "domus regnatric" in Tac. *Ann.* I. 4. There is no connection with the "regia" which Augustus, as Pontifex Maximus, might have occupied after the death of Lepidus, and no doubt did make use of.

τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρῦνον. The "corona civica". See Mon. Ancyrr. I. c.; Ovid *Fasti* I. 614: protegat et notas querna corona fores, Virgil. *Aen.* VI. 772: qui umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu, Ovid. *Met.* I. 562-3 (Apollo's farewell to Daphne): Postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos ante fores stabis: mediamque tuebere quercum.

νικῶντι. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 26: nomen imperatorium adsequi et deportare lauream; Ovid. *Met.* I. 560: Tu ducibus Latiis aderis, quum laeta triumphum vox canit, et longas visent Capitolia pompas.

τοὺς πολίτας σώζοντι. The *titulus* of a *corona civica* read "Ob cives servatos" or "civem servatum".

§ 5. οὐχ ὅτι ἔδοξε. There was no "dogma", either of the Senate (δῶγμα συγκλήτου, Senatus consultum) or of the Emperor (edictum) ordering that the Sovereign's dwelling should be so named.

ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκει. Sueton. *Aug.* 29: publica opera plurima exstruxit; ex quibus praecipua forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio . . . templum Apollinis ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronunciant.

τὸ στρατήγιον = "praetorium" (στρατηγός = praetor; ch. 13 § 5). The residence of the provincial governor was called "praetorium", even in the case of a second-class province like Judaea, governed by a procurator (Ev. Matth. xxvii. 27, Marc. xvi. 16, Ioann. xviii. 28). Augustus, while residing within the *pomerium*, governed the provinces by exercise of *imperium proconsulare*. πραιτώριον in Ep. Philipp. i. 13 probably means the Emperor's residence, "the Palace" (Palatina Domus); cf. τὸ πραιτώριον τοῦ Ἡρώδου in Act. Ap. xxiii. 35. (At the time of writing to the Philippians, Paul was under surveillance in "his own hired house" (Act. Ap. xxviii. 30), not in confinement in the camp or barracks of the Praetorian Guards.)

τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προνομίαν. Livy. I. 7. 5: [Romulus] Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit; Tac. *Ann.* XII. 24 (description of the *pomerium* of Romulus, enclosing *Roma Quadrata* and the Palatine Mount).

φῆμην. The dwelling of Augustus annexed the name of the "mount" upon which it stood, so that this name "Palatium" came to be understood rather in the sense of the sovereign's residence

than in that of the eminence upon which primitive Rome had been founded and fortified. At the same time, the memory of the first occupation of the "mount" by Romulus was by no means lost. Standing as it did upon the Palatine Mount, Augustus' dwelling gained an added dignity from that memory.

§ 6. "Ubi Caesar, ibi Palatium". From this position it was not a far cry to "Ubi Caesar, ibi Roma" (Herodian i. 6. 5: ἐκεῖ ἡ Ῥώμη, οὗτοι ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾖ).

τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄνομα. Mon Ancyr. c. xxxiv, quoted above, § 4 note on τὰς δάφνας; Sueton. *Aug.* 7: postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem Urbis, praevaluisset ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur Augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustave, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens 'Augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est'. The same etymology of 'Augustus' is given by Festus; see Shuckburgh's note on Suetonius, l. c.

§ 8. πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμώτατα. Ovid. *Fasti* i. 609-616:

Sancta vocant *augusta* patres; *augusta* vocantur  
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.

Huius et *augurium* dependet origine verbi,\*  
et quodcunque sua Iuppiter *auget* ope.

Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,  
protegat et notas querna corona fores:

Auspiciousque deis tanti cognominis heres  
omine suscipiat, quo pater, orbis onus.

Ovid connects the bestowal of the title "Augustus" with the Ides of January, *Fasti* i. 587-590:

Idibus in magni castus Iovis aede sacerdos  
semimaris flammis viscera libat ovis:

redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro,  
et tuus *Augusto* nomine dictus avus.

The true chronology appears to be as follows—

(a) Kal. Ian. U.C. DCCXXVII: Octavian "gives back the Empire to the Roman People" (Dio, 53, chs. 3-10).

(b) Id. Ian. eiusdem anni: Division of the provinces between Octavian and the Senate (Dio, 53, ch. 12).

(c) a.d. xvii. Kal. Febr. (= Jan. 16) Octavian receives the title of *Augustus*.

\*Servius explains: "Augusta moenia" (Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 153) as "Augurio consecrata."

καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλληνίζοντες πως. The second καὶ is superfluous. Its presence can only be accounted for on the supposition of clerical error of some sort infecting the text of Dio. 'Ἑλληνίζοντες πως' = "as the nearest Greek equivalent".

σεβαστὸν. Dindorf spells with a small initial: a capital is to be preferred. Cf. Act. Ap. xxv. 21: εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ διάγ-  
νωσιν, also xxvii. 1: ἑκατοντάρχη σπειρῆς Σεβαστῆς (=centurioni cohortis Augustae".)

c. 17. §1. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβὲς μοναρχία κατέστη. Cf. Dio, 52. 1: ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον' ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. Dio goes on to say that the form of government instituted U.C. 727 "would be most truly accounted of as monarchy, for all that two, or even three, persons have been occasionally associated in the supreme power." But was this consciously intended by Augustus? He had Agrippa associated with him in the "monarchy" for nearly six years (17-12 B.C.: see ch. 16 § 2, note on εἶτα πέντε). More than one explanation of this may be offered. Augustus desired to secure himself against Agrippa's ambition. Or, expecting that Agrippa would survive him, he desired to "provide for the succession". But Agrippa appears not to have been ambitious (Bk. 54. ch. 11: ἐμετρίασεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει) and Augustus may not have begun to think of "succession" even in his second decennium of προστασία. It is, to say the least of it, just as likely that Augustus sought to maintain, as far as was possible, the old Republican constitution in being by the application of the "collegiate principle" to the Principate or Protectorate. In his later years we find him taking Tiberius as his associate (Tac. Ann. 1. 3: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis) but by that time he might have realized that the Principate must be continued, and that it would be his wisdom to indicate a successor.

ἔσχον, "have had".

καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς. Instances of two: Augustus and Tiberius, Vespasian and Titus, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Instance of three: Septimius Severus and his two sons. Dio had personal experience of the last-mentioned reign. The main point of his observation, however, is the despotism exercised by the triumvirate.

§ 2. τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μοναρχικόν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 9: it was said in praise of Augustus "non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen, neque dictatura, sed Principis nomine constitutam rem publicam." Id. Ann.



III. 56 (concerning "potestas tribunicia"): Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret. The title of "rex" was objectionable, not only on account of the Tarquinian legend, but because the "exterae gentes" subdued and made tributary by Rome, or lying beyond the pale of the Roman "orbis terrarum", were under the government of "reges". The name of dictator had been made odious by the excesses of Sulla. Caesar's dictatorship had not been cruel, but his tragic fate had been enough, quite apart from memories of the Sullan Terror, to make the names "dictator" and "dictatura" names of evil omen.

τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας τέλους κ.τ.λ. = "sed cum penes illos sit summa res". The Greeks and Greek-speaking inhabitants of the Empire bore witness to the true tendency of the Principate in speaking of the Princes as βασιλεῖς.

§ 3. αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων κ.τ.λ. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6: sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species: minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; but immediately before this comes the statement that the Princes "mandabat honores". See also *Ann.* i. 81 (*comitia consularia* under Tiberius and succeeding *Principes*). Suetonius (*Aug.* 40) asserts that Augustus "comitiorum pristinum ius reduxit", but Tacitus records the transference, in the first year of Tiberius' reign, of the elections "e Campo ad Patres" (*Ann.* i. 15). Augustus set the precedent of nominating twelve candidates for the praetorship (*Ann.* i. 14). Dio represents the policy of the Principate with respect to the old Republican magistracies as originating in the counsel given by Maecenas to Octavian in the course of the year 29 B.C. See Bk. 52, ch. 20: καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἑκπάδα (in ordinem equestrem) ὀκτωκαίδεκάτεις . . . ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον (in Senatum) πεντεκαεικοσιέτεις . . . ταμειύσαντες τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχήσαντες στρατηγείτωσαν (quaestura et aedilitate vel tribunatu functi praetores creantur) τριακοντούτοι γενόμενοι. ταύτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων μόνας οἴκοι, τῆς τε τῶν πατρῶν μνήμης ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλλάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύναι σε φημι χρῆναι. αὐτοὶ μὲντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἰροῦ . . . τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς δ' ἰσχύος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον ὅσον μήτε τοῦ ἀξιώματός τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρήσει καὶ τοῖς νεωτερίσαι τι ἐβελήσουσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει.

πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν. Censorial functions were performed by the Emperors, but there was no election of censors after U.C. 732 = 22 B.C. In that year Augustus refused the offer of the censorship for life, and caused Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus to be elected censors. This, says Dio (Bk. 54, ch. 2) was the last occasion on which the censorship was held by colleagues of private station—ἰσχατοὶ οὗτοι τὴν τιμητείαν ἰδιῶται



ἀμα ἱσχοῖ. But while he caused Lepidus and Plancus to be elected censors, he reserved the actual exercise of censorial functions mainly to himself—καίπερ ἐκείνων αἰρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἔπραξε. In U.C. 726=28 B.C., Octavian and Agrippa, consuls of that year, held the census in exercise of *censoria potestas* (see ch. 1 § 3, note on τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε), this power being originally inherent in the consulship. The perpetual censorship was refused by Augustus in 22 B.C. as "contra morem et instituta maiorum" (Mon. Ancyr. c. vi: see further on § 7 below). In U.C. 746=8 B.C. and again in U.C. 767=A.D. 14 Augustus held the census "consulari cum imperio"; on the former occasion alone, on the latter with Tiberius as his colleague. In both cases the consular *imperium* was exercised for the special purpose of the census, without displacing the ordinary consuls of either year. See Mon. Ancyr. c. viii: in consulatu sexto (28 B.C.) censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi . . . iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci, C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos . . . tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci, Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos. This application of the consular *imperium* was a return to the practice of the old Republic as it had been previous to the first election of censors in U.C. 319=435 B.C. See Shuckburgh on Suet. Aug. 27. In Bk. 55, ch. 13, Dio makes mention of a partial census held by Augustus in A.D. 4. It was confined to Italy, and even within Italy to persons possessed of property to the amount of not less than 50,000 denarii. For the purpose of holding this census, Augustus, says Dio, assumed *proconsular imperium*—ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθαρίσθαι πόλιν προσέθετο—in order not to appear as though he were acting ὡς τιμητής. It was hardly necessary that Augustus in A.D. 4 should assume proconsular authority; he held it already (see ch. 32 § 5). Besides, there was no scope in Italy for proconsular imperium. Augustus held *consular imperium* (granted for life: Dio 54. 10); even if he did not, he could have caused the consuls of the year to take the census proceedings in hand. Dio 54. 10 and 30, asserts that twice over Augustus was made *ἐπιμελητὴς τρόπων* (*praefectus morum*) for a period of five years. The quinquennia were (1) U.C. 735-739=19-15 B.C., and (2) U.C. 742-746=12-8 B.C. See § 7. In A.D. 47 Claudius Caesar and Lucius Vitellius, consuls of the year, were also censors (Sueton. *Claudius* 16; Dio 54. 29) and performed the ceremonies of the *lustratio*. Domitian τὴν τιμητείαν ἔλαβε διὰ βίου. The title of *ensor* was revived for the last time in the appointment of Valerian by Decius, A.D. 251 (see Gibbon, ch. x.).

§ 4. ὅτι οἱ, "They are very often created consuls". After the "settlement" of U.C. 727, Augustus was consul year by year from

U.C. 728 to 731 and again in U.C. 749 and 752; on the last two occasions for a short time only, to introduce Gaius and Lucius Caesar to public life (Sueton. *Aug.* 26). In U.C. 735 = 19 B.C., according to Dio (Bk. 54, ch. 10) Augustus τῇ τῶν δυνάμεων [ἐξουσίᾳ] διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, was invested with consular power and authority for life. Taking this statement as true, we may account for this investiture with consular authority for life on the supposition that Augustus' friends regarded the position he had held since June, U.C. 731 = 23 B.C., when he abdicated the *consulate* (his eleventh) but retained *proconsular* imperium, even within the pomerium (ch. 32 § 5) as irregular and of doubtful validity, and sought to establish his power on a basis which squared better with constitutional precedent.

ἀνδράτοι, "without the pomerium, they are always styled proconsuls." Was this the style of the Princes when travelling, or residing *extra pomerium*, if he was also one of the consuls of the year? Was it indeed at any time a common manner of speaking or writing of the Princes in Italy or the provinces? Accepting as true the statement quoted in the last note from Dio 54. 10, we have to determine whether the "maius imperium" which the Princes possessed in relation to the provincial governors (Senatorial and Caesarian alike) was consular or proconsular. In theory, the consuls had always been superior to the proconsuls—they were οἱ ἄριστοι, the highest-placed men in the State. In practice, this superiority of the consuls over the proconsuls had not amounted to very much. From 700 to 705 U.C. = 54-49 B.C., Pompey, residing in Rome, but *extra pomerium*, was proconsul of the two Spains, which he governed by the agency of "legati". The consuls of those years exercised no control over his government of the Spains. In 702 U.C. = 52 B.C., Pompey was not only proconsul of the Spains, but also consul, and for part of the year, sole consul. This consulate of 52 B.C. was procured, or assumed, in order to give him a proper *locus standi* for the suppression of faction-fighting in Rome. The consulate which Augustus had abdicated in 23 B.C. was his eleventh. No Roman had ever been created consul so frequently, and with so much disregard for *leges annales*. In order to save appearances, then, Augustus resigned the consulate, but in order to save his control of provinces, legions, auxiliaries, and fleets, he retained proconsular authority with provision for the exercise thereof within as well as without the *pomerium*. This produced an anomaly. The consuls were now subordinate, or at best not more than equal to, a proconsul. The anomaly, however, was rectified—unless Dio is in error—by the investiture of the Princes with consular authority. He was

not made perpetual consul, for it was desirable that the inauguration of two consuls on the Kalends of January in every year should be kept up. But he had the consular dignity and character, and his authority over the proconsuls governing the "provinces of the People" was much less open to doubt or question.

τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν = "praenomen Imperatoris." In Bk. 52. c. 43 Dio says that Octavian, in the year of his fifth consulate (29 B.C.) assumed "τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπικλήσιν. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένην τισὶν, ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὥσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἐγγόνοις ἐψήφιστο" (sc. U.C. 708 = 46 B.C.). See the quotation from Dio 43. 44 in the notes on ch. 18 § 2 below.

ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως. Tac. *Ann.* I. 9: non regno tamen, neque dictatura, sed Principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; III. 56 (tribunicia potestas): id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret. Compare notes on § 2 and c. 18 § 2.

§ 5. αὐτὰς ἐκείνας (sc. τὰς προσρήσεις), the titles of *rex* and *dictator*, these having become obsolete.

βεβαιῶνται = "secure for themselves".

§ 6. ὥστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πώμ. "By a dangerous exception to the ancient maxims, he was authorized to preserve his military command, supported by a numerous body of guards, even in time of peace and in the heart of the capital. His command indeed was confined to those citizens who were engaged in the service by the military oath: but such was the propensity of the Romans to servitude that the oath was voluntarily taken by magistrates, the senators, and the equestrian order, till the homage of flattery was insensibly converted into an annual and solemn protestation of fidelity."—Gibbon, ch. III: cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 7 and XVI. 22.

τοῖς αὐταρχήσασί ποτε = "iis, qui unquam imperium adepti sunt."

§ 7. ἐκ . . . τοῦ τιμητείου. Cf. § 3 πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν and ch. I § 3 τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε. Augustus undoubtedly ἐξήταξε τοὺς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πολιτῶν. Dio (54. 10 and 30) speaks of his having been elected ἐπιμελητῆς τρόπων for five years in U.C. 735 and again in U.C. 742. On the former occasion (U.C. 735) he also assumed *censoria potestas* for five years (Dio, 54. 10: ἐπιμελητῆς τε τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἔτη παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἐχειροτονήθη, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, 30: ἐπιμελητῆς τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτῆς τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἕτερα ἔτη πέντε αἰρεθεὶς, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προθεσμίαν, ὥσπερ πού καὶ τὴν μοναρ-

χίαν, ἐλάμβανε . . .). Augustus' own account of his supervision of manners and morals, as given in the Mon. Ancy. c. vi is as follows: ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Οὐινουκίῳ καὶ Κύντῳ Λουκρητίῳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ποπλίῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλοισ καὶ τρίτον Παύλλῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ Κύντῳ Τουβέρωνι τῆς τε συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογούντων ἵνα ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐξουσίᾳ μόνος χειροτονηθῶι, ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην· ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύνκλητος οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὧν ἐτέλεσα. The consulates mentioned in this passage fell in the years U.C. 735, 736, and 743=19, 18 and 11 B.C. In connection with the *lustra* (Mon. Ancy. c. viii), Augustus says nothing about *ensoria potestas*, but mentions *consulare imperium* only. According to Dio, therefore, Augustus was twice elected ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τρόπων for five years, and once assumed *ensoria potestas* for the same period. Augustus himself states that on three occasions the Senate and People expressed their desire to elect him ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων, that he refused the offer as being παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ (contra instituta maiorum), and that the measures requested by the Senate in the interest of morality were taken by him in exercise of his *tribunicia potestas*. Suetonius (Aug. c. 27.) asserts that Augustus "recepit morum legumque regimen perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum tamen populi ter egit." Augustus himself (Mon. Ancy. c. viii.) mentions three *lustra*: (1) "In consulatu sexto censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi. Lustrum post annum alterum et quadragesimum feci"; (2) "Iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos."; (3) "Tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci". Note that *ensoria potestas* is not mentioned in connection with any one of the *lustra*, but *consulare imperium* is expressly mentioned in connection with the second and third only. Shuckburgh on Sueton. l. c. cites C. I. L. 9. 422: "Imp. Caesare vi. M. Agrippa ii. cos: idem *ensoria potest. lustrum fecerunt*". The first of these *lustra* was held U.C. 726=28 B.C.: the second U.C. 746=8 B.C.: the third U.C. 767=A.D. 14. Neither in U.C. 746 nor in U.C. 767 was Augustus consul, but he possessed *consulare imperium*—assumed for life U.C. 735, if we may accept the statement quoted above from Dio, Bk. 54. c. 10. In all three cases, Augustus was reverting to the practice of the old Republic, as it had been before the institution of the censorship as a distinct magistracy in U.C. 319. In what way was the offer spoken of by Augustus in Mon. Ancy. c. vi παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ? Dio, 54. 2, says that in U.C. 732=22 B.C. the Senate and People offered to elect Augustus censor for life (τιμητὴν διὰ βίου χειροτονησάι). A life-censorship was of course entirely

without precedent. In c. 10 of that book, however, the offer made in U.C. 735 (one of the three occasions mentioned by Augustus) is an offer to elect him ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν τρόπων for five years (note the words παρακληθεῖς δὴ) which was not exactly παρὰ τὰ πάτρια εἶδη, as censors (who certainly "looked after" morals) were elected every five years. Possibly Dio is at fault in so wording his statement as to give the impression that a *praefectura morum* or *morum legumque regimen* was (in U.C. 735) offered for five years, instead of saying that it was offered for life, but declined by the Emperor, who contented himself with five years' exercise of such a *regimen*, with *censoria potestas*. In order to put the whole proceeding on an irreproachable basis, Augustus further assumed *consulare imperium* for life, or rather resumed it after an interval of about four years (U.C. 731-5: cf. ch. 32 § 3). In U.C. 732, however, he had exercised censorial functions even without *consulare imperium*. After refusing, in that year, the offer of a life-censorship, he caused two censors to be elected—Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus. These, observes Dio (54. 2), were the last Romans, not members of the imperial family, to be elected censors. (Dio forgets Vitellius, censor along with Claudius A.D. 47: see Tac. *Ann.* xi. 48, xii. 4.) But on the very day on which they entered upon their duties, their tribunal collapsed, and they abdicated. Augustus himself then πολλά τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἐπραξε, but probably in retrospect blamed himself for taking this course. In U.C. 735, therefore, he decided to place himself beyond the reach of criticism by procuring investiture with *consulare imperium* for life. (This involves the supposition of some mistake in the statement made by Dio, in 55. 13, that towards the end of a census of inhabitants of Italy possessing estates of not less than 50,000 denarii Augustus assumed ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν for the ceremony of τὸ καθάρσιον, the *lustrum*.) Suetonius' statement probably arose out of a misunderstanding of the record in the "Res Gestae". Yet in one sense Augustus did undertake a perpetual "regimen morum". Throughout his Principate he sought the revival of old Roman "instituta". He desired to restore Roman morals as well as Roman temples. See Mon. Ancyr. c. viii; after recording three *lectiones Senatus* and three *lustra*, Augustus proceeds: "legibus novis latis complura exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro usu reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi". Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 32: "pleraque pessimi exempli correxit . . . grassatores inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia (praeter antiqua et legitima) dissolvit", 34: "leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariae et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus"



35: "senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba . . . ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit", 38: "equitum turmas frequenter recognovit post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectionis", 45: "histrionum licentiam compescuit", 64: "filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret", 76: "cibi . . . minimi erat atque vulgaris fere", 31: "nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimonis paulatim abolita restituit", and for the restoration of temples *ch.* 2. § 4 above. See Tac. *Ann.* III. 25 and Furneaux' Excursus on the Lex Papia Poppaea in his edition of the *Annals*, vol. I. pp. 483-486. Persons of equestrian rank forbidden to dance in public, Dio 54. 2; a law providing for more regular meetings of the Senate and larger attendance of Senators, 55. 3; a law regulating manumissions, 55. 14; bribery punished with five years' suspension of *ius honorum*, 54. 16; lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus, 54. 16. Tiberius, according to Suetonius, "ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit, mercedibus scenicorum recisis, paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum redactis" (Augustus had forbidden the appearance of more than sixty pairs of gladiators at a time: see Dio 54. 2). Tiberius also "quotidiana oscula prohibuit edicto; item strenarum commercium, ne ultra Kalendas Ianuarias exerceretur" (Sueton. I. c.). The corrective measures ordered by S. C., according to Tacitus, *Ann.* II. 85, are attributed directly to Tiberius by Suetonius. With the expulsion of Jews and Egyptians by Tiberius in A.D. 19 compare the expulsion of Jews by Claudius in A.D. 52 (Sueton. *Claud.* 25; Act. Ap. xviii. 1). In A.D. 47 Claudius, taking L. Vitellius as his colleague, assumed the censorship (Tac. *Ann.* XI. 13, XII. 4; Sueton. *Claud.* 16). The expulsion of the Jews, coming within the period of five years for which censors were elected, may be regarded as a particular *munus censorium*. Vespasian and Titus were also censors (Sueton. *Vesp.* 8, *Titus* 6). Domitian assumed a life-censorship. In the case of Claudius and Vespasian, the motive was probably respect for "instituta maiorum". The definite assumption of *censura* was hardly necessary for one who held perpetual *consulare imperium*. Domitian was perhaps actuated by desire to increase the dignity and grandeur of his position. It may be noted in this connection that he accepted the title of *Dominus* and usurped that of *Deus* (Sueton. *Dom.* 13). The revival of the censorship by Decius in the appointment of Valerian (A.D. 251) was part of a design to restore the faded purity of manners and morals in the Roman State (Gibbon, *chs.* x and xvi: vol. I, pp. 247-8, and II. p. 113, in Bury's edition). Valerian was the last of the censors—and the most unfortunate. His elevation to the censorship is described in detail by Trebellius Pollio in the *Augustan Histories* xxii. 5 and 6

(*Valeriani Duo*). On the 27th October, U.C. 1004 = A.D. 251, the Senate was convened in the temple of Castor and Pollux, to hear and consider a message from the Emperor concerning the appointment of a censor. When the urban praetor (presiding in the absence of the consuls who in that year were the Emperor Decius and his son) requested the "Princeps Senatus" to express his opinion upon the matter before the house, the whole Senate cried aloud "Valeriani vita censura est!" A *senatus consultum* was then passed unanimously, commending P. Licinius Valerianus for the office of censor. The actual "creation" took place in Decius' camp, where Valerian was present "in procinctu" as an imperial *legatus*. "Suscipe censuram" said the Emperor to Valerian, "quam tibi detulit Romana Res Publica, quam solus mereris, iudicaturus de moribus omnium, iudicaturus de moribus nostris. Tu aestimabis qui in Curia manere debeant, tu equestrem ordinem in antiquum statum rediges . . . tu vectigalia firmabis . . . tibi legum scribendarum auctoritas dabitur." The *praefectus Urbis*, however, would be exempt from the censor's jurisdiction; so too would be the consuls of the year ("consules ordinarii"), the *rex sacrorum*, and the chief of the Vestals ("Maxima Vestalium"). Valerian endeavoured to have himself excused. "Haec sunt", he protested to Decius, "propter quae Augustum nomen tenetis; apud vos censura desedit, non potest haec implere privatus". Within two years, however, he himself had entered the succession of those "apud quos censura desederat" (U.C. 1006 = A.D. 253).

καταλέγουσιν = "adlegunt".

ἀπαλείφουσιν = "movent". ἀπαλείφειν properly = "to smear off, wipe off". It is most fittingly applicable to the action of wiping off figures or writing done in chalk, or in ink which contains no mordant—such ink as Jewish scribes use in copying out the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Compare the LXX version of Exodus xxxii. 32-33: εἰ μὲν ἀφέις αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἀφες· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου ἣς ἔγραψας. καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν, Εἰ τις ἡμάρτηκεν, ἐξάλειψω αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς βίβλου μου, and Ps. l. (li.) 3: ἐξάλειψον τὸ ἀνόμημά μου. The use of "movere" is exemplified in Cicero *Pro Cluentio* 43. 122: ipsi inter se censores sua iudicia tanti esse arbitrantur, ut . . . alter de Senatu moveri velit, alter retineat et ordine amplissimo dignum existimet. "Nota" and "notare" were also used in this connection, e.g. Livy xxxix. 42: Censores M. Porcius et L. Valerius . . . Senatum legerunt: septem moverunt Senatu, ex quibus unum insignem et nobilitate et honoribus, L. Quinctium Flaminium consularem. Patrum memoria institutum fertur, ut censores motis Senatu adscriberent notas (= "stated their reasons in writing"), and Cic. *Pro Clu.* 42.



120: quos autem duo censores furti et captarum pecuniarum notaverunt, ii non modo in Senatum redierunt, sed etiam iudiciis absoluti sunt. In the case of removal of persons from the Equites, "equum adimere" was the technical phrase (Livy l. c. and 44: in equitatu recognoscendo L. Scipioni Asiageni ademtus equus) when they were "equites equo publico", i.e. not only possessed the equestrian "census", but also served in the cavalry. For instances of this censorial control of membership of the Senate and the Equites (ἡ ἱππὰς, οἱ ἱππεῖς) by the Emperors, see Mon. Ancy. viii: "Senatum ter legi"; Sueton. Aug. 35 (cited in the preceding note); Dio 55. 3: τὰ ὀνόματα συμπάντων τῶν βουλευόντων ἐς λεύκωμα ἀναγράφας ἐξέθηκε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων καὶ νῦν κατ' ἔτος οὕτω ποιεῖται, 13: διαλέξαι τὴν γερονσίαν αὐθις ᾗθελήσει (U.C. 757 = A.D. 4) καὶ δέκα βουλευτὰς οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος τρεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν, οὓς δὲ κλήρος εἴλετο, Sueton. Aug. 37: nova officia excogitavit . . . triumviratum legendi Senatus, et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset; 38: equitum turmas frequenter recognovit etc. (cited in the preceding note); Dio 55. 31 (A.D. 7): τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γιγνομένην (the "travectio") ἀνελάβετο; Sueton. l. c.: mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nolleht: impetratisque a Senatu decem adiutoribus, unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque ex improbatis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione; Id. Tiberius 35: senatori latum clavum ademit, cum cognosset sub Kal. Iul. demigrasse in hortos, quo vilius post diem aedes in Urbe conduceret; Id. Claud. 16 (Claudius in the year of his censorship removed a large number of Senators, because they had travelled outside Italy without his permission, cf. ch. 12 § 2 above, note on νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα); Tacitus Ann. iii. 55 (after the tumults of A.D. 69 there were frequent admissions of "novi homines" from the cities of Italy, and even from the provinces, cf. Sueton. Vespasian 9: "amplissimos ordines, et exhaustos caede varia et contaminatos veteri negligentia, purgavit supplevitque, recenso Senatu et equite; summotis indignissimis honestissimo quoque Italicorum ac provincialium adlecto"); Aelius Spartianus Hadrian 8. 7: Senatus fastigium extulit difficile faciens senatores; Iulius Capitolinus Pertinax 7. 9 (Pertinax put up to auction the slaves of Commodus' household; some of them were brought into his own, and subsequently "per alios principes usque ad senatoriam dignitatem pervenerunt"); Aelius Lampridius Alexander Severus 15. 1 (at the very beginning of his principate Alexander Severus "Senatum et equestrem ordinem purgavit").

§ 8. ἱερωσίταις = "sacerdotiis". Cf. Mon. Ancy. c. vii, August-

tus' list of his sacerdotal titles—Pontifex Maximus, Augur, Quindecimvir sacris faciundis, Septemvir Epulo, Frater Arvalis, Sodalis Titius, Fetialis.

ἀρχιερέων = ἀρχιερεῖα, "Pontificem Maximum". ἀρχιερεὺς is the Greek equivalent of "Pontifex Maximus" in Mon. Ancyr. l. c.

δολίων καὶ ἱερῶν, "omnis divini humanique iuris". Compare the Lex de Imperio Vespasiani (A.D. 69): utique quaecunque ex usu rei publicae maiestate [que] divinarum humanarum publicarum privatarumque rerum esse censebit, ei agere facere ius potestasque sit, ita uti Divo Augusto Tiberioque Iulio Caesari Aug. Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico fuit (Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions* pp. 407-8 and 345).

§ 9. ἡ ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχική = "tribunicia potestas, quae dicitur". This was conferred upon Caesar for life in U.C. 706 (after Pharsalus). In U.C. 718 = 36 B.C. it was conferred upon Octavian. Caesar and Octavian, being patricians (the latter by adoption), were ineligible to the tribunate of the plebs. But a tribunician character could be conceded to them, and this was preferable to the tribunate, which could hardly be held for more than a year (the instance of C. Gracchus being an exception proving the rule), while "tribunicia potestas" might be held for an indefinite time. Octavian's tenure of this power was renewed in U.C. 724 = 30 B.C., this renewal being one of the honours bestowed upon him as victor at Actium. Dio 51. 19: καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα [ἐψηφίσαντο] τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβουμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ ἔξω μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν. Apparently, the tribunician power was not conferred in U.C. 718 for a definite period. In U.C. 724 it was conferred for life, but even so Octavian's *ius auxilii* held good only μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου. That of the tribunes of the plebs held good only as far as the first milestone outside the city. The phrase μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου cannot be taken in the sense of "as far as the eighth half-stadium", for that would give a radius of no more than four stadia, or half a (Roman) mile. This would restrict Octavian's "tribunicia potestas" even more closely than that of the tribunes of the plebs. Possibly the words denote a radius of seven full miles and an eighth space extending a sixteenth of a mile (200 feet, 2 πλῆθρα) further. Once again Octavian's tenure of "tribunicia potestas" was renewed, viz. in U.C. 731 = 23 B.C. (see ch. 32 § 5, below), though a life-tenure had been conferred in U.C. 724. The practice of numbering the years of "tribunicia potestas" was instituted after this second renewal. See the following §, and Tacitus *Ann.* 1. 9: continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas (U.C. 731-767). From time to time, Augustus procured the appointment of a colleague in the exercise of "tribunicia potestas"; Agrippa in U.C.

736=18 B.C. for five years, and again in U.C. 741=13 B.C. for another five years; Tiberius in U.C. 748=6 B.C. for five years, and again in A.D. 4, this time for ten years, and once again at the end of the *decennium*, which terminated A.D. 13. In A.D. 14 Augustus died (Aug. 19) and Tiberius continued in possession of this power for life. See Dio 54. 12 and 28, 55. 9 and 13, 56. 28 Tacitus *Ann.* I. 3, III. 56; Shuckburgh's notes on Sueton. *Aug.* 27.

οἱ πάντες ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων, such as C. Sextius and Licinius Stolo, or the Gracchi.

παύειν. The development of the original *ius auxilii* defined as *ius intercedendi*, and commonly described as "the tribunes' veto". Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 198-199.

μη καθυβρίσθαι. See Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 334 (explanation of sacro-sanctity as a form of taboo).

ἀκριτον="without process of law". Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 196 (§ 218).

ἐναγῆ="sacrum"; cf. οὐχ ὄσιον in the next §.

§ 10. τοὺς εἰς τὴν πρῶτον. Livy II. 33: neve cui Patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. The patrician status of the Emperors, down to Nero, was unquestionable. But after the extinction of the Julio-Claudian line, it needed a "legal fiction" to make out any and every Emperor to be a patrician. What claim to the patriciate could be made by a Vespasian, a Septimius Severus, a Maximin, an Aurelian? But as the Emperors could make patricians, it had to be supposed in advance that they themselves were patricians.

ὡς καὶ κατ' ἔτος κ.τ.λ., i.e. with a view to putting somewhat of a democratic colour upon the Principate, by bringing the Princeps' tenure of "tribunicia potestas" apparently into agreement with the annual limit of the old tribunate.

§ 11. ἐνομήσθη, "were instituted".

ὅπως μὴδὲν κ.τ.λ., i.e. to avoid the appearance of governing without the consent of the governed. Cf. Tacitus *Hist.* I. 47: vocat Senatum praetor urbanus . . . adcurrunt patres; decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores, and IV. 3: at Romae Senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit, and 6: eo die, quo de imperio Vespasiani censebant, placuerat mitti ad principem legatos; also Iulius Capitolinus *Marcus Aurelius* 5. 6: post haec Faustinam duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est atque imperio extra urbem proconsulari (this was while M. Aurelius' predecessor, T. Aurelius Antoninus, was yet alive), and Aelius Lampridius *Alexander Severus* I. 3: Alexander Severus assumed, "deferente Senatu", the titles of *Augustus*, and *Pater Patriae*, *ius proconsulare*, *tribunicia*

*potestas*, and *ius quintae relationis*, all on one and the same day, "novo exemplo" (8. 1.), which the historian explains by the necessity of preventing any rival from starting up. But the "exemplum" does not seem to be "novum", in view of Tacitus, *Hist.* II. cc. and the extant fragments of the *SC de imperio Vespasiani*. The *δδως* of which Dio speaks was, after the reign of Augustus (who still kept the comitia in existence), the act of the Senate, and stood in the passing of a S.C. which took the place of the ancient *lex curiata*. See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. 31. § 7. c. 18. § 1. λέγουται . . . λέγει. The "very words in Latin" are "legibus soluti". See ch. 28 § 2. This exemption, says Dio, was granted to Augustus at the beginning of his tenth consulship, A.U.C. 730 = 24 B.C. Merivale, *op. cit.*, ch. 31 § 7, maintains that the Emperor was not exempt from all laws indiscriminately, but only from *certain* laws and precedents, with which the accumulation of powers exercised by him came into conflict. This freedom is stated, though not defined in detail, in the "*Lex de imperio Vespasiani*", the text of which is given in Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 407-408. The statement is worded as follows: utique quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit, ne divus Aug. Tiberiusve Iulius Caesar Aug. Tiberiusque Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis Imp. Caesar Vespasianus solutus sit; quaeque ex quaque lege rogatione divum Aug. Tiberiumve Iulium Caesarem Aug. Tiberiumve Claudium Caesarem Aug. Germanicum facere oportuit, ea omnia Imp. Caesari Vespasiano Aug. facere liceat. Dio's statements here and in ch. 28 § 2 are probably influenced by his own experience of "iura, quis pace et principe uteremur". Along with the development of the autocratic tendencies of the Principate there grew up the jurists' doctrine that the Emperor's will was law, though indeed that was because the Roman People chose to have it so. Ulpian, one of the most notable exponents of this doctrine, was a contemporary of Dio. "Quod principi placuit" he wrote, "legis habet vigorem, utpote cum lege regia, quae de imperio eius lata est, Populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem conferat". See A. J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, pp. 64-65. The "lex regia" being (at any rate after Augustus' day) a "Senatus consultum", it could only be represented by a fiction as an act of the "Populus Romanus Quiritium".

ἀναγκάλας νόμους. The word νόμοις is found in Thucyd. v. 105: τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νόμους (the only instance given by L. & S.). πᾶσα ἀναγκάλα νόμοις stands in contrast with τὰ γεγραμμένα as unwritten (yet none the less binding) tradition in contrast with written statutes and judgments.

§ 2. τοῦ φορτικοῦ. τὸ φορτικὸν τῆς προσήγορας = invidia nominis. Cf. Cic. *Off.* III. 21. 83 (referring to Caesar): Ecce tibi, qui rex Populi Romani dominusque omnium gentium esse concupiverit idque perfecit! Hanc cupiditatem si honestam quis esse dicit, amens est. Probat enim legum et libertatis interitum, earumque oppressionem taetram et detestabilem gloriosam putat. In the *De Republica* II. 26. 48-50, Cicero allows that government by a king (rex) is "sane bonum reipublicae genus" but withal "inclinatum et quasi primum ad perniciosissimum statum". The rex is liable to become a tyrannus, "quo neque taetrius, neque foedius, nec diis hominibusque invisius animal ullum cogitari potest". See also 30. 53: expulso Tarquinio tantum odium Populum Romanum regalis nominis tenuit, quantum tenuerat post obitum vel excessum Romuli desiderium. (There was an ugly tale, however, which obstinately refused to be smothered, about the death of Romulus, suggesting that the chief men of the Populus Romanus felt no *desiderium* for their king. "Fuisse credo" wrote Livy (I. 16) "tum quoque aliquos, qui discriptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim haec quoque, sed perobscura, fama". Cf. Plutarch's *Romulus*.) Cicero (*de Rep.* II. 25. 47) accounts for the "invidia" attaching to the *nomen regale* by the "superbia" (ὕbris) of the second Tarquin. Illustrations of this "invidia": Cic. *Leg. Agr.* II. 6. 14: the Ten Land-Commissioners proposed in the agrarian law of Rullus were "decem reges aerarii": Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus are "reges"; *ad Quint. Fratr.* I. 2. 16: si qui antea aut alieniores fuerant, aut languidiores, nunc horum odio se cum bonis coniungunt (written U.C. 695 = 59 B.C.). Compare c. 17 § 2, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μοναρχικόν.

ἄλλως = merely.

τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν. Dio interprets the assumption (or bestowal) of the name Caesar, originally a cognomen of the Iulii, as intended to give the Principate the character and standing of an hereditary office. The first instance of the use of this name for the designation of the "heir-apparent" is its bestowal by Hadrian upon Lucius Helius Verus "qui ab Hadriano adoptatus primus Caesar est dictus" (Iulius Capitolinus *Verus* I. 6; see Abbott, *op. cit.* p. 341, § 400). Augustus had owed everything, one might say, to his having been adopted as son and heir by Julius. This involved the change of his name from Gaius Octavius to Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus. From B.C. 40 onwards his style always begins "Imp. Caesar" (Furneaux, *Introd.* to vol. I. of Tacitus' *Annals*, pp. 76 sq.). Augustus adopted the sons of Agrippa and Julia, who are known as Lucius Caesar and Gaius Caesar. Gaius is called "princeps designatus" in an inscription found at Pisa

(Furneaux, op. cit. p. 98 n. 1). Tiberius, on being adopted by Augustus, took the name of Caesar. In the "lex de imperio" of Vespasian, Augustus is simply "divus Augustus", but Tiberius is "Tiberius Iulius Caesar Augustus", and Claudius is "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus"; Vespasian himself is "Caesar Vespasianus Augustus". In S. Luke ii. 1 Augustus is "Caesar Augustus", in iii. 1 Tiberius is "Tiberius Caesar"; in Acts xi. 28 (T. R. and Cod. Laud.) Claudius is "Claudius Caesar". Galba at first assumed the style of "Legatus Senatus ac Populi Romani". When news came of Nero's death, he dropped this title, and assumed "Caesar" instead. On the occasion of adopting Piso Licinianus, he asserted that "Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica". This probably was meant as an insinuation that Augustus regarded the whole "res publica" as his "res privata". Galba further observed that under Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius, the Roman People had been "unius familiae quasi hereditas", but liberty had been instituted in his own election, and now, "finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo", adoption would always provide the best man available as successor. The maintenance of the name Caesar, originally a personal cognomen, as part of the imperial style expressed belief in hereditary succession, even by legal fiction, as the best, if not the only way, of establishing an operative, efficacious bond between the Emperor for the time being and "the first, the unique, Imperator Caesar". In Bk. 43, ch. 44, speaking of the "praenomen Imperatoris" (as distinguished from the name when received by way of "acclamatio" or "salutatio"—cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 74), Dio says that the Senate conferred it not only upon Julius, but also upon his sons and grandsons, though he was childless: ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορας ἡ ἐπικλησις αὐτῇ, ὥσπερ τις ἰδίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν οὕσα καθάπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίκετο.

ἄξιωματος. "Hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet. Sancta vocant *augusta* patres" Ovid. *Fasti* 1. 608-9.

§ 3. πατὴρ, i.e. "Pater Patriae". Cf. Horace *Carm.* i. ii. 49. The formal salutation of Augustus as "Pater Patriae" by the Senate took place U.C. 752 = 2 B.C.: see Mon. Ancy. c. xxxv, Sueton. *Aug.* 58. The Fasti Praenestini give *Non. Febr.* (Feb. 5) as the day (Shuckburgh on Sueton. l. c.). Dio, Bk. 55, ch. 10, says that the title had been informally given to Augustus before that occasion. Marius had received this title of honour from the Senate, after the deliverance of the Republic from the terror of the Cimbri and Teutones; Cicero had also been thus honoured for the frustration of the Catilinarian plot. See Cicero *pro Rabirio* 10. 27, *pro Sestio* 57. 121. Caesar, besides "praenomen imperatoris", had "cogno-



men patris patriae" conferred upon him by the Senate, in the name of whose dignity he was assassinated (Cic. *Phil.* II. 13. 31, Sueton. *Iulius* 76, Dio 44. 3). Tiberius persistently refused the title (Tac. *Ann.* I. 72). Nero refused it at his accession "propter aetatem" (Sueton. *Nero* 8). As a general rule, Emperors received it "primo statim principatus die, ut Imperatoris et Caesaris" (Pliny. *Panegy.* 21, quoted by Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 58). Instances of Dio's own time: Pertinax, Alexander Severus (see *Iul. Capitol. Pertinax* 5, 6 and *Ael. Lamprid. Alexander Severus* 2. 4).

ἐξουσίαν . . . ἦν ποτε οἱ πατέρες. See Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 190, on the significance of "pater". It was originally a name of mastery, as its Hebrew equivalent also appears to have been (Malachi I. 6, II Kgs. II. 12, v. 13, xiii. 14, xvi. 7). The rule of the father over the household, said Aristotle, is βασιλική ἀρχή (*Eth. Nic.* VIII. II. 1-2, *Pol.* I. 5. 1259. b. 10.) The Roman King, in ancient days, had been the *pater* of the great *familia* or household of the Roman People, whose hearth was the altar of Vesta (ἑστία). The Principate was the old kingly government revived—new *princeps* was in truth old *rex* writ large; cf. Dio 52. 1: ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, and above, ch. 17 § 1: ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη, ch. 12 § 5: οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν μοναρχίαν καταθεσθαι ἐπεθύμησε.

κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν. Dio writes as the Roman Senator.

ἀρχήν, "especially".

ἐς παραίνεσιν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VIII. 10 (12). 2: παρέκβασις δὲ βασιλείας τυραννίς. ἀμφω γὰρ μοναρχίαι, διαφέρουσι δὲ πλείστον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τύραννος τὸ ἑαυτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων . . . μεταβαίνει δ' ἐκ βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδα. φανulότης γὰρ ἐστὶ μοναρχίας ἢ τυραννίς. ὁ δὲ μοχθηρὸς βασιλεὺς τύραννος γίγνεται, and II (13). 1: [ὁ βασιλεὺς] εὖ ποιεῖ τοὺς βασιλευμένους, εἴπερ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἐπιμελεῖται αὐτῶν, ἢν' εὖ πράττωσιν, ὥσπερ νομῆς προβάτων. ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμέ. λ. λαῶν εἶπεν. τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ἡ πατρική . . . , also 10 (12). 4: ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ πρὸς υἱεῖς κοινωνία βασιλείας ἔχει σχῆμα. τῶν τέκνων γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ μέλει. ἐντεῖθεν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν Δία πατέρα προσαγορεύει. πατρική γὰρ ἀρχὴ βούλεται ἢ βασιλεὺς εἶναι. ἐν Πέρσῃ δ' ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς τυραννική. χρώνται γὰρ ὡς δούλοις τοῖς υἱεῖσιν (see the O. T. passages referred to in the note on ἐξουσίαν κ.τ.λ.).

§ 4. κατὰ τὸ ἥδη πάτριον. Notice ἥδη, referring to Dio's own time and generation.

πᾶσαι ἅμα . . . τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους. The successive prerogations of Augustus' tenure of the Principate are mentioned in ch. 16 § 2. At the time of Augustus' decease, Tiberius was "collega



imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis". He had been invested with *trib. potest.* three times, (1) in U.C. 748=6 B.C., for five years (Dio, 55. 9), (2) U.C. 757=A.D. 4, for ten years (Dio 55. 13), and (3) U.C. 766=A.D. 13 for a term not mentioned by Dio, but probably for another ten years (Dio 56. 28). The Senate besought him to retain his position as "caput reipublicae", and was allowed to have its way. Tiberius, however, refused the "praenomen Imperatoris", the "cognomen Patris Patriae", and the "corona civica". The title "Augustus" he used only in letters to kings and princes (Sueton. *Tiberius* 26). At the same time, he does not appear to have ever sought renewal of his tenure of *imperium* and *tribunicia potestas*. Caligula had "ius arbitriumque omnium" conferred upon him by the Senate immediately upon his return to Rome from the death-bed of Tiberius (Sueton. *Caligula* 14). "He received in one day" says Dio, Bk. 59. ch. 3, "all the honours that Augustus, in the course of a long reign accumulated slowly and piece by piece, while Tiberius even refused some of them". When Claudius was hailed as "Imperator" in the Praetorian Camp, after the murder of Caligula, the Senate τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἤκουσα ἦν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο (Dio 60. 1). In the case of Nero, again, "sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta" (Tac. *Ann.* XII. 69). Of all the honours bestowed upon him on the Ides of October, U.C. 807=Oct. 15, A.D. 54, Nero declined only the name of Pater Patriae, "propter aetatem" (Sueton. *Nero*. 8). The various powers and titles constituting the Principate were conferred simultaneously upon Vespasian by a S.C. doing duty for the old *lex curiata* (see Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 407-408: text of the "lex de imperio Caesaris Vespasiani Augusti"), and this was the regular practice thereafter. Pertinax, for instance, "ea die, qua Augustus est appellatus, etiam Patris Patriae nomen recepit, necnon simul etiam imperium proconsulare nec non ius quartae relationis". Iulius Capitolinus, from whose memoir of Pertinax this record is cited (ch. 5. 6) asserts that Pertinax "primus omnium" received this accumulation of honours in one day, but it is difficult to reconcile this with all that is known of the principates of Caligula, Claudius, and Vespasian. Compare c. 17 § 11: note on ὅπως μηδὲν, κ.τ.λ.

§ 5. τὴν τιμητέαν. See on ch. 17 § 3 πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχεῖον. *qu. ἀρχαῖον?*

τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς. In virtue of *consularis potestas*, the functions of the  *censura* having been originally included in those of the consulate.

c. 19 § 1. Compare Tacitus *Ann.* I. 9: non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regeretur, III. 28: Pom-

peius . . . quae armis tuebatur, armis amisit. Exin continua per viginti annos discordia, etc., *Hist.* I. 16 (Galba to Piso): imperaturus iis hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem, Dio 52. 14 (Maecenas' advice to Octavian): εἰ τι κήδη τῆς πατρίδος . . . μεταρρίθμισον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι τισι πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ὅσα βούλονται καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐξετάξης, εὐδαιμονίας ἅπασιν αἰτίων γίνεται, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων, συμφορᾶς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς παιδὶ δὴ τινι καὶ μαινομένῳ ξίφος ὀρέγει, ὁ δ' ἐκείνοις τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦτους καὶ μὴ βουλομένους σώζει. In this last-quoted passage it is really Dio who speaks, though doubtless Maecenas' own convictions happen to be represented correctly enough. Compare Dio Bk. 44. ch. 1: Caesar's murderers claimed that they were ἐλευθερωταὶ τοῦ δήμου, but in truth they were wicked conspirators against him, and threw the State, which had been under an orderly government, into confusion. "Government by the People" (δημοκρατία) is a phrase that sounds well, but the thing in its actual working belies, and is belied by, its name. Monarchy, on the other hand, sounds harsh, but it is the best régime to live under. οὐ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι. Compare the political doctrine of Odysseus in *Iliad* B. 204 sq. and Aristotle, *Politics* iv. (vii), 9, 3-4 (1328. b. 33-1329, a. 2).

§§ 2-6. The publication of the *Acta Senatus* (Proceedings of the Senate) had been discontinued by Augustus. But they could be consulted by any one who could obtain leave from the "Praefectus Urbi", and Dio, being a Senator, should have had no difficulty in obtaining that faculty. Moreover, extracts from the *Acta Senatus* were published in the *Acta Diurna* or *Acta Populi*, copies of which were despatched to the provinces, where they were eagerly read (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 22). These *Acta Diurna* contained records of births and deaths, reports of campaigns, elections, trials, testaments of prominent men, funerals (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 3), edicts of magistrates, decrees and acclamations of the Senate, prodigies, calamities (such as earthquakes and fires), the erection of new buildings (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 31). Dio insinuates that the reports contained in these *Acta Populi* were often unveracious, being evil examples of the suppression of fact and the suggestion of falsehood, drawn up to serve not truth, but expediency. The *Acta Diurna* were an official publication before as well as after the institution of the Principate. It is open to question whether the degree of publicity attaching to measures taken by the Executive was very much greater in the earlier than in the later epoch. At the same time, it can hardly be denied that under the rule of jealous and suspicious Emperors, such as Tiberius or Domitian, Romans

residing in the provinces might often be timid and cautious in writing to their friends in the capital, and the latter no less chary of generally making known the news that reached them in private correspondence. Reports of campaigns would, of course, be specially liable to be "edited". Bad news might make trouble in Rome, and the officials charged with the publication of the *Acta* might often enough announce victories in place of serious defeats. The account of the campaign of Alexander Severus against the Persians in A.D. 232, contained in the "Augustan History" differs widely from the account given by Herodian—see Gibbon, chs. vi. and viii. It is at least possible that the former is an embellished version of the reports published in the *Acta Diurna*, while the latter came from a source less dignified perhaps, but withal less corrupt. On the subject of historiography under the Emperors, compare Tacitus *Ann.* i. 1: veteris Populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt: temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione detererentur. Tiberii Gaiique et Claudii ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae: postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt; i. 81: (varying records of the manner in which consuls were created in the reign of Tiberius); ii. 88 ("scriptores senatoresque": probably "senatores" means the *Acta Senatus*, to which Tacitus might have had access); iii. 3 ("scriptores rerum" and "diurna actorum scriptura" mentioned); iv. 32-33 (Tacitus' reflections on the subject-matter of his *Annals*—"nobis in arto et inglorius labor"); 34 (the case of Cremutius Cordus, accused of treason because he had written of Brutus as "the last of the Romans"); xiii. 31: Nerone secundum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria digna evenere: nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus quis molem amphitheatri apud Campum Martis Caesar exstruxerat volumina implere: cum ex dignitate Populi Romani repertum sit, res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis Urbis actis mandare. In this passage Dio adapts Thucydides i. 20-23.

§ 2. τοῖς ἀπομνήμασι τοῖς δημοσίοις = "diurna actorum scriptura" (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 3). The publication of these was not suspended or prohibited by the Emperors.

§ 3. τῶν παραδυναστευόντων, e.g. Seianus the "fellow-labourer" of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 1-2); Narcissus and Pallas, the all-powerful freedmen of Claudius (Sueton. *Claud.* 28-29: his, ut dixi, uxoribusque addictus, non principem se, sed ministrum egit) Tigellinus (Juvenal, i. 155-6) and Vatinius (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 34: inter foedissima aulae ostenta) the favourites of Nero; Perennis and Cleander, the "vizirs" of Commodus; and Plautian, "praefectus praetorio" under Septimius Severus (Gibbon, chs. iv. and

v.). Among the *παραδυναστεύοντες* also must be reckoned ambitious Empresses, such as Livia, Messalina, Agrippina, Iulia Mamaea.

§ 5. *παρά τῳ ὑπηκόῳ* = "apud socios".

c. 21. § 1. *τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα*. Cf. Bk. 60, c. 1: *τὰ λοιπὰ δσα ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἤκοντα ἦν αὐτῷ*.

§ 2. *δι' ὄχλου*. Cf. the use of *διὰ* in such phrases as *δι' ἐχθρας ἔναι τινι* = to become involved in enmity with a person.

§ 3. *ἰδιογνωμονῶν* = *τῇ ἰδίᾳ μόνον χρώμενος γνώμῃ*, "consulting his own judgment alone".

*ἐς τὸ δημόσιον*. Sueton. *Aug.* 40: *comitiorum pristinum ius reduxit*.

*ἐξετίθει* = "promulgabat".

*παρησίαν*. Sueton. *Aug.* 51: *clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt*; 54: *nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit*.

§ 4. The "consilium Caesaris". Sueton. *Aug.* 35: *sibi que instituit consilia sorti semestria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem Senatum referendis ante tractaret*.

*νομίζεσθαι*, "it became a practice that". Cf. *ἐνομίσθη* in c. 12 § 4 and c. 17 § 11, and *κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον* in c. 1 § 1.

§ 5. Compare the advice given (so Dio would have his readers believe) to Octavian by Maecenas, Bk. 52, c. 15: *ἐκείνα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει γένοιτ' ἂν, τὸ τε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτόν σε μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων νομοθετεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν πολλῶν μὴ ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπαρτιουμένου, καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλευμάτων διοικεῖσθαι, . . . τὸ τε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰρέσεις ἐφ' ἑμὶν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τε τιμωρίας ὑμᾶς ὀρίσκειν . . .* Octavian, however, did not act upon this advice in all its rigour.

*ἐδίκαζε* = "ius dicebat".

§ 6. *ἔκρινε . . . ὡς καὶ πρότερον*. In the Republican epoch, the Senate had acted as a court of arbitration over contending municipia in Italy. It had also appointed commissioners to deal with such extraordinary cases as the Bacchanalia in B.C. 188 (Livy *xxix.*, 14). Under the Emperors, its judicial functions were enlarged, and it became the court in which persons accused of treason were commonly tried and sentenced. For instances of such trials, see ch. 23 §§ 5-7 (the case of Cornelius Gallus), Tac. *Ann.* 1. 74 (Granius Marcellus), II. 27-32 (Libo Drusus), III. 10-18 (Piso), III. 49 (Lutorius Priscus), IV. 28-30 (Vibius Serenus), 34-35 (Cremutius Cordus), XVI. 27 f. (Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus). It was by sentence of the Senate (passed, of course, in accordance with the known wishes of the Emperor) that Seianus was put to death (Dio 58. 10 and 11). In A.D. 62 Nero "auxit Patrum honorem,

statuendo ut qui a privatis iudicibus ad Senatum provocavissent, eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent cum iis qui Imperatorem adpellavere" (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 28). The appellate jurisdiction of the Senate, however, did not exclude that of the Emperor; see for instance Dio 59. 18: [Caligula] ἰδίκαζε καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκρίνεν. οὐ μὲντοι αὐτοτελὴς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπεσέμιοι δίκαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς συχναὶ ἐγγίγοντο.

πρεσβείαις κ.τ.λ. E.g. Tac. *Ann.* i. 79 (deputations from the *municipia* and *coloniae* of Italy), iii. 60 and iv. 55-56 (deputations from the cities of Asia), iv. 43 (from Lacedaemon and Messene), xii. 16 (Parthian ambassadors), 62 (deputies from Byzantium). Deputations of provinces bringing complaints and charges of "repetundae" presented themselves before the Senate (e.g. *Ann.* iv. 15).

ἀρχαιρεσίας = comitia. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 40: Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit, and 56: Quoties magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuit, supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribubus, ut unus e populo; Tac. *Ann.* i. 15: Tum primum (sc. Tiberio nuper rerum potito) e Campo comitia ad Patres translata sunt. Nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio Principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum ius questus est, nisi inani rumore. . . .

§ 7. αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο = "commendabat sine repulsa et ambitu designandos".

μητ' ἐκ παρακλήσεως ἢ καὶ δεκάσμου. Suetonius l. c. says that Augustus imposed severe penalties upon "ambitus". But he seems to have had little faith in these penalties, for his custom was to give 1000 sesterces to any voter in the tribes Fabia and Scaptia, to whom he belonged, "ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent". The natural effect of this measure would be a general whetting of the appetite for largess. Tacitus (l. c.) supplies evidence showing that δεκάσμος was not stopped, when he says that by the transfer of elections from the Campus to the Curia the Senate was "largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus" Dio's παρακλήσεις corresponds to Tacitus' "preces sordidae", and δεκάσμος to "largitiones". In this matter of elections to magistracies, Augustus followed the precedent set by Julius, who. Suetonius says (*Caesar* 41.), "comitia cum Populo partitus est; ut, exceptis consulatus competitoribus, de cetero numero candidatorum, pro parte dimidia, quos Populus vellet, pronunciarentur; pro parte altera, quos ipse edidisset. Et edebat per libellos, circum tribus missos, scriptura brevi: 'Caesar Dictator illi tribui—Commendo vobis illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant'".



c. 22 § 1. τῇ προειρημένῳ ἔτει, refer to c. 2 § 7—the year of his seventh consulate, U.C. 727 = 27 B.C.

τὰς ὁδοῖς. Sueton. *Aug.* 30: Quo autem facilius undique Urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Mon. Ancyr. c. XX: Consul septimum viam Flaminiam ab urbe Ariminum feci et pontes omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.

§ 2. ἀψίδων = "arches". These stood as gateways to the road.

τῇ τοῦ Τιβ. γέφυρ., viz. the Pons Mulvius, by which the Flaminian Road was carried across the Tiber, a short distance to the north of the city. Its modern representative is still called Ponte Molle. Augustus' arch was probably at the end furthest from the city.

ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ, the terminus of the Via Flaminia on the Adriatic coast, still surviving in Rimini. The arch constructed at Ariminum still stands.

ἐκστρατεύουσιν ἡμέλλε. See § 5.

§ 3. τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, viz. the *fiscus* and the *aerarium*. αὐτῶν = τοῦ Δαυέστου καὶ τοῦ δήμου. The revenues of Caesar's provinces were Caesar's revenues. He also drew revenues from estates in the other provinces, these revenues being distinct from the imposts and rents levied by the proconsuls. Among the various sources from which supplies came into the *fiscus*, Caesar's treasury, the most copious were the provinces of Gaul and Egypt. The possession of the latter alone was sufficient to make the Princeps the wealthiest citizen of Rome. He also had estates in Italy, upon which he could draw for the means of carrying out public works. As Augustus more than once came to the assistance of the *aerarium* or public treasury (see ch. 2 § 1 note on ἐδανίστατο), there is some reason for Dio's inability to distinguish between expenditure from the *aerarium* and expenditure from the *fiscus*.

ἀνδριάντας . . . ἐκώψε. Suetonius speaks of the melting-down of silver statues of Augustus, but in his account of the matter the money so obtained was applied to the purchase of golden tripods for the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (*Aug.* 52).

δήμων = "municipiorum".

δανίσματα, ἐπίκουρον. The Emperor might provide some "public utility" at his own charges, and then charge the public for the use of it. This would be "lending" rather than "giving". Suppose, for example, that he paid for the building of a number of "foricae" and then leased them to "conductores" (Juvenal iii. 38 and Mayor's note).

§ 5. Βρεττανίαν. Britain afforded a refuge to disaffected Gauls, and was a possible base for a movement aiming at the expulsion of

the Romans. By refusing to surrender fugitives from Roman authority, the Britons brought upon themselves the invasion of their country in the reign of Claudius (Sueton. *Claud.* 17).

ἐδόκουν, "thought good". Cf. I Cor. xi. 16: εἰ δὲ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνηκος εἶναι, "if anyone thinks fit to be contentious", Phil. iii. 4: εἰ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί, Hebr. xii. 10: κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπαίδευσεν, Ev. Marc. x. 42: οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἰσθμῶν, and the term δόγμα (= edict, decree, *placitum*).

ἀπογραφάς. The plural may possibly be used because (1) *cives Romani* and *socii* would have to be registered separately, and (2) the registration would be carried on simultaneously in a large number of districts, at a large number of centres.

τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν διακόσμησε. By βίου διακόσμησις one would understand measures of police, for the protection of life and property; provision for the improvement and extension of roads, to facilitate commerce; the prohibition of customs which, though ancient, were savage and inhuman, such as sacrificial manslaughter; also laws regulating trade between Gaul and other parts of the Empire. Under πολιτείας διακόσμησις would come "constitutions" defining, e.g., the position and rights of native chieftains, the "*primores Galliae*", and fiscal regulations. It is not easy to make a very sharp distinction. Anything that affects πολιτεία affects βίος.

ch. 23 § 1. ὀγδοὺν . . . ὑπάτευσε. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 26: quantum consulatum in Asia, quantum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone iniit. The year of Augustus' eighth consulate is U.C. 728 = 26 B.C. Statilius Taurus, colleague of Augustus in this consulate, was "consul suffectus" in U.C. 717 = 37 B.C. He played a distinguished part in the war with Sextus Pompeius, U.C. 718, and was granted a triumph two years later in honour of the successful campaign in which he had brought the province of Africa under Octavian's jurisdiction. Soon after his triumph he accompanied Octavian to Dalmatia, and he appears to have remained there until the time of the final conflict between Octavian and Antony. In the campaign of Actium, he commanded the land-forces as one of Octavian's *legati*. It was in the year after Actium, U.C. 724 = 30 B.C., that he built the amphitheatre afterwards known by his name, Dio 51. 23: τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἐπὶ ὑπατεύοντος δὲ Ταύρου ὁ Στατίλιος θέατρον τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγετικὸν λίθινον καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθιέρωσεν ὀπλομαχίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν εἶνα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατ' ἔτος αἰρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε. This right of getting a man of his own choice elected praetor every year must have been granted on the motion of Octavian. It shows clearly the esteem in which Taurus was held. In the



course of U.C. 729 he was engaged in warfare with the Cantabri, Vaccaei, and Astures in Spain. Augustus made him prefect of the City, when he set out on his expedition to Gaul in U.C. 738, Dio 54. 19: τὸ ἔστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας, τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αἰθίς ἐστάλαξε, καὶ τῷ Μαικήρῃ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οἰκέτ' ὁμοίως ἐχαιρε; Tac. *Ann.* VI. 11: Taurus Statilius, quamquam provecta aetate, egregie toleravit [potestatem praefecturae]. The amphitheatre he built was completely destroyed in the great fire of Rome, A.D. 64; see Dict. Antiq: *Amphitheatrum*.

τὰ Σέπτα = Saepta: the buildings, also known as Saepta Iulia, erected on the Campus Martius and used as polling-booths by the Populus Romanus in its assemblies by centuries or by tribes (*comitia centuriata*, *comitia tributa*). "Saepta" means "enclosures", and the polling-booths or polling-rooms were also called "Ovilia" i.e. "sheepfolds". Other names were "carceres" and "cancelli", the latter referring to the partition-walls. (N. From *saeptus* = "fenced in" and *cancelli* are derived the ecclesiastical terms *transept* and *chancel*). The enclosures or compartments were arranged in correspondence with the number of the tribes, classes, and centuries. Before 700 U.C. = 54 B.C. the Saepta were wooden structures: in that year Caesar undertook the substitution of stone and marble for wood. This work is referred to in a letter written by Cicero to Atticus in 700 U.C. (ad Att. IV. 16. 14.) as follows: "in Campo Martio saepta tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta facturi, eaque cingemus excelsa porticu, ut mille passuum conficiatur". (In this letter, Cicero writes as "amicus Caesaris".) The work, left unfinished at the time of Caesar's death, was continued by the triumvir Lepidus, but Lepidus' enforced retirement into private life at Circeii in 718 U.C. = 36 B.C. caused a further delay, the ornamentation of the buildings with wall-paintings and variegated marbles being left to be taken in hand and completed by Agrippa. See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, art. *Comitia*; also Lauciani, "Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome", pp. 473-474. Note the representation of Latin *ae* by Greek *ε* in Σέπτα. The proper representative or equivalent of *ae* is *αι*: e.g., πραιτώριον = praetorium, Καῖσαρ = Caesar. But *ε* and *αι*, which in Modern Greek are identical in pronunciation, are found interchanged in Greek MSS as far back as the 2nd century B.C. See Jannaris, Historical Greek Grammar, § 49: Blass, Grammar of New Testament Greek, § 3. 7. In the Codex Sinaiticus (circ. A.D. 400) the following instances occur:

Isaiah. ii. 19 εἰσενήκανται (for εἰσενέγκαντες)

Isaiah xxi. 2. *Ελαμειτε*: subsequently altered by correctors to *Ελαμειται*.

Jeremiah. xxv. 16 (=xlix. 36.) *Ελαμ*, altered by correctors to *Αιλαμ*.

Jeremiah. xxvi. 2 (=xli. 2.) *Εγυπτω*, altered by correctors to *Αιγυπτω* (*Αιγύπτω*).

Psalm cxviii. (cxix) 77, *ζησομαι*, but 88 *ζησομε*.

The various readings of the MSS quoted in Dr. Swete's apparatus criticus on Psalm cxviii (cxix) 25, 40, 57, 77, 88 and 116 (vol II of his edition of the LXX) are instructive in this connection.

*πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαίρεσας* = "tributis comitiis" in Cicero, l.c. The Campus Martius was the proper assembly-ground of the centuries rather than of the tribes. But under the later Republic the organization of the centuriate assembly was re-modelled, on the basis of the number of the tribes, viz: 35. See Mayor's note on Cicero's Second Philippic, c. 33. § 82.

§§ 3-4. Agrippa "fidem faciebat civilis animi". Compare Bk. 54. c. 28 (where Dio, having recorded the death of Agrippa and his funeral honours, once more eulogizes him): 'Αγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτω μετήλλαξε, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀριστος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων διαφανῶς γενόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φιλίᾳ πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ συμφωρότατον χρησάμενος. ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρετῇ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου ὀφελοντῆς ἡττάτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέχων πᾶσαν τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετεῖν ἀνῆλπισκεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὗτ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐπαχθῆς οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκίφθονος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν ὡς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως ἐπιθυμητῆς συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐεργεσίαις ὡς καὶ δημοτικώτατος προσεποιήσατο . . . οὕτω γοῦν οὐκ ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ 'Αγρίππου οἰκίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐγένετο. In Bk. 52, Dio represents Agrippa as advising Octavian to restore the Republican polity in its pristine freedom. The advice of Maecenas, recommending a monarchical regime (though disguised), prevailed over that of Agrippa. Nevertheless, says Dio, "Agrippa gave Octavian the most hearty assistance, though the counsel he had offered had been contrary". He helped Octavian indeed, to establish his monarchy with as much eagerness as though this policy had been his own. If we are to believe a statement of Dio's, which after all may have only been a piece of tittle-tattle, one of Augustus' reasons for marrying Julia to Agrippa was that Maecenas had warned him that he had made Agrippa so great that he must either put him to death or make him his son-in-law. Perhaps Maecenas envied Agrippa, and knew what was coming when he said this (See Dio 54. 6). Agrippa must have led an unenviable

life with Julia for the wife of his bosom: it is perhaps one of the strongest proofs of his loyalty to Augustus that the marriage did not lead to a rupture between them.

§ 5. Γάλλος Κορήλιος. Cf. Bk. 51, c. 17 (U.C. 724 = 30 B.C.): *τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον ὑποτελῇ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορήλιῳ ἐπέτρεψε.* While Octavian advanced upon Egypt by its eastern approaches, Gallus, being one of his *legati*, had landed in Libya, near Cyrene, and seized Paraetonium, where Antony attacked him, but was utterly defeated (Bk. 51, c. 9). Gallus then joined Octavian in the blockade of Alexandria. Gaius Cornelius Gallus was a native of Forum Iulii in southern Gaul; his father may have been a freedman of Sulla or of Cinna, who were both Cornelii. We find him in Rome at the age of twenty, or thereabouts, attracting the attention of Asinius Pollio and other magnates by his poetry. Octavius, on coming to Rome in 710 U.C. to take up his inheritance and avenge the murder of Julius, was joined at once by Gallus, whom we find in 713 U.C. = 41 B.C. acting as commissioner for the distribution of lands among the veterans in northern Italy (*III vir agris dividundis*). On this occasion he protected the Mantuans, and Virgil in particular, against the encroachments of unjust surveyors. In 723-724 U.C. = 31-30 B.C. Gallus was one of Octavian's *legati* in the campaigns against Antony and Cleopatra, and was rewarded for his services by being appointed prefect of Egypt after the conquest. The circumstance that he was an *eques*, not a Senator, was all in his favour, for Octavian regarded Egypt as too wealthy a province, and from a strategic point of view too strongly placed, to be entrusted to a senator (see quotations from Dio Bk. 51, c. 17 and Tac. *Ann.* II. 59, above, in note on c. 12 § 2 *πρωτερίσαι δυνάμειν*). Octavian was resolved upon keeping Egypt entirely at his disposal and under his control. With this end in view, it was far safer to employ an equestrian as his deputy for the government of the country. The prefect of Egypt was really to be a viceroy; Octavian was to carry on the succession of the ancient kings of the land. Suspicion of treasonable intentions on the part of the prefect of Egypt, who held the keys of the greatest granary of the Empire, and whose position was so strong both for attack and for defence, must have put an intolerable strain of anxiety upon the Princes. The acts laid to Gallus' charge were of a kind which might easily be represented as evidence of treason, and Augustus was given to suspicion. It is not surprising that Gallus was recalled to Rome. Dio (see c. 24 § 1) is fully persuaded that most of the charges laid against Gallus were false. Possibly Gallus would have been acquitted, had he been tried by the Princeps himself, and not by the Senate. But Augustus was now far away from Rome, and

affairs in Gaul and Spain called urgently for attention. There was a strain of bloodthirstiness in him (see Sueton. *Aug.* 27) as well as a habit of suspicion, and neither Agrippa nor Maecenas was at hand to control it. It is likely enough that he decided that Gallus must be condemned, as a warning to his successors in the prefecture, and that this decision was communicated to the Senate, which acted accordingly. Yet when the news of Gallus' suicide was brought to the Princeps, he shed tears, and lamented that he alone was not allowed to set bounds to displeasure with his friends (Sueton. *Aug.* 66). The career of Gallus, brilliant and distinguished as it was, found a miserable end. The friend of Asinius Pollio, Ovid, Virgil, and, until the accusations of treason were heard, of Octavian, must have been a man of "good parts". The defence of Paratonium against Antony showed that Gallus was an able strategist. Virgil dedicated his tenth Eclogue to Gallus, and Ovid (*Trist.* iv. x. 5) placed him among the foremost of Roman elegiac poets. Of his poetry and rhetoric, however, nothing has survived the vicissitudes and ravages of time.

§ 5. ἐξέβρισεν ὁπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. Cf. Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 865-873. ἀπελῆρει. Possibly he retailed stories about the Princeps which were neither creditable nor decent. Stories of a gravely scandalous character certainly had been put in circulation, mainly by Mark Antony and his brother Lucius, and some of them have been handed down in Suetonius' narrative (*Aug.* 67-68).

παρεπράττε. "Besides" (παρά) all these foolish vapourings, there were many acts of a culpable nature.

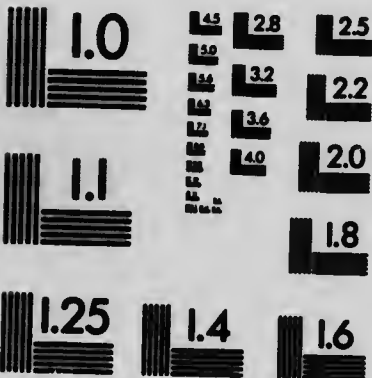
εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ. By setting up statues made in his own image and likeness, Gallus rendered himself liable to be accused of attempting to make the provincials think that *he* was the real sovereign lord of the country. Egyptians were perhaps especially adapted to receive such an impression. Some of these *εἰκόνας* may have been figures in bas-relief, sculptured and coloured in the Egyptian style, representing the prefect with the insignia of the ancient kings.

ἵστεγραψε. In hieroglyphics? It is a tenable hypothesis, of course, that Gallus had committed the execution of the statuary to native artists and workmen, and that they, without any orders from him, represented him in regal proportions and with regal symbols. They would thus have given reason to suspect that *they* at any rate regarded Gallus as their sovereign, and it would have been their unintended mistake that involved him in disaster. Inscriptions in his honour, however, could hardly have been carved upon the *pyramids* without his express orders, and the pyramids were *royal* monuments—"instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum" (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 61, Herodotus. ii. 124-5, 127, 134).



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§ 6. *ἡτιμώθη*. He was deprived of his prefecture, and forbidden to reside in any of Caesar's provinces. This prohibition meant that Caesar did not regard him as a person whom he could trust (see c. 12 § 2).

*ἄλλοι συχροὶ ἐπέθεντο*. Carrion-birds swooping down upon a dying man. Compare Juvenal's reflections upon the fall of Seianus, and Dio 58. 11 (referring to the same event): *ἐνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν κατείδεν, ὥστε μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς φυεῖσθαι. ὃν γὰρ τῇ ἐφ' πάντες ὡς καὶ κρείττω σφῶν ὄντα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον παρέπεμψαν, τοῦτον τότε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα (in carcerem) ὡς μηδενὸς βελτίω κατέσυρον, κ.τ.λ.*

§ 7. *ἡ γερουσία*. Suet. Aug. 66: Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti ex infima fortuna provexerat . . . res novas molientem damnandum Senatui tradiderat. . . Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denunciationibus et Senatus consultis ad necem compulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tantopere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci. Suetonius (l. c.) says that while Augustus was slow to make friends, he was very loyal to a friendship once formed, and that Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus were almost the only instances of friends whom he repudiated and abandoned.

*ἀλῶναι αὐτὸν—ἐψηφίσατο*, "passed resolutions declaring him to have been convicted legally and transferring his property to Augustus"—Shuckburgh on Sueton. l. c. From the wording of Dio's narrative it seems that the *actiones* instituted against Gallus were not proceedings of the Senate itself, but of the *iudicia*, the sentences of these courts receiving final ratification from the Senate. What then does Suetonius' phrase "damnandum Senatui tradidit" mean? Perhaps we are to infer that Gallus was allowed to appeal to the Senate, and that the Senate upheld the sentences of the courts, the Princeps having given notice that the finding of the Senate was to be final.

*βουθυῆσαι*, lit: "to sacrifice oxen". The Senate appears to have decreed a "supplicatio". Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 11. 32: after the condemnation and suicide of Libo Drusus, "supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia constituti". Dio Bk. 58, c. 12, the Senate decreed the observation of Seianus' overthrow with a variety of joyful solemnities: *ἐψηφίσαντο . . . ἑορτὴν διὰ τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπάντων . . . ἀχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἱππῶν ἀγῶσι καὶ θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτησίοις διὰ τε τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας (Pontiffs, Augurs, *xviri sacris faciundis*, *vii viri epulones*) τελομένων καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλγούστου θιασωτῶν (the *Augustales*) ἀγάλλεσθαι.*



c. 24. § 1. ἀπέκλιναν, "they turned upon Largus".

§ 2. Προκουλήσιος. Proculcius had been associated with Gallus in the attempt to take Cleopatra alive and reserve her for Octavian's triumph—Plutarch *Antonius* c. 79. Dio makes mention of him again in Bk. 54, c. 3, as brother of Terentius Varro, who subjugated the Salassi (c. 25. 3).

μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι κ.τ.λ. = "etiam respirare coram illo periculosum esse".

§ 3. τῷ κακῷ = "the scoundrel".

καὶ δν. One would rather have expected δν γ'.

§ 4. φυλάσσονται = "cavent ne eadem patiantur".

ἀγορανομήσας = "having been made aedile". The word τότε is somewhat misleading. M. Egnatius Rufus was not aedile until the year 734 U.C. = 20 B.C. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 19.

ἐμψηθεῖσαις. The quenching of fires was the business of the *tresviri nocturni* or *capitales* (Becker, *Gallus*, ch. i. note 1). They had to employ their own slaves or hired men. Egnatius' activity as a captain of *sapeurs-pompier*s appears to have suggested to Augustus the transference of this charge from the *tresviri nocturni* to the aediles (§6), the latter probably being in general the wealthier. In A.D. 6 Augustus instituted the corps of *vigiles* (νυκτοφύλακες) placed under the command of a prefect of equestrian rank. For the purposes of police and protection against fire the city was divided into seven districts. These *vigiles* at first were freedmen, but subsequently their ranks were filled up from other classes besides that of the *libertini*. See Dio 55. 26, and Sueton. *Aug.* 30: *adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est*.

μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων κ.τ.λ. Compare the story told of Marcus Licinius Crassus by Plutarch.

§ 5. τὰ ἀναλώματα. Egnatius Rufus had employed *μισθωτοί* ("mercede conducti") as well as his own slaves.

παρανόμως, i.e. contra leges annales. Cf. Cicero *Phil.* v. 17. 47. In support of his motion "C. Caesarem C. f. pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse, sententiamque loco praetorio dicere etc." Cicero, knowing that dispensation from the "leges annales" was required, pointed out that the reason of these laws was proper restraint upon "adolescensiae temeritas" and the establishment of "gradus petitionis inter aequales". In the earlier ages of the Republic, these laws were unknown. The effect of them had been that "saepe magna indoles virtutis, priusquam reipublicae prodesse potuisset, exstincta fuit". C. Caesar (i.e. Octavian) on the very threshold of manhood had shown that the Senate need not wait for the course of time to prove his qualities. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 91) states that Egnatius was aedile and praetor in suc-

cessive years. The "leges annales" required an interval of a year at least between these two offices. Besides fixing the intervals in the "cursus honorum", the "leges annales" also fixed the earliest age at which citizens might be candidates for each. See Mommsen, R.H. Bk. v. ch. i, note on the date of Caesar's birth.

*ἀθραυστον*. This, we may suppose, piqued Augustus, who had given particular attention to the restoration of ancient buildings in Rome. Cf. Mon. Ancy. c. xx: duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex decreto Senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat. Furthermore, Augustus had been careful to prevent his restorations from eclipsing the fame of the original builders or founders. See Dio 56. 40: πάντα τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπισκευάσας οὐδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπεστέρησε.

§ 6. ἐκδιδάξιν ἔμελλε. In the year of his praetorship (U.C. 735 = 19 B.C.) Egnatius Rufus attempted to stand as a candidate for the consulship. The consul C. Sentius Saturninus refused to accept his name, as the *leges annales* forbade the holding of the praetorship and the consulship in two successive years, and Saturninus would not accept Egnatius' holding of the aedileship and praetorship in consecutive years as a precedent. Thereupon Egnatius entered into a conspiracy against the Emperor's life. Possibly he was exasperated by the exemption of Marcellus, Tiberius, and Drusus from the very laws enforced against himself. Tiberius "magistratus et maturius inchoavit et paene iunctim percucurrit, quaesturam praeturam consulatum" (Sueton. *Tiberius* 9). In U.C. 730 = 24 B.C. τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ βουλευεῖν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἥπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη, καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτος μὲν ταμίης ἐκείνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν—*infra*, c. 28 § 3, and notes. Thus Tiberius was made quaestor at the age of seventeen, and Marcellus aedile at the age of nineteen. In U.C. 735 = 19 B.C., the very year when Egnatius was debarred from standing for the consulship, Augustus obtained praetorian "insignia" and rank for Tiberius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, and for Drusus permission to offer himself as candidate for offices of State five years earlier than the laws allowed, as had already been done in Tiberius' case (Dio 54. 10). Egnatius' plot was detected, and those who had joined in it were put to death (Velleius Paterc. II. 91-93).

οἱ πρῶτοι = "primores". Cf. Act. Ap. xiii. 50: τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως.

τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν. Cf. Ep. Rom. xii. 3: μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις. In A.D. 6 Augustus organized a corps of

"vigiles" (νυκτοφύλακες), divided into seven brigades (each one serving for two of the fourteen "regiones" of the city), and composed of freedmen. At first this was only intended as an emergency measure for dealing with conflagrations, which had become numerous. But the new fire-fighting service was found to be so much superior to the slaves and hired men of the aediles, that it was made permanent, and the equestrian "praefectus vigilum" took over the police duties of the old republican magistracy. See § 4; note, on ἐμπροσθεισais.

c. 25. § 1. Polemo was the son of Zeno, a rhetorician of Laodicea in Phrygia. In U.C. 715 = 39 B.C. he was appointed dynast of part of Cilicia by Mark Antony, but after two years or so he was transferred to Pontus. Dio (49. 25), relating the history of Antony's Parthian expedition in U.C. 718 = 36 B.C., speaks of Polemo, who took part in the enterprise, as king of Pontus, not as dynast of Cilicia. Polemo was taken prisoner by the Parthians, but was able to buy his release. In U.C. 719 = 35 B.C., acting as Antony's envoy, he detached Artavasdes, king of Media, from his alliance with the Parthian monarch. He was lucky, or dexterous, enough to escape the ruin which overwhelmed most of Antony's allies after the battle of Actium. In U.C. 740 = 14 B.C. he added the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea) to his dominions, which he held as the friend and ally of the Roman People (Dio, 54, 24).

ἐνεγράφη. This, of course, must have been on the motion of Augustus. Polemo "sociis et amicis Populi Romani adscriptus est".

προεδρία κ.τ.λ. As Augustus was chary of allowing Senators any freedom of movement outside Italy (Bk. 52. 42, cited on c. 12 § 2 above) and *Roman* Senators would in any case have been placed in the front seats in theatres and stadia, it is probable that the βουλευται here mentioned were the members of city councils in Polemo's dominions. The words ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ, then, qualify τοῖς βουλευταῖς. Cf. Gal. i. 13: τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, 1 Tim. vi. 17: τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, and see Blass, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, § 47. 7-8 (pp. 159-160, Eng. trans.).

ἐς πάντα τὰ θέατρα, sc. in Rome.

§ 2. στρατευσέοντα, "and Augustus, though eager to invade Britain, as the Britons would not come to terms, was prevented by an insurrection of the Salassi, and an outbreak of hostilities on the part of the Cantabrians and Asturians".

ἐκεῖνοι. The Salassi inhabited the valleys on the Italian side of the Great St. Bernard Pass (Pennine Alps). They were a rude tribe of mountaineers, who constantly vexed the inhabitants of the foot-hills and lowlands by their raids. Expeditions had been sent against them U.C. 611, 719 and 720 = 143, 35, 34 B.C. and in

654 = 100 B.C. Eporedia was founded to keep them in check (mod. Ivrea). Besides the provocation offered by their raids, there was another reason for subjugating them, viz. the existence of gold-washings in their territory (Strabo *Geogr.* iv. vi).

ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι. Referring to Bk. 49, chs. 34 and 38, where Dio narrates the history of the expeditions of Antistius Vetus and Valerius Messalla in U.C. 719 and 720 = 35 and 34 B.C.

οἱ δὲ, the Cantabrians and Asturians, who held the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula. They were not finally conquered till U.C. 736 = 18 B.C. The completion of the Roman conquest was the work of Agrippa, who compelled the highlanders to migrate to the plains (Dio 54. 11).

τοῦ τε Πυρηνάου, "the strongest places on the Iberian side of the Pyrenees" or "in the Iberian part of the Pyrenees". The Cantabrian Mountains are a westward prolongation of the Pyrenees to the Atlantic coast.

§ 3. ἐνατον. Ninth consulate of Augustus in U.C. 729 = 25 B.C. Τερέντιον Οὐάερωνα, Aulus Licinius Murena, adopted by Terentius Varro and thenceforth known as Aulus Terentius Varro Murena. His sister Terentia became the wife of Maecenas. He was consul (suffectus) U.C. 731 = 23 B.C., and in the year following was put to death on a charge of conspiracy. Proculeius (ch. 24 § 2) was his brother. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Augustus* 19.

§ 5. τῶν δορυφόρων, the Praetorians. Cf. ch. 11 § 5: τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτόν. This use of δορυφόροι to denote the Praetorians gives an aspect of τυραννίς to Augustus' position, for δορυφόροι were a regular accompaniment of despotism (i.e.: note on ὅπως ἀκριβῆ κ. τ. λ.).

Ἀγούσταν Πραιτ., Augusta Praetoria, now-a-days Aosta, famous as the birthplace of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109 C.E. The city commanded not only the country of the Salassi (Val d'Aosta) but also the Italian exit of the Great St. Bernard Pass. See Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* vol. 1. ch. i.

ἔσχεν = "received". Cf. c. 26 § 3: ἡ Γαλατία Ῥωμαίων ἀρχοντα "Galatia received a Roman as governor" and Tac. *Ann.* 11. 56: At Cappadoces, in formam provinciae redacti, Q. Veranium legatum accepere.

§ 6. ἐπαιρόμενοι. They were "uplifted" or "exalted" in two ways, (1) upon their mountain-strongholds, and (2) in confidence, relying upon the strength of their high places.

τὰ ὑπερῶτα, "the heights". Dio is describing "la guerrilla". Napoleon's marshals experienced similar difficulties in the course of the Peninsular War.

τοῖς τε ὁλώδεσιν. Cf. Tacitus' description of warfare in the forests of Germany, *Ann.* I. 51, II. 16-17.

§ 7. ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων. Failure to bring the Spanish highlanders to submission might encourage secret enemies of the Principate to conspire for its overthrow.

Ταρράκωνα, Tarraco (Tarragona), the capital of Hispania Citerior s. Tarraconensis.

ἡρῶσται, "lay sick".

§ 8. καταφρονήσαντες. Compare the mistake made by Inguio-merus in attacking Caecina's camp, Tac. *Ann.* I. 68.

ἐνικθήσαν. Their armour and weapons being unsuited to fighting at close quarters (see § 6).

τινα, sc. ὀχυρώματα, ἐρυμνά.

Λαγκίαν. Not far from the site on which Leon (Legio VII Gemina) subsequently grew up.

c. 26 § 1. τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους = "veteranos", "emeritos".

Ἀγούσταν ἡμ. Augusta Emerita, on the Anas, now-a-days Merida on the Guadiana, in the province of Estremadura. Augusta Emerita was a city of Lusitania, but Merida is included in the kingdom of Spain, the boundaries of ancient Lusitania not being exactly identical with those of modern Portugal. Cf. Mon. Ancyr. c. XXVIII: Colonias in Africa Sicilia Macedonia utraque Hispania Achaia Asia Syria Gallia Narbonensi Pisidia militum deduxi (Lusitania apparently is to be understood as covered by "utraque Hispania"), and c. III: Millia civium Romanorum adacta sacramento meo fuerunt circiter quingenta. Ex quibus deduxi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipendis emeritis millia aliquantum plura quam trecenta et iis omnibus agros a me emptos aut pecuniam pro praediis a me dedi.

θεας, "spectacula". The arrangements were made and supervised by Marcellus and Tiberius, acting as aediles in the camp. Inasmuch as the legionaries were Roman citizens, they could be accounted of as part, at least, of the *Populus Romanus* under arms. Augustus himself was consul and held tribunicia potestas. His *legati*, such as C. Antistius and T. Carisius, were senators. The constituent elements of the *Respublica Romana*, therefore, were all represented, while the powers and functions confided to the Princeps made him, in his own person, competent to act everywhere as though he himself were the State. Already it is beginning to be felt that where the sovereign is, there is Rome, as was plainly suggested to Commodus at his accession (Herodian, I. 1). The camp-aedileship, however, held by Marcellus and Tiberius was not treated as a substitute for the regular urban aedileship in their "cursus honorum". Marcellus was made aedile in Rome U.C. 730,

see ch. 28 § 4. This Cantabrian campaign was Tiberius' first "stipendium". He held the rank of military tribune. Sueton. *Tiberius* 9: Stipendia prima Cantabrica expeditione tribunus militum fecit.

§ 2. τῆς πατρῶας ἀρχῆς, sc. Numidia. Cf. c. 12. § 4, and Bk. 51, c. 15: ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα (daughter of Autony and Cleopatra) Ἰούβη τῷ τοῦ Ἰούβου πατρὶ συνῆκσε. τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατευσαμένῳ οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῶαν ἔδωκε. Iuba's father had taken the side of Pompey against Caesar, and had died by his own hand after the overthrow at Thapsus. In the interval between that event (U.C. 708 = 46 B.C.) and the restoration of the Numidian monarchy in the person of the younger Iuba, much of the territory of Numidia had become part of Roman province of Africa, or had passed under direct Roman administration. Compensation was found for Iuba in the regions of Gaetulia (Algeria south of the Atlas) and Mauretania (Algeria north of the Atlas, and Morocco).

τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογοῦ [?Βογοῦδου]. Descendants, no doubt, of the Bocchus who betrayed Iugurtha to the Romans (Sallust, *B.I.* c. 113). Bocchus reigned over eastern Mauretania (known later as M. Caesariensis), Bogudes over western Mauretania (M. Tingitana). Mommsen, *R.H.* Bk. v, c. x.

§ 3. Ἀμύντου. After the victory of Actium, Octavian τοὺς δυνάστας τοὺς τε βασιλείας τὰ χωρία, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴν τοῦ τε Ἀμύντου τοῦ τε Ἀρχελαίου ἀφείλετο. Amyntas had been dynast of Galatia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia since U.C. 718 = 36 B.C. In U.C. 724 = 30 B.C. Cilicia Aspera was added to his realm by Octavian. He met his death in U.C. 729 = 25 B.C. in the course of a campaign against the Homonadenses in Isauria. Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on "Galatians"*, pp. 109-112.

ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον, sc. χώραν, or μερίδα. Galatia "in formam provinciae redacta", now became part of the "Roman order" (ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμος), being placed under the authority of a Roman governor. The officer sent to organize the new province was Lollius, to whom Horace addressed *Carm.* iv. ix.

Λυκαονίας. Derbe and Lystra, "cities of Lycaonia" (Act. Ap. xiv. 6), were also cities of the province Galatia.

τῶ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. These districts were now made a separate province. Cf. Dio, Bk. 54, c. 34: U.C. 743 = 11 B.C., when the Bessi and other Thracians fell to raiding Macedonia, Λούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ᾗς ἦρχε, προσετάχθη σφισι. Lucius Piso was transferred to Macedonia from the province of Pamphylia. Cilicia Aspera was annexed to the dominions of Archelaus king of Cappa-



docia, Cilicia Campestris having already been annexed to the province of Syria. Celenderis (Tac. *Ann.* II. 80) was a stronghold of Cilicia Aspera.

§ 4. Οὐνίκιος. The name appears in the Mon. Ancy. c. vi: ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Οὐνικίῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Λουκρητίῳ. Note the difference in spelling, which indicates that there must have been, in some instances, close similarity in pronunciation between *u* and *i*.

Κελτῶν τινας. Dio gives the name Κελτοὶ to tribes or nations which we speak of as "Germans" or "Germanic" (see ch. 12 § 6 above). E.g. Bk. 51. c. 22: Dio speaks of the Suebi as "Kelts"; Bk. 54, c. 32: in 12 B.C. Drusus τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν Ῥήνον διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. The "Kelts" who crossed the Rhine were Sugambri. In Bk. 54, c. 36 the Chatti are spoken of as a "Keltic" tribe: τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων . . . ὁ Δρούσος τὰ μὲν ἐκάκωσε, τὰ δ' ἐχειρώσατο. From the mention made of the Alps in § 5, it is to be inferred that the "Kelts" against whom M. Vinicius took the field were inhabitants of the mountain region between Italy and Germany, and that this expedition was a prelude to the operations of U.C. 739-740=15-14 B.C. which issued in the extension of the frontier defences of Italy to the Danube (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, vol. I. c. i).

κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν. The use of the article indicates the existence of a regular treaty between the Roman State and these barbarians, providing for commerce.

τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ. Mon. Ancy. c. iv: appellatus sum viciens semel imperator, and c. 17 § 4 above.

τὰ ἐπινικία="a triumph", as is shown by the use of πέμψαι. A πομπή was contemplated. The term νικητήρια is also used by Dio to denote a triumph. Cf. Bk. 51, c. 21: Γαῖος Καρίνας . . . ἤγαγε τὰ νικητήρια . . . ἤγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορά τῆς νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσα ἦν . . . ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πομπαὶ . . . πολυτελεστάτῃ δ' οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτῃ ἡ Αἰγυπτία.

αὐτῷ, viz. to Augustus, inasmuch as the victory had been achieved under his auspices (cf. the citation from Bk. 51 in the last note, and Mon. Ancy. c. iv: ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestas). That the pronoun refers to Augustus, however, is decided by the statement with which the sentence concludes: καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη κ.τ.λ. Others besides Augustus "led triumphs" under his Principate, though, as Shuckburgh shows in his note on Sueton. *Aug.* 38 ("iustus triumphos"), only seven instances are recorded in the *Fasti Triumphales*. Dio asserts that Augustus sometimes allowed triumphs for very petty achievements, such as the capture of brigands or the suppression of riots (Bk. 54. c. 12).

ἀψὶς τροπαιοφόρος = "arcus triumphalis". The arch adorned one of the roads crossing the Alps.

τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ τεμένισμα. Cf. Mon. Ancyrr. XIII: Ianum Quirinum (Gr. Πύλην Ἐνυάλιον) quem clausum esse maiores nostri voluerunt; cum per totum imperium Populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum prius quam nasceretur a condita Urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe Senatus claudendum esse censuit; Sueton. *Aug.* 22: Ianum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita Urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo breviori temporis spatio terra marique pace parta conclusit. The two occasions previous to Augustus' lifetime were the reign of Numa and the close of the First Punic War. The Senate decreed the closing of the temple of Ianus U.C. 725 = 29 B.C., thus proclaiming the restoration of the Roman peace and Octavian as the restorer; Dio Bk. 51, c. 20: πλείστον δὲ ὁμοῦς ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τὰς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὥς καὶ πάντων σφισι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἐκλείσαν, Livy I. 19: bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum confectum bellum, iterum quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta. This was the first time that "Ianus was shut up" in the reign of Augustus, the second being on the occasion mentioned here in c. 26, and the third (if we are to follow Orosius) coming in U.C. 752 = 2 B.C. The exact date of the third closing is a matter of doubt; see Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 22 and Mommsen on Mon. Ancyrr. I. c. Cf. Virgil *Aen.* I. 291 f. (referring to U.C. 725 = 29 B.C.):

Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis  
Cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus  
Iura dabunt: dirae ferro et compagibus arctis  
Claudentur Belli portae. Furor impius intus  
Saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus ahenis  
Post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

and *Aen.* VII. 601 f. (referring to the events of U.C. 730 = 24 B.C.):

Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes  
Albae coluere sacrum, nunc maxuma rerum  
Roma colit, cum prima movent in proelia Martem,  
Sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum  
Hyrcanisve Arabisve parant, seu tendere ad Indos  
Auroramque sequi, Parthosque reposcere signa.  
Sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)  
Religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis:  
Centum aerei claudunt vectes, aeternaque ferri  
Robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus.

Has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,  
 Ipse Quirinali trabea cinctus Gabino  
 Insignis reserat stridentia limine consul,  
 Ipse vocat pugnas: sequitur tunc cetera pubes,  
 Aereaue adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.

In the Mon. Ancyr. c. XIII and Suet. *Aug.* 22 (the latter passage obviously a derivative of the former) Ianus is called "Ianus Quirinus". Virgil identifies Quirinus with Romulus (*Aen.* i. 292) and describes the "gates of War" as "sanctified by the fear of raging Mars" (*Aen.* vii. 608), while he represents Ianus as the doorkeeper of the temple (l. c. 610). The consul who opens "the gates of War" is arrayed in the "trabea Quirinalis". Horace, *Carm.* iv. xv. 9, speaks of Ianus as "Ianus Quirini"; in *Carm.* iii. 3. 15 he identifies Romulus with Quirinus, as also Ovid *Fast.* iv. 56: *gemino junctæ Quirine Remo* (cf. ii. 475 f.), "Quirinus" being the name of the founder of Rome after he had been translated to heaven (l. c.).

c. 27. § 1. Ἀγρίππας . . . ἐπεκόσμησε. Cf. c. 23 §§ 1 and 2. τὴν στοάν τὴν τοῦ Π., the "Porticus Neptuni", commemorating the victories of Naulochus (U.C. 718) and Actium.

τὸ Λακωνικόν. The Laconicum (transplanted to Rome from Lacedaemon) was a room in which the bathers were bathed in hot air and perspiration.

λίπα ἀσκεῖν. Cf. Thucyd. i. 6, and the Homeric phrase ἀλείψασθαι λίπ' ἐλαίῳ. Dio uses λίπα as a definitive of ἀσκεῖν, and perhaps it should be written λίπα.

§ 2. τὸ Πάνθειον. The inscription upon the frieze of the portico of the Pantheon reads thus: M. Agrippa. L. f. cos. tertium. fecit. Agrippa's third consulship was held U.C. 727 = 27 B.C. Dio ascribes the completion (ἐξετέλεσε) of the fabric to U.C. 730 = 24 B.C. Perhaps the three years U.C. 727-730 were taken up with the execution of interior adornments. Properly speaking, it was a temple of Mars and Venus. The pedestals of their statues were adorned with numerous figures (in relief, we must suppose) of other divinities, and this, Dio thinks, may have been the reason why the name "Pantheon" was given to the temple, though he himself prefers another explanation.

Ἄρεος . . . Ἀφροδίτης. Mars the father of Romulus and the Romans; Venus, "Aeneadam Genetrix", divine ancestress of the Romans in general (through Rhea Silvia) and of the Iulii in particular (through Ascanius-Iulus).

θολοειδές. The main body of the Pantheon is a rotunda, 142 feet in diameter, covered by a cupola, the summit of which is 143 feet above the pavement. Of this total height of 143 feet, half is occupied by the cupola.

τῷ οὐρ. προσ. The cupola of Santa Sofia in Constantinople was panegyricized by admirers as ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. See Georgius Phranza, *Hist.* III. 8 (p. 289, l. 20. Bonn ed.).

§ 3. ἰδρύσαι, "to set up a statue of".

ἐπικλησιν, i.e. to call it the *Augusteum*.

μὴ δεξαμένον. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 52: templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit—nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore.

ἐκεῖ μὲν . . . Καίσαρος. On the deification of Julius see Shuckburgh's note on Suet. *Aug.* 15 (*Divo Iulio*). Julius had been deified even in his lifetime. His statue, with the title *Deo Invicto*, had been set up in the temple of Quirinus, and the title of "Iuppiter Iulius" had been bestowed upon him, in the summer of U.C. 709=45 B.C. After his funeral, the populace had a column of Numidian marble, with the title "Parenti Patriae" erected in the Forum. This column became a sacred monument, at which sacrifices were offered, vows taken, and disputes settled on oath with invocation of Julius as witness and avenger (Sueton. *Iulius* 85). Compare c. 9 § 5 note on ἰσόθεος. The image of Divus Iulius, descendant of Iulus and Aeneas, was now set up alongside of that of the "mother of the Aeneadae".

ἐν τῷ προνάῳ, as though Augustus and Agrippa were door-keepers of the house. While this was done in order to show honour to those whose images occupied and presence sanctified the house, the dignity of the ostiarii was not left unconsidered. See Virgil *Aen.* VII. 610 and Dio 54. 10, Sueton. *Aug.* 91, for instances of divine door-keepers. Ianus is door-keeper of the temple of War; Iuppiter Tonans was made door-keeper to Iuppiter Capitolinus.

§ 4. λιπαροῦς="persistent", "steadfast". For remarks upon Agrippa's loyalty, cf. c. 23 § 4.

§ 5. τῆς Ιουλίας, daughter of Augustus and Scribonia. She was born U.C. 715=39 B.C. On the very day of her birth Augustus divorced Scribonia, being (if we are to believe Dio) in love with Livia Drusilla, wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero (Dio 48. 34).

τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, son of C. Claudius Marcellus, consul U.C. 704=50 B.C. and Octavia, sister of Augustus. He was born U.C. 711=43 B.C. In U.C. 725, soon after his return from the East, Augustus τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἄνδρας τελούσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν ἀδελφιδόον, διένειμε—Dio, Bk. 51, c. 21. This is the Marcellus of *Aen.* VI. 868-887. See further, c. 30.

ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. See ch. 25 § 7.

Μεσσάλα. M. Valerius Messalla fought under Brutus at

Philippi, and stormed Octavian's camp. After the final *débâcle*, he managed to obtain honourable terms for himself and for the troops who under his command had withdrawn to Thasos. He was then a partisan of Antony's until Antony began to bear himself as an Oriental potentate. From U.C. 718 onwards he attached himself to Octavian. In U.C. 720 he led an expedition against the Salassi, and in U.C. 723 he was Octavian's colleague in the consulate and one of the fleet-commanders. The *Fasti Triumphales* contain the record of a triumph granted to Messalla for successes in Aquitaine, U.C. 727. In U.C. 729 Augustus appointed him "praefectus urbis", but he resigned the office within a week (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 11). Messalla must have been well advanced in years when the Senate selected him as its spokesman to offer Augustus the title of "Pater Patriae" in February, U.C. 752 = 2 B.C. (v. s., c. 18 § 3). He was a prolific writer (though none of his works have survived), and one of the leading patrons of literary men in the Augustan age. See Hor. *Sat.* i. x. 81, Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34, Sueton. *Tiberius* 70.

οὐνοικον ἐποιήσατο, i.e. gave Agrippa a suite of rooms in his own abode. It was natural enough; Agrippa had been his *contubernalis* for a number of years.

§ 6. αἰρίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχευ, "obtained a good name", "obtained a good report". Cf. ἔσχευ in ch. 26 § 3, ch. 25 § 5.

c. 28 § 1. δέκατον ἤρξε. The narrative (see § 3) implies that Augustus was still abroad, but on his way back to Rome, when he entered on his tenth consulship. The Norbanus who was Augustus' colleague in this consulship was probably a son of the Norbanus who is mentioned as one of the legates of Antony and Octavian in the campaign of Philippi (U.C. 712) and was consul in U.C. 716 = 38 B.C. If the Norbanus who was consul U.C. 730 had been consul in 716, Dio would have noted that he was consul *δεύτερον* in 730. For the use and force of the aorist (ἤρξε) compare c. 6 § 3 ἰδιωτεῦσαι, c. 11 § 4 αὐταρχήσαι, c. 17 § 11 ἐπομίσθη and c. 30 § 1 ἔρξας.

τῇ νομηνίᾳ = "Kalendis Ianuariis".

βεβαιόυσα. Cf. Bk. 51, ch. 20: ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον (Octavian's fifth consulship, U.C. 725) μετὰ Σέξτου Ἀπουληίου τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νομηνίᾳ ὁρκοὺς ἐβεβαίωσαντο (sc. οἱ βουλευταί). See also Tac. *Ann.* i. 72 and Sueton. *Tiberius* 67. Tiberius refused to have the Senate take oath to maintain his *acta* because "exempli causa vendum ne se Senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset". The *acta* confirmed by the Senate in U.C. 725 = 29 B.C. were those of the two years preceding, viz. the rewards and the punishments meted out to commonwealths and princes in the

East, and especially the conquest and annexation of Egypt. Those confirmed in U.C. 730=24 B.C. were the measures taken since U.C. 727=27 B.C., in exercise of the various powers vested in Augustus by the "settlement" between him and the Senate described in ch. 12-14. This solemn confirmation of the acts of the Princeps became an annual observance (Tacitus l. c.), though suspended during the principate of Tiberius (Sueton. l. c.). Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 22 (objectabat Capito Cosutianus) "principio anni vitare Thraseam solenne iusiurandum".

καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς = "drachmas centenas" = "denarios centenos" = "HS quadringenos". See Mon. Ancyrr. xv: in consulatu decimo ex patrimonio meo HS quadringenos congiari viritim pernumeravi—δέκατον ὑπατεύων ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀνὰ δηνάρια ἑκατὸν ἠρίθμησα.

§ 2. τὸ γράμμα = "edictum".

μὴ πρότερον κ.τ.λ. A display of "good citizenship". The largess was to be granted, not out of any public fund, but "ex patrimonio suo"; nevertheless, Augustus was minded to show that he recognized the dignity of the Senate by requesting its approval. The Senate granted him a magnificent recompense.

πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων κ.τ.λ. See ch. 18 § 1.

αὐτοτελής, cf. ch. 17 § 4: τῆς αὐτοτελοῦς ἐξουσίας. The Senate thus proclaimed, in effect, that the τέλος, "summa res", was in the will and judgment of the Princeps, that will and judgment having power to control and bind (κράτος).

§ 3. ἐπὶ τε . . . αὐτοῦ, "ob salutem et reditum eius". Cf. Hor. *Carmin.* III. xiv. 3-4: Caesar Hispana repetit Penates victor ab ora. βουλευεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατ., lit. "to be a Senator among those who had held the praetorship". Marcellus as yet had not even been aedile, though he was now to be appointed to that office (§ 4), but he was authorized to take his seat in the Senate "inter praetorios". Cf. the S.C. passed, on the motion of Cicero, Jan. 1. U.C. 711=43 B.C., giving Octavian the status of propraetor (Cic. *Phil.* v. 17, 47; quoted in the note on c. 24 § 5 παρανόμως).

δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν. The Lex Villia (U.C. 574=180 B.C.) made forty-three the legal age for candidature in elections to the consulship. Marcellus was in his twentieth year only, and that made him eleven years too young, according to the Lex Villia, even for the quaestorship. Augustus could quote precedent from his own career for dispensation from the Lex Villia. He had been admitted as propraetor to the Senate, had been invested with imperium, and had even been elected consul, in his twentieth year (U.C. 711=43 B.C.). The rest of this sentence suggests however that the Lex Villia had been considerably modified. Tiberius, we read here, was



granted authority to stand for each magistracy five years earlier than the law allowed, and was *immediately* (παρὰ χρόμα) appointed to the quaestorship. Now the Lex Villia originally made thirty-one the age for this office, but Tiberius at this time was only in his eighteenth year. If Tiberius, at the age of eighteen, was made quaestor five years earlier than the law prescribed, twenty-three must have been the legal age. Marcellus, authorized to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal time, is appointed aedile with praetorian or propaetorian standing. This indicates that he was to stand for the consulship, which lay next beyond the praetorship in the scale of "honores", in another two years or so. But he was not over twenty years of age, and if he was to stand for the consulate at twenty-two or twenty-three, the legal age for that magistracy must have been thirty-two or thirty-three. Tacitus, *Ann.* XI. 22, observes that "apud maiores" (i.e. in the *early Republic*) "ne aetas quidem distinguebatur, quin prima iuventa consulatum ac dictaturam inirent".

§ 4. ἐπιλιπόντων. There being a lack of quaestors in attendance upon provincial governors (i.e. the governors of "provinciae S.P.Q.R."—see ch. 14 §§ 5-7), the vacancies were filled up from the ranks of those who in the course of the last ten years had held the quaestorship without being despatched to the provinces.

ch. 29. §§ 1-2. Renewal of hostilities by the Asturians and Cantabrians, "indoctis iuga ferre". The ambush laid for Roman detachments was no doubt taken as justification for the cruel treatment of Spanish prisoners, cruelty of a kind which suggests that the Roman officers had been studying Assyrian methods of punishment.

§§ 3-8. Expedition of Aelius Gallus against Arabia Felix. The story of this enterprise is related at length by Strabo, Bk. xvi. c. 4. 22-24. Strabo says that the expedition was ordered by Augustus, who "was influenced by the report that this people [sc. the inhabitants of Arabia Felix] were very wealthy, and exchanged their aromatics and precious stones for silver and gold, but never expended with foreigners any part of what they received in exchange". The Emperor hoped "either to acquire opulent friends, or to overcome opulent enemies" (Strabo. l. c. transl. by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer). It appears that Augustus was of the opinion that the trade with Arabia Felix involved a constant efflux of coin from the Empire, without any reflux, and that in the interest of the Empire, in order to stop this drain of gold and silver, Arabia Felix must be annexed or made dependent and tributary. Compare Pliny's complaint that the purchase of spices, silk, and precious stones from Oriental countries was bad business for the Roman

Empire. Dio writes of this expedition as though it began and ended within the compass of a single year—unless we are so to extend the significance of *ταῦτα* as to include events which had befallen since Augustus left Rome for Gaul and Spain. Aelius Gallus probably entered upon the governorship of Egypt in U.C. 728 = 26 B.C., succeeding Cornelius Gallus (see note on *Αἴλιος Γάλλος* below). Strabo XVI. 4. 23 says that Aelius spent a summer and winter at Leukê Kômê in the land of the Nabataeans (Nebaioth) by reason of sickness, which incapacitated his men. We may assume that the preparations described by Strabo l. c. occupied the last months of U.C. 728 and the beginning of 729; that the army, having arrived at Leukê Kômê, was detained there from the summer of 729 to the spring of 730, and that the expedition returned late in that year. Allusions to this enterprise are to be found in Horace, (*Carm.* I. xxix. 1-4, xxxv. 29-32, and to the fame of Arabian wealth and luxury in II. xii. 24 ("plenas Arabum domos"), III. xxiv. 1, *Epp.* I. vi. 6, vii. 36. Reference to the spices of Arabia in Virgil *Georg.* I. 57, II. 118, and *Aen.* I. 416.

§ 3. *Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα*, "Arabia Felix", the south-western part of the peninsula, which the Arabs call Yemen. The epithet *εὐδαίμων* is probably to be regarded as a mistaken rendering of "Yemen" which means "on the right hand" and so "southern", because the south lies to the right hand of one facing the east, and the Arabs (like the Israelites in O.T. times) made the eastward position their standard, as it were, to which the names of other quarters of the horizon were referred. The error arose from the association of the right hand with good omens and prosperity. The narrative of Strabo XVI. 4. 23-24 shows that "Arabia Felix" contained a good deal of barren and dry land, habitable only by Bedawîn, though at intervals fertile valleys were to be found, green, fragrant, and well supplied with water. Strabo (who could draw upon Aelius Gallus himself for information, in addition to other authorities) speaks of the land of the Sabaeans (Sheba) in south-western Arabia as producing gold, frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, balsamon, and represents their kings and grandees as living in "ivory palaces" (Cf. Ps. xlv. 9, lxxii. 10 and 15, Isaiah lx. 6).

*Σαβῶς*, "king" of a barren tract called Ararene, according to Strabo XVI. 4. 24.

*Αἴλιος Γάλλος*, successor to Cornelius Gallus (for whom see ch. 23 §§ 5-7). In U.C. 732 = 22 B.C. we find, not Aelius Gallus, but Petronius, governor of Egypt (Dio 54. 5). From Strabo's narrative (XVII. 1. 53-54) it appears that Aelius Gallus left Petronius in charge as O.A.G. when he set out for Arabia.

§ 4. τὴν πρώτην, sc. ὥραν, the word being used in its less definite sense, as in Ep. Joann I. ii. 18.

οὐ μὴν ἀπόνως κ.τ.λ. The expeditionary forces consisted of a fleet as well as an army, the latter to march along the coast in order to keep touch with, and be able to obtain supplies from, the former. Strabo attributes the failure of the enterprise mainly to the treachery of the Nabataean Syllaëus upon whom Aelius Gallus relied for guidance in directing the movements of the fleet and the army. Syllaëus gave sailing directions which brought the fleet to grief among rocks and shoals, and "guided" the army into rough and trackless wilds, where water was scarce and bad, and the men suffered from heat, thirst and hunger. When Gallus arrived at Leukê Kômê, most of the army had contracted diseases which Strabo calls στομακάκη and σκελοτύρβη, "the former affecting the mouth, the other the legs, with a kind of paralysis". These afflictions were traceable to bad water, and to plants which the soldiers (in default, no doubt, of proper rations) had eaten on the march. Gallus had to stay a whole summer and winter at Leukê Kômê, in order to restore the health of his army. Nearly all the loss of life suffered by the expedition was caused, says Strabo, by sickness, famine and fatigue, only seven men being killed in actual fighting.

§ 5. οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὁμοιον. Cf. Thucyd. II. 49.

§§ 6-7. After a march of 50 days through the region called Ararene (see § 3 note on Σάβως), Gallus came to the fertile country of the "Negrani" where he captured a town αὐτοβοεῖ. At six days' marching distance from this place, "the barbarians" attacked him at the crossing of a river (probably a "nullah" or torrent-bed). The Romans lost only two men in the fight, the Arabs about ten thousand (!), being utterly inferior to the Romans in weapons and armour. (The Arabs had yet to feel the stimulus of religious enthusiasm.) After this victory, Gallus captured two more towns, called, the one, Asca, and the other Athrula. He laid siege to a third, called Marsiaba, but was compelled to retire by scarcity of water. At this point, he was two days' march from the "Spice Country", but he turned back, having spent six months on the march since leaving Leukê Kômê. The distance, in traversing which he had consumed six months, by reason of the treachery of his guides, he now accomplished in a little less than nine weeks, and in the eleventh week he had landed all his men at Myos Hormos, on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea.

§ 8. τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης, "this part of Arabia", viz. the south-western region. The land of the Nabataeans was annexed to the Empire by Trajan, A.D. 106, and the Arabian province then formed

was enlarged by Septimius Severus A.D. 195 (Dio, 68. 14, 75. 1.) but the territory thus incorporated in the Roman world lay in northern and north-western Arabia.

τῶν Ἀδούλων, *qu.* τῶν Ἀδανιτῶν. Adula, or rather Adulē ('Αδούλη), was a maritime town on the African side of the Red Sea, fronting a bay now known as Annesley Bay, where the British expedition against Abyssinia landed in 1868. Aelius Gallus may have advanced as far as Aden, which is called Ἀδάνη by Philostorgius, and Athana by Pliny (see Dict. Anc. Geogr. s.v. Adane), and certainly was χωρίον ἐπιφανές, being a great centre of commerce between India, Arabia, and Egypt.

c. 30. § 1. Augustus' eleventh consulship, U.C. 731 = 23 B.C.

ἄρξας = ὑπατος γενόμενος, ὑπατος ἀναδειχθείς.

ἠρρώστησεν. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 81: Graves et periculosas valitudo per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est: praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam distillationibus iocinere vitiato ad desperationem deductus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa.

§§ 1-2. πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων κ.τ.λ. Sueton. *Aug.* 28: De reddenda re publica bis cogitavit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium . . . ac rursus taedio diuturnae valitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac Senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit.

§ 2. τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους . . . γράψας. Cf. the description of the "breviarium imperii" left by Augustus at his death Suet. *Aug.* 101: breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fisci et vectigaliorum residuis; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 11: [Tiberius] proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis: quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa, aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus; Dio 56. 33: τὸ τρίτον (the third of four βιβλία, volumina—Suetonius mentions three only) τὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων τῶν τε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιοῦτότροπα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέροντα ἦν, εἶχε. The "breviarium" of U.C. 731 was confided to Piso, as he was Augustus' colleague in the consulate.

τὸν δακτύλιον. Probably the ring bearing a seal engraved with a portrait of Alexander the Great (see Sueton. *Aug.* 50 and Shuckburgh's note). Dio, Bk. 51, c. 3, speaks of Augustus as using a seal-ring engraved with a sphinx, duplicates of which were entrusted to Maecenas and Agrippa, but this statement is made in connection

with affairs and events before the institution of the Principate. Shuckburgh suggests that Augustus substituted the Alexander-seal for the sphinx after the overthrow of Antony left him in sole supremacy over the State. Subsequently, the Alexander-seal was replaced by one engraved in Augustus' own likeness (Sueton. l. c.; Dio l. c.). By giving his ring to Agrippa, Augustus signified that to Agrippa was committed the charge of his papers, including his *testamentum* (if one had been drawn up, as no doubt was the case).

§ 3. Ἀντώνιος Μόβσας. Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 128: Divus certe Augustus lactuca conservatur in aegritudine, prudentia Musae medici, cum prioris C. Aemili religio nimia eum necaret. Evidently Aemilius, like Nicias, was much addicted to *θειασμός*. Hor. *Ep.* i. xv. 2-5:

nam mihi Baias  
Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis  
Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda  
Permedium frigus.

ἀντίσωσε. Sueton. *Aug.* 59: Medico Antonio Musae, cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapi statuerunt [sc. Patres].

χρυσοῖς δακτυλλοῖς. The "ius annuli aurei", under the Republic, had been the exclusive privilege of senators, magistrates, and equites. Verres made himself chargeable with irregularity when he presented his secretary with a gold ring. Under the Principate, the "ius annuli aurei" was granted by the Princes. Septimius Severus and Aurelian conferred it upon all who were engaged in military service, probably as an inducement to enlist. See Dict. Antiq. s.v. *Annulus*.

ἀπελεύθερος. = "libertinus". The bestowal of the "ius annuli aurei" appears to have carried with it promotion from the status of a freedman to that of an "ingenuus". In A.D. 22 Tiberius issued an edict, ordering that the right of wearing a gold ring should be exercised only by "ingenui" whose fathers and grandfathers had a census of 400,000 sesterces, and not by any slave or freedman. The restriction, however, was short-lived. See Dict. Antiq. l. c.

ἀτέλεια = "immunitas". This might be granted without "civitas". Augustus once granted "immunitas", but refused "civitas" to a protégé of Livia's, "affirmans facilius se passurum fisco aliquid detrahi quam civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem" (Sueton. *Aug.* 40). Many, if not most, of the physicians resident in Rome in U.C. 731 were in all probability "cives Romani", as the elder Caesar had conferred Roman citizenship on all professors of "artes liberales" who had settled in the capital. The "immunitas",

therefore, bestowed upon Antonius Musa and his professional brethren, must have been exemption from such imposts as "portoria" (cf. the exemption granted by Nero to the soldiery, Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 51) and from such civic duties as "militia" and "tutela".

§ 4. ἔδει—τῆς τύχης—τῆς πεπωμένης. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* I. XXXV. 17-20.

§ 5. Death of Marcellus (in his twentieth year; cf. ch. 28 § 5). Cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 870 f.

δημοσίᾳ = "publico funere".

ἐπαιέσας = "cum pro rostris laudasset". Cf. Sueton. *Iulius* 84, *Aug.* 100, Tac. *Ann.* III. 76 and IV. 12 ("laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio").

τὸ μνημεῖον. The "Tumulus Augusti" (Tac. *Ann.* III. 4 and 9) or "Mausoleum" (Sueton. *Aug.* 100, *Cal.* 15, *Nero.* 46, *Vespas.* 23) stood close by the left bank of the Tiber, on the north side of the Campus Martius, between the river and the Via Flaminia. Strabo describes it as a mound of earth, encircled by a retaining-wall of white marble, covered with shrubs and surmounted by a bronze equestrian statue of Augustus (*Geogr.* V. 3. 8). Like all Roman burial-places, it lay *extra pomerium*, in accordance with the old Roman law (as quoted by Cicero. *Legg.* II. 58): "hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito". See Shuckburgh's notes on Sueton. *Aug.* 100, also Tac. *Ann.* III. 4-5 and 76, and IV. 9, and Virgil's description of the funeral of Misenus in *Aen.* VI. 212-235.

ψικοδομεῖτο. The Mausoleum was as yet incomplete (cf. *Aen.* VI. 875 "tumulum recentem"). Suetonius assigns the construction to Augustus' sixth consulate, i.e. 28 B.C. (I. c.); this must be the date of its commencement.

τῇ τε μνήμῃ κ.τ.λ., "monumento theatri illustravit".

προκαταβληθέντος. Sueton. *Iulius* 44 describes it as "theatrum summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans". Cf. Mon. Ancyrae. XXI: Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset. Dio, Bk. 43, ch. 49 and Bk. 54, ch. 26, says that the work was begun by Julius, in emulation of Pompey's theatre, was left unfinished at his death, and was not dedicated until the year U.C. 741 = 13 B.C. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 29.

τὴν τῶν Ῥωμ. πανήγ. The "Ludi Circenses", which were held from the 4th to the 12th of September, and were superintended by the curule aediles. Marcellus, at the time of his death, was curule aedile (see ch. 28 § 4), and his death befell in the autumn of U.C. 731 = (cf. ch. 31 § 3).

δίφρον ἄρχιόν = "sellam curulem". The carrying of a golden



image of Marcellus, a golden wreath, and a curule chair in the procession of the Ludi Circenses (the image and the wreath being placed in the chair) was intended to declare that he was yet "present in spirit", and indeed was an act which might be considered as a kind of apotheosis. In August, U.C. 709=45 B.C. the Senate decreed in Caesar's honour ἐς τὰ θέατρα τὸν τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον ἐξ ἰσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι—Dio, Bk. 44, c. 6; cf. Sueton. *Iulius* 76: ampliora humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est . . . tensam et ferculum circensi pompa. This apotheosis took place in Caesar's lifetime. In the case of Marcellus, it was instituted after his decease. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 15 (*Divo Iulio*).

τῶν ἀρχ. τῶν τελ. αὐτά, viz. the curule aediles.

c. 31 § 1. ὕστερον. Marcellus died in the autumn. Augustus had recovered health sufficiently to perform the ceremony of abdicating the consulate (c. 32 § 3) on the first of July (Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 27).

οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. There was nothing to be said against Augustus naming a successor to the ownership of his "patrimonium", but the Princeps would not take it upon himself to bequeath the Principate as though it were his own. Heredity, the constant note of kingship, had not been attached to the Principate; see § 4.

οὐδὲς ἐπέτρεψεν, ominis causa.

τὴν ἑορτὴν κ.τ.λ. If some particular festival is to be understood, it is probably the Megalesia, the festival of the Μεγάλη Μήτηρ, Magna Mater, whose cult was introduced into Rome U.C. 550=204 B.C. The performances at the Megalesia (apart from the procession of the *Galli*) were "scenic" or theatrical, concluding with a display in the Circus Maximus (see the calendar in Paley's edition of Ovid's *Fasti*). For the origin of the Megalesia, see Livy XXIX. 14, Ovid. *Fasti* IV. 179 f.

ὀρχηστὴν τινα ἱππέα. Sueton. *Aug.* 43: Ad scenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam Senatus consulto interdiceretur; *Iulius*. 39: [Iulius] edidit spectacula varii generis . . . ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota . . . Ludis Decimus Laberius, eques Romanus, mimum suum egit, donatusque quingentis sestertiis et annulo aureo sessum in quatuordecim e scena per orchestram transiit. The S.C. forbidding equites to perform upon the stage or in the arena was passed U.C. 732=22 B.C. Dio 54. 2: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς καίσι τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ πού καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, τοῖς γε ἐν τῇ ἱππᾷ δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταζομένοις, μηδὲν ἐτι τοιοῦτο δρᾶν.

ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν. In the Roman theatre, the space corresponding to the Greek "orchestra" (in which the chorus danced) was occupied by the seats of the Senators. By ὀρχήστρα here Dio must be understood to mean the stage, on which "saltatores" (ὀρχησται) performed.

§ 4. τὴν ἡγεμονίαν = "principatum".

προσφιλή. Cf. ch. 23 §§ 3-4.

οὐκ ἐβόλευτο . . . ἐπιτρέπεσθαι. Cf. notes on οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχόν in § 1, and on ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνευ δόσεως τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν in ch. 17 § 11.

ch. 32 § 1. βαίσας, "having become easier" (βαίω, akin to ῥῶν) i.e. "having recovered".

διὰ τοῦτ', because Agrippa held a higher place in Augustus' confidence and esteem.

διατριβή = "friction".

ὑποστρατήγους = "legatos".

§ 2. στρατηγούς δέκα κ.τ.λ. From the time of Sulla's dictatorship to that of Julius Caesar, the number of praetors annually elected was eight. Julius raised the number from eight to ten, then to fourteen, and finally to sixteen, but subsequently the number must have been reduced to eight again, as Suetonius states that Augustus "numerus praetorum auxit" (*Aug.* 37—see Shuckburgh's note) and here we find Augustus designating ten praetors. In A.D. 11 sixteen praetors were elected, ἐπειδὴ τοσοῦτοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λυπῆσαι ὁ Αὐγουστος ἠθέλησεν (*Dio* 56. 25). But this was not made a precedent for the years following. Tiberius, at the beginning of his principate, "candidatos praeturae du decim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum" (*Dio* 1. c. οἱ δώδεκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν), "et hortante Senatu ut augeret, iureiurando obstrinxit se non excessurum" (*Tac. Ann.* 1. 14).

τὰ αὐτὰ κ.τ.λ., mainly judicial work in the capital, and (after the term of office at home) government of "provinces of the Senate and People".

ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, sc. τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. In 727 U.C. = 27 B.C., the *cura aedarii* had been transferred from the quaestors to two *praetorii* elected year by year. Now this charge is transferred to two of the praetors of the year. See ch. 2 § 1. Tacitus speaks of the *praetorii* of the period 727-731 U.C. as "prefects"—*Ann.* XIII. 29.

§ 3. ἀπέϊπε τὴν ὑπατίαν, sc. Kalendis Iuliis A.U.C. DCCXXXI. (acc. to C.I.L. I. p. 472).

ἐς Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθόν. It may be supposed that Augustus, as consul, had appointed July 1 as the day on which the *Feriae Latinae* of U.C. 731 should begin, and that he made use of this opportunity

to abdicate the consulship. The Latin Festival belonged to the class of *feriae conceptivae*, i.e. festivals held, not on the same fixed date every year, but upon dates determined from year to year by the consuls. Augustus, we may suppose, had appointed July 1 as the date with the view of abdicating the consulship at the beginning of the second semester of the year. He might have abdicated in Rome, but there he would have had to encounter the protests and opposition of the Senate, in presence of whom he would have, of necessity, announced his intention. That opposition, of course, would not have been insurmountable, but it would have been troublesome.

ὅπως ὅτι πλείστοι ὑπατεύουσιν. That every citizen should have his turn in every office of State was a democratic "counsel of perfection". That every citizen should have at least a chance of election to every office of State was a democratic working principle; hence (e.g. in Athens) elections by lot. Augustus may have had in view the application of this principle, so far as was possible, to the consulate. Although the actual powers exercised by the consuls were now very much reduced, the dignity of the office was great. The circumstance that Augustus had held it so many times rather enhanced its prestige. It was still an object of ambition. Augustus may have thought that the more chances given to every member of the Senatorial Order of attaining to this dignity, the more readily would opposition to the Principate be placated. It may be argued that, the greater the number of consuls elected in every year, the less would the consulate be accounted of, and that Augustus multiplied consuls in order to diminish the prestige and dignity of their office. But this does not square with Augustus' general attitude of respect and even reverence for old Republican institutions.

§ 4. Λούκιον Σήστιον. Augustus nominated Lucius Sestius "consul suffectus" in his place. This Sestius was son of the Sestius defended by Cicero in 698 u.c. = 56 B.C. against charges of bribery and disturbance of the peace (Cicero *Pro Sestio*). The elder Sestius was a Pompeian for the first year of the Civil War, then he went over to Caesar. The younger Sestius, who showed greater steadfastness—and eventually profited by it—is the Sestius to whom Horace addressed the fourth of his first book of *Carmina*. From Horace's verses it appears that Sestius was by no means devoid of capacity for the enjoyment of forbidden fruit.

ἐπαίρους ποιούμενον = "writing poems in his praise" or (with more attention to the middle voice) "occupying himself in the composition of poems in his praise". The use of the middle, ποιούμενον, suggests that Sestius wrote these eulogies of Brutus to please or solace himself, and confined them to "private circulation".

ἐτίμησε. Contrast the case of Cremutius Cordus, under Augustus' successor, Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34-35. The speech of Cordus, reported by Tacitus, contains other instances of toleration shown by Augustus towards admirers of the men who had been foremost in opposition and hostility towards himself and the elder Caesar.

§ 5. *δήμαρχον διὰ βίου*. The Senate adopted a motion expressing the opinion that Caesar Augustus should hold and exercise "tribunicia potestas" for life. Cf. ch. 17 §§ 9-10 and notes. Dio ought not to have written *δήμαρχον διὰ βίου εἶναι*, for (as he himself points out in ch. 17 § 10) the Princeps, being a patrician, could not be a "tribunus plebis". What the Senate agreed to was *τὸν Ἀβγουστον δημαρχικὴν διὰ βίου ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν*. The numbering of the years of "tribunicia potestas" begins from this date, Mon. Ancyrr. iv: *ὑπάτεων τρεῖς καὶ δέκατον, ὅτε ταῦτα ἔγραφον, καὶ ἡμῶν τριακοστὸν καὶ ἑβδομὸν δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας*, inscription on an arch at Pavia (Ticinum): TRIBUNIC. POTES. XXX (i.e. A.D. 7.); above, ch. 17 § 10: *τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν, τῶν δημάρχων πᾶσαν, ὅση περ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαρίθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ δημαρχούντων λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει*. It is to this investiture with "tribunicia potestas" (the third, according to Dio, the two previous investitures taking place u.c. 718 and 724) that the statement in Tac. *Ann.* iii. 56 properly refers: *id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit*, etc. Mon. Ancyrr. vi: *ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Οὐινούκιῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Λουκρητίῳ [u.c. 735] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ποπλίῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλοις [u.c. 736] καὶ τρίτον Παύλλῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Τουβέρωνι [u.c. 743] τῆς τε συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογούντων ἵνα ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐξουσίᾳ χειροτονηθῶ, ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πατρία ἔθνη διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην. ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύνκλητος οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὧν ἐτέλεσα. καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς συνάρχοντα αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου πεντάκις αἰτήσας ἔλαβον*. The *οἰκονομίαι* referred to are (principally at any rate) the *lectiones Senatus* of u.c. 735 and 743 (Dio 54. 11 and 35) and the *leges Iuliae de adulteriis, de pudicitia, and de maritandis ordinibus* (Shuckburgh's note on Sueton. *Aug.* 34 *leges . . . sanxit*). Dio, Bk. 54. ch. 10, asserts that (in u.c. 735) Augustus ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἔτη παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἐχειροτονήθη (riots in Rome had shown that there was room for improvement of behaviour) καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν . . . So far as regards the ἐπιμέλεια τρόπων and the "censoria potestas", Dio's statement is in conflict with Augustus' own testimony in Mon. Ancyrr. vi (quoted above) and viii (where Augustus affirms that he held *lustra* in u.c. 746 = 8 B.C. and A.D. 14 "consulari cum imperio"). Augustus' colleagues in exercise of

"tribunicia potestas" were (1) Agrippa, U.C. 736-741 and 741-2 (Dio 54. 12 and 38), (2) Tiberius, U.C. 748-752, A.D. 4-13 and again A.D. 13-14 (Dio 55. 9 and 13, 56. 28). See notes on ch. 17. 1. c.

χρηματίζειν . . . . ἔδωκε. The Senate conferred *ius relationis* upon the Princeps, authorizing him to introduce any subject he desired at any meeting of the Order, and getting a *Senatus consultum* upon the question. References are found in the "Scriptores Historiae Augustae" to *ius tertiae, quartae, or quintae relationis*, i.e. the right of bringing three, four, or five questions before any meeting of the Senate (Iul. Capitolinus *M. Antoninus* c. 6, *Pertinax* c. 5; Aelius Lampridius *Alex. Severus* c. 1; Flavius Vopiscus *Probus* c. 12). The *ius relationis*, even when it extended to one *relatio* only, maintained the Princeps' control over the Senate. It was not entirely superfluous. *Relatio* was the function of the presiding magistrate, originally the king, afterwards the consuls. In the years of his consulates, Augustus had possessed this right *ex officio*. But he had now abdicated the consulate. It was requisite that he should retain that control over proceedings in the Senate which he had hitherto held, and therefore the *ius relationis* was conferred upon, or rather restored to him, καὶ μὴ ὑπατεύοντι. Whenever he should think fit to get himself elected consul, he would once more possess and exercise *ius relationis* in the ordinary course. This bestowal (or restoration) of *ius relationis* was probably proposed at the instigation of Augustus himself, or at least in accordance with his known desire. It was a natural sequel that in 735 U.C. = 19 B.C. he obtained consular power and authority for life. Dio 54. 10: τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων (ἐξουσίαν) διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, though the immediate occasion of that measure was the faction-fighting which broke out in Rome at the beginning of the year over the election of a colleague for C. Sentius, this honour having been declined by Augustus—Dio l. c.: ὑπάτευσεν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ Γάιος Σέντιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάροντα αὐτῷ προσαποδειχθῆναι ἔδει, ὃ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρηθεῖσάν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδεξατο, στάσις τε αὖθις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνηνέχθη καὶ σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς φρουρὰν τῷ Σεντίῳ ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μὴ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῇ χρῆσασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, μετὰ δύο βαβδούχων ἕκαστον, ἔπεμψαν. Augustus then nominated Q. Lucretius and hastened to Rome, whither indeed he was already returning from the East. The life-tenure of consular authority and command then conferred upon him was (likely enough) voted at his suggestion. It was only the completion of what had already been done in giving him the right of making a *relatio* in every meeting of the Senate. Its requisiteness might be argued from the riots which had broken out over a consular election, and from the need of restoring the prestige of the con-

suls and the consular office. Augustus, when he nominated Q. Lucretius, had proconsular authority, but not consular. Republican precedent showed that a *consul* was the proper person to nominate a consul. The occasion made it clear that the Princeps ought to have *consular* authority, for the purpose of dealing in proper form with affairs and emergencies arising within the *pomerium*.

τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀσθύναντων κ.τ.λ. This brought about an anomaly. According to Republican practice and precedent, a consul might act either in Rome or in a province abroad, though after the Sullan reforms the rule was that consuls remained in the capital. But a proconsul was a substitute for a consul, and the proconsulate was never contemplated as an office that could be held in Rome, while after the rule of Sulla the Empire outside Italy had become its proper sphere. It had come to be accounted of as a form of authority intended for the government of countries outside Italy. The anomaly lasted till 19 B.C., when the Senate voted for the conferment of consular power and authority upon Augustus for life (see the last note).

καθάπαξ. Cf. ch. 16 § 3.

ἔσω τοῦ πωμηνίου. Republican practice had prohibited the exercise of *imperium* in its military aspect within the *pomerium*, even by the consuls. *Imperium proconsulare* always had this military aspect, and therefore was out of place within the sacred enclosure of the city. If reduced there to *iurisdictio*, it was assimilated to the consular authority as exercised within that precinct, and then the *iurisdictio* of one holding a proconsular position was set up beside, not to say against, that of the consuls. Possibly Augustus thought that after the abdication of the consulate, he could retain consular prerogative under the title of *imperium proconsulare*. In actual practice, the anomaly may not have caused any real inconvenience. But it was open to criticism, and Augustus was always desirous to square his position and powers as exactly as possible with "mos et instituta maiorum".

ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ, i.e. gave him *maius imperium* over every proconsul and *legatus pro praetore*. In the Mon. Ancyr. c. XXXIV, Augustus asserts that after the "settlement" of U.C. 727 "praestiti omnibus dignitate, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam qui fuerunt mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae". So far as the proprae-torian legates of the "provinciae Caesaris" were concerned, there is no discrepancy. They were deputies of the Princeps, and therefore subordinate to him. But the case of the proconsuls of "provinciae Populi" does seem to prove a discrepancy between Augustus' statement and Dio's record.



§ 6. ἀφ' οὗ οὐδ' α.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 17 § 10.

ch. 33. § 1. ὡς ἐλευθέρους. Cf. ch. 21 § 3: προετρέπετό τι γὰρ πάνθ' ὅτινοῦν συμβουλεύειν οἱ, εἰ τις τι ἄμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσῃ, καὶ παρρησίαν σφίσι πολλὴν ἔνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετέγραφε. He had also a "select committee" of the Senate, for the purpose of preliminary consideration of questions to be referred to the whole house (ch. 21 §§ 4-5). Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 53: *Die Senatus numquam Patres nisi in Curia salutavit et quidem sedentis, ac nominatim singulos nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo valere dicebat.* In this, his behaviour stood in strong contrast with that of the elder Caesar, who had allowed the Senate to rise from their seats when he entered the Curia, and on one occasion had received them sitting, whereby he stirred up "inexpiabilem invidiam" against himself (Suet. *Iulius* 78; Plutarch *Caesar* 66).

ὁ Τιριδάτης. Dio, Bk. 51, ch. 18: after settling affairs in Egypt, Octavian proceeded to Asia and there spent the winter of U.C. 724-725 = 30-29 B.C., τὰ τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἅμα καθιστάμενος. An insurrection against Phraates, the Parthian king, had been led by one Tiridates (U.C. 723), who was defeated and compelled to seek refuge in Syria (U.C. 724). Phraates sent ambassadors (to demand the surrender of Tiridates, who had carried off one of Phraates' sons with him in his flight) but got no satisfaction beyond what lay in fair words. Tiridates was allowed to remain in Syria, but Augustus would not undertake to give him any assistance in his designs against Phraates, whose son was sent to Rome and detained there in honourable captivity as a hostage. Dio does not state what happened in the interval, U.C. 724-731, to bring Tiridates to Rome. Justin (Bk. 42. c. 5) speaks of Tiridates as betaking himself to Augustus while the latter was in Spain (U.C. 729 = 25 B.C.). The immediate occasion of the Parthian embassy of U.C. 731 was doubtless some attempt of Tiridates to rekindle the flames of civil war in the Parthian Empire. Besides, there was the Parthian prince to be delivered from captivity, even though that captivity was such as a prince might endure without discomfort. Augustus speaks of Tiridates as a "king of the Parthians", Mon. Ancy. c. XXXII; πρὸς ἐμὲ ἰκέται κατέφυγον βασιλεῖς Πάρθων μὲν Τιριδάτης καὶ μετέπειτα Φραάτης βασιλέως Φράτου υἱός.

ἐς τὴν βουλὴν. Cf. ch. 21, § 6: ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκταῖς καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν. The Senate alone, under the old Republic, had received and negotiated with foreign ambassadors. In this respect there was a strong contrast between Rome and Athens, foreign ambassadors being brought before the Athenian ἐκκλησία as well as before the βουλὴ (e.g. Thucyd. i. 34, iv. 16. vi.

15). Yet Greek writers apply the term *δημοκρατία* to the Roman as well as to the Athenian polity.

§ 2. ἐπιτραπείς. δηλ. κατὰ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου, *Senatus consulto*.

τὴν διάγνωσιν = "disquisitionem" (cf. Tac. *Ann.* III. 60). *Postulata Tiridatis atque Parthorum ad disquisitionem Caesaris misit Senatus*.

τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Bk. 51, ch. 18 (U.C. 724): υἱὸν τε τινὰ τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Τιριδάτου) λαβὼν ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμηρίᾳ ἐποίησατο.

ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς τε αἰχμαλώτους κ.τ.λ. The captives and standards taken from the armies of Crassus U.C. 701 and Antony U.C. 718. There were also captives and standards taken by the Parthians when they invaded the Roman Empire, U.C. 714 and 716 (B.C. 40 and 38). The actual surrender of captives and standards, however, was delayed for three years, until U.C. 734 = 20 B.C., when Augustus in the course of a visitation of the Eastern provinces came to Antioch, and the Parthian king had begun to fear that an invasion of his dominions was to be expected. See Dio 54. 8: καὶ τούτῳ (i.e. while Augustus was in Syria) ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μὴδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἐφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν, ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνος ὥς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκώς ἔλαβε. καὶ γὰρ ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκοντὶ ἐκεκόμιστο. ἀμὲν καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεῶν Ἀρεὸς Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος (= ovans) ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψίδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη. The temple of Mars Ultor was not in the Capitol, as Dio ought to have remembered, and its original purpose was the commemoration of the vengeance taken upon the chief of Caesar's murderers in the battle of Philippi. However, its association with the thought of *redress* made it a fitting repository for the standards which the Parthian, in fear of a Roman invasion, had surrendered. Cf. Horace *Carm.* IV. xv. 4-8: Tua, Caesar, aetas . . . signa nostro restituit Iovi derepta Parthorum superbis postibus; Virgil *Aen.* VII. 606: Parthosque reposcere signa; Mon. Ancyra. c. XXIX: Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam Populi Romani petere coegi. The three armies were those of Crassus, and of Antony's legates Decidius Saxa (crushed by the Parthians in Syria, U.C. 714, cf. Horace *Carm.* III. vi. 9-10) and Oppius Statianus (attacked and routed by the Medes and Parthians in Media, U.C. 718). See Plutarch's lives of Crassus and Antony.

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§ 3. ἀγορανόμον τῶν καταδεεστέρων = "one of the plebeian aediles".

προηγ. ἐν τοῖς ἀμείν, "although he had held the office of curule aedile". The institution of the curule aedileship is recorded in Livy vi. 42 (ad calc.). Originally, the curule aedileship was accessible to patricians only, but after a time it was open to patricians and plebeians alternately, and later on again to members of both orders indifferently (Livy. vii. 1). The curule aedileship was more dignified and had more prestige than the plebeian, inasmuch as the holders had *sellae curules*, like consuls, censors, and praetors, wore the *toga praetexta*, and enjoyed the *ius imaginum*. The fact that one who had formerly been curule aedile was willing to succeed to the place left vacant by the death of a plebeian aedile shows that the prestige of the curule aedileship had waned. In A.D. 5, there being no candidates for any aedileship, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκ τε τῶν τεταμειυκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκόντων κλήρω τινες αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι (δηλ. ἀγορανομῆσαι), καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο (Dio 55. 24). The office had become of so little account that men had to be compelled to take it.

ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς, the *Feriae Latinae* (cf. note on ch. 32 § 3 ἐς Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθόν), during which the consuls left the city in order to be present at the solemnities of Iuppiter Latiaris, celebrated upon the Alban Mount.

ἐπολιάρχησαν, "were prefects of the city". Cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 11 for a summary of the history of the urban prefecture.

οὐδὲ ἐς μειράκιόν πω τελών. He was below the earliest age at which a Roman could be enlisted for military service or registered as a member of a century in the *Comitia Centuriata* (seventeen years). Cf. Tacitus. l. c. "durat simulacrum".

§ 4. αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν. Similarly, Livia was suspected of having procured the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (A.D. 4 and A.D. 2, Dio 55. 11). Suspicion was once more stirred up against her, when Augustus fell sick in the summer of A.D. 14 (Tac. *Ann.* i. 5). Caligula called her "stolatus Ulixes", and no doubt she was πολύμητις in furthering the interests of Tiberius and Drusus. But there is no known evidence to support the charges that were brought against her of having procured the removal of Marcellus, Gaius, and Lucius by poison.

§ 5. προσημαίνεισθαι. Dio, like Livy, retails "prodigia". Cf. for example Bk. 54. ch. 1: τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει . . . ἥ τε πόλις πελαγίσαντος αὐθις τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπλεύσθη, καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεῖν. This was not the universal practice of historians. "Non sum nescius" writes Livy in Bk. XLIII. 14, "ab

eadem negligentia, qua nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant, neque nunciari admodum nulla prodigia in publicum, neque in annales referri. Ceterum et mihi, vetustas res scribenti, nescio quo pacto, antiquus fit animus; et quaedam religio tenet, quae illi prudentissimi viri publice suscipienda censuerint, ea pro dignis habere, quae in meos annales referam". Tacitus professes complete scepticism in relation to such things (*Ann.* vi. 22).

τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην = "Pontem Sublicium".

πλωτὴν ἐποίησε. Cf. ἐπλεύσθη in the quotation given above from Bk. 54, ch. 1. For the time being, the inundation turned the streets in the low-lying parts of the city into canals. Proposals for dealing with "Tiberis exundationes" came before the Senate, along with protests against them from the *municipia* concerned, in A.D. 15 (*Tac. Ann.* i. 79).

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